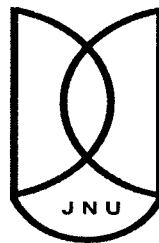


1857: DESIGNS FOR COMMEMORATION, 1877-2007

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University in the partial
fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of*

Master of Philosophy

SONAKSHI GOYLE



**CENTRE FOR HISTORICAL STUDIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI-110067
2009**



20 July 2009

DECLARATION

I hereby certify that the work embodied in this dissertation entitled '1857: Designs For Commemoration, 1877-2007' submitted by me for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University is the result of original research and has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other University or Institution.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Sonakshi', is positioned above the name.

SONAKSHI GOYLE

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Neeladri Bhattacharya', is positioned above the name.

CHAIRPERSON
Chairperson
Centre for Historical Studies
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110 067, INDIA

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Radhika Singha', is positioned above the name.

Supervisor
Centre for Historical Studies
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110 067, INDIA
Dr. Radhika Singha

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

When I first started looking for a supervisor, Professor Radhika Singha was at the top of my list and as I write these acknowledgments, I still feel the same way for she has offered precisely the direction, support, motivation, encouragement and guidance I needed throughout the study. I owe her a particular debt of gratitude, first for reading and commenting on numerous draft chapters, but more importantly for teaching me the golden rule of good writing: continuous writing and re-writing will always improve any work. I doubt no more. Thank you ma'am.

I would like to specially thank my teachers at the Centre for Historical Studies, JNU, for enlightening me time and again about the finesse of historical understandings. I want to thank Prof. Bhagwan Josh in particular without whose inputs and inspiring help significant parts of my dissertation would have remained incomplete.

Without the intellectual conversation and helpful atmosphere provided during the entire course by the staffs and officials of the National Archives of India, Nehru Museum and Memorial Library, Central Secretariat Library, Delhi Public Library, Delhi Archives, Indian Council for Historical Research, Jamia Millia Islamia Library, Delhi University Library, Department of Special Assistance Library, JNU and of course the JNU Central Library, I would not have had the strength to make completing my dissertation a priority.

Although I consider the friendship, mentoring, and support of persons too numerous to name, a number of people deserve special recognition. Thank you Kundan for unflinchingly listening to my often long and bitter ravings; your constant and patient support was elemental in my dissertation. I apologise for any hurtful rantings. I would also like to thank Parul, my childhood friend, for her matchless humour and fortitude in persevering with my illogical eccentricities and insular conduct. R. P. Shahi and Prashant Kumar Singh are two scholarly practical members of my daily situations, without whom this work would have lacked energy and excitement.

My humblest convictions, as always, remain with my family – my assiduous father, concerned mother and dearest MAKODA.

CONTENTS

PAGE NO.

Declaration

Acknowledgments

Contents

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER TWO

The Delhi Durbars: Spaces, Monuments, And ‘Living Testimonials’ 21

CHAPTER THREE

1907: The Fiftieth Anniversary: Catching A Fleeting Moment? 46

CHAPTER FOUR

**1957: Centenary Commemoration In Independent India:
A Completed Or Continued Struggle?** 64

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION 85

BIBLIOGRAPHY 93

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Commemoration is intimately interspersed with recollection of the past which is an active, constructive process, not a simple matter of retrieving information.¹ It is closely related to sentiment, social purposes, and historical interpretations. Commemoration is that process which brings the past into the present through an important symbolic and ritualistic ceremony or event. Commemoration can be employed to display various modes and types of political and symbolic meanings. The location of a commemorative event is very crucial to the form which it takes. A rally to commemorate World War II in France would be very different from a similar event held in Britain in terms of language, symbols, ceremonies, participants and the choice of events. Changes in the concerns, beliefs and strategies of a government, or of associations and individuals change the design of a commemorative event from one performance to another.² A commemorative event is at one level a visual and emotional implement which orders, controls and directs memory and remembrance. However the actual performance may diverge from the script, so too the meanings registered by spectators and participants.

Commemoration, its Types and Agencies: The Case of 1857

There are various types of commemoration. It can take the form of a speech, it can be symbolic, as by observing a two minute silence, or take the form of a naming or dedication of some building. Private commemoration may or may not use a ritual or ceremony to orient emotions and memories in a certain direction. Public commemoration certainly designs to do so. There is an *intention* in public commemoration, whatever its direction. In making a claim upon public memory the organisers of a public commemoration usually have to negotiate between motives, objects and requirements

¹ Barry Schwartz, 'The Social Context of Commemoration: A Study in Collective Memory', *Social Forces*, Vol.61, No.2, December 1982, p. 374.

² Rebecca M. Brown, 'Inscribing Colonial Monumentality: A Case Study of the 1763 Patna Massacre Memorial', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 65, No. 1, February 2006, pp. 92, 96-97, 99-103.

emanating from a variety of different sites, but invariably the process involves the selection of some elements for commemoration and the overlooking of others. Commemorations are not just a reflection of various social forces or political contests, they are constitutive of them. They emerge from a particular conjuncture, but they also make up an element of that conjuncture.

It is important to note here that this study covers a period of a hundred and thirty years but explores ‘bursts’ of public commemoration. Private and public commemorations of 1857 were occurring in the years which I have not surveyed. My concern here is to show how large scale public commemorations and particularly the anniversaries of 1857 were being observed both by the Government of India in colonial times and the audience, British and Indian and then in 1957. What were the major concerns in these events, what were the ambiguities which emerged about this event and how did these play out. Because my dissertation focuses on memory work I have tried to use the labels which people used for the events of 1857. This has led to awkwardness. I have used the term ‘mutiny’ for the chapters which focus substantially on European public opinion. For the chapter on the centenary commemorations and later I have followed S.N. Sen’s very wise direction in using ‘1857’ as a reference point.

The Three Delhi Durbars

Public commemoration of 1857 has always encountered certain problems. I was intrigued to find that there doesn’t seem to have been in the colonial period a public spectacle specifically dedicated to celebrate the ‘victories’ of 1857. The only spectacles which came close to it were the three Delhi durbars and even they did so in rather indirect ways. The commemoration of 1857 was not the agenda of the three durbars. The durbars were celebratory events of imperial significance and the ‘mutiny’ was a reminder of the trauma and desolation suffered by many to sustain the Empire in India. The scripting of the ‘mutiny’ into the programme of events was a highly problematic issue for the Government of India. The Government encountered stiff opposition from some sections of the European public to whitewash these durbars with the paint of ‘reconciliation’ and ‘settlement’; durbars which did not mention the epochal event of 1857. The performance

of these durbars therefore had to contend with the tensions created by 'mutiny sufferers' and these strains are an important way to understand the commemorations of 1857.

The 'mutiny' of 1857 was an end and a new beginning in many evident and hidden aspects for British rule in India. It heralded the end of the spectacular Mughal dynasty and the birth of an Indian empire at the site of the former Mughal capital itself. 1857 was the event which cemented the place of India in the pantheon of the British Empire. It signified a cataclysmic and destructive conclusion to one phase of rule and the 'glorious' beginning of another.

This 'fresh start' was proclaimed by the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 which promised a new relationship between the ruler and the ruled. Bernard S. Cohn explains that in conceptual terms, the British, who had started their rule as 'outsiders,' became 'insiders' by vesting in their monarch the sovereignty of India through the Government of India Act of 2 August 1858 which was proclaimed on 8 November 1858 and supposed to inaugurate the phase of reconciliation.³ All the three durbars celebrated this point of beginning of British rule in some form or the other. The 'Imperial Assemblage' of 1877, held to proclaim Queen Victoria as Empress of India was located near the Ridge which had been the scene of the great British victory of the 'mutiny' and included 'concessions' for the conquered city of Delhi. The Coronation durbar of 1903 was also held at the same location and it included in its programme a march of the 'mutiny veterans.' The third durbar in 1911 began with the formal entry of army veterans from the past wars led by survivors of the 'mutiny.'

The commemoration of the 'mutiny' was supposed to merge unproblematically into the celebration of the present but for sections of the British public the 'mutiny' was not something to be put into the background. In their view the durbars had to be about power, not only about reconciliation. I will try to show how the veterans, British and Indian, inserted themselves into this script. Whether or not they should participate in these joyous

³ Bernard S. Cohn, 'Representing Authority in Victorian India', in Hobsbawm, E. and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, (Canto edn.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, p.165.

darbars formed a topic of violent debate. Certain events like the defence of Lucknow and the siege of Delhi loomed large over the durbar spectacle. This left many complaining that their role or 'suffering' at other locations had been overlooked.

1907: The Fiftieth Anniversary

The commemoration of 1857 was deployed to create 'Empire minded-ness' in both the British public and in various sections of the subject population in India. Yet it was particularly difficult to find a form which would appeal to the European community without offending Indian sentiment. By the turn of the century as the business of ruling India became more complex, a triumphalist celebration of 1857 became very embarrassing. At the same time the fact that Britain was falling behind industrially and having to contend with other imperialist powers convinced some sections of Anglo-Indian officialdom that the lessons of 1857 would give some much needed 'backbone' to the British nation. In India however the fiftieth anniversary of 1857 took place without the imperial umbrella of the darbars. It was made up of a variety of small commemorative events whose texture I seek to convey.

Although I have not discussed 'mutiny tourism' in this chapter it is interesting to note how in the latter half of the nineteenth century, a regular 'mutiny pilgrimage' was undertaken not only by the visitors to India but also by those who traveled to India in the course of their official duties.⁴ Even the tours undertaken by royals included in the main the places of 'revolt'. Manu Goswami points out the itinerary of the Prince of Wales during his Royal Tour of India in 1875 – Lucknow, Kanpur and Delhi, in that order.⁵ This tour was recorded by William Howard Russell, the famous *Times* war correspondent, who was an established, authoritative voice in Britain, in his *The Prince of Wales Tour: An Official Diary*. After its publication it became a kind of 'master-text' which was duplicated in the "non-official guidebooks of Thomas Cook and John Murray."⁶

⁴ Bernard. S. Cohn, 'Representing Authority in Victorian India', in E. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, (Canto edn.), 1994, p. 179.

⁵ Manu Goswami, "'Englishness' on the Imperial Circuit: Mutiny Tours in Colonial South Asia", *Journal of Historical Sociology*, Vol.9, March 1996, p. 64.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 61.

These guidebooks and travel books adopted imagination and memory to “create a mental picture of what used to be and what should be and...through the memorialization of the ‘mutiny’ in the form of the ‘mutiny tours’; an imagination of Empire was crafted.”⁷ The sites of 1857 consequently became associated with the values associated with victory and valour but also with sacrifice and death. Delhi occupied a unique place in this ‘mutiny complex’ as unlike other major sites like Lucknow and Kanpur, it was not just linked with death and martyrdom. Because of the early defeat of the British and the four-month long siege, it was a well deserved and bitterly won victory. The victory was especially sweet because Delhi had been the political capital of the last rulers, the Mughals. “As a popular piece of piano music of the day, ‘The Battle March: Descriptive of the Triumphant Entry into Delhi’ demonstrates, the victory in Delhi was equated with all the appropriate British virtues: bravery, patriotism and superiority.”⁸

The symbolic and historic importance of Delhi became thus much more magnified in comparison with other ‘mutiny sites.’⁹ It was because of these and of course, the commercial aspects that the sites of 1857 and especially Delhi became focal points in the growing tourism industry of Europe and especially Britain. Tourists who came to India were routinely taken around the ‘mutiny sites’ in Delhi.¹⁰ 1857 was being absorbed as the commercial driver of the tourism industry of Europe and especially of Britain.¹¹

⁷ Sonakshi Goyle, ‘Imagining Empire: Commemorating the Mutiny’, unpublished seminar paper submitted to Centre for Historical Studies, SSS, JNU, 2007, p. 36.

⁸ Jim Masselos and Narayani Gupta, *Beato's Delhi: 1857, 1997*, Delhi: Ravi Dayal Publishers, 2001, p. 4.

⁹ Sonakshi Goyle, op. cit. p. 37.

¹⁰ *Murray's Handbook of the Bengal Presidency* (1881) advised visitors to Delhi to dedicate the first day to all the monuments and places connected with 1857 – the Kashmir Gate, Nicholson's Cemetery, Ludlow Castle, Lothian Cemetery, St. James Memorial Church, Old Magazine, Delhi College, the Red Fort, Jama Masjid, and Chandni Chowk. *Murray's Handbook of the Bengal Presidency*, London: John Murray, 1881, p. 315; H.C. Fanshawe, (1902) the former commissioner of Delhi, writing a travel book for the occasion of the 1903 durbar, advised that ‘five days may be devoted to Delhi.’ The first day's sightseeing was: Kashmir Gate, Red Fort, Jama Masjid, the Ridge, Nicholson's grave, St. James Church, Telegraph Monument, Old Magazine and the Mutiny Monument H.C. Fanshawe, *Delhi: Past and Present*, London: John Murray, 1902, pp. 14-19; Recommending a tour for visitors to Delhi, John Renton-Denning (1911) suggested the traveller to see the ‘magnificence and long history of the older Delhi’ and then to move on to ‘the sacrosanct Ridge where British rule in India was decided.’ John Renton-Denning was a private soldier turned writer of poems and ballads, who had undertaken a contract to write about the durbar of 1911 for the Times Press. His book was therefore in the form of a travelogue. John Renton-Denning, *Delhi: The Imperial City*, Bombay: Times of India Press, 1911, pp. 16-17; *Murray's Handbook of India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon* (1949) was also largely in the pattern of its predecessor. It began with a summary of the pre-British Delhi and then of the Delhi of 1857. But there are also some crucial changes. In the opening line

I will also discuss in the third chapter the pressure being thrust upon the Government of India to give a fitting ceremonial to the momentous occasion. The fiftieth anniversary of 1857 was also overshadowed by the commemorations incorporated into the programme of the second Delhi durbar of 1903. I also explore V.D. Savarkar's project in writing his book on 1857 and publishing it on the 50th anniversary of 1857. He interpreted the inability of Indians to commemorate 1857 as a sign of subjection and linked the achievement of national independence with securing the freedom to celebrate this event in its 'true' light as the 'Indian war of independence.'

1957: Centenary Commemorations

My fourth chapter shifts to the centenary year of 1957 to look at some of the different political sites from which commemoration emanated. It illustrates how different political organisations competed for 'ownership' of the rebellion of 1857. In the process some aspects of 1857 were conveniently hidden or forgotten while there was a simultaneous resurrection or imagining of other aspects. For example, successive governments of independent India have felt called upon to integrate the 1857 rebellion into the narrative of national emancipation. They have also wanted to work in the commemorations of other legacies. For the Congress party it was important to weave in the theme of nation building into the centenary commemorations. The centenary was seen as an opportunity where the task of reconstructing the nation could be vigorously followed.

In the contemporary newspapers of 1957, there was a near universal call upon the newly independent Government of India to celebrate the anniversary as befitted an 'epochal, originary moment' of Indian history. This chapter shows how the Congress party was ill

of the section on Delhi, it claims Delhi as the 'rightful successor of Mughal sovereignty' by reason of its being made the imperial capital in 1911. Now, Delhi had been divided into five sections meant to make sight-seeing easier. The first section included the old city and some of the 1857 sites. The second section consisted of the 1857 sites and the sites of the three Delhi durbars.

¹¹ For studies on tourism and its prime movers see Regina Bendix, 'Tourism and Cultural Displays: Inventing Traditions for Whom?' *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 102, No. 404, April-June 1989, pp.131-146; James Michael Buzard, 'Forster's Trespasses: Tourism and Cultural Politics', *Twentieth Century Literature*, Vol. 34, No. 2, Summer, 1988, pp.155-179; Paul Sant Cassia, 'Tradition, Tourism and memory in Malta', *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 5, No. 2, June 1999, pp. 247-263; Erik Cohen, 'The Sociology of Tourism: Approaches, Issues and Findings', *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 10, 1984, pp.373-392; John Frow, 'Tourism and the Semiotics of Nostalgia', *October*, Vol. 57, Summer 1991, pp.123-151.

at ease with this demand and with the fervent enthusiasm that the centenary of the rebellion invoked. It struggled to foreground 1957 as the tenth anniversary of 1947, the year of independence, or at least to keep it in the picture. The ruling party wanted to design programmes of commemorations which could play down the violent and traumatic events of the rebellion while enshrining the non-violent and jubilant mood of 1957.

The Praja Socialist Party (P.S.P.) on the other hand, observed the centenary by sketching its own agenda of non-violent Satyagraha led by its leader Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia. Its mouthpiece *Janata* criticised the Congress government for its 'lukewarm response' to the centenary and wanted to suggest that 1947 was in no way as conclusive a movement as many forms of social and political emancipations had to be striven for. The movement of 1857 had made a social beginning of upheaval which 1947 did not finish. The P.S.P. decided to organise its own plan of rejoicings of 1857 at different sites and locations with various persons other than those from the official ones. The Communist Party (CP), through its journal *New Age* hailed 1857 as the 'Great Rebellion' and a 'National Uprising.' It highlighted the role of peasants and working classes in 1857 and through it legitimised its own present and past policies. It pronounced 1857 as a link in the revolutionary chain and hence claimed it solely as its own heritage. *The Hindu Outlook*, the newspaper of the right wing founded by Bhai Parmanand, declared that commemorating 1857 without its chief historian V.D. Savarkar would be "tantamount to staging Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark."¹² The right wing laid stress on the importance of the inspiration of 1857 in achieving freedom from British rule, in the process totally bypassing' the contribution of the Congress party and its role in the freedom movement.

The centenary of 1857 was also celebrated in the recently created state of Pakistan. In Pakistan, 1857 was referred to as 'our freedom war' and the majority of the commemoration programmes centred on the personality of the last Mughal Emperor, Bahadur Shah Zafar, and on his role in the freedom movement. The occasion was used to

¹² 'Notes and Comments: 1857 Centenary and Savarkar', *The Hindu Outlook* (New Delhi), 26 February, 1957.

propound a certain vision of the new State and as in India, to call for renewed efforts for the project of nation building.

2007: The 150th Anniversary

The 150th anniversary year of 1857, the commemorations of which I was a spectator and observer, forms a central part of my conclusion. Newspapers, journals and magazines were questioning the methods and practices of the government in protecting monuments especially those connected with the 'mutiny' and the national movement. Contributors sought to make sense of contemporary problems of communalism, terrorism, riots through the prism of this event. As in the centenary anniversary, the 'official' programme of commemoration was low-key and subdued. Once again the opposition parties condemned the government for its failure in commemorating a momentous event of Indian history. The movement of 1857 was now seen and discussed from vastly differing aspects such as the role of transporters in it, 'mutiny fiction', 'mutiny dress', 'mutiny ideas' and 'mutiny films' instead of re-focusing only on the run down themes of grievances, injustices, omissions and history of the campaigns. For the formerly oppressed sections of society such as dalits and tribals, the anniversary was an opportunity to highlight their own hitherto unrecognised role in 1857.

Review of Literature

Studies on Commemoration

Although commemoration has been taking place on a private and public scale for several centuries in Europe, the study of the features and characteristics of commemoration has been undertaken on a large scale only from the end of the First World War. Arno Mayer states that "the principle and production of memory that is so characteristic of our time may be said to date from the Great War of 1914-1918."¹³ In fact the idea of commemoration and raising monuments to the dead did not originate with World War I, but I agree with those historians who contend that the World War I more than any other

¹³ Arno Mayer, 'Memory and History: On the Poverty of Remembering and Forgetting the Judeocide,' *Radical History Review*, No. 56, Spring 1993, p. 9.

war generated intense debates about the form which public commemoration ought to take.

Antoine Prost, taking the case of France, explains why the World War I was so unique for commemoration and therefore for commemoration studies based on it.¹⁴ The entire nation was mobilized. Eight million men – one fifth of the population – served in the military; 1, 450,000 died and virtually every family suffered at least one death. He also suggests that the victory of 1918 perhaps lend itself more easily to commemoration as also the fact that there was official recognition for it in the form of a law of October 25, 1919.¹⁵ The monuments that were raised to the dead of World War were also different – their construction involved citizens and local as well as national authorities in close cooperation. 38, 000 monuments were built to the dead all over France. Jay Winter has emphasised the continuing value and utility, in commemoration during and after the war, of traditional motifs, defined as “an eclectic set of classical, romantic, or religious images and ideas.”¹⁶ These familiar and reassuring images offered comfort and consolation to assuage the general sense of bereavement felt after the Great War and was therefore used in almost all symbols, ceremonies, monuments and memorials to veterans and the dead of the war. Public commemoration is an extension of mourning, a public act of settling dust on the past. However historians have explored how public actions of commemoration can also take on secondary forms of *representation* which can go beyond the primary intentioned design.

For example, illustrating the mediations between memory, and collective acts of remembrance, which can take the form of public commemoration, Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan believe that war remembrance is collective remembrance.¹⁷ As the

¹⁴ Antoine Prost, ‘Monuments to the Dead’ in Pierre Nora and Lawrence D. Kritzman (ed.), *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*, Vol.2, New York: Columbia University Press, 2002, pp. 307-309.

¹⁵ Ibid, the law was on ‘the commemoration and glorification of those who died for France in the Great War’, p. 308.

¹⁶ Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995, p. 3.

¹⁷ Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan (ed.), *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 6.

nature of war is public, the remembrance of it, which is naturally in a collective form, is also public. In other words, the memories of war will always be on a collective level and displayed in a public forum or platform. Winter and Sivan also distinguish between collective memory and passive memory. Passive memory – understood as the personal recollections of a silent individual – is not collective memory. When people enter the public domain, and comment about the past – their own personal past, their family past, their national past – the images and stories that they bring out are derived from their broader social experience. “When people come together to remember, they enter a domain beyond that of individual memory”¹⁸ which is that of collective public memory. Winter and Sivan point out that it is important to separate any notion of collective memory from historical knowledge.¹⁹ Collective memory is not what historians say about the past. Historians try to document only what they believe is the true chronological and social arrangements within the past but, they do not take into account the private memories of the past.

Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan argue in the context of the First World War that collective memories have no existence without individual memories²⁰ and that remembrance requires a negotiation between various groups, including the state.²¹ I have found this frame helpful for my work which examines the way in which different individuals, groups and official institutions re-interpret an event in the course of its commemoration. One example of this is the way in which ‘mutiny veterans’ wrote letters to the press making various sorts of complaints, or the way in which parallel or contending events of commemoration took place which textured the conjuncture.

Many studies have been done to understand the relationship between ‘collective memory’ and ‘national identity’ as a form of commemoration. For example the seven-volume series *Les Lieux de Memoire*, published under the direction of the French historian Pierre Nora discusses the role of memory in creating a French identity and nation. This

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 6.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 8.

²⁰ Ibid, p. 28.

²¹ Ibid, p. 30.

monumental work was translated and condensed into the three volumes of *Realms of Memory* of which I have read the second volume, 'traditions'. This work offers insights into the relationship between commemoration and tradition, between 'exterior' and 'interior' faces of historical consciousness. On the one hand are public sites and rituals of memory. On the other hand are ingrained habits of thought and action in individuals, families and communities across long spaces of time. Nora argues when this interior memory disappears communities feel the need to create memory in the exterior form of commemorations. David Lowenthal made a similar point that modern societies try desperately to resurrect the past because it has already passed from living culture. But I do not agree with these arguments and thus I have taken from these works the characteristics of commemoration and the elements of commemoration. These works point to the role that commemoration can play in shaping the changing concerns, intents and forms of government and individuals responsible for commemorative events, a theme which I have tried to elucidate by discussing the various sites and agencies of the commemoration of 1857 on the three anniversaries of 1907, 1957 and 2007.

All this literature on World War I defines the difference of the movement of 1857 in the context of the difficulties of commemoration. Even the commemoration of World War I was and continues to be problematic but perhaps less than that of 1857. It is interesting that the colonial government did not have a specific event to commemorate 1857. What created a problem in 'committed' commemoration was the business of ruling the people of a nation. For the colonial government, commemoration of the mutiny had to become a national project, an opportunity to renew pride in the Empire. But the Indian public, by the early twentieth century reminded the British Government that it could not commemorate 1857 in a way that celebrated only victory; it had to factor in the contribution and sacrifice of Indians. The controversial nature of 1857 was such that the colonial government had to negotiate with the dangers of outright hostility while the Indians could not commemorate 1857 openly.²² I shall show that there were elements of commemoration in the three Delhi durbars but those were mostly indirect.

²² "They (Indians) cannot discuss India's past history because their discussions may be interpreted as veiled sedition...it is out of the question for any Indian in India to try to establish by evidence or argument that the

Studies on Commemoration of 1857

Studies focusing specifically on the commemoration of 1857 have been scanty. The one unique work is that of Nayanjot Lahiri but, she limits her study to the immediate aftermath of the movement. Her study has been very helpful to me so, I will discuss it in detail in the latter pages. Historical studies have concentrated on the actual events of 1857 – its nature, scope, significance, characteristics and legacy. For some colonial officials and writers the ‘mutiny’ was the work of a handful of discontented sepoys, unhappy with the introduction of the Enfield rifle, and this was thus located as the sole cause of the event. Rumours of the rape and dishonour of white women reinforced the image of the ‘barbaric Indian’. Contemporary official thinking was also deeply inflected by the idea that the mutiny was instigated by ‘Muslim conspiracy’. Syed Ahmad Khan wrote an account of the causes of the rebellion to counter this allegation.²³ Karl Marx, who was also a contemporary of the events of 1857, linked the colonial exploitation of India to the anger that was displayed by the people.²⁴

Gautam Chakravarty and Astrid Erll have made an important effort to study the collective British public memory in literature through the novels written about 1857 by British authors from the end of the ‘mutiny’ till the attainment of independence. These works do not deal directly with commemorative events but I have found them useful for their study on British national collective memory. Gautam Chakravarty shows that the various novels written about the rebellion of 1857 followed the pattern of late-nineteenth century expansionism. The various colonial and military conflicts of the century provided the basic material for the fiction while the story itself revolved around the main events or personalities of the ‘mutiny.’²⁵ Chakravarty brings to fore the sanction given by this

statements made by British historians about the Mutiny of 1857 or about the conduct of mutineers are incorrect. Any attempt to defend the rebels or to speak in admiration of their deeds...may bring the writer within the clutches of the law and afford a ground for a sentence of death or transportation for life.” Lala Lajpat Rai, ‘Reflections on the Political Situation in India’, December 1916 in B. R. Nanda (ed.), *The Collected Works of Lala Lajpat Rai*, Vol. 6, New Delhi: Manohar, 2005, p. 149-150.

²³ Syed Ahmad Khan, *The Causes of the Indian Revolt*, (1859) Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000.

²⁴ Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *The First War of Independence, 1857-1859*, Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1975, p. 34.

²⁵ Gautam Chakravarty, *The Indian Mutiny and the British Imagination*, New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

literature to the unending conflicts that Britain indulged in during this period.²⁶ He demonstrates that these ‘mutiny novels’ created a public culture which accepted and encouraged warfare and military aggression and tied these to racial and national superiority:

But it would be impossible for a nation to engage in warfare for a century without a public culture that sanctioned war as the legitimate arm of state and commercial policy, and that viewed expansion as the expression of an inevitable national and racial urge with very real and material dividends.²⁷

In chapter three I examine 18 essays on the ‘mutiny’ written by a Field Marshal Evelyn Wood, V.C., as my own illustration of ‘memory work’ aimed to remind a British public, wearied by the Boer War, of nationalist urges. Astrid Erll also takes up ‘mutiny novels’, examining modes of remembering as modes of ‘re-presenting’ the past.²⁸ She explores through her essay the different forms that the ‘mutiny novels’ took over a century and half and, how, literary forms generated specific modes of remembering. Erll sees the ‘mutiny novel’ as *the* major medium through which efforts were made to generate, control and change the memory of the ‘mutiny’ in Britain. She observes that the number, frequency, style, length and price of these novels were such that a large number of people could and did read them. She demonstrates that more than any other form of popular entertainment – be it plays, songs, dance routines, operas – ‘mutiny novels’ were disseminated and absorbed in large numbers.²⁹

By the end of the nineteenth century, 1857 and the need to commemorate it attracted and inspired the first generation of the Indian nationalists. V.D. Savarkar, perhaps the first Indian to write about it in 1907, commemorated its fiftieth anniversary, by bringing out his book called the ‘Indian War of Independence.’ Savarkar rejected the British theory of the greased cartridges and attributed the uprising to the ‘atrocities’ committed by the

²⁶ During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Britain engaged with or against almost all imperialist powers of the world over colonies, markets and spheres of influence. Also, there were numerous ‘revolutions’ in colonies which Britain quelled brutally including the Boer War.

