THE POLITICS OF THE VISUAL : THE IMAGE OF THE STATE AND THE NATIONALIST IN EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY COLONIAL INDIA

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<u>**CERTIFICATE**</u>

This is to certify that this dissertation entitled, **THE POLITICS OF THE VISUAL : THE IMAGE OF THE STATE AND THE NATIONALIST IN EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY COLONIAL INDIA,** submitted by **RITU GAIROLA,** for the award of the degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY,** is a bonafide work to the best of my knowledge and may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.
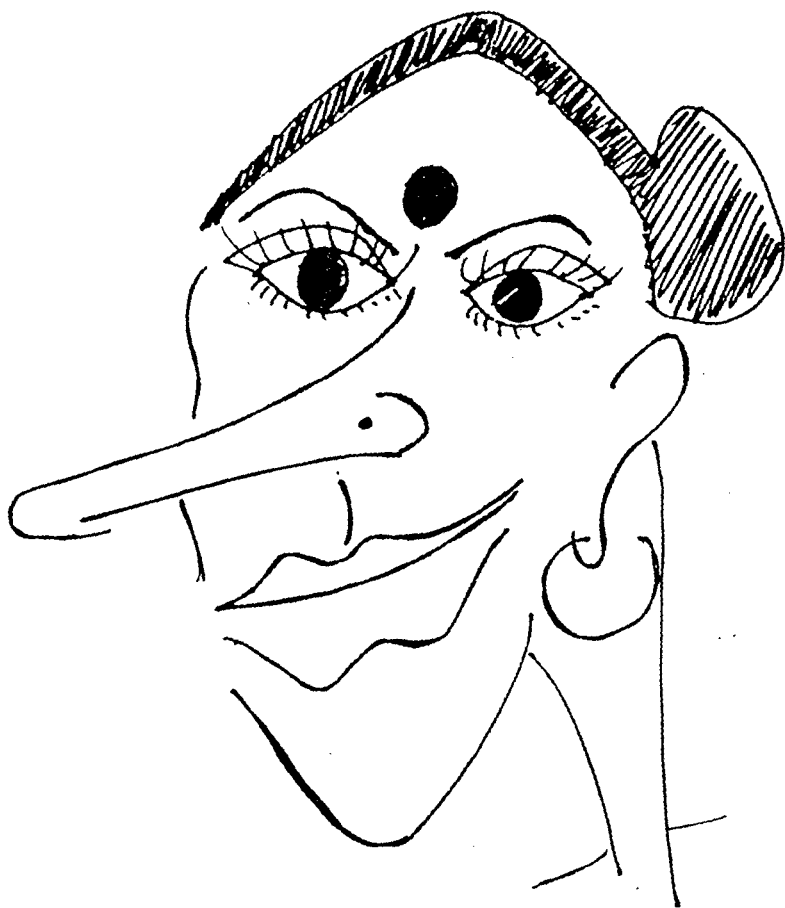

(SATISH SABERWAL)
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SUPERVISOR

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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is concerned with visuals as a medium of propaganda. I restrict my discussion to some pictorial modes i.e. illustrations, posters and occassionaly refer to films. I attempt to analyse how the visual propaganda of the colonial state and the nationalists worked. Through the visuals I hope to see the colonial and nationalist strategies of imaging the self. I use the concept propaganda loosely to identify a process of creating a 'public opinion'. In official language this concept was closely tied to other terms like 'news', 'information' and 'publicity'. So it would be important to enquire into the history of the concept of propaganda in colonial discourse.

I also attempt to discuss the recurring themes and shifts in nationalist visual imagery. This allows us to understand how a 'public' is constituted through images and the meanings that a 'public' attributes to images.

This dissertation is exploratory. The concern with the politics of images in colonial India is an attempt at understanding strategies and mechanisms of visual communication. This exploration of the past arises in part out of a curiosity with the political usage of visual images and its public reception in the present. The 'Hindu' criticism of the

Ramayana posters in Ayodhya, the 'Islamic' outcry against the widely published photograph of the Shabana Azmi Kiss (or was it Nelson Mandela's), the banning of a calendar issued by the Railway department because of its non-secular composition, a reader's criticism of R.K.Laxman's audacity at caricaturing the Latur disaster, and the Congress candidate R. Thyagarajan's election poster highlighting the grieving family of Rajiv Gandhi at his funeral, all reflect the power of images in the politics of our times.

Chapter 1 deals with the contesting images of the colonial state and the nationalists. Much of the evidence is based on the provincial reports on proscribed pictures and the copies of the proscribed posters. These reports allow us to speculate on what the state was looking at in these pictures, the meanings officials attributed to them and the threat they saw in the gestures and allegories portrayed in the posters (and other visuals). These posters unfold a variety of nationalist political images and point to the operative categories of their political perception. Nationalist imagery projected the colonial state as demonic, as evil. The state contested this image by monitoring visual publicity, and by projecting itself as a welfare state: undertaking a mental and physical cleansing of the 'public' and inculcating a scientific temper.

Chapter 2 discusses the visual presentation of the revolutionaries and the Congress in nationalist imagery. These posters bring to surface the contesting notions of sacrifice and patriotism within the national movement and the way this conflict was iconically represented and reconciled. Grounded in the politics of the period, these posters attempted to present specific notions of the political self. The focus was on two themes - sacrifice and deification. Sacrifice through death and imprisonment was depicted as being politically creative, it also imparted to the patriot a deified status. Deification drew upon a long tradition that glorified deprivation and suffering. It is important to analyze how this tradition was drawn upon.

The posters showed the present crisis as a re-enactment of a past crisis. By drawing on a mythical past, not only were nationalist activities legitimated, but the icons of the movement - Bhagat Singh and Gandhi were accorded the status of modern Gods. Gods, in turn, were personified.

The posters, political writings and press reports of the revolutionaries and the Congress unfold a complex process of appropriation of and distancing from each others world-views. The ideological reconciliations and dissociations were in sharp contrast to the harmony maintained at the visual level. The posters and bazar prints often por-

trayed a harmony between the two strands of nationalism. It is important to analyze how certain ideals got iconically erased or amplified, and the selective projection of political views at the visual level.

The third chapter discusses the shifts in the image of the Indian state as a feminine figure. The preceding chapters have marked the co-existence of a variety in imagery and emotive appeal in nationalist visuals. The figure of Bharat Mata is located in these shifts in presentation. The nation as a Hindu deity co-existed with the nation as mother. It is important to discuss these roles of the nation and the emotive pull of these images. Bharat Mata as Ashtabhuja Devi was depicted as violent and victorious, this form got displaced by a unrecognizable deity who was victimized and required the sacrifice of nationalists for her redemption. Bharat Mata is invested with different emotive meanings: as a mother and a deity she received sacrifices. This iconic subscription to Bharat Mata hallowed the patriot. Nationalist politics was presented as a specifically masculine domain, as a seminal project. The making of the masculine nationalist fitted in with an available sacrificial paradigm of mother/son, deity/devotee and feminine/masculine.

The fourth chapter analyzes cartoons and caricatures in colonial India. The attempt here is to demonstrate that the

visual politics of representation mediated not only the relationship between nationalists and the state, but also between communities. Cartoons stereotyped identities and laughed at them. Thus identities were both constituted and questioned by the cartoon. Cartoons and caricatures contested and validated the meaning of signs, and could process communal perceptions. In other words functioning as visual satire, cartoons sought to criticize and re-define the marks of community identity by