²⁷ Gautam Chakravarty, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

²⁸ Astrid Erll, ‘Re-Writing as Re-visioning: Modes of Representing the “Indian Mutiny” in British Novels, 1857 to 2000’, *European Journal of English Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 163-185.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

British.³⁰ After independence, the debate about the nature and character of 1857 took on a complex and complicated turn. It included nationalist historians like R.C. Majumdar, S.B. Chaudhari, S.N. Sen, and K.K. Datta, all of whom were not comfortable with calling 1857 as the 'first war of Indian independence'.³¹

S.N. Sen's work was sponsored and commissioned by the state. Consequently, his authoritative 'official' account of 1857 had a clear agenda – of celebrating Indian nationalism and nationhood. But, he realised his duties as a professional historian and did not blindly toe the line of the official design of commemoration that was laid out for him. He did not 'certify' that 1857 was *the* national moment but made his reservations clear. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the then education minister, writing the introduction to this book, posited his own 'nationalist' view of the 'mutiny', and gave a lengthy history of the movement the conclusions of which were completely opposite to those of the book. Sen had clearly pointed out that 1857 could not have been a 'national' movement because of its territorial limitations but, Azad insisted that 1857 was a national revolt in every sense of the term. Moreover, Sen had listed the various reasons for the sepoys' disaffection but Azad maintained that the overarching reason for revolt was an urge to be rid of foreign rule.

P.C. Joshi, whose political affiliations lay with the Communist party, brought out his edited volume to commemorate the centenary of the event in 1957. It debated the nature of the movement and condemned those contemporary historians who ascribed to the British viewpoint of it being a mere 'mutiny.' He argued that given the organisational basis and participation, it was a national revolutionary war of independence.³² He also

³⁰ V.D. Savarkar, *The Indian War of Independence*, (9th edn.), Delhi: Rajdhani Granthagar, 1970.

³¹ See R.C. Majumdar, *Sepoy Mutiny and the Revolt of 1857*, (2nd edn.), Calcutta: Mukhopadhyay, 1963; Sashi Bhusan Chaudhari, *Civil Rebellion in the Indian Mutinies*, Calcutta: The World Press, 1957; Sashi Bhusan Chaudhari, *Theories of the Indian Mutiny*, Calcutta: The World Press, 1965; S.N. Sen, *Eighteen Fifty-Seven*, New Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Division, 1957; K.K. Datta, *Reflections on the Mutiny*, Calcutta: The World Press, 1957.

³² P.C. Joshi, '1857 in Our History,' in P.C. Joshi (ed.), *Rebellion: 1857*, (New edition), New Delhi: National Book Trust, 2007.

sought to highlight dimensions of popular culture and oral history by incorporating popular folk songs commemorating 1857.³³

Hugh Tinker was an observer of the centenary commemorations held in 1957. Writing in 1958, he discussed the distinction between ‘failure’ and ‘defeat’ and argued that it was only the successful which is effectively remembered and commemorated. “If you look through any history you will observe that whatever succeeds is commended and whatever fails is passed over.”³⁴ He pointed out the case of the American Revolution – which, if it had not been successful would have been relegated to the forgotten spheres in the annals of history. Similarly he felt, that there would be a natural reluctance and hesitation to commemorate a failed movement, especially for a nation which had recently undergone a successful movement against the same opposition.

He questioned the notions of loyalty and disloyalty used in the context of the revolt. For him, people were acting out of their own consciousness when they decided to either side themselves with or against the British and it had no relation with any kind of national feeling or fervour. “It seems to me that, a hundred years ago, loyalty in India could not be equated with patriotism; it might well be something personal...”³⁵ It was very difficult to judge the behaviour of the sepoy for each unit had its own grievances, some grave – others trifling, and consequently some took to mutiny and revolt while others did not. Similarly, landed elements which joined hands against the British were acting on their own motives. Thus according to Tinker the motives of each rebel had to be examined at minute levels and could not be studied at a collective level.

He highlighted the ‘negative’ legacy of 1857 – the fracture in Hindu-Muslim relations, rise of communalism, preservation of religious orthodoxy and the divided status of India after independence into princely states and ‘Indian’ territory.³⁶ Most importantly, he

³³ P.C. Joshi, ‘Folk Songs on 1857,’ in P.C. Joshi (ed.), *Rebellion: 1857*, (New edition), New Delhi: National Book Trust, 2007.

³⁴ Hugh Tinker, ‘1857 and 1957: The Mutiny and Modern India’, in *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)*, Vol. 34, No. 1, Jan. 1958, p. 57.

³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 60.

³⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 57-62.

noted the muted celebrations of the centenary of 1857 and attributed it to the fear of the government that the revolt could remind and encourage people to disrespect authority. The second reason he gave for the low key affair was to avoid stirring up of racial hatred against the British.

Recent Narratives on 1857

Recently, historians have also examined other aspects of 1857. These connect to the organisation, middle level leadership, and activities in the area where British authority had been subverted. Historians have also concentrated on the popular dimensions of 1857, including the involvement of low castes and outcastes and popular culture.³⁷ Badri Narayan has said that the dalits have an emotional link with the 1857 war of independence for they believe that it was initiated by them. They claim that it was the revolt by dalit soldiers in Jhansi in 1857 that resulted in the war of independence and it the dalits were fighting for their state rather than seeking power.³⁸ The war was led by Bhau Bakshi and Puran Kori and with them was Jhalkaribai, a native of Jhansi belonging to the kori caste. According to the dalit narrative, the 1857 war of independence, which is widely believed to be started by Mangal Pandey, was actually inspired by Matadin Bhangi:

There was a factory in Barrackpore where cartridges were manufactured. Many of the workers...belonged to the untouchable community. One day one of the workers felt thirsty. He asked a soldier for a mug of water. That soldier was Mangal Pandey...a brahmin... (he) refused (the worker) water because (he) was an untouchable. This was very humiliating for the worker. He retaliated to the...soldier saying... [You claim to be a highly respectable brahmin, but the cartridges which you bite with your teeth...are all rubbed with the fat of cows and pigs...Curse on your brahminism] Hearing this soldier was taken by surprise. That untouchable was none other than Matadin Bhangi...³⁹

³⁷ Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Gwalior Contingent in 1857-58: A Study of the Organization and Ideology of the Sepoy Rebels', *Social Scientist*, 26: 1-4, January-April 1998, pp. 53-75; Gautam Bhadra, 'Four Rebels of Eighteen Fifty-Seven' in Ranajit Guha, (ed.), *Subaltern Studies IV*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1985, pp. 229-75; Talmiz Khaldun, 'The Great Rebellion', in P.C. Joshi (ed.), *Rebellion: 1857*, (New edition), New Delhi: National Book Trust, 2007, pp. 3-77; Badri Narayan Tiwari, 'Popular Culture and 1857: A Memory Against Forgetting', *Social Scientist*, Vol. 26, No. 1-4, January-April 1998, pp. 86-94.

³⁸ Badri Narayan Tiwari, 'Reactivating the Past: Dalits and Memories of 1857', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLII, No. 19, May 12-18, 2007, p. 1735.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

Badri Narayan interprets this 'taunt' as a 'catalyst', rousing an upper caste man. Matadin Bhangi's momentous contribution to the rebellion is thus celebrated by dalits in various forms – songs that are sung in rallies and functions and through commemorative plays staged in various parts of the country. Badri Narayan points out many magazines which have brought out special issues on Matadin Bhangi.⁴⁰ Thus, the dalits, through their narratives of 1857, have tried to place their own heroes over and above those which have been considered high caste and elitist. The existing pantheon of heroes has been completely overlooked and ignored in dalit histories.

Charu Gupta has revealed a chief feature of popular dalit histories of 1857 which is the way in which dalit women are represented. Here myths about dalit viranganas (heroic women) are being reinvented as a potent symbol for identity formation and as a critical part of a movement to define political and social positioning of dalits.⁴¹ These women are ascribed particularly heroic roles, far outnumbering dalit men in 1857. "These writings invoke political and public dalit memories, where women like Jhalkari Bai of the kori caste, Uda Devi, a pasi, Avanti Bai, a Lodhi, Mahabiri Devi, a bhangi and Asha Devi, a gurjari, all stated to be involved in the 1857 movement, have become the symbols of bravery of particular dalit castes and ultimately of all dalits."⁴² Both these works bring to light the complex mediations involved in remembering 1857 and the contested potential of the event that can still be moulded for creation of different purposes and designs.

The reason why 1857 continues to be so momentous and constantly claimed especially by dalits is the comparatively easy way in which it lends itself to adjustment in its history. Anything attached or associated to it gains an immediate legitimacy and authority which few other ages can supply. Another very significant factor is that very few documents of the Indian side during that period survive and hence the history and historiography of the movement is still very open to the present. My study explores this theme significantly as to how in the commemoration of 1857, the past, the present plays the primary role. In

⁴⁰ These are *Dalit Kesri*, *Anarya Bharat* and *Himayati*. Ibid, p. 1736.

⁴¹ Charu Gupta, 'Dalit "Viranganas" and Reinvention of 1857', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLII, No. 19, May 12-18, 2007, p. 1740.

⁴² Ibid, p. 1741.

India several classes of people have been unjustly socially oppressed for centuries. It is sadly only now that they are being given opportunities to reclaim their own space in the history of India. And so, they are rediscovering their past and uncovering stories and episodes which had been hidden or obscured. In the case of 1857 also they are reclaiming the role that they played in that movement and hence writing their own histories with which they can identify.

Rebecca M. Brown has argued the necessity of recognise the enormity of colonial monumentality. "To tell the story of a monument is... to show how colonialism refigures history; it is to show what colonial monuments *do* – how a monument operates with and for colonialism."⁴³ Architecture compels the viewer's attention and then tries to capture and hold the spectator's imagination. Architecture embodies some values and conceptions. This is true especially of monumental architecture. Monuments are constructed around permanent lines and with a definite purpose in mind. This central feature of monumentality is exemplified in the commemorative architecture of 1857 in Delhi. The Mutiny Memorial which was constructed by the Indian Army in 1864 to signify the sacrifice and valour of its soldiers was reconfigured after independence by the Government of India. On 15 August 1972, on the 25th anniversary of independence a plaque was put on this memorial to 'the "martyrs who rose and fought against the British during 1857 AD."⁴⁴ The past 'purpose' of the monument was thus sought to be re-arranged to suit the needs of the present.

Nayanjot Lahiri's work has been the only study which attempts to understand the motives and interests underlying the commemoration of the 'mutiny' in the landscape of Delhi. She has tried to show how war memorials are transformed into political memorials which serve different purposes over different periods of time. Lahiri has shown superbly how the British commemoration of 1857 in Delhi took many forms – military cemeteries, individual glorified graves, inscriptions and plaques, memorial stones and 'mutiny

⁴³Rebecca M. Brown, op. cit, p. 91.

⁴⁴ Nayanjot Lahiri, 'Commemorating and Remembering 1857: the Revolt in Delhi and its Afterlife', *World Archaeology*, Vol. 35, No. 1, 2003, p. 56.

memorials.’⁴⁵ On the graves, inscriptions, epitaphs and tombstones tell a great deal of the general view of the events of 1857. These writings from the grave convey a sense of how precious and treasured was the victory. Sacrifice, honour and valour are writ largely on these grave markers. They also reveal a pattern of glorification – the exploits of the men interred are given in great deal, their life mourned as being ‘sacrificed’ for the nation, in the line of duty and in the need of nation while the details of their actual deaths are blurred over. “Even death in unsuccessful military action was commemorated”⁴⁶. These men are portrayed as ‘heroes’ who helped the British regain Delhi and enforce order. Familial and kinship connections have no mention in these inscriptions while regimental and battery departments served under are given in great detail.

Native soldiers find no mention in these inscriptions. The plaques on churches explain the savageness of the natives and the contrast that they made to the organized British. On the Mutiny Memorial “historical details are selectively inscribed”⁴⁷. Only the actions of those who were involved in the final days of victory are commemorated while those who died in the early days are not. The names of soldiers are divided into categories of ‘European’ and ‘native’.

My study attempts to bridge the vast gap that has been left in commemoration studies of 1857. I have benefited from Lahiri’s work as is evident in my discussion of the telegraph monument in my ^{second} chapter. However, by focusing on the durbars I have also tried to examine the commemorative spectacle and the role these played in the relationship of the ‘ruler’ and the ‘ruled’.

Arundhati Virmani’s book has been highly useful to me as a model of how ideas and symbols which seem to have an unbroken, continuous and un-fragmented history actually have a bitterly contested and traumatised past.⁴⁸ The different designs for commemoration of 1857 fit into this model. They seem to confirm to a certain well

⁴⁵Ibid, pp. 45-50.

⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 46.

⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 50.

⁴⁸ Arundhati Virmani, *National Flag for India: Rituals, Nationalism and the Politics of Sentiment*, Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2008.

regulated programme but are fraught with currents of tension and uncertainty. Virmani has further argued that the flag was ‘not an object but a relationship.’ Thus, the “connections established – or not – with the flag are principally responsible for its success or its failure.”⁴⁹ Similarly, the event of 1857 was continuously in a relationship – with the colonial government and European and Indian public opinion; and after independence with the Indian government and Indian public opinion. How they defined 1857 in relation to themselves was reflected in their commemorations and this is a significant theme in this research study.

I have benefitted from Virmani’s and Lahiri’s works as is evident in my discussion of the telegraph monument in my second chapter. However, by focusing on the three Delhi durbars, I have also tried to examine the commemorative spectacle and the role it played in the relationship between the ‘ruler’ and the ‘ruled.’

In conclusion this research study illustrates the designs for the public commemoration of 1857 and the contesting tensions with these designs. It highlights the problematic nature of the commemoration of 1857 and how this commemoration was constantly re-organized and re-constituted by different agencies of commemoration. It shows therefore how the commemoration of the past was re-shaped, at varying sites, to the requirements of the present.

The second chapter locates the role of durbars in the wider arena of imperial commemorations of 1857. The third chapter assesses the commemoration of 1857 on its fiftieth anniversary. The fourth chapter deals with the centenary commemorations in 1957 which was also happened to be the tenth anniversary of India’s independence. The fifth and last chapter concluded with tracing the commemoration of 1857 to its 150th anniversary.

⁴⁹ Arundhati Virmani, ‘National Symbols under Colonial Domination: The Nationalization of the Indian Flag, March-August 1923,’ *Past and Present*, No. 164, Aug., 1999, p. 171.

CHAPTER TWO

THE DELHI DURBARS: SPACES, MONUMENTS AND 'LIVING TESTIMONIALS'

Dear Gwen. You say do write and tell me all about the Durbar, but you have no idea how difficult it is to carry out your wishes... The entry of the...Veterans was the event of the day as far as enthusiasm was concerned, the whole place seemed to rise in a body and the cheering was deafening as they marched around the arena to the places preceded by two very feeble and old native veterans who had to be almost carried to their seats. After this pathetic scene which recalled so much that was sad and heroic to many present, and affected many to tears, the rest of the performance fell a little flat...

Your affectionately,
JILL¹

For this correspondent the march of the mutiny veterans in the coronation durbar of 1903 was clearly the most heart wrenching scene of the event symbolising the trauma and victory of a significant past. A veteran is a living memorial of the consequences of a war. The figure of a war veteran always invokes ambiguity and confusion. The mutiny veteran represented and seemed to recall all the magnificent notions associated with the mutiny: sacrifice, duty, honour and victory. But the frail and twisted body of the veteran also recalled destruction, sacrifice and death. Most of all it represented for some, the past, a past which should be allowed to fade away, but which for others had to be kept alive in public ceremony.

Introduction

TH-17244

In this chapter I shall argue that the three Delhi durbars were imperial events meant to knit together the British monarchy with India. But it was 1857 which made possible the birth of the 'Indian Empire' at the site of the former Mughal capital itself and installed the British monarch as the rightful successor of the Mughal Empire. "It marks the end of a whole historic phase and the beginning of a new one."² It was the fall of Delhi and the ignominious capture of the last Mughal emperor which served as the convenient excuse to de-sacralize his person and vest his conceptual authority in the person of the British

¹ 'Letters from Delhi,' *Civil and Military Gazette* (Lahore), 9 January, 1903.

² P.C. Joshi, '1857 in Our History,' in P.C. Joshi (ed.), *Rebellion: 1857*, (New edition), New Delhi: National Book Trust, 2007, p. 221.

queen. The official view therefore was that the mutiny should be kept firmly in the past. However, there were communities of interest which refused to let it fade away. I show the degree to which the Government of India consciously incorporated commemoration of 1857 in to the events scheduled for the durbars. I will also portray that these commemorations were problematic. There was pressure from different quarters of the European population to show commemoration. There were demands to incorporate larger range of figures and institutions, and focus not only on large number of 'officer' figures but the figure of the ordinary mutiny veteran. I have focussed in particular on the figure of the mutiny veteran as well as the debates and discussions about the terms on which he was to be admitted to the celebratory durbars. This chapter shows how the commemoration was sketched into the three imperial festive events by the British through the choice of site, the mutiny memorials and through finding a place for mutiny veterans in the programme of events.

Delhi was the chosen site for three grand imperial celebratory events known more commonly as the three Delhi durbars. The foundations were laid by the 1877 durbar, organised by Lord Lytton to celebrate Queen Victoria's assumption of the title of 'Empress of India' or 'Kaiser-i-Hind'. The second in 1903 was a tribute by Lord Curzon held in jubilation of Edward VII's coronation as the first King-Emperor of India, and the third organised by Lord Hardinge in 1911 was in honour of George V assuming his father's throne and title. All the three events were held in the presence of native princes and 'representative leaders' of India and the celebrations extended to all parts of British India. These durbars were an exercise in power and authority but at every juncture the terms of imperial legitimacy were also assessed and re-worked.

The practice of commemoration is sometimes direct and many a times indirect. This was the case with the three Delhi durbars. Their stated aim was to celebrate certain landmark events for the British Empire but, the commemoration of the mutiny of 1857 inserted itself into the script through different agencies. Claude Levi-Strauss spoke of 'hot moments in history', the importance of studying differential densities in the distribution

of events to which society attributes significance.³ The problem with this approach to collective memory is that it does not examine the process by which significance is assigned. One part of the answer I think is provided by Mircea Eliade in his theory of the sanctification of origins.⁴ The most significant part of any society's past, he states is that which is deemed to be its beginning. Formative periods are marked by the magic, attraction, and prestige of origins. They incarnate the golden age, 'the perfection of beginnings,' and give rise to the notion that 'it is the first manifestation of a thing that is significant and valid.' The time of origin, continues Eliade, is considered to be a 'strong time' precisely because it was in some way the 'receptacle' for a new creation.⁵

We can see this 'celebration of beginnings' in both the Delhi durbars and the commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of the mutiny in 1957; which I have discussed in detail in the fourth chapter of this study. As is widely accepted, the events of 1857 were a watershed moment for the British rule in India and for India itself.

The events of 1857 etched themselves deeply into the consciousness of the British in India. Throughout the remaining years of British rule they provided the constant backdrop against which British policy was enacted. In fact the whole experience...played a large role in reorienting the whole British attitude to India: how they viewed their responsibilities, and what they wished to make of the country.⁶

I have looked upon that tumultuous upheaval as a critical event in the shaping of the India of the Crown.... its importance...for Indian lives and British policies alike, cannot be easily disregarded.⁷

British chroniclers have recorded in great detail how it came with the 'fury of ten thousand storms' and how after it England and India could never be the same again.⁸ "[I]t opened up...a gulf between Briton and Indian that could not easily be closed again

³ Claude Levi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966, p. 259.

⁴ Mircea Eliade, *Myth and Reality*, New York: Harper and Row, 1963, p. 34. One thinks here also of Plato's observation in *The Laws*, that the beginning is godlike because it exceeds in significance any other moment in the historical process.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Thomas R. Metcalf, 'The Impact of the Mutiny on British Attitudes to India,' *Indian History Congress Proceedings*, 23rd Session, 1960, p. 24-25.

⁷ Thomas R. Metcalf, *Forging the Raj: Essays on British India in the Heyday of Empire*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005, p.1-2.

⁸ John William Kaye, *A History of the Sepoy War in India, 1857-58*, (9th edition), London: Allen and Co., 1880; For the impact of the mutiny on the British rule, see also John William Kaye and G.B. Malleson, *History of the Indian Mutiny*, London, Allen and Co., 1880; T. Rice Holmes, *History of the Mutiny*, (5th edition), London: Macmillan and Co., 1904.

after the restoration of order.”⁹ 1857 ended uncertainty and the half-hearted interest that India evoked in the British people and the government. It announced dramatically the end of the withered Mughal dynasty and the beginning of whole-hearted ‘vigorous’ British crown.

When the administration of India was transferred from the East India Company to the Sovereign...the impersonal power of an administrative abstraction had been replaced by the direct personal authority of a human being.¹⁰

The trial of the last Mughal emperor, Bahadur Shah Zafar by the triumphant British was nothing but a means of slashing away and burying any vestige of repute and standing that the former monarch commanded.¹¹ The trial formally announced a transformation of rule.¹² “Victoria’s sacralization was enacted on the grounds of the spurious trial that convicted the Mughal sovereign Bahadur Shah...and deported him for life to Burma.”¹³ Its meaning, according to Michael Walzer, was that it severed the past from the present and future and established new political principles marking the triumph of a new kind of government.¹⁴

This new kind of government was begun by the Queen’s Proclamation of 1858 which cemented the British commitment to India and explained the newborn relationship between the ruler and the ruled. Bernard S. Cohn has explained that it ended the “ambiguity in the position of the British in India”¹⁵ and was a new beginning which signalled reconciliation, forgiveness and cooperation. Each of the three Delhi durbars celebrated this foundation which had been made possible by the moment of 1857 in one way or the other. The 1877 Imperial Assemblage in which Queen Victoria was proclaimed ‘Kaiser-i-Hind’ was located on that very Ridge where the battle for Delhi had

⁹ Thomas R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj*, New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 1995, p. 44.

¹⁰ Lady Betty Balfour, *Lord Lytton’s Indian Administration 1876-80: An Untold History*, (1899), Delhi: Gian Publishing House, 1988, p 106.

¹¹ B.R. Agarwala, *Trials of Independence, 1858-1946*, Delhi: National Book Trust, 2004, pp. 1-16.

¹² F.W. Buckler, ‘The Political Theory of the Indian Mutiny,’ *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th ser., Vol. 5, 1922, pp. 71-100.

¹³ Manu Goswami, “‘Englishness’ on the Imperial Circuit: Mutiny Tours in Colonial South Asia,” *Journal of Historical Sociology*, Vol. 9, March 1996, p. 56.

¹⁴ Michael Walzer, *Regicide and Revolution*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974, p. 6.

¹⁵ Bernard. S. Cohn, ‘Representing Authority in Victorian India’, in E. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Canto edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 165.

been fought. J. Talboys Wheeler, the 'unofficial' chronicler of the event, described it as the "natural outcome of the political changes which have moulded India into a British empire"¹⁶, a clear reference to the episode of 1857 and the resulting Queen's Proclamation.

The 1903 Delhi durbar was "held using almost the identical spot as the Imperial Assemblage"¹⁷ and included a march of mutiny veterans, the "survivors of that great drama of mingled tragedy and heroism."¹⁸ The third and final durbar was held in 1911, again at the site of Delhi, on the very spot of the previous gatherings. It began with the "formal entry of army veterans....led by more than a hundred survivors of the Great Mutiny."¹⁹

But it is important to note that the commemoration of the mutiny was not the agenda or purpose of the three durbars. The durbars were celebratory and the mutiny was the celebration of victory but the extent to which victory could be celebrated without reminding the desolation and trauma of 1857 was highly problematic for the Government of India. The commemoration of 1857 was not supposed to jar with the celebration of the present but rather add to the lustre of the jubilation. Therefore the forms in which 1857 was scripted in were highly circuitous and torturous. One of these indirect forms was the choice of site for the durbars which symbolised political power, authority and legitimacy.

The Siege of Delhi and the 1877 durbar

In comparison to other major mutiny sites – Lucknow and Kanpur, Delhi did not only represent death, sacrifice, grief, pathos and martyrdom. It also, as Narayani Gupta has clearly demonstrated, held a great political significance in that it was heir to the Mughal

¹⁶ J. Talboys Wheeler, *The History of the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi*, London: John Murray, 1877, p. 1.

¹⁷ Kaori Nagai, 'The Writing on the Wall: The Commemoration of the Indian Mutiny in the Delhi Durbar and Rudyard Kipling's "The Little House at Arrah,"' *Interventions*, Vol. 7, No.1, 2005, p. 88.

¹⁸ George Nathaniel Curzon, *A Viceroy's India: Leaves from Lord Curzon's Note-book*, Peter King (ed.), London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1984, p. 65.

¹⁹ R.E. Frykenberg, 'The Coronation Durbar of 1911: Some Implications,' in R.E. Frykenberg (ed.), *Delhi Through the Ages: Essays in Urban History, Culture and Society*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1986, p. 377.

political, social and cultural legitimacy.²⁰ Hence, the unique significance that the siege of Delhi came to occupy in British minds. The siege of Delhi was recounted many times over in military histories, mutiny historiographies, mutiny narratives, personal memoirs and memories, eulogies, biographies, plays, and works of fiction, exhibitions and guidebooks. The victory became synonymous with the victory of 'British character' over the natives. British or English character became identified with manly, industrious, Christian men.²¹ This was also a time when the myth of Empire was being created and Manu Goswami has argued that it was episodes like the siege of Delhi which gave birth to 'Englishness' as a 'world-historical' identity.²² She locates the construction of an 'English' identity against the colonial 'other' and within the imperial field.²³ Their identity precluded a colonial other. The mutiny site of Delhi was thus identified with national and personal identity. Bernard Cohn has explained how the claiming of the mutiny for the British ruling elites explained their role in India to them. "[T]he meanings attached to the events of 1857-8...were increasingly the pivot around which their theory of colonial rule rotated."²⁴ The mutiny was seen as a heroic myth embodying and expressing their central values which explained their rule in India to themselves – sacrifice, duty and fortitude.²⁵

1857 had added another connotation to Delhi. Being the political capital of the Mughals, it exuded authority, prestige and honour. But the act of the rebels of 1857 had elevated it to another plane of power. Kaori Nagai writes that the symbolic value of Delhi was demonstrated during the mutiny when the mutineers seized the city and proclaimed Bahadur Shah the emperor of India.²⁶ Delhi was recognised as the capital and accepted by all rebel leaders. It was from Delhi that the rebel administration had worked and brought out various *farmans*. The setbacks suffered by the British were a joyous rallying point for rebels all over the country and a constant source of embarrassment for the

²⁰ Narayani Gupta, *Delhi Between Two Empires, 1803-1931: Society, Government and Urban Growth*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1981.

²¹ Manu Goswami, op. cit, p. 56.

²² Ibid, p. 55.

²³ Ibid, pp. 55-59.

²⁴ B.S. Cohn, op. cit, p. 179.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Kaori Nagai, op. cit, p. 85.

British. Thus the final victory over the rebels and the successful siege of Delhi became a golden word in the annals of British history. “[T]he siege of Delhi (is) an episode which is without parallel in the military history of India.”²⁷ John William Kaye in the opening address to his official history of 1857 said

The story of the Indian mutiny of 1857 is the most signal illustration of our great national character ever yet recorded in the annals of our country.²⁸

In some sense the British Empire in India shared something in common with the rebels in attraction to the Mughal capital, seen in their choice of location for the Imperial Assemblage of 1877, which was a step forward in the formulation of the process of the formalization of authority. J.T. Wheeler reaffirmed the symbolism of Delhi writing that there was no city in the “British empire so fitted as Delhi for the assumption of the sovereignty of India.”²⁹ Cohn has added in its favour that it was a conquered city and the mutiny was not completely forgotten. Charles Nuckolls explains that the site chosen for the ceremonies, Delhi and particularly the Ridge, recalled an important event in British history.³⁰ Hence other economically and institutionally more important centres of British rule such as Calcutta, the capital till 1911, or Bombay, the commercial gateway to India would not do.³¹

Because of its Mughal past of ritual and ceremony, Delhi was felt to be an appropriate site to invite native rulers to make them feel that they were an integral part of Empire. In his *Ideologies of the Raj*, Thomas Metcalf explains that the ‘darbar model’ suited India’s ruling princes, for as the “sovereigns of states linked to the Indian political order only through the exercise of British paramountcy, they possessed no way of participating in the European style public arena of courts and councils.”³² In Lytton’s welcome address to the native princes, he said that “finding in their loyalty a pledge of strength, the Queen

²⁷ E.W.C. Sandes, *The Indian Sappers and Miners*, Chatham: The Institution of Royal Engineers, 1948, p.235.

²⁸ John William Kaye, op. cit, preface.

²⁹ J.Talboys Wheeler, op. cit, p. 2.

³⁰ Charles W. Nuckolls, ‘The Durbar Incident’, *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 3, July 1990, p. 533.

³¹ B.S. Cohn, op. cit, p. 188.

³² Thomas R. Metcalf, 1995, op. cit, p. 196.

reckons on their readiness, if Imperial interests were menaced, to assist to defend them.”³³ This address, a veiled reference to the events of 1857, brought to fore the fear that still lurked in the back of official minds of any repeat of the mutiny and their efforts to shore up their defences against it. Thus, it is seen through an innocuous welcome address the primal place that 1857 still occupied in official memory and the attempt through the durbar to prevent any repetition of it, and the way in which the Government of India was forced to include a mention of the mutiny of 1857 in the durbar design.

Lord Lytton hoped that after seeing the might of Empire – evident everywhere in the mutiny site of the durbar, the native royalty would contribute towards its perpetuation. The assemblage was to be an occasion to raise the enthusiasm of “the native aristocracy...whose sympathy and cordial allegiance is...guarantee for the stability...of the Indian Empire.”³⁴ Therefore this durbar was not simply a lesson for the rulers but also sought to create a vision of Empire for the ruled. It was not organised simply for proclaiming the Queen’s new title. Lytton expected to accomplish a great deal with the assemblage. He hoped it would conspicuously

place the Queen’s authority upon the ancient throne of the Moguls, with which the imagination and tradition of (our) Indian subjects associate the splendour of supreme power.³⁵

And Lytton was convinced that in India the significance of ritual and symbolism was inestimable. The British could gain the native princes’ allegiance without giving up any of their power as “they are easily affected by sentiment and susceptible to...symbols to which facts inadequately correspond.”³⁶ Ritual was not only attractive to the ‘native mind,’ it was also an economical method of rule:

I might perhaps say that the decorative part of a great Indian pageant is like those parts of an animal which are of no use for butcher’s meat..., but from which augurs draw the omens that move armies and control princes.³⁷

³³ ‘The Imperial Assemblage,’ *Delhi Gazette* (Agra), 3 January, 1877.

³⁴ Lytton to Queen Victoria, 4 May, 1876, I.O.L.R., E218/518/1 quoted in B.S. Cohn, op. cit, p. 188.

³⁵ Lytton to Queen Victoria, 21 April, 1876, I.O.L.R., E218/518/1, quoted in B.S. Cohn, op. cit, p. 187.

³⁶ Lytton to Salisbury, 11 May, 1876, I.O.L.R., E218/518/1, quoted in B.S. Cohn, op. cit, p. 192.

³⁷ Lytton to Beaconsfield, 3 October, 1876, quoted in Lady Betty Balfour, op. cit, p.114.

But vengeance had been executed on Delhi for its 'treacherous' part in 1857. So also there had to be acts of magnanimity which had to be brought into the durbar. The assemblage at Delhi would signal the 'officialisation' of reconciliation:

Englishmen and Natives were meeting as friends on the spot where they had fought as foes. They were feasting and making merry on the ground where shots were flying, shells were bursting, and the work of slaughter and destruction was going on day and night.³⁸

The durbar announced 'concessions' for the city of Delhi such as the re-opening of Zinat-ul Masjid, long closed on 'military grounds' for public worship. Another was the restoration to the 'Muslims of Delhi' of the Fatehpuri Mosque which had been confiscated in 1857.³⁹ Thus, by celebrating the durbar, the British were celebrating themselves. This celebration was founded on the subjugation of the mutiny of 1857 but, the focus was not on conquest but celebration.⁴⁰

However, already by 1877, sections of European population in India were apprehensive that this celebration, which involved the message of reconciliation, the idea of creating ties and the project of reviving popular support for imperial monarchy, was pushing the events of 1857 too much into the past. As an anonymous contributor to the *Delhi Gazette* railed, "[t]wenty years have now elapsed since the outbreak of that great storm...Twenty years have passed since the great MUTINY drama, with its blood-stained acts."⁴¹ The writer recalled the deep disappointment that many felt and still felt of the total want of sympathy exhibited in 'high places.' He fumed that while many 'were shedding their blood' for the country in 'battles and sieges far transcending those of the Crimea, no Queen's Letter ever reached them breathing words of comfort and sympathy. ...England was joyfully celebrating the Princess Royal's marriage' and

³⁸ J. Talboys Wheeler, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

³⁹ B.S. Cohn, *op. cit.*, p. 188. One mosque which had been converted into a residence and bakery was rehabilitated only under Lord Curzon. See Robert Grant Irving, *Indian Summer: Lutyens, Baker, and Imperial Delhi*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981, p. 4.

⁴⁰ Charles Nuckolls, *op. cit.*, p. 534.

⁴¹ 'IN MEMORIUM – MAY 10TH, 1877: *Infandum jubes renovari dolorem*', *Delhi Gazette*, 10 May, 1877.

if you attempt the usual small talk at Indian tables, by alluding in any way to the past, you are voted a bore and the subject is hushed up as distasteful and inconvenient. In fact you may have some difficulty in finding out that such a tragedy as the mutiny was ever enacted, and twenty years after the event it seems as unlikely in the past, as, a year before, it was thought unlikely in the future.⁴²

The writer complained of the short shrift that had been given to some of the unsung heroes of 1857 – Mowbray Thompson, Delafosse, Robert Tudor Tucker, John Ross Hutchinson and concluded with a prayer that at least on its twentieth anniversary the mutiny, its heroes and its victims, be remembered. The durbar of 1877 was seen by some sections as the occasion on which claims could be pressed on behalf of the unsung heroes and therefore putting 1857 into the stream of celebratory events was not always an easy task.

1903 “Curzon’s durbar”⁴³: Mutiny Veterans, Debates and Claims

By the turn of the century, the British Empire had received a huge setback as a result of the ravage wrought by the recently concluded Boer War. Britain had, in addition to men and resources, lost face in this war. Metcalf has shown how the Boer War was accompanied by divisive debates which examined the previously taken for granted, Britain’s right to rule and its place in South Africa.⁴⁴ Its pre-eminent imperial position in the world was further threatened in the light of growing imperialist rivalries and showdowns. Germany and America were competing neck-to-neck with British industries and goods. In some sectors, Britain was left behind these countries conspicuously. The rapid and vigorous militarization of Germany was also a major cause of concern to Britain, at home and in India.⁴⁵ Thus, a grand imperial occasion like the coronation durbar could provide a perfect platform from which the meaning of the idea of an Empire could be disseminated. As Andrew Thompson explains, “the terms ‘empire’ and

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ R.G. Irving, op. cit, p. 7.

⁴⁴ Thomas R. Metcalf, 1995, op. cit, p. 44.

⁴⁵ Seen in the newspapers *The Pioneer* (Allahabad), 1902: January-December, and *Civil and Military Gazette* (Lahore), 1902: January-December. See also John M. Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984.

'imperialism' were like empty boxes that were continuously being filled up and emptied of their meanings."⁴⁶

After the Boer War, the popular feeling in Britain was against further expansion and overwhelmingly in favour of consolidation of the Empire. A coronation durbar where the sovereign of Britain was celebrated as the emperor of India with Indian princes as applauders could play to this emotion of the home audience in Britain. "As anxiety mounted, the British turned for reassurance to a ringing show of self-confidence."⁴⁷ Also, Curzon had complained that India's participation in the Boer War effort had been ignored and that discussions about the Empire were increasingly being conducted without reference to its largest and most powerful unit.⁴⁸ This anomaly was perhaps sought to be rectified by Curzon by organizing a grand spectacle on the very site⁴⁹ of one of the most honourable battles of the Empire, which highlighted the high place of India and Delhi in the Empire:

Curzon was not unaware of the power of Delhi as a site of remembrance. It was not by accident that his durbar of 1903, like Lytton's a quarter-century earlier, took place in Delhi, or that its ritual observances and architectural symbolism were meant to evoke that of the Mughal empire.⁵⁰

Delhi had become the privileged space where the symbolical writing and overwriting of power was performed, where as Curzon wrote, "each...conqueror, Hindi, or Moghul, or Pathan, marched...to his own immortality over his predecessor's grave."⁵¹ As Francis Hutchins observes, "India seemed to offer the prospect of aristocratic security at a time when England itself was falling prey to democratic vulgarity."⁵²

⁴⁶ Andrew S. Thompson, 'The Language of Imperialism and the Meanings of Empire: Imperial Discourse in British Politics, 1895-1914,' *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 2, Twentieth-Century British Studies, Apr., 1997, p. 147.

⁴⁷ Thomas R. Metcalf, 1995, op. cit, p. 167.

⁴⁸ Andrew S. Thompson, op. cit, p. 151.

⁴⁹ As the previous assemblage, it was held in Delhi and the 'main or central camp was pitched, as in 1877 on the site of the old English cantonment.' Stephen Wheeler, *History of the Delhi Coronation Durbar*, London: John Murray, 1904, p. 49.

⁵⁰ Thomas R. Metcalf, 2005, op. cit, p. 156.

⁵¹ George Nathaniel Curzon, *Lord Curzon in India: Being a Selection from his speeches as Viceroy and Governor-General of India, 1898-1905*, Sir Thomas Raleigh (ed.), London: Macmillan and Co., 1906, p. 187.

⁵² Francis Hutchins, *Illusions of Permanence*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967, p. 199.

Therefore, the durbar of 1903 is a particularly interesting event for the historian who is assessing the way in which the terms of commemoration of 1857 were being inserted. As the letter of 1877 pointed out, many sections of the British population did not talk about 1857 and treated it as a disagreeable topic of conversation. There was an aversion to the commemoration of 1857, a trend to which Viceroy Curzon drew attention.

I have heard it argued by some that incidents like the Black Hole of Calcutta, the Cawnpore massacre, the defence of the Residency at Lucknow...and siege of Delhi... ought not to be commemorated, but, ought...to be slurred over and wrapped in oblivion. I hold precisely the opposite view....Tragedies and horrors and disasters do occur in the history of men...as in the case of the Mutiny. But that is no reason for ignoring them. Pass over them the sponge of forgiveness... and of reconciliation. But do not pretend that they did not take place...if some of the stepping-stones over which the English and the Indian people...have marched to a better understanding, and a truer union, have been slippery with human blood, do not ignore or cast them away. Rather let us wipe them clear of their stains, and preserve them intact for the teaching of those that come after.⁵³

Lord Curzon believed that the painful past of the mutiny was now well past and instead of ignoring it or dreading it, it should be respected and honoured. The mutiny of 1857 was but an event in the long timeline of the Empire and should be revered as such instead of hiding it from any sort of gaze. The act of commemoration was needed to put 1857 firmly in its place in the past. In making this statement, he was addressing the Indian public opinion objecting vigorously to any reference of 1857 in a triumphalist note. As one Calcutta newspaper, a part of the vigorous Indian public opinion, critically pointed out:

Lord Curzon is very fond of doing sensational work, even fonder than the late Lord Lytton... it is this vice...which has impelled his Excellency to invite the veterans of the Sepoy Mutiny to...the...Delhi Durbar. It is unwise and impolitic to revise the memory of those dark days. Lord Curzon's actions will certainly astonish Lord Stanley, the descendant of the late Lord Derby, Prime Minister, who prepared the famous proclamation of 1858, asking every one to forget the sad events of 1857....⁵⁴

The Bengali paper demanded that it would be better to focus on the moment of reconciliation, the Queen's Proclamation; reference should be more on the promises made by the monarchy than on the violent events of 1857. Therefore, Curzon was responding to objections like these in his statement and in this section I draw attention

⁵³ Curzon, 1906, op. cit, p. 166-167.

⁵⁴ 'Mutiny Veterans in the Delhi Durbar,' *The Basumati* (Calcutta), 25 September, 1902.

to three lines along which commemoration of 1857 was designed, inspite of the oppositions.

Technocratic Commemoration of 1857

The idea of a 'technocratic Empire' was in its heyday by the turn of the nineteenth century.⁵⁵ This idea emphasized the importance of technical expertise and the need to recognise and commemorate those who represented these expertises. For the proponents of this thought, 1857 provided an important opportunity to place science and technology into a prominent position within the past of the British Empire. One of the branches of science which informed this school of thought was engineering. As Ben Marsden and Crosbie Smith explain, "[e]ngineers are empire-builders: active agents of political and economic empire."⁵⁶ This was the golden age of British engineering and Empire where the engineer represented the moralised life of a 'visionary.' He was seen by Victorian narrators of progress as simultaneously moral and practical, as a 'masculine engineering hero.'⁵⁷

Technocratic Empire promoted another prominent branch of science as a 'game changer' which was the electric telegraph. Marsden and Smith have shown how the telegraph and its artifacts were fashioned by its powerful advocates: it was assembled primarily from existing social tropes, as a new and valued identity; simultaneously it was assembled from a set of existing 'needs' and 'uses', as a trustworthy and reliable technology with a well defined meaning. It was constructed by its 'inventors' as an alliance of electrical physics and practical skill, and coded as an imperial asset, a harbinger of peace and a decisive military weapon. Thus, the telegraph, from its inception in the French

⁵⁵ See Deep Kanta Lahiri Choudhary, 'India's First Virtual Community and the Telegraph Strike of 1908,' *International Review of Social History*, Vol. 48, 2003, pp. 45-71; David Gilmartin, 'Scientific Empire and Imperial Science: Colonialism and Irrigation Technology in the Indus Basin,' *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 53, No. 4, pp. 1127-1149; Deepak Kumar, *Science and the Raj: A Study of British India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006.

⁵⁶ Ben Marsden and Crosbie Smith, *Engineering Empires: A Cultural History of Technology in Nineteenth Century Britain*, Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, p. 1.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p. 2-10.

Revolution to the late nineteenth century, had become a part of the project to 'implement Empire.'⁵⁸

The Delhi durbar of 1903 was seen by some proponents of the technocratic Empire theory as an event in which the centrality of their notions could be proved through the commemoration of 1857, an occasion in which engineering and the telegraph had played momentous roles. This can be seen through the demands for commemorating these invaluable arms of the state.

In 1903, a correspondent seized the durbar occasion to press for a memorial for David Baird Smith⁵⁹, who, he counted among the "three special persons"⁶⁰ who had wrenched Delhi from the hands of the mutineers, the other two being John Lawrence and John Nicholson.

The first of these has already his memorial monuments. The second is about to have his bravery commemorated...but...what of the *third*? David Baird Smith...It was his engineering skill and dauntless energy which dazed in the darkness of the night to...find an entrance to the city.⁶¹

The letter demanded an appropriate memorial for the engineer who had played a pivotal role in the operations of the siege of Delhi and asserted that the durbar afforded a perfect excuse to further commemorate the mutiny through the expansion of commemorative fields and figures. It is important to note here how the mutiny veterans and their claimants were insidiously inserting themselves into the durbar script by demanding hitherto not given recognition and acknowledgment to technocratic branches of the states and its personalities. Simultaneously, commemorating the actions of 1857 in an imperial exhibition such as the durbar of 1903 buttressed the claim of engineering being a

⁵⁸ Ibid, pp. 179-225.

⁵⁹ The correspondent had made a mistake – Baird Smith's Christian name was Richard not David. See G.B. Malleon, *Indian Mutiny' of 1857*, (5th edition), London: Seeley and Co., 1894; T. Rice Holmes, *History of the Mutiny*, (5th edition), London: Macmillan and Co., 1904 and Christopher Hibbert, *Great Mutiny in India, 1857*, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1980. Also E.W.C. Sandes, op. cit.

⁶⁰ 'The Heroes of Delhi', in Letters to the Editor, *The Pioneer*, 2 January, 1903.

⁶¹ Ibid.

'historically important' device of British rule in India and by extension, of the British Empire.

The passage also pointed to the need for an enlargement of the persons and events to which commemorative architecture could be erected. This was about creating a new set, a new hierarchy of imperial heroes and David Cannadine has shown how the military system in India was constructed around a rigid system of hierarchy.⁶² By the end of the nineteenth century, when Britain had indulged in almost a century of war and undergone the shock of the Boer War, it was seen as essential that military engineering be commemorated and its 'pioneers' placed in the imperial roll of honour.⁶³ This was an attempt to create an imperial halo for the relatively lesser known hero of the siege of Delhi as Baird Smith, an attempt furthered by depicting him as one of the stars of the Indian Sappers and Miners.⁶⁴

Mutiny Monuments: The Telegraph Memorial

Commemoration is a form of taking responsibility for the past, through memorials, ceremonies and acknowledging and honouring individuals. But commemoration, rather than preserving the past, reconstructs it in the context of the present, a present which is never disassociated with power and politics. The undertaking of the commemoration of 1857 by Lord Curzon through the unveiling of the Telegraph Memorial in 1902 reinterpreted the understanding of the mutiny in the light of the present. Instead of commemorating the old heroes and realms, he commemorated newer technocratic departments and heroes which were more in keeping with the present notions of power and politics.

⁶² David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw their Empire*, London: Penguin Press, 2001, p. 43.

⁶³ See David Omissi and Andrew Thompson (eds.), *The Impact of the South African War*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002; Donal Lowry, *The South African War Reappraised*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000 and C.C. Eldridge, *Victorian Imperialism*, London: Hodder, 1978.

⁶⁴ E.W.C. Sandes, op. cit. The chapter 'The Indian Mutiny: Roorkee, Meerut and Delhi, 1857,' read like an exposition to Richard Baird Smith's courage, bravery, skill, foresight and ingenuity. It depicted him as one responsible for the blowing up of the Kashmere Gate and thus affording the British forces to recapture Delhi from the rebels.

By installing a 'mutiny monument' at Delhi to commemorate the services of the Delhi Telegraph Office Staff on May 11, 1857 and by presenting the medal of the Victorian Order to William Brendish, the sole survivor of the Delhi Signallers, on duty that day, Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India gave a perfect example of the effort to efface and smoothen a painful memory⁶⁵ and simultaneously create a new memory that commemorated the fields of science and technology. This insistence for suitable commemoration was loud enough that it reached official ears is borne out by the conviction displayed by the Viceroy in his speech on the inaugural of the Telegraph memorial.

I was delighted when Mr. Pitman, then Director-General of Telegraphs, consulted me...as to the propriety of erecting this memorial. ...I hold that in brave and noble deeds of men ought to be publicly commemorated in honour of themselves and as an example to others. ...and that its public commemoration cannot fail to leave its mark upon the minds of future generations....⁶⁶

That the Telegraph Monument was erected at the exact same site where the telegraph office had existed in 1857 is a point worthy of note. As Kristin Ann Hass has shown, by the late nineteenth century, the *sites* of conflict had become memorials themselves which acknowledged the 'citizen soldier' as an individual sacrifice worthy of memorialization and commemoration.⁶⁷ For Lord Curzon, "commemoration involved the effort of retrieving the memories of the event on the very place in which it took place."⁶⁸ It was intentioned that this site of the Telegraph Monument would now relate the movement of 1857 not with death and agony but the notions of pride and honour where the Delhi signalers did their duty even in the face of imminent destruction. "The monument does

⁶⁵ According to David Lowenthal, only when the past has slipped away becoming a "foreign country" do we begin to mark and commemorate it. David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985. Pierre Nora has explained that it is when we stop experiencing memory spontaneously from within that we begin to "design" memory, to create its external traces, such as monuments and historic buildings. Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Memoire*,' *Representations*, No. 26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter Memory, Spring 1989, pp. 7-24. From both of these statements we can understand that building a memorial or a monument signals that the critical period of a memory has expired or is being sought to be put to rest.

⁶⁶ Curzon, 1906, op. cit, p. 166.

⁶⁷ Kristin Ann Hass, *Carried to the Wall: American Memory and the Vietnam Veterans Memorial*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998, p. 35-38.

⁶⁸ Kaori Nagai, op. cit, p. 89.

not simply reflect history; it participates in shaping it.”⁶⁹ The place would teach the audience that 1857 was not only about disaster and mayhem but also an event of imperial significance, a battle where the momentous role of the telegraph for the Empire shone through. Thomas Metcalf has explained that “Curzon sought reconciliation by...the acknowledgement, of the deeds committed by the British.”⁷⁰

As has been shown above, the telegraph was considered by the beginning of the twentieth century as a crucial arm in the defence and maintenance of the British Empire, a point substantiated by Lord Curzon in his speech on the unveiling of the Telegraph Monument. He wondered what would have happened to the British Empire in India if the Delhi signallers had not sent that ‘fateful’ telegram to Ambala. He spotlighted the work of the telegraphers and thought that their work was as decisive as that of the army:

Where we should have been without it (the Telegraph) who can tell? ...the work was every whit as important, and not less risky, than that of the military; and... in the re-establishment of British power, the Indian Telegraph Department will always have the pride of remembering that it bore no mean or inconspicuous part.⁷¹

Lord Curzon re-confirmed this point by emphasizing that the non-recognition of the role of the telegraph department in the suppression of 1857 had been an oversight which he was rectifying:

We are met here to-day to commemorate an incident that happened nearly half a century ago... in a sense, indeed we are repairing the omissions of our predecessors. For who can doubt that the telegraph signallers of Delhi, on that famous day of tragedy, May 11, 1857, performed an act that was worthy of perpetuation and that ought to be perpetuated, as is now tardily being done?⁷²

The inclusion of William Brendish into the exalted pantheon of mutiny heroes was confirmed by conferring on him the highly exclusive Victoria Cross, almost fifty years after his ‘brave deed.’ The *public* appreciation of his efforts widened the narrow band of those commemorated and honoured for their role in 1857 and sought to fulfill one of the primary lacunae felt by mutiny participants.

⁶⁹ Rebecca M. Brown, ‘Inscribing Colonial Monumentality: A Case Study of the 1763 Patna Massacre Memorial’, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 65, No.1, February 2006, p. 110.

⁷⁰ Thomas R. Metcalf, 2005, op. cit, p. 166.

⁷¹ Curzon, 1906, op. cit, p. 168.

⁷² Ibid, p. 165.

Brendish, who sent off the historic message to Umballa that has been, so often quoted...is still amongst us. He is here to-day to see this memorial erected to his bravery and that of his comrades, and it must be a proud event to him to...see this *public* recognition of deeds in which he bore a share...and to be made the recipient of a special honour at the hands of his Sovereign.⁷³

That a grand celebratory event like the coronation durbar would be a perfect opportunity to enact commemoration momentarily is substantiated by the fact that the Viceroy himself appealed to the King to confer the Victoria Cross to William Brendish:

it gives me great pleasure...to pin this medal of the Victorian Order on... William Brendish, the survivor of those immortal days. I felt that in this Coronation year His Majesty would like to honour this old and faithful servant who had helped to save the British Empire...I wrote to His Majesty and placed before him the facts of the case. He sent me this medal...and asked me to confer it...upon the retired veteran...(of) those imperishable scenes that were enacted a few hundred yards of this very spot forty-five years ago. ...⁷⁴

It is significant to note here the interesting fact that the events of 1857 remained of such consequence that even after more than four decades, its participants laid claim to the highest honour of the Empire, the Victoria Cross. William Brendish was perhaps the only mutiny veteran who received it after such a prolonged time and in his own lifetime. This may also have been a record in the history of the Victoria Cross.⁷⁵

‘Living Testimonials’

To speak of the veteran, to look at him, was to revive the debates about the mutiny. All the doubts and confusions about the terms in which the British ought to commemorate 1857 would be concentrated in the figure of the mutiny veteran. On the one hand, the mutiny veteran, by association became an embodiment of the ideal imperial essence. However, unlike commemorative architecture of 1857, which in its physical form at least remained static, the frail, tottering figure of the mutiny veteran contested that image. The veteran reminded that he was a survivor of a battle that could have ended in defeat – his

⁷³ Ibid, p. 165-166, italics mine.

⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 168-169.

⁷⁵ See D.H. Parry and Stanley Wood, *The V.C., Its Heroes and Their Valor*, London: Kessinger Publications, 2005. For accounts of V.C. heroes, see also T.E. Toomey, *Heroes of the Victoria Cross*, London: George Newnes, Ltd., 1895.

numerous dead comrades could testify to that fact. He made people remember that the British Empire was created through his body, his blood. He reminded people that the Empire was made through real battles and wars and not just through discursive discourses and imaginations. To speak of the mutiny veteran then was considered as equal to speaking and reminiscing about the mutiny.

The Delhi durbars provided an occasion on which the question of who could be termed a mutiny veteran could be re-opened and the entitlement of mutiny 'victims' or 'veteran' could be put forward in public ceremonials. Many who felt their claims had been overlooked to be given mutiny pensions could re-apply. These debates and claims, although irregular through the years, suddenly came to life around the time of the durbars, especially during the 1903 durbar precariously near to the 50th anniversary of 1857.

In 1903 the Government of India invited applications from "Indian Mutiny veterans who desired to attend the Delhi Durbar"⁷⁶ and though a large number of applications were received 'seventeen or eighteen hundred' it decided to invite only 300.⁷⁷ The principles of selection were 'officers, warrant and Non-Commissioned Officers who served at the siege, or at the defence and relief of Lucknow.' There was clearly some heartburning among old soldiers as one letter to *The Pioneer* pointed out; there were others in no less arduous operations. It also said the invitations should be extended to all veterans because it was they

who maintained the honour of England during the war of 1857 which gave back the sovereignty of India to Great Britain and re-established the supremacy of Europe in Asia.⁷⁸

This letter pointed out the pressure for recognition from sections of the European society particularly the sergeants and others who had stayed back in India.⁷⁹ This was a group which was regarded by the government as generating a pauperized, poor white population

⁷⁶ 'Mutiny Veterans at Delhi', in Letters to the Editor, *The Pioneer*, 4 December, 1902.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Peter Stanley, *White Mutiny: British Military Culture in India, 1825-1875*, New York: New York University Press, 1998.

in India. In India, says David Arnold, half the Europeans could be called poor whites, and soldiers and sailors, along with their families comprised a major part of this group.⁸⁰ The reason for this was that with the crisis of 1857 past, both the navy and the army had shed the excess load. "It was in the aftermath of the [m]utiny that more and more Europeans became unemployed and many of them had to turn to the streets."⁸¹ The Indian Navy had discharged about 2,700 sailors who were without pensions between 1859 and 1863. The disbanding of the East India Company's European regiments and the takeover by the Crown left a number of soldiers who chose to be discharged and remain in India rather than join a British regiment or be sent home for discharge.⁸² These poor whites, often termed as 'vagrants' were considered as a threat to 'British prestige' in the eyes of colonial administrators⁸³ and thus, there was a considerable prejudice against inviting them to an imperial exhibition.

Even the official history of the coronation durbar acknowledged that there had been some who had "disputed the wisdom of introducing on such an occasion the memories of an earlier and sadder day,"⁸⁴ in the form of mutiny veterans. The invitation for marching in the durbar, as the official account went, was meant

to give to the veteran soldiers of the Mutiny, who had...fought and bled for the Empire, almost within sight of the very spot...an opportunity to revisit the scene of their former deeds of daring⁸⁵

The unanticipated dimension and consequence of the march of the mutiny veterans was that it was the sight of these 'war scarred heroes' which brought the whole audience to its feet in a spontaneous tribute:

the entire audience rose to their feet and greeted them.... few eyes were dry, and there was a choking in many throats.⁸⁶

⁸⁰ David Arnold, 'European Orphans and Vagrants in India in the Nineteenth Century', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. VII, No.1, October 1978, p. 104.

⁸¹ Harald Fischer-Tine, 'Britain's Other Civilising Mission: Class Prejudice, European "Loaferism" and the Workhouse-System in Colonial India', *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. 42, No. 3, 2005, p. 308.

⁸² David Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-117. Also Harald Fischer-Tine, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

⁸³ Harald Fischer-Tine, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

⁸⁴ Stephen Wheeler, *op. cit.*, p. 111-113.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

The music changed to “Auld Lang Syne,” and eyes grew moist though the cheers went louder for those old men of eighteen hundred and fifty seven.⁸⁷

What had happened was that the vision of the veterans changed the design and re-wrote the script of the durbar. But there was ambivalence in some descriptions of the sight they presented. The *Civil and Military Gazette* gave a grim account of the march of the veterans, portraying them as “in the decline of life and men near its close, all with white moustaches or beards, their faces red and scarred with old wounds,”⁸⁸ emphasising that ‘shrunk forms hobbled along with difficulty.’ *The Pioneer* gave a long and emotional account of the march, describing the faltering veterans in a tragic tone – “marching with firm step and manly bearing in spite of their age”; “Age had dealt heavily with more than one and the limping gait, the bowed back, the doubtful attempt to keep step, were pitiful to see.”⁸⁹ Simultaneously it sought to assure the audience that ‘there was nothing of the commonplace about them’ or that if some were tottering, the leaders marched with ‘firm step and manly bearing.’ It underlined the fact that they had played an important role for the Empire and thus commanded reverence and deference.

these men... a living testimonial to the great deeds done nearly half a century ago... men who had fought and bled for Empire in their hot youth, and we honoured them as we honoured no one else... There was emotion among us to the verge of almost of choking the cheers in our throats, and there were tears in the eyes of many a woman⁹⁰

In his afterthoughts on the durbar, Lovat Fraser,⁹¹ the editor of the *Bombay Times of India*, tried to reconstruct the finest moments of the assemblage and after several contentions, his decision rested on the march past of the mutiny veterans. He highlighted that the parade of the veterans was the emotional high point of the imperial event:

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ ‘The Coronation Durbar: THE MUTINY’ VETERANS,’ *Civil and Military Gazette*, 2 January, 1903.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ ‘March of Progress’, *The Pioneer*, 3 January, 1903.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ He was also a member of the Scottish aristocracy, Simon Christopher Joseph Fraser, 15th Lord Lovat of Scotland.

More memorable...because more truly tinged with pathos, is the entry of the aged veterans who had fought ...in the Mutiny upon that very spot. That was the most splendid incident of the whole fortnight, by universal consent. Many a strong man was moved to tears...⁹²

1911: The Present and the Past

The third and final durbar organised by Lord Hardinge was constructed around three highly visible and novel features: (1) the actual presence of the sovereign, George V and his consort, “[t]The most remarkable feature of the [d]Durbar was...the unprecedented presence of the King-Emperor and Queen-Empress;”⁹³(2) the announcement that the Capital of India would be transferred from Calcutta to Delhi, and (3) the announcement that the generally unpopular partition of Bengal would be reversed.⁹⁴

Delhi: Locating present into the past

The re-unification of Bengal and the transfer of capital must be seen as parts of a larger imperial policy. The Government of India wanted to discover a more stable public opinion than was then available in Calcutta and to use it as the pillar for strengthening the ideological edifice of the Raj.⁹⁵ Battling opposition from all sides for organising a durbar so soon after the previous one and the resurgence in nationalistic activities, Hardinge turned to a symbolic political gesture to soothe ‘native tempers’. He turned to tap into the symbolic resonance of Delhi as a traditional seat of the Indian Empire.

The keystone of the whole scheme would be the relocation of the capital of British India to Delhi.... Delhi is the only possible place. Delhi is still a name to conjure with.⁹⁶

Both the Secretary of State and the Viceroy thought that the King-Emperor, if he came with his retinue of princes and notables, would touch the credulous imagination of a traditional India.⁹⁷

⁹² Lovat Fraser, *At Delhi*, Bombay: Times Press, 1903, p. 172.

⁹³ R.G. Irving, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

⁹⁴ Alan Trevithick, ‘Some Structural and Sequential Aspects of the British Imperial Assemblages at Delhi: 1877-1911,’ in *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 24, No.3, Jul., 1990, p. 570.

⁹⁵ Hardinge to Sydenham Clarke, 26 February, 1911, Hardinge Papers, NMML. Also see Thomas Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj*, London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1989, p. 211.

⁹⁶ Alan Trevithick, *op. cit.*, pp. 382-3.

⁹⁷ Secretary of State to the Viceroy, 16 December, 1910, Hardinge Papers.

J Renton-Denning, who was commissioned by the *Times of India* to write a book about the 1911 durbar, and who was a private soldier of some note in the Boer War in the Duke of Connaught's regiment, and a turned writer of poems and ballads described the site of the 1911 durbar as "on the...spot where the British troops camped during the siege"⁹⁸ and the amphitheatre was "reconstructed at the...point where Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India and...King Edward's Accession was announced."⁹⁹ In this durbar the site of Delhi was therefore being invoked by the writer for the past but also for the reconstruction of the present rule. He revered Delhi because in addition to the siege, the two imperial durbars were held in it. The chronology of importance associated with Delhi was being re-constructed by the author, in the light of 1857 and the previous two durbars. Delhi now in addition to being a mutiny site, was a site of imperial remembrance where two great events of the Empire had been staged. Further, he pointed out the unique significance of Delhi for the British:

the...walls of the city still bear the marks of the siege...at its gates the destiny of the British in India was decided; its walls echoed the salute...of the...Imperial title by Queen Victoria; it heard the guns announce the Accession of the First British Emperor...and in its precincts the princes of India will gather to render fealty to the...British monarch.... No city in the Empire has more poignant or more glorious associations for Englishmen.¹⁰⁰

Delhi was important and revered because it had held many momentous events of the Empire – the siege, the Imperial Assemblage of 1877 and the coronation durbar of 1903. A chronology of Empire, situated particularly in Delhi, was tried to be created, a timeline which would bind the disparate opposing voices together. The statement can also be seen as an attempt to glorify Delhi in order to justify the transfer of capital and responding to the vociferous criticism in Calcutta, for the opposition to the transfer was strident, especially of the European opinion in Bengal. It saw in it a betrayal of trust, surrender to 'unprincipled agitation,' a breach of faith, a blatant step against the bureaucracy and an impolitic confession of weakness.¹⁰¹ *The Statesman* and *The Englishman* were the two

⁹⁸ J. Renton-Denning, *Delhi: The Imperial City*, Bombay: Times Press, 1911, p. 17.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, p. 18.

¹⁰¹ Bayley to Hardinge, 12 February, 1912, Hardinge Papers.

principal spokesmen of the agitation.¹⁰² *The Statesman* headed one leader 'H.M.G.' – by which it meant not 'His Majesty's Government' but 'Hardinge Must Go!'¹⁰³

Mutiny Veterans: Tying the past on to the present

At the 1911 durbar, a "Veteran's Camp"¹⁰⁴ was set up and it comprised of civil and military officials. This deviation in policy clearly demonstrated that the Government of India was acceding to the insistence on including enlarged number of veterans in an imperial event. No less than eight hundred and eighty officers and men of the mutiny of 1857 were present during the durbar week.¹⁰⁵ The details of the medals on the dress of the veterans were minutely looked into. "It is notified for general information that the veterans attending the Durbar...as the guests of Government wear a red ribbon with a small bronze V attached..."¹⁰⁶ The reason behind attaching a bronze 'V' was to imprint the stamp of the present on the past; to remember something while correspondingly replacing something. While the mutiny veterans' bodies invoked their proud actions, their medal knit them into the contemporary event. It proclaimed their present status – that of being beholden to the present monarch, King George V. To strengthen this bond further, the mutiny veterans were accorded the foremost role in the state welcome of the King-Emperor and the Queen into Delhi:

The great day has come and their Imperial Majesties have arrived in Delhi.... behind were mustered (the) veterans... the veterans of the Mutiny are all bearded and white haired old men in the uniform of a bygone age, old Englishmen and old Indians, who held Lucknow and stormed Delhi, the latter doubtless rejoicing that the city they had won was now receiving in peace and glory the great King-Emperor, for whose grandmother they had fought¹⁰⁷

Thus the importance attached with the mutiny veterans was further reinforced by the 1911 coronation durbar in spite of their decaying physical appearance and in spite of the length of time that had passed since they had 'displayed their valour, charisma and

¹⁰² R.E. Frykenberg, op. cit, p. 382.

¹⁰³ Lord Charles Hardinge, *My Indian Years, 1910-1916*, London: John Murray, 1948, p. 53.

¹⁰⁴ 'The Veteran's Camp at the Durbar,' *The Pioneer*, 8 September, 1911.

¹⁰⁵ 'The Durbar: Gathering of Veterans,' *The Pioneer*, 3 December 1911.

¹⁰⁶ (No Title), *The Pioneer*, 6 December, 1911.

¹⁰⁷ 'Coronation Durbar: Their Majesties Arrival in Delhi – Brilliant Scenes,' *The Pioneer*, 8 December, 1911.

dignity' in serving the Empire for there could not be such a gathering again for them, which could memorialise their importance.¹⁰⁸

Displaying an unflinching 'superiority, morale and understanding' of the British Indian Empire and maintaining the 'dignity and pride' with which the British ruled India, the Delhi durbars were organised on the very grounds of victory gained in 1857. The three Delhi durbars constituted the very first attempts to legitimize the authority of the Empire as well as to show how and to what extent the British cared for their role in 1857. It is not an exaggeration to argue that being the first oblique and veiled endeavours to commemorate 1857, the durbars provided the opportunity to mould the direction of ruling India.

¹⁰⁸ D.H. Parry and Stanley Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

CHAPTER THREE

1907: THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY: CATCHING A FLEETING MOMENT?

Introduction

I took up the year 1907 to see if fiftieth anniversary of the 1857 rebellion was being registered as a milestone. Did this anniversary encourage any introspection? Was it used as a frame of reference for understandings about the future? I began by going through a year's issue of *The Pioneer*, then published from Allahabad, a town which had seethed with rebellion in 1857. I found that the references to the mutiny and to the commemoration of the mutiny were elusive except for the occasional death of a mutiny veteran or a cricket match between mutiny veterans. I went through a year of the *London Times* as well to assess whether there were any attempts to address the British public on this issue in the metropolitan context. I found a set of eighteen articles written by a Field Marshal, Sir Evelyn Wood a mutiny veteran. These essays were culled from his personal recollections and those of his comrades. These essays give us a sense of the problems of Empire at that juncture.

In terms of the Indian reading public, 1907 is an important marker because “for the first time, a full-length Indian version of the story of 1857” was written. There had been other Indian writers on the mutiny, before V.D. Savarkar, notably Syed Ahmad Khan, whose account of the causes of 1857 was in a sense pioneering. It was a complex narrative which intricately assessed the causes of the rebellion from many angles.¹ Here, I examine the project of Savarkar in writing this history on the fiftieth anniversary of the movement of 1857.

¹ Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, *The Causes of the Indian Revolt*, (1859), Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000.

These are the three sites through which this chapter examines the fiftieth anniversary of 1857. I will keep three audiences in mind: (i) the European community in India (ii) the British public and (iii) the Indian audiences.

Introspections within Empire, 1902-1907

This moment in history was one of intense political churning within the Britain Empire. By the late 1880's Germany had consolidated its far flung territorial estates and enforced them into a formidable industrial nation.² British dailies made constant comparisons between Britain and Germany's newer and better equipped factories and methods of production.³ The diamond jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1897 had been organised to showcase British strength to Germany much as to demonstrate the might of British Empire to the world. Another reason for the rivalry between Britain and Germany was the growing shortage of colonies. By the time Germany entered the race for acquiring colonies; most of the world had been cut up and partitioned.⁴

Japan had become not just an Asian super-power but an imperial power by defeating czarist Russia in the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-5 and by negotiating a humiliating treaty for Russia. By 1907, Japan had staked its sole claim over Manchuria and the whole of the pacific. Britain had become seriously concerned about the proximity of Japan to its dominion of Australia and Japanese trading links with India. Japan's rise as an acknowledged imperialist power was also providing an inspiration to the Indian demands for self-rule and autonomy.

² Germany and Italy were among the last large European nations to unify and begin their respective industrial revolutions. By the late nineteenth century Germany had surpassed industrially all the traditional powerhouses like England, France and Russia.

³ It is to be kept in mind that England's industrial revolution had begun more than a century ago and was reaching its apogee while Germany had recently begun its own industrial revolution and had consequently made full use of the newest inventions and skills of organization and production.

⁴ See Prosser Gifford and Wm. Roger Louis (ed.), *Britain and Germany in Africa: Imperial Rivalry and Colonial Rule*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965; Simon Peaple, *European Diplomacy, 1870-1939*, London: Heinemann, 2002, especially section 2 on British Foreign Policy and International Relations, 1890-1939, pp. 138-149.

Britain had just concluded the Boer war in 1902, a war which was devastating to it in terms of both men and resources. The greatest damage it had wrought was to the prestige and stature of the British Empire. As G. Alex Bremner points out:

the publication of J.A. Hobson's *Imperialism* in 1902 demonstrated [that] the assumptions and methods underpinning Britain's imperial 'mission' were subjected to intense and sustained scrutiny...Though not an entirely unpopular war, the way in which the limitations of Britain's military capacity were exposed, and the means by which the conflict was brought to a speedy conclusion, caused many to reflect on the value and long-term prospects of the nation's imperial role.⁵

But the Empire could serve as a "powerful distraction and cause in common."⁶ As Linda Colley has explained, "[w]hatever their own individual ethnic backgrounds, Britons could join together vis-à-vis the empire and act out the flattering parts of heroic conqueror, humane judge, and civilizing agent."⁷ The forging of the British Empire served as an engrossing diversion and that was why important Conservative politicians, intellectuals and writers established various clubs like the Compatriots Club (1904-14), an influential 'think tank' which took the 'creed of Empire' as its *raison d'être*.⁸

Similarly, in the world of architecture, Empire-centric and imperially-minded schemes were being undertaken in London: Sir Aston Webb's design for the National Memorial to Queen Victoria (1901-11), and the London County Council's redevelopment of Holborn known as Kingsway and Aldwych (1900-05).⁹ Also, the Royal Academy was contemplating a 'National Monument to British Heroes'¹⁰ at the time. All these plans suggested that there was an acute need at the point to commemorate Empire and its heroes; a trend which, G. Alex Bremner indicates was broadly contiguous with the development of nationalist themes in commemorative architecture on the Continent.¹¹

⁵ G. Alex Bremner, "Imperial Monumental Halls and Tower": Westminster Abbey and the Commemoration of Empire, 1854 -1904', *Architectural History*, Vol. 47, 2004, p. 255.

⁶ Linda Colley, 'Britishness and Otherness: An Argument', *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 4, Britishness and Europeanness: Who Are the British Anyway? October 1992, p. 325.

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 324.

⁸ G. Alex Bremner, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 255.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 252.

¹¹ *Ibid*.

Within India, Lord Curzon's order of July 1905 dividing the province of Bengal had led to immense political turmoil. India and the British government in India were undergoing a series of serious predicaments – a forceful and spirited wave of nationalism was sweeping across India which included bombings, assassinations and violence. New groups were being drawn into the freedom struggle in countless numbers. Though the Swadeshi and Boycott movements were winding down in 1907, acts of deadly violence (assassinations, bombings) were becoming increasingly frequent. Secret societies such as the *Anushilan Samiti*, *Abhinava Bharat* and revolutionary newspapers such as the *Yugantar*, *Shakti* and *Bhavani Mandir* were urging the student population to take up armed resistance against British rule. The first political murders of Europeans were committed at Poona in 1897 when the Chapekar brothers shot Lt. Ayers mistaking him for the Plague Commission President. In 1905 Shyamji Krishna Verma set up the India Home Rule League Society; he also published a monthly journal called the *Indian Sociologist* which espoused Indian causes; journals of Bengal preached various anti-British ideas and how to violently execute them; between 1906 and 1909, more than 550 political cases came before the Bengal courts; the peaceful delegates of the Bengal Provincial Conference were brutally assaulted in 1906; in 1907 unsuccessful attempts were made to assassinate the Lt. Governors of East and West Bengal and again in 1907, Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh had been deported following riots in the canal colonies of Punjab. All these events created a very real fear in India and Britain for the Indian empire, reflections of which were very clear in Field Marshal Evelyn Wood's compositions.

On the fiftieth anniversary of the mutiny, therefore, the context of the commemoration of the rebellion of 1857 was one which the Government of India had to design very carefully. As I have shown in the previous chapter, the commemoration of 1857 was problematic because of its controversial nature and the strident Indian public opinion against any exhibition of conquest. Therefore, the Government of India had to project the crushing of 1857 as an epochal event which, although violent and brutal, had given way to an unprecedented era of 'progress' and peaceful development in an environment of cooperation and collaboration to India. At the same time, as the event had occurred only

fifty years ago and there were many surviving participants, it had to acknowledge their role in securing British Empire in India.

Mutiny in the Passing? The Fiftieth Anniversary in *The Pioneer*

Going through a year's issue of *The Pioneer*, one of the most popular dailies among the European community in India, the impression one is left with is the mundane way in which the fiftieth anniversary of the mutiny was reported. There were no full-scale articles on the rebellion of 1857 or any attempt to organise an ambitious celebration. Small events took place and were reported without much comment:

A Liverpool telegram states that Capt. Willis, of Prescott, was found dead in a railway carriage at Edge Hill Station. The late officer was born in 1834 and served in the Indian Mutiny.¹²

Teams are being selected for a novel cricket match to played on the Notts county ground,...the players being composed of eleven ladies from that city and county and eleven old soldiers who saw service in the Crimea and Indian Mutiny.¹³

The [Lawrence] Asylum as most people know, owes its inception to Sir Henry Lawrence who desired to be formed...an asylum for orphaned children of soldiers....On the 6th instant the celebration of the Forty-Ninth anniversary of Founder's Day took place.¹⁴

The first report mentioned the death of a mutiny veteran and little else. The last report did not mention the mutiny, it referred to one of its greatest 'heroes' and may have evoked some nostalgic emotion for the readers. Through the above three reports it is clear that the memory of 1857 had become just another event in the social calendar of the British in India; soaked up in the daily mofussil life of the Europeans in India. The leitmotif of 1857 had drastically changed – from one of contest and violence to peaceable passing away of the antagonistic elements of the event. But the continued demands of some of the participants of 1857 for appropriate commemoration delayed or postponed the 'passing away'.

¹² 'News in Brief,' *The Pioneer* (Allahabad), 6 September, 1907.

¹³ 'News in Brief,' *The Pioneer*, 14 September, 1907.

¹⁴ 'Lawrence Asylum – Founders Day,' *The Pioneer*, 15 September, 1907.

The Mutiny Impostor

One of the most significant debates in the after life of the mutiny was who actually was a mutiny veteran? Was he only an officer? Was he only a military person? Which actions warranted this accolade? On the one hand, the anniversary provided an opportunity for individuals who wanted to press the claim of some, particularly for greater public recognition. A correspondent to *The Pioneer* revealed that there were as many as 120 and 130 mutiny veterans living in Australia. Among these, the correspondent felt, the chief was “Mr. George Thompson...who possesses the Lucknow medal with two clasps – one for the Relief and the other for the Defence.”¹⁵

Brigadier-General Neill promis[ed] his name should be...recommended for the V.C. But, as often unfortunately happens, there is many a slip between the cup and the lip...and Mr. Thompson’s bravery went officially unrecorded.¹⁶

A correspondent of the *Indian Daily Telegraph* suggested that the fiftieth anniversary of the famous siege of the Residency at Lucknow was an appropriate occasion to put in a memorial at that site to ‘Captain Fulton of the Engineers’ whose ‘gallant services’ he felt needed fulsome acknowledgement.

This, the fiftieth anniversary of the famous siege is...an appropriate occasion to repair the deficiency and raise a memorial worthy of one of Lucknow’s greatest heroes.¹⁷

For another letter writer, this time to *The Pioneer*, it was high time that the Government took steps to weed out the impostors claiming the privileges of mutiny veterans. To illustrate his point he noted that

Only last month the deaths of two “Mutiny Veterans” were announced in the newspapers. Their ages were given as 60 and 65 years...in the case of each...he had performed distinguished services in those troublesome times. Now those heroes must have been 10 and 15 years of age respectively in 1857, and one can easily imagine what feats of valour they must have performed during the mutiny. I know of others who pose as Mutiny Veterans who must have been younger still in 1857. PROTEST¹⁸

¹⁵ ‘Indian News and Notes: Mutiny Veterans in Australia’, *The Pioneer*, 1 December, 1907.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ ‘A Suggested Memorial,’ *The Pioneer*, 12 September, 1907.

¹⁸ ‘Mutiny Veterans’ in Letters to the Editor, *The Pioneer*, 12 May, 1907.

As discussed in the previous chapter, mutiny veterans had been invited to participate in a ceremonial march for the 1903 Delhi durbar.¹⁹ Other mutiny commemorations such as the unveiling of memorials, statues, monuments had also marked the occasion of the durbar. The subdued attention given to the fiftieth anniversary of 1857 in *The Pioneer* suggests that the paper sensed some ‘mutiny fatigue’ among its readers. Commemorative functions were reported, but at no great length. For instance a rather short passage in an obscure corner described a ball held in La Martiniere College in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Relief of Lucknow as a brilliant success.

was a brilliant success....Speeches were delivered referring to the historic part taken by the Martiniere in the world-famous siege and relief. The feature of the gathering was the presence of the Messrs. Hilton and Ireland, two veterans of the siege.²⁰

These articles in *The Pioneer* reflected the undecided and hesitant nature concerning the fiftieth anniversary – the dilemma of what to do and what not to do. Whether to commemorate the occasion openly or surreptitiously?

The Creation of Empire-mindedness: Evelyn Wood and *The Times*

[this] personal recollection...of war has served its purpose, in quickening the national memory of deeds which neither fifty nor five hundred years can carry into oblivion.

– The Times, 1907

The crafting of empire-mindedness was a continuous process taking shape from many different initiatives. Evelyn Wood’s 18 articles in the London *Times* sought to rally a nation dispirited by the recent Boer War (1899-1902).²¹ As Paul Gilroy points out:

stability and continuity [of empire] depended upon the organized transmission of key cultural motifs, habits, and mentalities to distant colonizers, to a new public at home who would develop a relationship to the imperial project as supporters and potential colonizers, and, of course, to a measured and significant proportion of the colonized

¹⁹ ‘Delhi Coronation Camp,’ *The Pioneer*, 4 December, 1902.

²⁰ ‘Lucknow Mutiny Ball,’ *The Pioneer*, 2 December, 1907.

²¹ For studies on the Boer War and its impact on the British imperial behaviour, see C.C. Eldridge (ed.), *British Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century*, New York: St. Martins, 1984; Donal Lowry, *The South African War Reappraised*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000; Andrew S. Thompson, *Imperial Britain: The Empire in British Politics, c.1880-1932*, London: Pearson Education, 2000; David Omissi, and Andrew Thompson (eds.), *The Impact of the South African War*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

who had to be given a stake in the workings of manifestly brutal and exploitative arrangements.²²

In this light, the anniversary of 1857 was a very suitable opportunity through which the virtues and exploits of the Empire could be extolled. As Linda Colley has pointed out, “[p]ossession of such a vast and obviously alien empire encouraged the British to see themselves as a distinct, special and – often – superior people.”²³ These notions were addressed not only to the British nation but also to the white colonies. Britain had to draw them into a web of ‘imperial defence’ and persuade them to accept their responsibility towards the upkeep of the Empire.²⁴ For Evelyn Wood, the Empire could not depend only on Britain and its white colonies; Empire was not only about transfer of parliamentary democracy to these colonies. For Wood, Empire was also about the colonies that had seen the might and vigour of the Empire. Also, the articles were meant to address the growing concern over imperialist rivalries and the expectation of war over them.

These articles were designed to jog the memory of the public and remind them of the past, to soothe the very painful wounds of the present. The very narrative style of the pieces were such to transport the reader into the actual scene of the event, to give an eye-witness view which would encourage a viewer to participate in the unfolding of those events. And these devices directed at creating a public discussion forum did, at a level, succeed. The public, invited to give its opinions and views responded; and two veterans of the mutiny corrected some facts in the Field Marshal’s narrative²⁵, but largely endorsed the spirit of the articles which gave added elements of excitement and curiosity to the essays and the battles in question.

²² Paul Gilroy, *Against Race: Imagining Political Culture Beyond the Color Line*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000, p. 139.

²³ Linda Colley, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

²⁴ See G. Greenwood, ‘The Burden of Empire,’ *The Calcutta Review*, No. CCXLVII, April 1907, pp. 274-277. The writer discusses the burden of the upkeep of the British Empire and the role that the white colonies must play to keep Germany and the United States at bay.

²⁵ *The Times* (London), 5 and 7 October, 1907.

Linda Colley has argued that it was continuous war that created and cemented the identity of the British Empire and it was war which helped it to gain such a large overseas Empire.²⁶ Therefore, it was quite natural for Field Marshal Wood to appropriate the anniversary of the mutiny to raise fervour for the Empire. As I have shown in the previous chapter, the mutiny of 1857 had been an event of glory for British history and Evelyn Wood was celebrating this aspect of imperial history at the low ebb of Empire. This project was ably supported by the editor of *The Times* who described Evelyn Wood's essays about the mutiny as 'Homeric', a grand term for eighteen essays. But the implication was that Britain was in need of her epics.

'Imperial Heroes'

An Empire has to have a playground where the heroic imagination can play about freely and "'India' was a literal and imaginative site for the making of English vigour and character."²⁷ The mutiny of 1857 made men into the ideal imperial heroes to whom an Empire could look up to and revere. Evelyn Wood's pieces reinforced the images of these heroes, heroes which an Empire worshipped.²⁸ Of Colin Campbell, the Commander in chief during the mutiny Evelyn Wood wrote:

He was 65 years of age when he left England for the East on 24 hours notice; but he was active, energetic, and possessed of a personal courage that could not be shaken.²⁹

The hero's feats were further extolled: "Sir Colin Campbell...defeated 25, 000 men, captured 34 out of...40 guns, with only 99 casualties in his forces."³⁰ Havelock, whose

²⁶ Linda Colley, op.cit, p. 316.

²⁷ Manu Goswami, "'Englishness' on the Imperial Circuit: Mutiny Tours in Colonial South Asia', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, Vol. 9, March 1996, p. 58.

²⁸ "The intense public interest and excitement generated, throughout British culture, by news coverage of the Rebellion made the Indian army generals like Havelock, Nicholson and Neill into a new type of popular hero. Henceforth, at least until... the 'Great War' of 1914 -18, and arguably far beyond this into the mid twentieth century, the imperial soldier hero would luxuriate at the very heart of the British national imaginary." Graham Dawson, 'Heroes of history, heroes of phantasy: Idealisation, masculinity and the soldiers of empire,' *Soundings*, Issue 3, Summer 1996, pp. 147-148. See also John M. Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984.

²⁹ Evelyn Wood, 'Sir Colin Campbell at Lucknow,' *The Times*, 11 October, 1907.

³⁰ Evelyn Wood, 'The Gwalior Contingent at Cawnpur,' *The Times*, 12 October, 1907.

duty and fearlessness were highlighted in Evelyn Wood's description, had the idyllic hero-like qualities, even in death:

He realized he was dying, and said to his friend Outram...“I have for 40 years so ruled my life that when death came I might face it without fear.” Next day he died, as he had lived, without fear. All England mourned for him... It was aptly written of this Puritan-like hero:-

Alike in Peace and War, one path he trod,
His law was duty and his guide was God.³¹

Henry Lawrence was cast into the mould of the model imperial hero who died while doing his duty and even in the face of death did not forget his duty and his Christian values. Describing how the Henry Lawrence of his narrative was wounded fatally by a shell which tore away the top of his thigh, Lawrence still talked earnestly and as a statesman of the causes of the mutiny and of the mistakes made by the British³²:

and then feeling he was near death he partook of Holy Communion, with bullets striking around and shells hurtling overhead. He died at sunrise on July 4, having dictated his epitaph: - “Here lies Henry Lawrence, who tried to do his duty; may God have mercy on him.”³³

Through the medium of the pall bearing soldiers, Evelyn Wood drew the readers into the death scene of the dutiful countryman.

Some hours later, when four men... came to remove the body... all reverently kissed the dead man's forehead. They had seen him...under close fire ...rally the retreating column, and could rightly estimate what they and our country had lost.³⁴

Evelyn Wood also eulogized Outram's “disinterested generosity”³⁵ and “self-sacrifice”³⁶ in giving up command to Henry Lawrence and his share in the prize money of £ 250,000 which he would have won if he had been in command instead of Henry Lawrence.³⁷

³¹ Evelyn Wood, ‘Sir Colin Campbell at Lucknow,’ *The Times*, 11 October, 1907.

³² Evelyn Wood, ‘The Mutiny and Revolt at Lucknow,’ *The Times*, 7 October, 1907.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Evelyn Wood, ‘Havelock at Cawnpur,’ *The Times*, 8 October, 1907.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

Wood praised Nicholson as a man who came through in the time of distress and who succeeded in raising the falling standard of the British Empire in Delhi. "Nicholson was undoubtedly the most remarkable of those heroic men who became famous in the days of our humiliation."³⁸ His death was noble because he had regained Delhi for the Empire.

On the 23rd John Nicholson died at the age of 35 as nobly as he had lived, consoled by the thought that Delhi was once more in our possession.³⁹

The heroes of Evelyn Wood's articles presented a panorama of virtues from which to choose from and get inspired and enthused from – sacrifice, generosity, experience, execution of duty, fearlessness, Christian values and many more.

It is quite noteworthy that almost all officers mentioned in Evelyn Wood's essays who shone, however lightly in 1857 were by 1907, Generals and Field Marshals. There could have been fast paced promotion because of participation in the events of 1857. It seems as if there might have been a military lobby in 1907 in Britain which encouraged the Field Marshal to include the fast rise of individuals in his pieces on the anniversary of the mutiny to rouse enthusiasm for the Empire and to demonstrate that participation in the Empire led to wide recognition and applause. It was also an attempt by Evelyn Wood to persuade the new generation to contribute to the Empire because, he felt, that the "burden of maintaining the British tradition...is a heavy one."⁴⁰

Some examples that have been highlighted in Evelyn Wood's narratives seem to be provided deliberately as they were of: Lt. John Watson, later Gen. John Watson, V.C., G.C.B.; Lt. Hugh Gough who turned out to be Gen. Sir Hugh Gough, V.C., G.C.B.; Lt. Dartnell who went on to become Major-General Sir John Dartnell, K.C.B., C.M.G.; Lt. Sleigh Roberts, Staff Officer who became Field Marshal;⁴¹ Col. Napier who also later became Field Marshal Lord Napier. Non military individuals who are mentioned in Wood's essays also gained rapid advancement. Some prominent examples were of: Mr.

³⁸ Evelyn Wood, 'The Siege of Dehli,' *The Times*, 5 October, 1907.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Evelyn Wood, 'The Indian Mutiny', *The Times*, 30 September, 1907.

⁴¹ Evelyn Wood, 'The Causes and the Outbreak,' *The Times*, 30 September, 1907.

Bartle Frere, afterwards Sir Bartle Frere; Mr. Richard Temple, later Sir Richard Temple; Mr. Robert Montgomery, later Sir Robert Montgomery.⁴²

'Hindu Conspirators'

The prevailing atmosphere of violence and secrecy unleashed by 'Hindu seditionists' and 'revolutionary terrorists' were echoed in the words of Wood when he listed the causes of the mutiny – "no account had been taken of the existing political disaffection... or of the skill of astute Hindus in fomenting insubordination in the army."⁴³

Further, his lists of reasons for 'disenchantment' are primarily the progressive reforms undertaken by the British Indian government which, according to him, gave many reasons for disgust to the Brahmans.⁴⁴ Accordingly, these may have been the Field Marshal's way of warning the Government of India against too much experimentation in governance and of giving any concessions to the 'Hindu seditionists.' The piece entitled 'The Qualities of the Hindu Soldier' did not delineate any qualities but was dedicated almost wholly to the causes of discontent and grievances of the Hindus and accused them of being opportunistic. "Having no recognized head, (the Hindu rebels) converted a mutiny into a revolt by playing on the veneration felt by a conservative race for a Monarch."⁴⁵

In the conclusion of Evelyn Wood's essays, where he reflected on "Why, then, was there a Mutiny and a Revolt?"⁴⁶ His answer was that "the people... were hostile to their British overlords; nevertheless a revolt would have been...impossible, had not the Hindu conspirators been enabled to foment a mutiny."⁴⁷

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Evelyn Wood, 'The Qualities of the Hindu Soldier,' *The Times*, 1 October, 1907.

⁴⁶ Evelyn Wood, 'The Final Resistance,' *The Times*, 19 October, 1907.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

‘Tried and Trusted Policies’

A very prominent role was played by the ‘loyal Sikhs’ in Evelyn Wood’s description about the campaigns of the mutiny. In almost every battle they played a decisive and powerful part in the drama of suppression.

The Sikhs made no sign till the Sipahis were at a close range, but then they poured on them so destructive a fire that they broke up without attempting to enter the building.⁴⁸

This was in keeping with the myth of the ‘martial races’, an idea which had crystallised forcefully in the late nineteenth century against the backdrop of a perceived need to re-organise the hierarchy of allies. He praised the Sikhs for their ‘British-like’ traditions of military skill, duty, honour, sacrifice and of being of help to those who could not help themselves – as an example, an incident was recounted with dry humour about a Sikh who rallied an exhausted British soldier:

One of them (the Sikhs) gave moral as well as physical support to a young Briton, who, exhausted, sat down to die. ‘Cheer up! Come on! Do not despair!’ said the Sikh... ‘Rest assured, when I see you cannot go further, I’ll save you from those brutes by putting a bullet through your head.’ The Briton reached the boats.⁴⁹

Stout loyalty was highlighted when the Sikh called the rebels ‘brutes’. It was also shown that the Sikhs had clearly chosen their side – there was no ambiguity in their loyalty. This piece was almost a reconfirmation, a reassurance of their ‘martial spirit’, loyalty, devotion, duty and courage in view of the events of 1907 – a reassurance of having such a loyal force in India. Possibly in the aftermath of the Swadeshi and Boycott movements and talk of devolving power to India, this incident seemed to be a hint by Wood to not experiment too much in policies of governance, stick with the martial races that have been known to prove themselves and beware of the dangers of giving too much leeway to the ‘Hindu conspirators’.

⁴⁸ Evelyn Wood, ‘The Patna District,’ *The Times*, 4 October, 1907.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

‘Episodes of the Empire’

The most legendary of all episodes of the Empire was the ‘Cawnpur Massacre’. This fable captured the imagination of millions; several thousand stories, novels, plays, dramas and histories were woven around this incident of the mutiny. It had all the tragic emotions needed to elevate an event into a legendary episode of the Empire.⁵⁰ Evelyn Wood’s essay entitled ‘Cawnpur’ kept alive the memory of that momentous moment – he relived the whole experience of that incident and through his writing reminded the public not to forget such occurrences:

On July 17 our soldiers strolled over Wheeler’s intrenchment and wonderingly admired the desperate valour... they went to the old house where a fresh blood of 200 slaughtered men and children was still spread...they gazed with horror at the over charged well, from which a ghastly pile of limbs and mangled bodies protruded. Many brought away from the charnel-house a lock of hair, a bit of a child’s dress, or broken toy; all vowed they would exact a full retribution.⁵¹

By putting his feelings and thoughts into the mouth of the ordinary British soldier, Wood connected the reader with those who had actually touched the remnants of the massacre. Rather than giving a passionate condemnation of the event, Wood depicted the fury and rage over the event passing through the mind’s eye of a common soldier. Wood conceded that the stories about rape and mindless violence were false but also warned that the repercussions of the murder of the citizens of the Empire would involve everyone and spare no one.

There was no mutilation, no dishonour attempted, but the horrible massacre, which appalled the whole civilized world, induced reprisals on many thousands who had never been near Cawnpur.⁵²

⁵⁰ For how the incident at Kanpur was thought of by the British see Flora Annie Steele, *On the Face of the Waters*, London: Heinemann, 1897; K.K. Datta, *Reflections on the Mutiny*, Calcutta: The World Press, 1957; Rudrangshu Mukherjee, “‘Satan Let Loose upon Earth’: The Kanpur Massacres in India in the Revolt of 1857,” *Past and Present*, No. 128, Aug., 1990, pp. 92-116; P.J.O. Taylor, *Chronicles of the Mutiny and Other Historical Sketches*, New Delhi: Harper Collins, 1992; Barbara English, ‘The Kanpur Massacres in India in the Revolt of 1857,’ *Past and Present*, No. 142, Feb., 1994, pp. 169-178; Gautam Chakravarty, *The Indian Mutiny and the British Imagination*, New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Christopher Herbert, *War of No Pity: The Indian Mutiny and Victorian Trauma*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007; Stephen Heathorn, ‘Angel of Empire: The Cawnpore Memorial Well as a British Site of Imperial Remembrance’, *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, Vol. 8, No. 3, Autumn 2008, (page nos. not available).

⁵¹ Evelyn Wood, ‘Havelock at Cawnpur,’ *The Times*, 8 October, 1907.

⁵² Evelyn Wood, ‘Cawnpur,’ *The Times*, 3 October 1907.

Wood was not uncomfortable with the reprisals; he did not feel a need for apologising. But, he did feel a certain amount of remorse about the killing of the sons of the Mughal Emperor:

His (Lt. Hodson's) conduct in shooting with his own hand two sons and a grandson of the King... has since been reprobated, and in my view justly.⁵³

In these 18 compositions the imprint of the present on the past is seen unmistakably. Wood was reminding his readers that Empire was not only made up of the 'white' self governing colonies. His vision of an Empire needed to have a record of militarism which necessarily included India. His focus is not on the white colonies, on the legacy they had received from Britain of parliamentary institutions, democracy and commerce but on the glory of conquest. This aspect of the Empire could be highlighted by monumentalising the mutiny – by making the participants, the audience, the events and the lessons learnt from it bigger and better in each re-counting.

A Memory for the Future: 1857 and V.D. Savarkar

The nation that has no consciousness of its past has no future.

— V.D. Savarkar

The Indian War of Independence originally written by Vinayak Damodar Savarkar in Marathi to celebrate and commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of 1857 was proscribed by the British government in India a few months after its publication in July 1907. The book was into English in 1909 translated by Madame Cama a prominent Indian revolutionary herself, living in England and Holland and helping Indian students and revolutionaries. She and the well-known revolutionary, Shyamji Krishna Verma, set up the first association for Indians abroad, the headquarters of which were called the 'India House.'

⁵³ Evelyn Wood, 'The Panjab and the North West,' *The Times*, 2 October, 1907.

Since its publication, this book has been the subject of various controversies. It has been viewed through different lenses over different points of time. Some have attacked it for the failure to emphasize a secular unity or a secular nation in spite of references to 'learning from history' to build a 'nation.' Others have criticised it because throughout the 1857 work, the roots of India's 'civilization are shown to be laid in Hinduism. But in this section the author's aim in writing this book in 1907, the fiftieth anniversary of 1857 is explored.

The first thing one observes is that Savarkar was at pains to prove himself as a credible historian. He regularly quoted from various English books, newspapers and speeches of British politicians to establish his research. In the same year his publishers declared "[t]he history of the tremendous Revolution that was enacted in the year 1857 has never been written in this scientific spirit by any author, Indian or foreign".⁵⁴ In the introduction Savarkar asserts that he was the first historian, Indian or foreign to undertake extensive research by sifting through numerous mutiny reports, accounts, memoirs and diaries and thus had produced a trustworthy and monumental work: 'Taking the searching attitude of an historian, I began to scan through that instructive and magnificent spectacle.'⁵⁵

Although Savarkar was using British sources, he was telling his projected audiences, the Indian people and their sympathizers, to remember 1857 through his momentous book. It's as though Savarkar was appointing himself as the arbiter of any future nationalist celebration of 1857. Savarkar stated that he was writing the book to urge the Indian not to discount and discredit this part of their past. He wanted them to reserve the memory of this event for a future when it could be celebrated – a future where to talk of this past would not 'mean condemnation, persecution and ostracization from the society itself and also from the government authorities.'⁵⁶

⁵⁴ V.D. Savarkar, *The Indian War of Independence*, Delhi: Rajdhani Granthagar (ninth edn.), 1970, p. 4.

⁵⁵ Ibid, p. IX.

⁵⁶ Ibid, pp. 37-38.

He aimed to use the memory of this event for future nation building – in the form of inspiration to other rebel movements or in the form of a construction of a nationalistic past.⁵⁷

The nation that has no consciousness of its past has no future. Equally true it is that a nation must develop its capacity not only of claiming a past but also of knowing how to use it for the furtherance of its future.⁵⁸

This theme that, the act of resistance lay in refusing to accept the official narratives of the 1857 rebellion and of exposing thereby the censorship placed on alternate forms of commemoration struck a chord. We find Lala Lajpat Rai writing in the *Young India* in 1916 about the ‘iniquities of the victors in building permanent memorials’ on the spots of 1857 reprisals. He quoted from an account of an English visitor to Lucknow and ‘Cawnpore’ published in the journal *The Outlook*. These places, deeply associated with 1857, were described as ‘shrines of heroism and devilry’ where

Every crumbling gateway and every gloomy cellar has its tale of heroic endurance and.... where (the) soul will be filled with gloom and will cry for eternal vengeance on the authors of the massacre.⁵⁹

Lala Lajpat Rai condemned the commemoration of sites associated with the British memory of the mutiny. He criticized such accounts which only talked about the injustices suffered by the British at the hands of the Indians. He warned that these accounts excited feelings in Indians which ‘must be suppressed.’ Asoka Mehta, the socialist⁶⁰ also took up this theme of resisting the official accounts of 1857. Writing a chronicle of 1857 on the eve of independence, he described how, when a missionary asked a group of boys to write an essay on 1857, ‘every youth sent in a blank sheet of paper.’ This, he said, was the way in which

⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 63.

⁵⁸ Ibid, author’s introduction.

⁵⁹ Lala Lajpat Rai, ‘An Interpretation and a History of the Nationalist Movement from Within,’ *Young India*, before 1 March, 1916 in B.R. Nanda (ed.), *Collected Works of Lala Lajpat Rai*, Vol. 6, New Delhi: Manohar, 2005, p. 257.

⁶⁰ He was in the Congress Socialist Party till 1951 and then was the General Secretary of the Praja Socialist Party. For the politics of the India of the 1950’s see Christophe Jaffrelot, *India’s Silent Revolution: The Rise of the Lower Castes in North India*, New Delhi: Centre for Education Research and Innovation, 2003.

we have rejected and passed by the spate of literature on the Mutiny that has come from British writers. It, however, continues to stalk through our memory – an unavenged and unappeased ghost.⁶¹

Conclusion

Ironically in 1957, the centenary year of 1857, it was not as much as the event which was sought to be remembered but the author of the book on the event. It was the industriousness and foresight of Savarkar which was applauded rather than the merits of his book. As I show in the next chapter, Savarkar was sought to be glorified as the pioneer among nationalist heroes by the right wing. For the publisher of the 1970 edition of the book

the importance of the book is...signified by its very name and its illustrious author. Veer Savarkar, judged by any standard, was a Prince among the Revolutionaries.... He... underwent tremendous sacrifices and harrowing privations under the British rule for the sake of his mother land He gave India a new school of thought.⁶²

Savarkar writing in an article in an official centenary volume seemed to think unproblematically that the aim of his work had been realised:

The centenary year of the 1857 War of Independence is being observed these days with great enthusiasm....Fifty years ago...it was regarded...as a permanent dark blot in the history of Hindusthan...⁶³

Yet, interestingly enough he seemed to anticipate that his estimation of the rebellion as the first war of independence might be challenged again in the future so he adds:

The discussion for the subject must needs be repeated at intervals, for the enlightenment of the general public...that would...demonstrate why it was a national fight for freedom and not an insurrection...⁶⁴

⁶¹ Asoka Mehta, *1857: The Great Rebellion*, Bombay: Hind Kitabs Limited Publishers, 1946, p. 7.

⁶² V.D. Savarkar, *The Indian War of Independence*, Delhi: Rajdhani Granthagar (ninth edn.), 1970, publisher's introduction, p. I.

⁶³ *Souvenir: Centenary Volume*, Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1957, p. 32.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p. 170.

CHAPTER FOUR

1957: THE CENTENARY COMMEMORATIONS

Commemoration was a process of condensing the moral lessons of history and fixing them in place for all time; this required that the object of commemoration be understood as a completed stage of history, safely nestled in a sealed-off past.¹

Introduction

The centenary year of 1857 was celebrated all over India with much jubilation and fanfare. It was the first time that an anniversary of 1857 was being celebrated in independent India – the first time where Indians could rejoice about the great deeds of the past and pay their respects to those who participated in them without the fear of invoking the wrath of the government. But the Government of India, especially the Congress party were seeing 1857 as a ‘sealed off past’ while for the opposition parties the 1857 movement still had reverberations for the present. This chapter explores why the official celebrations were so subdued in spite of the centenary being a significant celebratory moment. It shows the dilemma the centenary presented for the ruling party and how it tackled it. It engages with the way in which the politics of the present played a part in the commemorations of the past of 1857.

This chapter looks at the different political programmes for commemoration and the sites at which they were being worked out. I discuss the pressure from various quarters to observe the centenary ‘as befitted an epochal event’ and the response of the Government of India to this demand. It explores how the centenary of 1857 presented an opportunity to different political parties to put forward their point of view and criticise the policies of the government. This chapter also examines the position taken by different sections of the Indian media. I conclude by touching upon the 1857 centenary commemorations in Pakistan.

¹ Kirk Savage, ‘The Past in the Present: The Life of Memorials’, *Harvard Design Magazine*, No. 9, Fall 1999, p. 1

The Dilemmas of the Ruling Party

1957 was an opportunity to celebrate joyously for the first time in independent India an anniversary of 1857. The ruling Congress party however emphasized the importance of commemoration in a responsible, solemn and patriotic manner. The official line was that 1857 was important but it should be celebrated keeping in mind the imperative of nation making. In line with this the 'centenary committee' headed by the Vice President Radhakrishnan had decided that the major part of the official programmes of commemoration would take place not on 10 May, the anniversary of the Meerut uprising but on 15 August the day of independence.² It wanted to discourage opposition parties from working out their independent programmes of commemoration which might be used as platforms of criticism. As Kamalapati Tripathi, the U.P. minister for home, education and information pointed out

Enough has been said on the obscurantist notions...about the 57th years of the Gregorian calendar...and it is attempted to deduce that the 1957 also has...bloody upheavals in store. ...They even speak of predictions...about 1957 seeing the end of the freedom of India. It cannot be brushed aside as mere fantasy and hallucination of the ruling party that this unfortunate notion is being worked upon systematically...If disturbances...break out any time during this year, what great support that notion will get and to what extent the efforts of the patriotic sections...and the country's future be damaged, should not be very difficult to assess.³

This was the kind of 'excitable' atmosphere which the ruling party wanted to puncture. So the Government kept two dates in the picture – that of 10 May, and also of 15 August, the day power was formally transferred to an independent nation state.⁴ The 10th anniversary of independence was sought to be overlapped over the centenary commemorations and the notions of 'non-violence' and 'unity' imposed on these celebrations. Through this merging of two separate dates the Congress also wanted to make the point that the one movement had been crushed, but the second movement which

2 "The official celebrations, for which an extensive programme is being drawn up by a high power committee under the chairmanship of Vice President Radhakrishnan, will take place on August 15...this year." 'Centenary Celebrations of First Freedom War: Highlights of Programme in Delhi,' *The Pioneer*, (Lucknow), 10 May, 1957. "Dr. Radhakrishnan who is the President of the Centenary Committee...is drawing up a programme for elaborate official celebrations of the centenary in August this year." *The Pioneer*, 11 May, 1957.

³ Kamalapati Tripathi, 'Random Thoughts on 1857 Revolt,' *The Pioneer*, 10 May, 1957.

⁴ V.P. Menon, *The Transfer of Power in India*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1957, p. 10.

the ruling party now wanted to lay sole claim to, had come to fruition in the creation of a modern nation state.

The ruling party wanted to show it accepted that 1857 was part of the 'national war of independence.' But it wanted to keep what it considered its own long term 'non violent' and 'successful' national movement also in the public eye. It tended to cast the 1857 rebellion as 'pre-modern' in some sense, even when it hailed it as 'national.' While not suggesting that 1857 could not provide inspiration the Congress party wanted to stress that violent methods were not useful for nation building. It wanted to suggest that it was the Congress party using 'modern' means which had led to success. The problem also was that it could not lay sole claim to 1857, whereas it could monopolise the claims to the latter events of 1947.⁵

1857 also encouraged the principles of direct and violent confrontation, battle through arms and the utter 'defeat' of the 'enemy'. This was severely condemned by the new Gandhian philosophy that had achieved independence. The movement did not promote individual liberty and universal brotherhood. Through the legacy of 1857, one race could claim superiority while the other would be condemned, this opportunity of one-upmanship was severely criticised by the non-violent philosophy. In the struggle of 1857 one side would have to be utterly and hopelessly defeated and humiliated – a scenario which was unacceptable in the world of 1957. Hugh Tinker, observing the centenary commemorations and noting the muted 'note with which it has been greeted' attributed them to the 'national leaders' who did not "wish to stir up racial feeling against the British."⁶ He added that "[i]n the present difficult time, Nehru and his colleagues have quite deliberately played down the anti-British theme."⁷ In the world of 1957 with the successive growth of tensions between superpowers, newly independent India had to survive as an autonomous nation and this could only be possible without antagonizing any world power.

⁵ See the official history of 1857, S.N. Sen, *Eighteen Fifty-Seven*, New Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Division, 1957, p. 405.

⁶ Hugh Tinker, '1857 and 1957: The Mutiny and Modern India', in *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)*, Vol. 34, No. 1, Jan. 1958, p. 65.

⁷ Ibid.

Receiving the official history of 1857 at Rashtrapati Bhavan, the President Rajendra Prasad put it this way: “The struggle begun in 1857 later gained momentum under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.”⁸ This theme of national unity was the motif of the speeches given by Prime Minister Nehru and the President on 10th May 1957 and 16th August respectively:

The Prime Minister made an impassioned appeal to the people to learn the greatest lesson from the first struggle for independence...the lesson of unity and harmony...he warned the people that freedom could slip out of their hands even in the present times if they did not remain united and vigilant.⁹

Let Us...take a vow today that the aim for which the fighters in 1857 sacrificed their lives...will ever remain in our memory and that we shall maintain the dignity of our country whatever our differences.¹⁰

A concern can be detected here that people’s loyalties were being directed towards regional, linguistic or communal identities and that this would endanger the fragile unity of the new nation state.¹¹ The ruling party wanted to ensure that the 1857 centenary wouldn’t be used to legitimize violent forms of political struggle. “They wish to restore respect for authority which has been sadly shaken in the last quarter of a century.”¹² So we find Nehru on 15th August asking “people to remember the lessons of 1857 and the teachings of Lord Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi of peace, non-violence and religious toleration.”¹³ Therefore, there was an attempt to emphasize the peaceful ideals of the nationalist struggle over the more ‘destructive’ legacy of 1857. Moreover, at an event organised by the Congress party to commemorate 1857, over 1, 00,000 people were pledged that their ‘first’ loyalty was towards the country by Prime Minister Nehru in the presence of the President and the Vice-President.¹⁴ This pledge demonstrates the very real fear among official minds of the effect that commemoration of a violent event would

⁸ President Rajendra Prasad’s statement at the presentation of the official history of 1857 at the Rashtrapati Bhavan. ‘Presentation of “Eighteen Fifty Seven” to President,’ *The Hindustan Times*, (New Delhi), 11 May, 1957.

⁹ ‘Lesson of 1857 – Need for Unity,’ *The Pioneer*, 11 May, 1957.

¹⁰ ‘President’s Impassioned Plea to Maintain Unity of India,’ *The Hindustan Times*, 17 August, 1957.

¹¹ See Sunil Khilnani, *The Idea of India*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999.

¹² Hugh Tinker, op. cit, p. 65.

¹³ ‘Nation Celebrates 10th Anniversary of Independence: Homage Paid to Memory of 1857 Heroes,’ *The Hindustan Times*, 16 August, 1957.

¹⁴ ‘Nehru Administers Loyalty Pledge: Delhi’s Homage to 1857 Martyrs,’ *The Hindustan Times*, 17 August, 1957.

have on a people exposed to demands for linguistic and regional units. The Motilal Nehru Committee had recommended in 1928 the linguistic reorganisation of provinces. Yet the nationalist leadership as a whole was opposed to linguistic states. Krishna Menon had warned that 'we will "Balkanise" India if we further dismember the states instead of creating larger units.' Therefore, the fear of the leadership that the linguistic provinces would have a sub-nationalist bias that could strain a nation still in its infancy.¹⁵

The Agendas of the Opposition Parties

For the Congress, the 1857 uprising had to be incorporated into the trajectory of the nationalist struggle, but it could not lay sole claim to it. All shades of political opinion could claim some ancestry for their different agendas in this event. Hence oppositional movements found, in enthusiastic and contestatory celebrations of 1857, an occasion on which they could challenge the ruling party's position on many different points.

The Praja Socialist Party emphasised the popular appeal of 1857 and the participation of large sections of society in it.¹⁶ The national executive of the Praja-Socialist Party (PS-P) decided that it would observe 10th May as the centenary of "The First War of Indian Independence."¹⁷ It directed its party units to celebrate the centenary separately from the official rejoicings and "salute the martyrs in a most befitting manner."¹⁸ In its view it was a sacred duty to honour the heroes of the uprising and this was not a mere party matter but a national event and that it should be celebrated as such.¹⁹ The party organ *Janata* criticized the Government for its feeble attempts at commemoration and its failure to recognise the significance of the event for the present.

For some reasons not quite clear the Government of India seems to have decided to play down the importance of 1857. It was expected of the Government that they should prepare elaborate plans to celebrate the centenary of the day of the rising in the

¹⁵ Andhra Pradesh was the first state to come under the purview of the States Reorganization Act, 1956 to create language based states, but after a huge mass movement. "Other movements for language based states developed mobilizing all the passion and emotiveness associated with nationalist sentiments." Nivedita Menon and Aditya Nigam, *Power and Contestation: India since 1989*, London: Zed Books, 2007, p. 136.

¹⁶ 'Celebration of 1857 Centenary,' *Janata*, (Bombay), 19 May, 1957.

¹⁷ 'Celebrating the Centenary of 1857,' *Janata*, 28 April, 1957.

¹⁸ 'P-SP To Celebrate Centenary', *The Pioneer*, 26 April, 1957.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

Meerut Camp but we only hear of some lukewarm attempts quite inadequate to commemorate the great event. The celebration of the Meerut rising has still a great significance even for our present situation.²⁰

The newspaper felt that the objectives of the revolutionary struggle begun by the martyrs of 1857 had not been completely realized by the achievement of independence. There were still areas where the national struggle had to be continued, as for example the independence of Goa and Daman and Diu from Portuguese rule.²¹ The *Janata* reminded its readers that the government had promised that these regions would be 'integrated with the Indian Union.' But, no concrete steps had been taken. The PS-P organised a satyagraha led by its leader Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia to begin on 10th May, to remind the government of this unfulfilled agenda.²² For the Praja Socialist Party, the centenary of 1857 was also an opportunity to point out to the government that the movement for reform which had begun in 1857 had not ended with the national struggle of 1947. The struggle for social and economic equality was far from over and this struggle had to be continued.

The Communist Party also decided to celebrate the centenary under its own aegis, and like the PS-P directed its units to celebrate the 1857 War of Independence on 10 May.²³ Like the PS-P, the Communists also were stressing the popular and widely varying dimensions of 1857. P.C. Joshi in an article in the party organ *New Age* talked about the 'glorious' role of the peasantry in it and how the "rebellion had several features of a peasant partisan war."²⁴ He discussed how after the rebel sepoys marched into Delhi and proclaimed Bahadur Shah as the Badshah, they

did not restore Mughal autocracy but established a "Court of Administration" which discharged all the functions of the Government and the military High Command and

²⁰ 'Centenary of 1857,' Editorial, *Janata*, 5 May, 1957.

²¹ "The tiny pockets of Diu, Daman and Goa remind us that the objectives of 1857 are still not fully realised. There are still scores of Goans pining in the Portuguese jails – their only crime being their irrepressible thirst for freedom." Ibid.

²² 'Dr. Lohia's threat,' *The Pioneer*, 18 April, 1957.

²³ 'Centenary of 1857 Revolt: Communist Party to Celebrate', *The Pioneer*, 4 May, 1957; 'Celebrate 1857 Centenary – Polit Bureau's Call,' *New Age*, (New Delhi), 5 May, 1957.

²⁴ P.C. Joshi, 'The Great Rebellion,' *New Age*, 12 May, 1957.

the Badshah only signed its decisions or proclamations. The attempt may be characterised as a sort of constitutional monarchy.²⁵

Joshi also focussed on the memory of 1857 being preserved through popular forms like folk songs.²⁶ The profound revolutionary significance of 1857, according to Ajoy Ghosh lay in the fact that 1857 “lit a spark which was never extinguished.”²⁷ He signified that all attempts of the British to wipe out its memory from the minds of the Indian people had ended in failure. The ‘undying spirit of 1857 revealed itself again and again in subsequent national struggles waged by the Indian people.’

Again, as with socialists, the communists also felt that the aims of 1857 had not yet been achieved and the struggle therefore should be continued. The editorial on 10 May of *New Age* felt the people were not content with merely ‘recalling the glories of the past.’ They wanted to remind themselves of the ‘tasks to which destiny beckons them.’ The task which had begun in 1857, that of ridding the nation of imperialism was as yet unfinished.

The objective and tasks...are not yet fully accomplished. We have expelled the British from the political scene. But their exploitation to safeguard which Lawrence, Nicholson, Hodson, Havelock, Outram, Colin Campbell and other savage and bloodthirsty buccaneers committed unaccountable brutalities and crimes in the year 1857, still continues, on our soil and draws heavily on its substances. We have yet to wipe out this and every other vestige of British rule against which India's brave sons rose in Barrackpore, Meerut, Lucknow, Kanpur, Jhansi, Gwalior and many other places in the memorable year 1857. Free India of today can and must end this dismal legacy of her melancholy colonial past.²⁸

New Age felt that the nation had not yet been re-made completely after the departure of colonialism. Many pockets remained where the ‘humbled and the downtrodden had to be uplifted’ and ‘social, economic and political justice brought to the long suffering multitudes.’ For this ‘the major share of responsibility rested with the Congress Government’ and which was not being fulfilled by it. The Communist party organ criticized the government for lavishing attention on feudal princes while

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ P.C. Joshi, ‘1857: Delhi and Around’, *New Age*, 9 June, 1957; P.C. Joshi, ‘The Noble Heritage of 1857’, *New Age*, 11 August, 1957.

²⁷ Ajoy Ghosh, ‘1857 – A National Uprising’, *New Age*, 12 May, 1957.

²⁸ ‘India Celebrates,’ Editorial, *New Age*, 11 August, 1957.

the millions starve all over the land and even the employees of the Government itself cry for justice and relief, these Princes whom Sri Nehru once named as the British Fifth Column are given crores of rupees out of our exchequer as privy purse. Treachery is thus rewarded and allowed to draw its dividends in this free India of ours. Monopolists and other exploiters are treated with overgrowing solicitude, while the masses are dealt with harshly and forced to live in unmitigated poverty and unrelieved degradation. The hopes of the workers, employees and peasants and indeed the entire working people have been belied and not infrequently do they have become victims of wanton violence and terror on the part of the powers that be.²⁹

On the right wing of the political spectrum, the Jan Sangh and its organ *The Hindu Outlook* also utilised the centenary of 1857 to further its agenda of glorifying 'Veer Savarkar.' Savarkar was displayed as one responsible for the 'explosion of the myth' that 1857 was a mutiny and it was he who 'proved to the hilt that the 1857 rising was a War of Independence.'³⁰ The 'voice of Hindudom'³¹ portrayed Savarkar as a pioneer of political freedom and one who had 'propagated the ideal when many patriots of today had not even dreamt of it.'³² This portrayal contended with the claim of Congress as being the sole initiator of independence. This claim was meant to create a niche for the right wing in the legacy of the national struggle through the figure of V.D. Savarkar. "It can be said without any fear of contradiction that there is none among the living patriots of India to match him (Savarkar)."³³ This project was pushed forward by demanding from the Congress government the Bharat Ratna for the 'living lion of Bharat' on the occasion of the centenary.

By honouring Veer Savarkar, India will be really honouring the great heroes and heroines like Nana Saheb Peshwa, Tataya Tope, Rani of Jhansi, Mangal Pande...and other innumerable patriots...Veer Savarkar personifies in himself noble and matchless patriotism of the martyrs....The Centenary Celebrations of the 1857 War of Indian Independence without honouring the greatest living Indian patriot will be tantamount to staging Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark.³⁴

Although Savarkar had written only a book on 1857, on its centenary, he was portrayed by the right wing as one of the heroes of 1857. It was as if Savarkar himself had

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ 'Veer Savarkar: Who Exposed the Myth of "Mutiny",' *The Hindu Outlook*, (Bombay), 10 May, 1957.

³¹ *The message on the masthead of the Hindu Outlook.*

³² 'Notes and Comments: 1857 Centenary and Savarkar,' *The Hindu Outlook*, 26 February, 1957.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

participated in 1857 and led the struggle against the British. The spotlight was not on the merits of the historical work on 1857 but its author.

It was the supreme patriot Shri Veer Damodar Savarkar who, for the first time lifted the veil from that supreme achievement of national self-sacrifice and called it by its well deserved and appropriate name – the First Great War of Indian Independence.³⁵

But what was the agenda of the “Swatantra Veer Savarkar”³⁶ on the occasion of the centenary? He made it clear in a grand function organised by the Hindu Mahasabha and Jan Sangh to commemorate the centenary, by criticising the government for its obsession with non-violence in all aspects of governance. By not stressing on proper military training for youths and by not dwelling on the importance of imparting military training to the people, he said, it would be tough to retain the ‘hard won freedom.’

It was good to have faith in Panch Sheela and Peace and non-violence but proper military training and the need for keeping abreast with the use of latest armaments was also imperative to protect the freedom which had been secured through the sacrifices of great heroes.³⁷

He negated the Congress claim that ‘India attained independence because of her observance of non-violence and charkha.’ “The British never took seriously the jail-going of the Charkha movement.”³⁸ He contended that the British were forced to quit the country only because of the circumstances that developed after World War II and the army revolt against them. In this project Savarkar was ably supported by the prominent Jan Sangh party leader Bhai Mahavir who scoffed at the achievement of independence as a ‘reward’ which fell “almost like a ripe fruit...without the blood and sacrifice which sanctifies a prize like independence.”³⁹ He held that the growth of ‘evil’ in the country was due to the fact that independence came ‘more like a gift than as the prize snatched

³⁵ ‘Let Us Salute the Heroes: Lessons of the First War of Indian Independence,’ *The Hindu Outlook*, 10 May, 1957.

³⁶ Prof. Bhai Mahavir, ‘Fruits of 1857 Reaped in 1947: Failure of Struggle Should Not Belittle Their Heroic Attempt; Let us Pay Them a Befitting Homage,’ *The Hindu Outlook*, 10 May, 1957.

³⁷ ‘Shanti and Shakti’ Must Go Hand in Hand, This Unnecessary Stress on Non-Violence Must Stop: Veer Savarkar’s Clarion Call to Hindu Nation,’ *The Hindu Outlook*, June 1957.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Prof. Bhai Mahavir, ‘Fruits of 1857 Reaped in 1947: Failure of Struggle Should Not Belittle Their Heroic Attempt; Let us Pay Them a Befitting Homage,’ *The Hindu Outlook*, 10 May, 1957.

from grudging hands through blood, sweat and fire.’ The centenary of 1857 thus, gave a platform to the right wing to criticise the ‘non violent’ stress of the policies of the government, to create a distinct space in the history of the national struggle for itself through the figure of V.S. Savarkar, to put forth its own views on the need for greater militarization and to dispute the achievement of independence only through non violent and non cooperative methods.

International issues

The centenary celebration was seen by the Communist party as a major step forward in the battle against imperialism. By commemorating the centenary of the ‘first Indian revolt against British rule’, the Communist party was lending support to other nationalist struggles raging in different parts of the world.

Just as today the freedom struggles of the Malaysian and African peoples are dubbed banditry and terrorism, the British ruling classes and their historians tried to dismiss this great revolt as a ‘Sepoy Mutiny’. On this occasion, when we pay homage to the martyrs and heroes of 1857, let us pledge...that we will not allow imperialist intrigues against freedom loving peoples to succeed. Let the memory of 1857 take us forward in our struggle to defeat imperialism...⁴⁰

This centenary was a prospect for the Communist party organ *New Age* to make its readers think through the 1857 rebellion to shape a more sympathetic attitude to contemporary anti-colonial struggles. The Communist party saw the centenary commemoration of 1857 as part of the world wide anti-colonial struggle. P.C. Joshi recalled that the 1857 movement and the Taiping revolt of China were contemporaries and both were the originators of their respective nations anti-colonial struggles. This ‘memory’ according to him, “helps us to make India-China friendship immortal.”⁴¹ By 1957, many differences between the Chinese and Soviet leadership had cropped up ranging from the contemporary anti-colonial movements, the international communist movement and the struggles for independence in east Europe.⁴² There was in this

⁴⁰ ‘Celebrate 1857 Centenary – Polit Bureau’s Call,’ *New Age*, 5 May, 1957.

⁴¹ P.C. Joshi, ‘The Great Rebellion,’ *New Age*, 12 May, 1957.

⁴² Barbara Barnouin, ‘Dissonant Voice in International Communism,’ in Harish Kapur (ed.), *The End of An Isolation: China After Mao*, Dordrecht, Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1985, pp. 202-233.

statement an attempt to draw India and China tightly together in the face of the growing Sino-Soviet distance. It was also suggested by P.C. Joshi that both nations together could serve as a model to other struggles against colonialism:

When we celebrate the Centenary of the 1857 Revolt, we should recall; over and over again the glorious internationalist traditions of our national movement that it generated. This will help us to fulfil, with our heads held high, our present historic role in the cause of world peace and colonial liberation as a great and independent Asian Power, shoulder to shoulder with our liberated Chinese brothers.⁴³

The Communist Party therefore wanted the Government of India to play a leading role in supporting anti-colonial movements occurring in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The PS-P supported this demand when the editor of its party organ *Janata* pointed out that unlike India; many parts of the world had still to gain independence:

The world has changed considerably since 1857. Vast areas of the world have successfully freed themselves from the foreign yoke. Yet the events in Hungary, Cypress, Algeria and elsewhere remind us of the fact that the world has still to go far before every human being can breathe free air and can acquire the dignity of a freeman.⁴⁴

The editor thought that therefore, the ‘importance of celebrating the 10th May cannot be exaggerated.’ Like P.C. Joshi, the editor of *Janata* also thought that the celebrations could serve as a message to ‘our brethren all over the world struggling for the cause of freedom for which 1857 heroes laid down their lives.’ But PS-P differed in one significant aspect from the Communist Party in that it demanded more action from the Government in supporting Hungary which had declared its independence against communist rule in 1956.⁴⁵

The Inaugural Day: 10 May

In this theme I explore three agencies of commemoration and the forms they took – the programme of the Central Government, the provincial especially the commemorations

⁴³ P.C. Joshi, ‘The Great Rebellion,’ *New Age*, 12 May, 1957.

⁴⁴ ‘Centenary of 1857,’ Editorial, *Janata*, 5 May, 1957.

⁴⁵ The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 was a spontaneous nationwide revolt against the Stalinist government of the People’s Republic of Hungary and its Soviet-imposed policies, lasting from 23 October until 10 November 1956. UN General Assembly *Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary* (1957) Chapter II.A (Meetings and demonstrations), para. 54, p. 19.

undertaken by the Uttar Pradesh government and the commemorative programmes of the different political parties.

The Central Government's Programme

A 'National Committee for the 1857 Centenary Celebrations' had been formed under Vice President Radhakrishnan which had decided the programme for the official celebrations.⁴⁶ On 10 May the events planned were very limited – only the presentation of the book 'Eighteen Fifty Seven' to the President and a public meeting by the Prime Minister organised by the Congress party.⁴⁷ What is significant here, as I pointed out earlier, is that the Central Government had shifted the official celebrations from 10 May to 15 and 16 August 1957.⁴⁸ 10 May was not declared a public holiday while 15 August already was a public holiday and 16 August was declared as one.⁴⁹ All the unofficial commemorations had chosen 10 May; the day of the Meerut uprising as their starting points. But the Central Government was trying to sculpt the memory of 1857 alongside with the independence movement. The attempt here was to keep the two dates, that of 1857 and 1947, both in the picture so that the one did not overshadow the other.

Provincial Divergences

I have given some attention to the U.P. Government programme for the centenary commemorations of 1857. Kamlapati Tripathi, the U.P. minister for home, education and information, writing in *The Pioneer* made it clear that because many of the centres of revolt were concentrated in U.P., and it was at the very 'heart of rebellion', the state had to have a ambitious programme to commemorate 1857:

The contribution of Uttar Pradesh to the 1857 struggle has been particularly significant. ... We have, therefore, a special duty towards the celebrations.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Centenary Celebrations of First Freedom War: Highlights of Programme in Delhi', *The Pioneer*, 10 May, 1957.

⁴⁷ Ibid, also 'History of 1857 Struggle: Book Presented to President', *Hindustan Times*, 11 May, 1957.

⁴⁸ '1857 Centenary Celebrations: Proposed Delhi Functions', *Hindustan Times*, 9 May, 1957.

⁴⁹ 'Centenary of 1857: May 10 Programme,' *The Pioneer*, 8 May, 1957.

⁵⁰ Kamlapati Tripathi, 'Random Thoughts on 1857 Revolt,' *The Pioneer*, 10 May, 1957.

Therefore, here, 10 May was declared as a public holiday and on that day 2, 000 prisoners were freed from various district jails.⁵¹ A 'Freedom Struggle Committee' was appointed by the State Government which decided to 'celebrate the centenary in a solemn and dignified manner.'⁵² Committees of district officials were drawn up in several districts including Lucknow, Kanpur, Allahabad, Agra, Moradabad, Bareilly, Varanasi, Gonda, and Bithoor, to commemorate the 1857 centenary.⁵³ The State Government was also erecting several 'martyr's memorials' at prominent places connected with 1857.⁵⁴

Responding to the demands of the 'Allahabad Central Centenary Celebration Committee', the U.P. government included the date of 16 May into its programme of centenary celebrations. 16 May was the date on which the Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar had 'deposed the East India Company from the dewanship.' This date was finally celebrated in Allahabad, Lucknow and Kanpur and there was an effort to celebrate it as an event in which Hindus and Muslims had allied to rise against the East India Company.⁵⁵ We see from these many sites and forms of commemoration that the U.P. Government tried to carve its separate space from that of the Central Government, it did not intend to follow the design of commemoration set by the Centre. The Chief Minister, Dr. Sampuranand, writing in *The Pioneer* said as much when he claimed that

In some parts of India, the celebrations will be held probably in August. But we...feel that they should begin, as far as our State is concerned, on May 10, the day on which disturbances broke out.⁵⁶

Interestingly, in some of these 1857 commemorations, there was a mixing of elements of the nationalist pageant with the celebrations. In Allahabad, in the memorial procession for 1857, scenes of 'Bharat Mata' were mixed with those depicting the actions of Tatya Tope and Rani Lakshmi Bai. Again, at Kanpur the 'big sized exhibits' at the centenary

⁵¹ 'May 10 declared Public Holiday,' *The Pioneer*, 8 May, 1957; '2,000 Prisoners to be Freed on May 10,' *The Pioneer*, 8 May, 1957.

⁵² '1857 Centenary Celebrations Start on May, 10,' *The Pioneer*, 5 May, 1957.

⁵³ '1857 Centenary in U.P. Districts,' *The Pioneer*, 10 May, 1957.

⁵⁴ These were to martyrs in front of the Residency at Lucknow, of Nanarao at Bithoor and of Rani Lakshmi Bai at Jhansi. *The Pioneer*, 8, 10 and 13 May, 1957. Also, a memorial tower at Meerut, 'Memorial Tower Takes Shape At Meerut,' *Hindustan Times*, 10 May, 1957.

⁵⁵ '1857 Centenary At Allahabad: Proclamation Day on May 16,' *The Pioneer*, 6 May, 1957; 'Celebrations in Allahabad,' *The Pioneer*, 11 May, 1957; 'Acharya Jugal Kishore,' *The Pioneer*, 11 May, 1957.

⁵⁶ Dr. Sampuranand, 'Some Lessons From 1857,' *The Pioneer*, 10 May, 1957.

exhibition included 'Chain of Brave Men', '1857 Sacred Fire' and 'Bharat Mata.'⁵⁷ This mixing points to the attempt to draw the 1857 imagery with that of nationalist and to point to a straight progression from 1857 to 1947.

The Opposition Parties: Different Sites, Different Timelines

The opposition parties like the Communist Party, the PS-P and the Jan Sangh organised their own commemorative events of 1857 on 10 May in Delhi and the states. Here I examine these programmes and the sites and timelines which they adopted.

The PS-P had decided to celebrate the centenary of 1857 on 10 May unlike the official timeline of 15 August. According to its mouthpiece the *Janata* this was the day of the first 'Armed Uprising of 1857' and to commemorate it on any other day would not be 'appropriate.'

The Praja Socialist Party is to be congratulated for appreciating the importance of the 10th of May 1857 and for calling upon the country to celebrate its centenary in such a manner befitting the occasion.⁵⁸

Salig Ram Jaiswal, General Secretary of the U.P. Praja-Socialist Party, further added that the occasion was not a 'mere party matter.' It was a 'truly national occasion' and according to him, it should be celebrated as a 'national event.' "No better homage could be paid to the great departed leaders than unity on this occasion."⁵⁹ In this statement was an implicit criticism of the Central Government and the Congress Party for not respecting the occasion and showing disunity by changing the date of the official commemoration of 1857.

The PS-P organized *prabhat pheries* and meetings at the 'Khuni Darwaza' in old Delhi on 10 May. The site of PS-P's commemorations recalled a painful incident of 1857 a rallying point for the urban poor especially the Muslim population of old Delhi. It was a reminder that their painful memory had become a part of the national narrative. Party

⁵⁷ '1857 Centenary At Allahabad: Proclamation Day on May 16,' *The Pioneer*, 6 May, 1957; 'Centenary Exhibition at Kanpur,' *The Pioneer*, 14 May, 1957.

⁵⁸ 'Centenary of 1857,' Editorial, *Janata*, 5 May, 1957.

⁵⁹ 'Indian War of Independence: P-SP to Celebrate Centenary,' *The Pioneer*, 26 April, 1957.

members laid wreaths on the site. P-SP also organized a rally in which party leaders addressed the audience and burnt effigies of Col. Nicholson and Alexander Taylor who had played a prominent role in the suppression of the mutiny in Delhi. The PS-P demanded the removal of statues of these and other prominent Britishers and erection of a memorial to 'the heroes of 1857.' This programme was diametrically different from that of the Congress in the choice of timeline, site and nature. While the ruling Congress was embarrassed by such post-colonial demonstrations of anti-colonial fervour and the Congress rally at the Ram Lila grounds addressed by Nehru understood 1857 as a completed stage of history and thus grimly underlined the need for unity and harmony⁶⁰ the PS-P public meeting demanded a continuation of anti-imperial struggle by removal of statues put up by the British Government.

The 1857 centenary commemorations started early in the morning for the Communist Party with a procession organised by the Delhi Committee of the Communist Party from the historic Red Fort to a specially erected memorial in Chandni Chowk where a 'number of rebels had been hanged a hundred years ago.' Leaders of the Communist Party, Ajoy Ghosh, Bhuphesh Gupta, S.A. Dange, S.V. Ghate and others were present at the 'Martyrs Column.' In the evening, the Communist Party organized a public meeting in the Gandhi Grounds addressed by S.A. Dange. Next day, the Communist Party organized a symposium which was addressed among others, by Dr. K.M. Ashraf and P.C. Joshi.⁶¹ The Communist Party which decided to celebrate like PS-P on 10 May chose a different site – the Red Fort which was associated with the I.N.A. trials. The site was perhaps chosen to bolster the 'revolutionary' credentials of the Communist party, to add to its legacy of holding with the 'downtrodden' masses. Again, the sites of Red Fort and Chandni Chowk where some rebels had been hanged were sore points for the population of old Delhi and reminded them of the painful past. The party also organized on the centenary a meeting of historians in keeping with its tradition of discussing an issue historically and intellectually.

⁶⁰ 'Lesson of 1857 – Need for Unity,' *The Pioneer*, 11 May, 1957. Also See *Nehru and Azad on 1857*, New Delhi: National Book Trust, 2007.

⁶¹ 'Capital Pays Homage to 1857 Heroes,' *New Age*, 19 May, 1957.

The Hindu Mahasabha and the Jan Sangh together organized a huge rally in the Ram Lila grounds on 11 May in which the chief attraction was the presence of 'Veer Savarkar.' According to the Jan Sangh party mouthpiece *The Hindu Outlook*,

The entire atmosphere in the... Ram Lila Grounds... remained surcharged... feelings of Hindutva pervaded and permeated the whole arena on Sunday evening when Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, affectionately known... as Veer Savarkar, addressed a mass rally in commemoration of the Centenary of 1857 War of Independence.⁶²

An imposing statue of Goddess of Liberty 'Swatantra Lakshmi' was erected prominently in the grounds and life-like paintings of the 'great heroes and heroines' including Bahadur Shah Zafar, Nana Sahib, Rani Lakshmi Bai and Tatya Tope were kept near the dais. A most interesting aspect of this event was when the 'aged mother of the late S. Bhagat Singh and wife of S. Ajit Singh' appeared before the audience to give 'darshan' and 'feelings of emotion engulfed the audience.' This emotional heart bursting recalled to my mind the vision presented by the mutiny veterans to the audience of the durbar of 1903. But, both Bhagat Singh and Ajit Singh had been figures of the nationalist struggle in the twentieth century – then why their inclusion? Perhaps this was an attempt to include these two heroes of 'revolutionary terrorism' in the legacy of the right wing. These two figures had not been a part of the Congress and moreover had used violent methods for the fulfilment of their aims and hence their attraction for claiming by the right wing.

Savarkar used the occasion to condemn the non violent philosophy of the Indian Government and put forth his Hindutva ideology:

just as France is inhabited by French people, America by Americans... so also Hindustan is inhabited by Hindus... it is the Hindus who are ruling the country and hence it is Hindu Rashtra Vad that is practically in existence, however much people may give it a so-called secular colour. ...Peace in the real sense would come... only when there is enough strength and power and it would be dangerous if India failed to catch up with the militarily advanced of the world, basing her faith on the pseudo theory of Ahimsa and Panch Sheela.⁶³

⁶² 'Shanti and Shakti' Must Go Hand in Hand, This Unnecessary Stress on Non-Violence Must Stop: Veer Savarkar's Clarion Call to Hindu Nation,' *The Hindu Outlook*, June 1957.

⁶³ Ibid.

Authoritative, Comprehensive and 'National' Narratives of 1857

The historiography of 1857 after independence really began to gather steam in the centenary year of 1957. This is evidenced out by a number of books, exhibitions and pictures commissioned by the government in that year. The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting decided to bring out an "album containing sketches, reprints of photographs...of places and persons connected with the 1857 Struggle for Freedom."⁶⁴ For this, the government examined private as well as public collections of such images or material. The ministry requested persons and institutions that had illustrations to contribute to this exhibition. The intention and idea behind this exercise was to bring out a comprehensive visual album of the 1857 struggle for freedom.

What is very remarkable about the centenary commemorations was the amount of controversy surrounding the publication of a 'nationalist narrative' of the event. The President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad said on 15th August, 1957 that it was a historical fact that the movement of 1857 was 'the most determined and widespread of the risings,' and that there was little wonder that "writers and historians have described this movement as national war of independence."⁶⁵ In fact, the contemporary historians had not taken any such simplistic approach. They had shown that they were not afraid of courting controversy. R.C. Majumdar, writing for the *Indian History Congress* raised questions on the known facts about the leaders of 1857 and discounted that there had been organisation behind the movement of 1857.⁶⁶ He believed that Nana Saheb was caught on the wrong foot when the mutiny started; Kunwar Singh was threatened into action and Rani Jhansi waited until the last moment to pick up arms but then chose to defend her decision valiantly.⁶⁷ Discrediting the initial success of the revolt he stated, that there had been no revolt of the people, though there was grave discontent among all classes.⁶⁸ Thus Majumdar did not support the argument that 1857 had been a national,

⁶⁴ 'Pictorial Album of 1857 Struggle,' *The Pioneer*, 9 April, 1957.

⁶⁵ '1857 Rising Not Accidental,' *Hindustan Times*, 15 August, 1957.

⁶⁶ R.C. Majumdar, 'Nature of the Outbreak of 1857,' *Indian History Congress*, 19th Session, 1956, pp. 319-321. Also see R.C. Majumdar, *Sepoy, Mutiny and the Revolt of 1857*, (2nd Edition), Calcutta: Mukhopadhyay, 1963 and R.C. Majumdar (ed.), *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. IX: *British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance, Part I*, Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1951.

⁶⁷ R.C. Majumdar, 'Nature of the Outbreak of 1857,' *Indian History Congress*, 19th Session, 1956, p. 320.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p.321.

organised movement of the people. This may have been the reason why he was removed as the official historian of 1857 and was replaced by S.N. Sen.⁶⁹

Sen himself challenged many pre-conceived notions about 1857 as it being planned⁷⁰ or widespread in nature.⁷¹ He termed it as a mere 'military mutiny which turned into a revolt,'⁷² many of whose participants had "no conception of individual liberty."⁷³ The Government, left dissatisfied of Sen's characterisation of 1857, added a long foreword by Maulana Azad, shirking some responsibility for his conclusions.⁷⁴ Azad emphasized that the participants were "moved by patriotic considerations"⁷⁵ and that the movement was not merely a mutiny but had been a long time coming.⁷⁶ He termed it as the 'Indian struggle of 1857.'⁷⁷

Both historians had therefore chosen to invite debate, illustrating the impossibility of arriving at the one 'unified' nationalist version of the events of 1857 which they had been expected to provide. Illustrating this unattainability, the Praja Socialist party newspaper *Janata* remarked

When the great Irish wit said "History teaches us that history teaches us nothing", he did not ... have the 1857 uprising...in mind....the events of 1857, as chronicled by prominent historians... have confirmed Shaw's dictum because the accounts are so varied and conflicting that they have led to more confusion....The recent books on the subject, one by Prof. R.C. Majumdar and the other by Dr. Surendranath Sen, not only differ from each other but together differ from all previous historical records....The two learned historians have, instead of providing answers to the questions that were

⁶⁹ Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Education minister had spoken of the need to have an "objective history of the struggle" in 1952 and again in 1955 at the sessions of the Indian Historical Records Commission. Accordingly the Ministry had appointed a board of editors in connection with this compilation. Dr. R.C. Majumdar headed the board as 'whole time Director of its office.' But Majumdar was swiftly removed from this office when it became apparent that his views differed from that of the Government represented by the Board Secretary and he was replaced by S.N. Sen the Director, National Archives. S.V., '1857 – A Challenge For Quest of Truth,' *Janata*, 15 August, 1957.

⁷⁰ S.N. Sen, op. cit, p. 405.

⁷¹ Ibid, p. 407- 409.

⁷² Ibid, p. 411.

⁷³ Ibid, p. 412.

⁷⁴ "I may not agree to all the statements he has made", Maulana Abul Kalam Azad foreword to S.N. Sen, op. cit, p. xxi.

⁷⁵ Ibid, p. xiv.

⁷⁶ Ibid, p. x – xii.

⁷⁷ Ibid, p. xx.

agitating the minds of Indians...only raised many more issues...Whom is the student of history to believe? Dr. Majumdar or Dr. Sen...Or the Maulana?⁷⁸

Centenary Commemorations in Pakistan

The centenary of the mutiny of 1857 was also celebrated in Pakistan. The forms which the centenary commemorations took in Pakistan were a memorial design competition in Karachi, sending of a chadar to the grave of Bahadur Shah Zafar, feeding of the poor, variety shows, public meetings, lectures on the life of the last Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar and illuminations of the prominent Government buildings. The Posts and Telegraph Department issued special commemorative stamps to mark the centenary; the Central Government organised a public meeting and the Prime Minister delivered a commemorative speech.⁷⁹

The popular daily *Dawn*, founded in 1941 by M.A. Jinnah, in its editorial on 10 May 1957, recalled with reverence and gratitude the 'great martyrs' who laid down their lives in 1857 'to stem the tide of foreign occupation.' It argued that "the intrigue of self-sufficient communities and the treachery of self seeking elements"⁸⁰ made the movement a failure. But again as in the case of India, there was an emphasis on a certain national task which had to be carved out in the process of commemoration.

But the past is dead and vanished beyond recall; commemorations of the great event this day need not dwell long on the wickedness of the oppressors....The important thing is that besides tributes of homage to the martyrs...a national effort is launched to rediscover and reinterpret the real meaning and true values of the movement...The task is to disengage the currents and counter currents and re-evaluate the ideas and institutions (of 1857)....⁸¹

At the commemorative meeting called by the Muslim League, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, a prominent leader of the League, called upon the people to 'unite under the banner of the League' and fight for the 'establishment of Islamic principles in Pakistan.' He warned the

⁷⁸ S.V., '1857 – A Challenge For Quest of Truth,' *Janata*, 15 August, 1957.

⁷⁹ Photograph, *Dawn* (Karachi), 9 May, 1957; 'Centenary Celebrations,' *Dawn*, 10 May, 1957; 'Centenary Celebrations: Lahore,' *Dawn*, 10 May, 1957; Nation's Homage to 1857 Martyrs: 'Weak Centre Cause of Downfall – Nishtar,' *Dawn*, 12 May, 1957; 'Serve Cause of Democracy: PM's tributes to 1857 martyrs,' *Dawn*, 12 May, 1957.

⁸⁰ '1857,' Editorial, *Dawn*, 10 May, 1957.

⁸¹ Ibid.

people to 'take lesson from history.' He told the audience that unless people strictly adhered to the 'Islamic ideology of Pakistan,' the condition of the country would not change. For the Muslim League, the centenary commemorations were an opportunity to press for its own view of the 'nationalist task' that the State and the people ought to undertake.⁸²

The Prime Minister Suhrawardy in a centenary commemorative broadcast asked people to "dedicate ourselves to this common link, and pledge ourselves to serve the cause of freedom and democracy."⁸³ As Prime Minister Nehru in India, Suhrawardy also saw the centenary as an opening to further the ideals of nation building. For both, the commemoration of the past was to be utilised for the need of the present.

Claiming Bahadur Shah Zafar

There were many heroes in the struggle of 1857 but the *Dawn* focused only on one to the complete exclusion of others. It glorified the personality and role of the aged Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar and hailed him as the real mover in the events of 1857.

The glorious role played by Bahadur Shah in the mighty upsurge...will undoubtedly ensure him a befitting place in the galaxy of the heroes of Pakistani-Bharat liberation. In the words of Subhas Chandra Bose, Bahadur Shah was "...the last fighter for India's freedom; the man who was an Emperor amongst men and a man amongst Emperors."⁸⁴

The editor of *Dawn* felt that the 1857 commemorations were tied intricately with the "commemoration of the personal tragedy of the last Moghal emperor who was inhumanely treated by his victors."⁸⁵ The Karachi celebration committee sent a special 'chadar' embroidered with the "figure of the National Flag of Pakistan"⁸⁶ to the grave of the emperor in Burma. Most of the commemorative plans included homage to Bahadur

⁸² 'Weak Centre Cause of Downfall – Nishtar,' *Dawn*, 12 May, 1957.

⁸³ 'Serve Cause of Democracy: PM's tributes to 1857 martyrs,' *Dawn*, 12 May, 1957.

⁸⁴ M. A. Harris, 'Bahadur Shah Zafar: Emperor Among Men, Man Among Emperors,' *Dawn*, 1857 Centenary Supplement, 10 May, 1957.

⁸⁵ '1857,' Editorial, *Dawn*, 10 May, 1957.

⁸⁶ 'Centenary Celebrations,' *Dawn*, 10 May, 1957

Shah, in the form of lectures, talks or a gathering of poets.⁸⁷ These attempts were aimed at claiming the emperor as also a part of Pakistan's heritage. The centenary of 1857 was thus seen by *Dawn* as a platform to emphasise the long tradition and history of the new nation state. The past of 1857 was reconfigured and reconstructed for the present.

⁸⁷ 'Centenary Celebrations: Lahore,' *Dawn*, 10 May, 1957; 'Mushaira to celebrate 1857 Centenary in City,' *Dawn*, 1857 Centenary Supplement, 10 May, 1957.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

To commemorate is the process of erasure and re-inscription: the original text is wiped out, and then sought after, on exactly the same spot.¹

The difficulty with which the event of 1857 was brought into public commemoration forms the subject of this work. The chapter on the durbars describes the roundabout ways in which the mutiny was worked in the official programme. Another crucial aspect of this work is the way in which the needs of the present were coupled with the commemoration of the past. The nature of commemoration is such that only a past event can be its subject matter and thus the act of commemoration signals reconfiguration and reconstruction.

The problems inherent in defining and characterising the nature of the 1857 moment rendered its commemoration also problematic. Its controversial and emotional mass appeal rendered it a complicated theme for commemoration. I found it very difficult to unearth debates and discussions over the policies which colonial authorities followed for the commemoration of 1857. There were no official occasions whose sole purpose was the commemoration of 1857. Even the unveiling of the Telegraph Monument, as I have shown in chapter two, was primarily for honouring the contribution of the telegraph and William Brendish in 1857. Conversely, after independence, there was an explosion of matter which made up whole heartedly for my earlier dissatisfactions.

The Delhi Durbars and the Commemoration of 1857

The chapter on the three durbars shows the troubled and circuitous adopted by the British to commemorate both a painful and triumphant event. The choice of Delhi as the site, was a major form of commemorating 1857. The location reminded the European audience of victory, triumph, sacrifices, duty and death. But, Indian opinion began to

¹ Kaori Nagai, 'The Writing on the Wall: The Commemoration of the Indian Mutiny in the Delhi Durbar and Rudyard Kipling's "The Little House at Arrah"', *Interventions*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 2005, p. 86.

express its aversion to the triumphalist note on which 1857 was being commemorated. It suggested that the emphasis in the durbars should be on the beginning of a 'prosperous' conciliatory phase of rule under the British Crown. The concessions given to the city of Delhi signalled this forgiving and forgetting. But this shift in the tone of commemoration – from the celebration of conquest to conciliation was not acceptable to some sections of the European population.

To discount 1857 was impossible and in the 1877 durbar the remembrance of that moment did seep through. In 1903 Lord Curzon understood this quandary and remedied it by designing a march of mutiny veterans "but for whom the Imperial Durbar would never have been held."² The sight of the frail, feeble bodies of the veterans while reminding the audience of the glory of the past also situated them firmly in the present. The presence of the veterans encouraged the audience to think of 1857 as a magnificent past which was fading away. The inaugural speech by Lord Curzon on the unveiling of the Telegraph Memorial also reaffirmed this 'passing away.' His idea was that the mutiny should be commemorated because not to do so created controversy. But that it should be placed firmly in the past. The march of the mutiny veterans had occupied much space in newspaper columns and their heart rending vision was described in detail. Particulars of the invitations to them, their living arrangements in the durbar camp and their activities had also been given a prominent and consistent place. The motif of the mutiny veterans was used again in the 1911 durbar for signifying the 'end' of 1857 and focussing on the present and the future. But the durbar chapter shows that for the participants of 1857 the event was an experience whose obituary had yet to be written.

The 50th Anniversary in 1907

The echoes of this sentiment were heard in Field Marshal Evelyn Wood's essays on 1857 on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary. He wanted to evoke the power of the movement to inspire a nation dispirited by the recent Boer War. The set of eighteen articles were targeted at a generation which had not 'suffered the great mutiny drama'

² George Nathaniel Curzon, *A Viceroy's India: Leaves from Lord Curzon's Note-book*, Peter King (ed.), London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1984, p. 66.

and was unaware of its significance for the moulding of the British nation. These were infused with the dissatisfaction which Wood and others felt about the accommodation which the Government of India was making to educated opinion.

Through the essays, Wood reminded the British and the Indian governments of the worth of himself and other mutiny veterans; through them he highlighted the many unfulfilled claims and promises that were due to the veterans. While Field Marshal Wood was writing of 1857 in the London *Times* in 'rousing accents', *The Pioneer* "Lord Lytton's favourite journal"³ was referring to 1857 as an event which had passed away. It gave minimal coverage to the few events held to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary. It seemed as if the popular daily had exhausted itself of the subject of 1857 after over indulging it in the prelude to the recently held 1903 Delhi durbar.

This chapter also explores V.D. Savarkar's commemorative project in writing a history of 1857. In writing his history he was consciously creating a 'memory for the future'. V.D. Savarkar positioned himself as the foremost Indian intellectual authority on the topic of 1857 and shored up his credentials as a courageous revolutionary, daring to write on a controversial and forbidden issue.

1957: The Centenary Commemoration

The centenary commemorations of 1857 were complex and intricate affairs. There was no single, unified agency of commemoration or a single agenda of commemorations. Commemorations took place at many levels – individual and collective, public and private, official and the non-official, municipal corporations, state governments and central government and by various political parties.

While commemoration is generally used for large public celebrations, celebration can be used for any large or small, public or private gathering or function. The centenary events were both. They celebrated the traits that were associated with 1857 – sacrifice, bravery, heroism, initiative and sought to add the elements of national unity, patriotism,

³ Ripon to Dilke, 6 Mar. 1880, MSS. Add. 43,894, British Museum, quoted in L.A. Knight, 'The Royal Titles Act and India', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 11, No. 3, 1968, p. 496.

organisation and dignity with it. This adding-on was done through various means – re-naming towns and sites connected with the mutiny, erection of memorials and statues, arranging for public participation, raising of the national flag and singing of patriotic songs.

2007: The 150th Anniversary Celebrations

The appeal of the movement of 1857 has not dulled over a period of half a century. The Government of India organised year long celebrations which culminated on May 2008. Official responses took many and varied forms. P.C. Joshi's seminal work on the movement of 1857 was re-released by the National Book Trust.⁴ A march from Meerut to Delhi was organised by the Delhi government on 10th May 2007.⁵ The Delhi government also commemorated the anniversary and organised an exhibition on 1857 which displayed contemporary drawings, photographs, newspapers and material from the Delhi Archives.⁶ A commemorative coin in honour of the martyrs of 1857 was issued by the Prime Minister.⁷ In the Republic Day parade, the Ministry of Defence planned its tableaux around the movement of 1857 and schoolchildren were given the theme of patriotism to dance to.⁸ The Archaeological Survey of India planned conservation programmes for heritage sites connected with 1857.⁹ A police training academy at Haryana depicted a play on 1857 which highlighted the local heroes and tales.¹⁰

But as in its centenary year, the 2007-08 celebrations were also marked with controversy. A hyphenation of the 1857 anniversary and the anniversary of independence, which was done in the 1957 centenary too, was seen in many of the commemorative programmes. The Congress government which was in power again at the centre celebrated 2007 as the centenary year of the Satyagraha idea and movement.¹¹ It organised an international

⁴ 'NBT re-launches "Rebellion 1857,"' *The Hindu*, (New Delhi), 12 April, 2007.

⁵ 'Plans to Celebrate first freedom struggle,' *The Hindu*, 8 March, 2007.

⁶ 'Tribute to heroes of 1857 war,' *Times of India*, (New Delhi), 11 May, 2008; 'Exhibition on 1857 uprising inaugurated,' *Indian Express*, (New Delhi), 11 May, 2008.

⁷ Photograph, *Indian Express*, 19 April, 2008.

⁸ 'Gate set go: Young guns salute 58-year-old with freedom song,' *Indian Express*, 27 January, 2007.

⁹ 'Kashmere Gate to be Old City'd new lung,' *Times of India*, 10 June, 2008.

¹⁰ '1857: The Police take a bow,' *Indian Express*, 11 December, 2007.

¹¹ 'History race: Satyagraha versus 1857', *The Telegraph*, (Calcutta), 29 January, 2007.

seminar on Gandhi and Satyagraha and 2007 and planned to do much more in that direction. Satyagraha was being labelled as solely an idea of the Indian National Congress. By making the choice between commemorating Satyagraha and 1857, the I.N.C. demonstrated again its distinct unease and nervousness with the event of 1857. In contrast to 1857, Satyagraha could be claimed as exclusively part of the heritage of the I.N.C. and its relatively well defined nature and scope left no space for other claimants. The Satyagraha celebration reflected the Congress attempt to regain its foremost position in the imagination of the nation.

Nothing captures this more than the special eleven coach train called the 'Azadi Express', commissioned by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting to call on major stations of India, especially ones associated with the events of 1857 and present photo panels, graphics and audio visual displays placed in it depicted the scenes of 'our freedom movements', that of 1857 and the freedom movement.¹² A festival of instrumental and choral music similarly celebrated both the occasions.¹³

In the official commemorations there was a reluctance to discuss the nature of the movement and the composition of its participants. In the launch of P.C. Joshi's work, attended by the Human Resources Development minister and noted historians like Irfan Habib and Bipan Chandra, newspapers did not report any discussions on the characteristics of 1857.¹⁴ At one commemorative function presided by the then Human Resources Development Minister, Congress factional politics occupied centre stage rather than the subject of the occasion. A person accused Human Resources Development minister, Arjun Singh's family of being a British loyalist and observed that he therefore, should not preside over the occasion.¹⁵

Disturbing notes sounded again when a row erupted between noted historian Sashi Bhusan and the HRD minister, both members of a committee to organise functions of the

¹² "'Azadi Express' Now in Meerut', *Times of India*, 8 May, 2008.

¹³ 'Swaranjali', *Times of India*, 3 May, 2009.

¹⁴ 'NBT re-launches "Rebellion 1857"', *The Hindu*, New Delhi, 12 April, 2007.

¹⁵ 'Trouble follows him at 1857 meet,' *Times of India*, 11 May, 2008.

150th anniversary, over the site in New Delhi for construction of a grand memorial to the martyrs of 1857. HRD minister Arjun Singh said the memorial would be built near Kashmere Gate while, Sashi Bhushan said the venue had still not been decided and in all probability would not be near the Kashmere Gate.¹⁶

Some newspapers such as *The Indian Express* criticised the slack way in which the Central Government put through its agenda for commemorating 1857:

Though much has been made of the celebrations, many planned events were either given a go-by or left for the state governments to organise.¹⁷

Newspapers and magazines published their own commemorative articles. Almost every day one article or the other reminded of the 150th year of 1857. Some concentrated on various unexplored and ignored aspects of 1857 including its legacy, heritage, lessons, concepts, narratives and knowledge-gaps.¹⁸ Some also traced the rise of commercial activities rising from the battles of 1857 such as the highly lucrative ‘mutiny tours’ and ‘mutiny pilgrimages’ and the profitable trade in the ‘mutiny souvenirs’ and artefacts.¹⁹ But most features concentrated on discussing the various types of mutiny narratives, historiographies, fiction, photographs and architecture.²⁰

But, the most interesting episode of this anniversary occurred when a group of retired British army officers and wives arrived in Meerut, to install a plaque in the local church. The plaque was dedicated to the bravery of their 60th King’s Rifle Corps battalion, raised

¹⁶ ‘Row over site for freedom fighters’ memorial,’ *The Indian Express*, 11 May, 2008.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ ‘1857: In the Nation’s Conscience’, *Hindustan Times*, (New Delhi), 8 April, 2007; ‘A Walk Down Memory Lane: A Date With the Country’s Past’, *The Hindu*, 12 April, 2007; ‘No Child’s Play’, *The Indian Express*, 15 March, 2007; Jyoti Basu, ‘The 1857 Revolt in India: Lessons for Us’, *People’s Democracy*, New Delhi: Vol. XXXI, No. 10, 05-11 March, 2007, pp. 8-9; Utsa Patnaik, ‘Patriotic and Comprador Zamindars In the Great Rebellion of 1857’, *People’s Democracy*, Vol. XXXI, No. 11, 12-18 March, 2007, pp. 8-9, 12; Nalini Taneja, ‘The Myth of Early Savarkar: His “Secular-Nationalist” 1857’, *People’s Democracy*, Vol. XXXI, No. 12, 19-25 March, 2007, pp. 8-9; ‘The First War of Independence?’, *The Hindu*, 25 March, 2007; ‘Depiction of 1857 Revolt as Religious War Flayed’, *The Hindu*, 12 March, 2007.

¹⁹ ‘Mutiny and the Bounty’, *India Today*, (New Delhi), 12 March, 2007; ‘For sale, Victoria Cross awarded for 1857 war,’ *Times of India*, 24 January, 2008.

²⁰ ‘A Hanging Twice Over...’, *Outlook*, (New Delhi), 26 March, 2007; ‘The Uprising, 1857: Prime Landmarks, Delhi,’ *Times of India*, 30 April, 2007; ‘1857: The Forgotten Year,’ *The Indian Express*, 15 April, 2007.

in 1857, whose 150th anniversary it was.²¹ However, the church, the earliest constructed by the British, declined to accept it. According to local historian Dr. Amit Pathak, the Bishop of the diocese of Agra declined to put it up.²² This group came under attack from the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) which protested their actions and threatened to launch a 'massive agitation' if the Uttar Pradesh Government allowed the group to 'celebrate their victory in the 1857 revolt.'²³ A senior party leader Lalji Tandon said "[t]he Government must ban their entry into the state capital...or else the BJP will take its protest to the streets....How can the Centre allow these Britons to hold functions on our soil."²⁴

Another group of British historians and academicians travelling in tandem with the former group also became a target of BJP's attack. This group included noted historians Rosie Llewlyn-Jones and Hugh Purcell and descendants of Sir Henry Lawrence and Sir Henry Havelock – Sir Henry Lawrence and Sir Mark Allen Havelock. BJP was joined in its objections by 'Muslim leaders', the Samajwadi Party, the Archaeological Survey of India which turned down their request to offer floral tributes to their ancestors at the Residency and the Uttar Pradesh Government which said it would not allow any function by any group. Both groups as a result of this hostility had to travel under police scrutiny and were also forced to cut short their trips.²⁵ Charlotte Crow, deputy editor of *History Today* and a member of the historian group, reflected that the visit showed "how far the Rebellion remains a rallying point for a nation still in the process of defining itself as a modern state."²⁶ Admittedly, the incident was an ugly one but the remark by Charlotte Crow also is a condescending one which reveals a section of thinking that India still is a nation in the process of state formation.

²¹ 20 Britons celebrate 1857 "victory", *Times of India*, 20 September, 2007.

²² Ibid.

²³ 'UK visitors face hostile crowds in UP,' *The Indian Express*, 26 September, 2007; 'BJP protests against Britons' Victory Day celebrations in UP,' *Indian Express*, 23 September, 2007; '150 yrs on, no place for 1857 British "heroes",' *Indian Express*, 24 September, 2007.

²⁴ BJP protests against Britons' Victory Day celebrations in UP,' *Indian Express*, 23 September, 2007.

²⁵ '150 yrs on, no place for 1857 British "heroes",' *Indian Express*, 24 September, 2007.

²⁶ Charlotte Crow, 'Duel in the Crown', *History Today*, December 2007, pp. 18-19.

This research study has thus tried to provide an overview of key approaches to understanding the process of public commemoration. It has examined the relationship between official and unofficial methodologies of organizing it. This study has also analysed the role of the State in the formation and creation of a 'memory of 1857' as well as the role of memory in contesting this narrative. During the entire course of this study, I have felt that the scholarship on 1857 has not dealt adequately with the meaning of the production of memory regarding commemoration of 1857 as well as its discursive practices attached with the power, in colonial or post-colonial times. There is a need to go beyond the ever changing reconstructions of 1857 and to look at the relations between the knowledge of 1857 and the 'reason' to have this knowledge. It is worth exploring how and why the legitimization or assertion of power through the historiographical re-configurations of 1857 has been still going on. And here comes the role of particular cultural forms, ideological motivations, and certain specific historical purposes which have shaped the discourse on 1857 in public and private spheres. The consistency in consonance of knowledge and power has made it only inevitable to go beyond the theories of 1857 and theories of the British Empire to reach the relative objectiveness of the 'truth.'

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Manuscripts

National Archives of India, New Delhi.

Public Works Department (1861): General, March 8, 17-18; General, March, 116; Ecclesiastical, June 21, 9-11; Ecclesiastical, July, 1; Ecclesiastical, August, 224; Ecclesiastical, May 3, 1E; Military, May 3, 1E; Military, August 30, 60; Ecclesiastical, January 1-3; Ecclesiastical, August, 5-7; General, March 2, 46; General, November 15, 13-14.

Home (1876): Police, December 11-21, 473-480; Public, September 208, Part B; Public, October, 164, Part B; Public, February 8, Part B; Public, February, 226 and 227, Part B; Public, March, 266, Part B.

Home (1877): Police, January 8, 1 and 2; Public, April 16 and 17, Part B; Public, November 93, Part B; Public, January 34, Part B.

Home (1903): Judicial, February, 302, Part B.

Home (1911): Jails, August, 22A; Public B, February, 67-68; Public, November 31; Public B, December, 141; Public B, September, 111; Public B, February, 215; Public, December, 56-57, Part B; Public, September, 133, Part B; Ecclesiastical, July, 54-56.

Nehru Museum and Memorial Library, New Delhi: Hardinge Papers, 1910-1912.

Official Sources

Buckler, F.W., 'The Political Theory of the Indian Mutiny,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th ser., Vol. 5, 1922, pp. 71-100.

Datta, Kalkinkar, 'The Indian Movement of 1857-59 and its Reactions Abroad' *Indian History Congress Proceedings*, 16th Session, 1953, pp. 306-310.

Delhi Coronation Durbar Medals 1911: Correspondence subsequent to distribution at Delhi, Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1913.

Delhi: History and Places of Interest, New Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Publications Division, 1975.

Delhi through the Ages: An Exhibition on the Life, Culture and History of Delhi, New Delhi: India International Centre Publications, 1972.

Ghosal, H.R., 'The Revolution Behind the Revolt', *Indian History Congress Proceedings*, 20th Session, Vallabh Vidyanagar, 1957, pp. 293-305.

Historic Delhi, Indian History Congress, Fifty-Second Session, 21-23 February, New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research Publications, 1992.

Jain, C.S., 'The Change of Capital in 1911', *Indian History Congress Proceedings*, 34th Session, 1973, pp. 45-47.

Khan, Iqtidar Alam, 'The Wahabis in 1857 Revolt: Brief Reappraisal of their Role,' *Indian Council of Historical Research: National Conference on Historiography of 1857*, New Delhi, 9-10 December, 2007.

Majumdar, R.C., 'Nature of the Outbreak of 1857', *Indian History Congress Proceedings*, 19th Session, 1956, pp. 319-321

_____, 'Some Unpublished Records Regarding the Sepoy Mutiny', in *Indian Historical Records Commission*, Vol. XXXIII, Part 2, Bhubaneswar, March 1958, pp.115-119.

Metcalf, Thomas R., 'The Impact of the Mutiny on British Attitudes to India', *Indian History Congress Proceedings*, 23rd Session, 1960, pp. 24-31.

Native Newspaper Reports, Bengal and Punjab, 1876: May-December; 1902: May-December; 1903: January-February; 1911: May-December; 1912: January-February.

Nehru and Azad on 1857, New Delhi: National Book Trust, 2007.

Sandes E.W.C., *The Indian Sappers and Miners*, Chatham: The Institution of Royal Engineers, 1948.

Sen, S.N., *Eighteen Fifty-Seven*, New Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Division, 1957.

Sharma, Y.D., *Delhi and its Neighbourhood*, New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India Publications, 2001.

Souvenir: Centenary Volume, Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1957.

Tripathi, D., 'The Character of the Movement of 1857', *Indian History Congress Proceedings*, 21st Session, 1958, pp. 501-509.

Newspapers

Civil and Military Gazette, Lahore, 1902: January-December; 1903: January-May; 1907: January-December; 1911: January-December.

Dawn, Karachi, 1957: January-December.

Delhi Gazette, Agra, 1877: January-December.

Indian Express, New Delhi, 2007: January-December.

New Age, New Delhi, 1957: January-December.

People's Democracy, New Delhi, 2007: January-December.

The Janata, Bombay, 1957: January-December.

The Pioneer, Allahabad, 1867: January-December; 1877: January-December; 1902: January -December; 1903: January-December; 1911: January-December; 1957: January-December.

The Hindu Outlook, New Delhi, 1957: January-December.

The Hindu, New Delhi, 2007: January-December.

The Hindustan Times, New Delhi, 1957: January-December; 2007: January-December.

The Times, London, 1907: January-December.

The Times of India, New Delhi, 2007: January-December.

Printed Sources

Balfour, Lady Betty, *Lord Lytton's Indian Administration 1876-80: An Untold History*, (1899), Delhi: Gian Publishing House, 1988.

Bampfylde, Fuller, *Empire of India*, London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, 1913.

Barber, Bernard, 'Place, Symbol and Utilitarian Function in War Memorials', *Social Forces*, Vol. 28, No.1, October 1949, pp. 64-68.

Caine, W.S., *Picturesque India: A Handbook for European Travellers* (1898), New Delhi: Neeraj Publishing House, 1982.

Chaudhari, Sashi Bhusan, *Civil Rebellion in the Indian Mutinies*, Calcutta: The World Press, 1957.

_____, *Theories of the Indian Mutiny*, Calcutta: The World Press, 1965.

Conrad, Joseph, *Heart of Darkness and other Stories*, (1902) London: Wordsworth Classics, 1999.

Curzon, George Nathaniel, *Lord Curzon in India: Being a Selection from his speeches as Viceroy and Governor-General of India, 1898-1905*, Sir Thomas Raleigh (ed.), London: Macmillan and Co., 1906.

_____, *A Viceroy's India: Leaves from Lord Curzon's Note-book*, Peter King (ed.), London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1984.

Datta, K.K., *Reflections on the Mutiny*, Calcutta: The World Press, 1957.

Fanshawe, F.C., *Delhi: Past and Present*, London: John Murray, 1902.

Fraser, Lovat, *At Delhi*, Bombay: Times of India Press, 1903.

_____, *India Under Curzon and After*, London: William Heinemann, 1911.

Greenwood G., 'The Burden of Empire,' *The Calcutta Review*, No. CCXLVII, April 1907, pp. 274-277.

His Majesty King George's Speeches in India, (2nd edition), Madras: G.A. Natesan and Co., 1932.

Holmes, T. Rice, *History of the Mutiny*, (5th edition), London: Macmillan and Co., 1904.

India and the Durbar: A Reprint of the Indian Articles in the 'Empire Day' Edition of THE TIMES, May 24th, 1911, London: Macmillan, 1911.

Kaye, John William, *A History of the Sepoy War in India, 1857-58*, (9th edition), London: Allen and Co., 1880.

Kaye, John William and G.B. Malleson, *History of the Indian Mutiny*, London, Allen and Co., 1880.

Khan, Sir Syed Ahmad, *The Causes of the Indian Revolt*, (1859), Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Lipsett, H. Caldwell, *Lord Curzon in India 1898-1903*, London: R.A. Everett and Co., 1903.

Majumdar, R.C., (ed.), *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. IX: *British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance*, Part I, Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1951.

_____, *Sepoy Mutiny and the Revolt of 1857*, (2nd edition), Calcutta: Mukhopadhyay, 1963.

Malleson, G.B., *Indian Mutiny of 1857*, (5th edition), London: Seeley and Co., 1894.

Mehta, Asoka, *1857: The Great Rebellion*, Bombay: Hind Kitabs Limited Publishers, 1946.

Menon, V.P., *The Transfer of Power in India*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1957.

Metcalf, Charles Theophilus (trans.), *Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny in Delhi*, Delhi: Archibald Constable, 1898.

Murray's Handbook of Bengal Presidency, London: John Murray, 1881.

Murray's Handbook for Travellers in India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon, London: John Murray, 1949.

Oswell, G.D. *Sketches of Rulers of India: The Mutiny and After*, Vol.1, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908.

Renton-Denning, J., *Delhi: The Imperial City*, Bombay: Times of India Press, 1911.

Russell, William Howard, *My Indian Mutiny Diary*, Michael Edwardes (ed.), (1st edition), London: Cassell and Company, 1957, (written in 1858).

Savarkar, V.D., *The Indian War of Independence*, (9th edition.), (1907), Delhi: Rajdhani Granthagar, 1970.

Sharp, Henry, *Delhi: Its Story and Buildings*, (2nd edition), London: Humphrey Milford 1928.

Sen, S.N., *Delhi and its Monuments*, (Reprint), Calcutta: A. Mukherjee and Co. Ltd., 1954.

Spear, Percival, *Delhi: A Historical Sketch*, London: Oxford University Press, 1945.

Starck, Herbert Alick, *The Call of the Blood OR Anglo-Indians and the Sepoy Mutiny*, Rangoon: British Burma Press, 1932.

Steele, Flora Annie, *On the Face of the Waters*, London: Heinemann, 1897.

Tinker, Hugh, '1857 and 1957: The Mutiny and Modern India', *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-)*, Vol. 34, No. 1, January 1958, pp. 57-65.

Thompson, Edward, *The Other Side of the Medal*, (ed.) Mulk Raj Anand, (1926) New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1989.

Toomey, T.E., *Heroes of the Victoria Cross*, London: George Newnes, Ltd., 1895.

UN General Assembly *Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary* (1957) Chapter II.A (Meetings and demonstrations).

Wheeler, J. T., *The History of the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi*, London: John Murray, 1877.

Wheeler, Stephen, *History of the Delhi Coronation Durbar, 1903*, London: John Murray, 1904.

Secondary Sources

Books

Agarwala, B.R., *Trials of Independence, 1858-1946*, Delhi: National Book Trust, 2004.

Asher, Catherine and Thomas R. Metcalf, *Perceptions of South Asia's Visual Past*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Barber, Noel, *The Black Hole of Calcutta: A Reconstruction*, London: Colins Press, 1965.

Barrier, N. Gerald, *Banned: Controversial Literature and Political Control in British India, 1907-1947*, Delhi: Manohar, 1976.

Barrow, Ian J., *Making History, Drawing Territory: British Mapping in India, c.1756-1905*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Bayly, C.A., *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Bhattacharya, Sabyasachi (ed.), *Rethinking 1857*, New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2007.

Breckenridge, Carol A. and Peter Van Der Veer (eds.), *Orientalism and the Post Colonial Predicament: Perspectives on South Asia*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992.

Buettner, Elizabeth, *Empire Families*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Burton, Antoinette, *Politics and Empire in Victorian Britain: A Reader*, New York: Palgrave, 2001.

Cannadine, David, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw their Empire*, London: Penguin Press, 2001.

Chakrabarti, D.K., *The Archaeology of European Expansion in India*, New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 2003.

Chakravarty, Gautam, *The Indian Mutiny and the British Imagination*, New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Crinson, Mark, *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture*, London: Routledge, 1996.

- Dalrymple, William, *City of Djinn: A Year in Delhi*, New Delhi: Indus Publishers, 1993.
- Dehejia, Vidya (ed.), *India Through the Lens: Photography, 1840-1911*, London and New York: Mapin Publishing and Prestel Verlag, 2000.
- Dilks, David, *Curzon in India*, London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1969.
- Dube, D.N. and Jaya Ramanathan, *Delhi: The City of Monuments*, New Delhi: Timeless Books, 1997.
- Durkheim, E., *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, trans. J.W. Swain, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1948.
- Edwardes, Michael, *High Noon of Empire: India under Curzon*, London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1965.
- _____, *A Season in Hell: The Defence of the Lucknow Residency*, New York: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1973.
- Ehlers, Eckart and Thomas Krafft, (ed.), *Shahjahanabad/Old Delhi: Tradition and Colonial Change*, (2nd Edition), Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2003.
- Eldridge, C.C., *England's Mission: The Imperial Idea in the Age of Gladstone and Disraeli, 1868-1880*, London: Macmillan, 1973.
- _____, *Victorian Imperialism*, London: Hodder, 1978.
- _____, (ed.), *British Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century*, New York: St. Martins, 1984.
- Eliade, Mircea, *Myth and Reality*, New York: Harper and Row, 1963.
- Fischer-Tine, Harald and Michael Mann (ed.), *Colonialism as Civilizing Mission: Cultural Ideology in British India*, London: Wimbledon Publishing Company, 2004.
- Frykenberg, R.E. (ed.), *Delhi Through the Ages: Essays in Urban History, Culture and Society*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Gifford, Prosser, and Wm. Roger Louis (ed.), *Britain and Germany in Africa: Imperial Rivalry and Colonial Rule*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965.
- Gilmour, David, *The Ruling Caste: Imperial Lives in the Victorian Raj*, London: John Murray, 2005.
- Gilroy, Paul, *Against Race: Imagining Political Culture Beyond the Color Line*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000.

- Guha-Thakurta, Tapati, *Monuments, Objects, Histories: Institutions of Art in Colonial and Post-Colonial India*, Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004.
- Gupta, Narayani, *Delhi Between Two Empires, 1803-1931: Society, Government and Urban Growth*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1981.
- Halbwachs, Maurice, *The Collective Memory*, New York: Harper and Row, 1980.
- Hass, Kristin Ann, *Carried to the Wall: American Memory and the Vietnam Veterans Memorial*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998.
- Herbert, Christopher, *War of No Pity: The Indian Mutiny and Victorian Trauma*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.
- Hibbert, Christopher, *Great Mutiny in India, 1857*, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1980.
- Hobsbawm, E. and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, (Canto edn.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Hutchins, Francis, *Illusions of Permanence*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967.
- 19th International Congress of Historical Science, 2000, University of Oslo, *Proceedings Actes: Reports, Abstracts and Round Table Introductions*, Oslo: Joh. Nordahls Trykkeri, 2000.
- Irving, Robert Grant, *Indian Summer: Lutyens, Baker, and Imperial Delhi*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981.
- Jaffrelot, Christophe, *India's Silent Revolution: The Rise of the Lower Castes in North India*, New Delhi: Centre for Education Research and Innovation, 2003.
- Jones, Rosie Llewellyn, *The Great Uprising in India, 1857-58: Untold Stories, Indian and British*, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007.
- Joshi, P.C. (ed.), *Rebellion: 1857*, (New edition), New Delhi: National Book Trust, 2007.
- Khan, Shahrar M., *The Begums of Bhopal: A Dynasty of Women Rulers in Raj India*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2000.
- Khilnani, Sunil, *The Idea of India*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999.
- Kumar, Deepak, *Science and the Raj: A Study of British India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Lahiri, Nayanjot, *Finding Forgotten Cities*, Delhi: Permanent Black, 2006.

- Levi-Strauss, Claude, *The Savage Mind*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.
- Lowenthal, David, *The Past Is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Lowry, Donal, *The South African War Reappraised*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000.
- Mackenzie, John M., *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984.
- Marsden, Ben and Crosbie Smith, *Engineering Empires: A Cultural History of Technology in Nineteenth Century Britain*, Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Marx, Karl and Frederick Engels, *The First War of Independence, 1857-1859*, Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1975.
- Masselos, Jim and Narayani Gupta, *Beato's Delhi: 1857, 1997*, Delhi: Ravi Dayal Publishers, 2000.
- Menon, K.P.S., *Delhi-Chungking*, London: Oxford University Press, 1947.
- Metcalf, Thomas R., *Sepoy Mutiny and the Revolt of 1857*, (2nd edition), Calcutta: Mukhopadhyay, 1963.
- _____, *Aftermath of Revolt: India 1857-1870*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965.
- _____, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj*, London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1989.
- _____, *Ideologies of the Raj*, New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- _____, *Forging the Raj: Essays on British India in the Heyday of Empire*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Mitchell, Timothy, *Colonising Egypt*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991.
- Mitra, Asok, *Delhi: Capital City*, New Delhi: Thomson Press (India), 1970.
- Nanda, B.R. (ed.), *Collected Works of Lala Lajpat Rai*, Vol. 6, New Delhi: Manohar, 2005.

- Nanda, R., Gupta, N., and O.P. Jain, *Delhi, The Built Heritage: A Listing*, 2 vols. New Delhi: Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage, Delhi Chapter, 1999.
- Nangia, Sudesh, *Delhi Metropolitan Region: A Study in Settlement Geography*, New Delhi: K.B. Publications, 1976.
- Narayan, Badri, *Women Heroes and Dalit Assertion in North India: Culture, Identity and Politics. Cultural Subordination and the Dalit Challenge*, Vol. 5, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2006.
- Natarajan, S., *History of the Press in India*, Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1962.
- Nora, Pierre, (ed.), *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*, Vol. II, New York: Columbia University Press, 1992, translated 1998.
- Oldenburg, Veena, *The Making of Colonial Lucknow*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984.
- Omissi, David and Andrew Thompson (eds.), *The Impact of the South African War*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.
- Parry, D.H. and Stanley Wood, *The V.C., Its Heroes and Their Valor*, London: Kessinger Publications, 2005.
- Pati, Biswamoy (ed.), *The 1857 Rebellion*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Peaple, Simon, *European Diplomacy, 1870-1939*, London: Heinemann, 2002.
- Robb, Peter, *Liberalism, Modernity and the Nation*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Roy, Kaushik, *1857 Uprising: Tale of an Indian Warrior*, New Delhi: Anthem Press, 2008.
- Russell, Ralph and Khurshid Islam, *Three Mughal Poets: Mir-Sauda-Mir Hasan*, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1968.
- Ryan, James R., *Picturing Empire: Photographs and the Visualization of the British Empire*, London: Reaktion Books, 1997.
- Said, Edward, *Orientalism*, New York and London: The Free Press, 1978.
- Taylor, P.J.O., *Chronicles of the Mutiny and Other Historical Sketches*, New Delhi: Harper Collins, 1992.

_____ (ed.), *Companion to the 'Indian Mutiny' of 1857*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Thompson, Andrew S., *Imperial Britain: The Empire in British Politics, c.1880-1932*, London: Pearson Education, 2000.

Virmani, Arundhati, *National Flag for India: Rituals, Nationalism and the Politics of Sentiment*, Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2008.

Walzer, Michael, *Regicide and Revolution*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974.

Ward, Stuart (ed.), *British Culture and the end of empire*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2001.

Whiffen, Marcus, (ed.), *The Architect and the City*, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: MIT Press, 1962.

Winter, Jay M., *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Winter, Jay M. and Emmanuel Sivan (ed.), *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Winter, Jay M. and Antoine Prost (ed.), *The Great War in History: Debates and Controversies, 1914 to the Present*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Articles

Arnold, David, 'White Colonization and Labour in Nineteenth Century India', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. XI, No. 2, January 1983, pp. 133-158.

_____, 'European Orphans and Vagrants in India in the Nineteenth Century', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. VII, No. 1, October 1978, pp. 104-127.

'A Walk Down Memory Lane: A Date With the Country's Past', *The Hindu*, April 12, 2007.

Ahmed, Farzand, 'Mutiny and the Bounty,' *India Today*, March 12, 2007, pp. 78-79.

Amin, Shahid, 'A Hanging Twice Over...' *Outlook*, March 26, 2007, pp. 72-76.

Barnouin, Barbara, 'Dissonant Voice in International Communism,' in Harish Kapur (ed.), *The End of An Isolation: China After Mao*, Dordrecht, Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1985.

Basu, Jyoti, 'The 1857 Revolt in India: Lessons for Us', *People's Democracy*, New Delhi: Vol. XXXI, No.10, March 05-11, 2007, pp. 8-9.

Bayly, C.A., 'The Information Order, The Rebellion of 1857-9, and Pacification', in C.A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp.315-337.

Bell, Duncan, 'From ancient to modern in Victorian imperial thought', *Historical Journal*, Vol. 49, No. 3, September 2006, pp. 735-759.

Bendix, Regina, 'Tourism and Cultural Displays: Inventing Traditions for Whom?' *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 102, No. 404, April-June 1989, pp.131-146.

Bhadra, Gautam, 'Four Rebels of Eighteen Fifty-Seven' in Ranajit Guha, (ed.), *Subaltern Studies IV*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1985, pp. 229-75.

Breckenridge, Carol A., 'The Aesthetics and Politics of Colonial Collecting: India at World Fairs', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 31, No. 2, April 1989, pp. 195-216.

Bremner, G. Alex, "'Some Imperial Institute": Architecture, Symbolism, and the Ideal of Empire in Late Victorian Britain, 1887-93', *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 62, No.1, March 2003, pp. 50-73.

_____, "'Imperial Monumental Halls and Tower": Westminster Abbey and the Commemoration of Empire, 1854-1904', *Architectural History*, Vol. 47, 2004, pp. 251-282.

Brown, Rebecca M., 'Inscribing Colonial Monumentality: A Case Study of the 1763 Patna Massacre Memorial', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 65, No.1, February 2006, pp. 91-113.

Buettner, Elizabeth, 'Cemeteries, Public Memory and Raj Nostalgia in Postcolonial Britain and India', *History and Memory*, Vol. 18, No. 1, Spring/Summer 2006, pp. 5-42.

Buzard, James Michael, 'Forster's Trespasses: Tourism and Cultural Politics', *Twentieth Century Literature*, Vol. 34, No. 2, Summer, 1988, pp.155-179.

Cassia, Paul Sant, 'Tradition, Tourism and Memory in Malta', *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 5, No. 2, June 1999, pp. 247-263.

- Chakravarty, Subhash, 'Architecture and Politics in the Construction of Delhi', in Mabel Lee and Michael Welding (ed.), *History, Literature and Society: Essays in Honour of S.N. Mukherjee*, New Delhi: Leichhardt in association with Manohar Publishers, 1997, pp. 61-88.
- Chang, T.C., 'Theming Cities, Taming Places: Insights from Singapore', *Geografiska Annaler*, Series B: Human Geography, Vol. 82, No. 1, 2000, pp.34-54.
- Choudhary, Deep Kanta Lahiri, 'India's First Virtual Community and the Telegraph Strike of 1908,' *International Review of Social History*, Vol. 48, 2003, pp. 45-71.
- Cohen, Erik, 'The Sociology of Tourism: Approaches, Issues and Findings', *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 10, 1984, pp.373-392.
- Cohn, Bernard. S., 'Representing Authority in Victorian India', in E. Hobsbawm, and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, (Canto edn.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 165-209.
- Colley, Linda, 'Britishness and Otherness: An Argument', *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 4, Britishness and Europeanness: Who are the British Anyway?, (Oct. 1992), pp. 309-329.
- Confino, Alon, 'Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 102, No. 5, December 1997, pp. 1386-1403.
- Coozil, Joseph, 'Indian Voices from the 1857 Rebellion', *History Today*, May 2007, pp. 48-54.
- Crow, Charlotte, 'Duel in the Crown', *History Today*, December 2007, pp. 18-19.
- Dawson, Graham, 'Heroes of history, heroes of phantasy: Idealisation, masculinity and the soldiers of empire,' *Soundings*, Issue 3, Summer 1996, pp. 145-160.
- 'Depiction of 1857 revolt as religious war flayed', *The Hindu*, March 12, 2007
- Elliot, Cecil D., 'Monuments and Monumentality', *Journal of Architectural Education (1947-1974)*, Vol. 18, No. 4, March 1964, pp. 51-53.
- English, Barbara, 'The Kanpur Massacres in India in the Revolt of 1857,' *Past and Present*, No. 142, Feb., 1994, pp. 169-178.
- Erll, Astrid, 'Re-Writing as Re-visioning: Modes of Representing the "Indian Mutiny" in British Novels, 1857 to 2000', *European Journal of English Studies*, Vol. 10, No.2, 2006, pp.163-185.
- Farooqui, Amar, 'History of a Revolt', *Book Review*, March 2007, pp. 45-46.

Fischer-Tine, Harald, 'Britain's Other Civilising Mission: Class Prejudice, European "Loaferism" and the Workhouse-System in Colonial India', *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. 42, No. 3, 2005, pp. 295-338.

Frow, John, 'Tourism and the Semiotics of Nostalgia', *October*, Vol. 57, Summer 1991, pp.123-151.

Frykenburg, R.E., 'The Coronation Durbar of 1911: Some Implications' in R.E. Frykenberg (ed.), *Delhi Through the Ages: Essays in Urban History, Culture and Society*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1986, pp. 369-390.

Geyer, Michael, 'The Place of the Second World War in German Memory and History', *New German Critique*, No. 71, Memories of Germany, Spring-Summer, 1997, pp. 5-40.

Gilchrist, Roberta, 'Introduction: Towards a Social Archaeology of Warfare', *World Archaeology*, Vol. 35, No. 1, June 2003, pp.1-6.

Gilmartin, David, 'Scientific Empire and Imperial Science: Colonialism and Irrigation Technology in the Indus Basin,' *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 53, No. 4, pp. 1127-1149.

Goebel, Stefan, 'Intersecting Memories: War and Remembrance in Twentieth Century Europe', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 44, No. 3, 2001, pp. 853-858.

Goodlad, Graham, 'British Government, War and Society, 1793-1918', *History Review*, Issue 55, September 2006, pp. 9-14.

Goswami, Manu, "'Englishness" on the Imperial Circuit: Mutiny Tours in Colonial South Asia', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, Vol. 9, March 1996, pp. 54-84.

Goyle, Sonakshi, 'Imagining Empire: Commemorating the Mutiny', unpublished seminar paper submitted to Centre for Historical Studies, SSS, JNU, 2007.

Greenberg, Allan, 'Lutyens Cenotaph', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 48, No. 1, March 1989, pp. 5-23.

Gupta, Charu, 'Dalit "Viranganas" and Reinvention of 1857', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLII, No. 19, May 12-18, 2007, pp. 1739-1745.

Gupta, Narayani, 'Military Security and Urban Development: A Case study of Delhi, 1857-1912', *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1971, pp. 61-77.

_____, 'A Notified Future for Delhi's Past', *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol. XXIX, No. 1, April 2006, pp. 101-115.

_____, 'The Useful and the Ornamental: Architecture in India in the Last Two Centuries', *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. 25, No. 1, 1988, pp. 61-77.

_____, 'The Indomitable City', in Eckart Ehlers and Thomas Krafft (ed.), *Shahjahanabad/Old Delhi: Tradition and Colonial Change*, (2nd edition), Delhi, Manohar Publishers, 2003, pp. 19-45.

Heathorn, Stephen, 'Angel of Empire: The Cawnpore Memorial Well as a British Site of Imperial Remembrance', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, Vol. 8, No. 3, Autumn 2008, (page nos. not available).

'History race: Satyagraha versus 1857', *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, January 29, 2007.

Hosagrahar, Jyoti, 'Mansions to Margins: Modernity and the Domestic Landscape of Historic Delhi, 1847-1910', *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 60, No. 1, March 2001, pp. 26-45.

'1857: In the Nation's Conscience', *Sunday Hindustan Times*, April 8, 2007.

Joshi, P.C., '1857 in Our History,' in P.C. Joshi (ed.), *Rebellion: 1857*, (New edition), New Delhi: National Book Trust, 2007, pp. 129-240.

_____, 'Folk Songs on 1857,' in P.C. Joshi (ed.), *Rebellion: 1857*, (New edition), New Delhi: National Book Trust, 2007, pp. 292-309.

Kaufman, Edward N., 'Architectural Representation in Victorian England', *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 46, No. 1, March 1987, pp. 30-38.

Keizer, Madelon De, 'Focus: History and Memory,' *European Review*, Vol. 11, No. 4, 2003, pp. 519-525.

Kenny, Judith T., 'Climate, Race and Imperial Authority: The Symbolic Landscape of the British Hill Station', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 85, No. 4, December 1995, pp. 694-714.

Khan, Iqtidar Alam, 'The Gwalior Contingent in 1857-58: A Study of the Organization and Ideology of the Sepoy Rebels', *Social Scientist*, Vol. 26, No. 1-4, January-April 1998, pp. 55-75.

Khaldun, Talmiz, 'The Great Rebellion', in P.C. Joshi (ed.), *Rebellion: 1857*, (New edition), New Delhi: National Book Trust, 2007, pp. 3-77.

Knight, L.A., 'The Royal Titles Act and India', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 11, No. 3, 1968, pp. 488-507.

Koshar, Rudy, "What Ought to be Seen": Tourist Guidebooks and National Identities in Modern Germany and Europe', *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 33, No. 3, July 1998, pp. 323-340.

Lahiri, Nayanjot, 'Commemorating and Remembering 1857: The Revolt in Delhi and its Afterlife', *World Archaeology*, Vol. 35, No. 1, June 2003, pp. 35-60.

Lamont, Peter and Crispin Bates, 'Conjuring Images of India in Nineteenth Century Britain', *Social History*, Vol. 32, No.3, August 2007, pp. 308-324.

Lisle, Debbie, 'Sublime Lessons: Education and Ambivalence in War Exhibitions', *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 3, 2006, pp. 841-862.

Lowry, Donal, 'When the World Loved the Boers', *History Today*, Vol. 49, Issue 5, May 1999, pp. 43-49.

'Marching Down Freedom Lane', *The Times of India*, New Delhi, April 30, 2007.

Mann, Michael, 'Torchbearers upon the Path of Progress': Britain's Ideology of a "Moral and Material Progress" in India', in Harald Fischer-Tine and Michael Mann (ed.), *Colonialism as Civilizing Mission: Cultural Ideology in British India*, London: Wimbledon Publishing Company, 2004, pp. 1-25.

Mayer, Arno, 'Memory and History: On the Poverty of Remembering and Forgetting the Judeocide', *Radical History Review*, No. 56, Spring 1993, pp. 5-20.

Mayo, James M., 'War Memorials as Political Memory', *Geographical Review*, Vol. 78, No. 1, January 1988, pp. 62-75.

Meller, Helen E., 'Book Review', *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, January-March 1982, pp. 89-91.

Metcalf, Thomas R., 'Architecture and Representation of Empire: India, 1860-1910', *Representations*, No.6, Spring, 1984, pp. 37-65.

Morris, Ellen K., 'Symbols of Empire: Architectural Style and the Government Offices Competition', *JAE*, Vol. 32, No. 2, Politics and Design Symbolism, Nov., 1978, pp. 8-13.

Mukherjee, Rudrangshu, "Satan Let Loose upon Earth": The Kanpur Massacres in India in the Revolt of 1857," *Past and Present*, No. 128, Aug., 1990, pp. 92-116.

Munslow, Alan, 'Where Does History Come From?' *History Today*, Vol. 52, March 2002, pp. 18-20.

Myerly, Scott Hughes, ““The Eye Must Entrap the Mind”: Army Spectacle and Paradigm in Nineteenth Century Britain’, *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 26, No. 1, Autumn, 1992, pp. 105-131.

Nagai, Kaori, ‘The Writing on the Wall: The Commemoration of the Indian Mutiny in the Delhi Durbar and Rudyard Kipling’s “The Little House at Arrah”’, *Interventions*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 2005, pp. 84-96.

‘NBT re-launches “Rebellion 1857”’, *The Hindu*, April 12, 2007.

‘No Child’s Play’, *Indian Express*, New Delhi: Thursday, March 15, 2007.

Nora, Pierre, ‘Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Memoire*,’ *Representations*, No. 26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter Memory, Spring 1989, pp. 7-24.

Nuckolls, Charles W., ‘The Durbar Incident’, *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 3, July 1990, pp. 529-559.

Patnaik, Utsa, ‘Patriotic and Comprador Zamindars In the Great Rebellion of 1857’, *People’s Democracy*, Vol. XXXI, No. 11, March 12-18, 2007, pp.8-9, 12.

Patterson, Steven, ‘The Imperial Idea: Ideas of Honour in British India’, *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, Vol. 8, No. 1, Autumn 2007, (page no. not available).

Peers, Douglas M., ““There is Nothing More Poetical than War”: Romanticism, Orientalism, and Militarism in J.W. Kaye’s Narratives of the Conquest of India’, in Julie F. Codell (ed.), *Imperial Co-Histories: National Identities and the British and Colonial Press*, Cranburg, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2003, pp. 273-299.

Perusek, Darshan, ‘Subaltern Consciousness and the Historiography of the Indian Rebellion of 1857’, *NOVEL: A Forum on Fiction*, Vol. 25, No. 3, Spring, 1992, pp. 286-302.

‘Plans to Celebrate First Freedom Struggle’, *The Hindu*, March 8, 2007.

Porter, Bernard, ‘What Did They Know of Empire?’ *History Today*, Vol. 54, Issue 10, October 2004, pp. 42-48.

Prost, Antoine, ‘Monuments to the Dead’, in Pierre Nora and Lawrence D. Kritzman (ed.), *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*, Vol. 2, New York: Columbia University Press, 2002, pp. 307-330.

Runia, Eelco, ‘Burying the Dead, Creating the Past’, *History and Theory*, Vol. 46, October 2007, pp. 313-325.

Savage, Kirk, 'The Past in the Present: The Life of Memorials', *Harvard Design Magazine*, No. 9, Fall 1999, pp.1-5.

Schwartz, Barry, 'The Social Context of Commemoration: A Study in Collective Memory', *Social Forces*, Vol. 61, No. 2, December 1982, p. 374-402.

Sherman, Daniel J., 'Bodies and Names: The Emergence of Commemoration in Inter-War France', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 103, No. 2, April 1998, pp. 443-466.

'Signs of Mutiny Over 1857 Celebrations', *Hindustan Times*, March 28, 2007.

Smith, Robert James, 'Roadside Memorials: Some Australian Examples', *Folklore*, Vol. 110, 1999, pp. 103-105.

Taneja, Nalini, 'The Myth of Early Savarkar: His "Secular-Nationalist" 1857', *People's Democracy*, Vol. XXXI, No. 12, March 19-25, 2007, pp.8-9.

Tatum, James, 'Memorials of the America War in Vietnam', *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 22, No. 4, Summer 1996, pp. 634-678.

Thompson, Andrew S., 'The Language of Imperialism and the Meanings of Empire: Imperial Discourse in British Politics, 1895-1914,' *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 2, Twentieth-Century British Studies, Apr., 1997, pp. 147-177.

'The First War of Independence?' *The Hindu*, Sunday, March 25, 2007.

'1857: The Forgotten Year', *The Indian Express*, April 15, 2007.

'The Uprising, 1857: Prime Landmarks, Delhi', *The Times of India*, New Delhi, April 30, 2007.

Tiwari, Badri Narayan, 'Reactivating the Past: Dalits and Memories of 1857', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLII, No. 19, May 12-18, 2007, pp. 1734-1738.

_____, 'Popular Culture and 1857: A Memory Against Forgetting', *Social Scientist*, Vol. 26, No. 1-4, January-April 1998, pp. 86-94.

_____, 'National Past and Political Present', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 39, No. 1, July 31-Aug. 6, 2004, pp. 3533-40.

Travers, Robert, 'Death and the Nabob: Imperialism and Commemoration in Eighteenth Century India', *Past and Present*, No. 196, August 2007, pp. 83-124.

Trevithick, Alan, 'Some Structural and Sequential Aspects of the British Imperial Assemblages at Delhi: 1877-1911,' in *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 3, Jul., 1990, pp. 561-578.

Trumpener, Katie, 'Memories Carved in Granite: Great War Memorials and Everyday Life', *PMLA*, Vol. 115, No. 5, October 2000, pp. 1096-1103.

Virmani, Arundhati, 'National Symbols under Colonial Domination: The Nationalization of the Indian Flag, March-August 1923,' *Past and Present*, No. 164, Aug., 1999, pp. 169-197.

Whitmarsh, Andrew, "'We Will Remember Them': Memory and Commemoration in War Museums', *Journal of Conservation and Museum Studies*, Issue 7, November 2001, pp. 1-15.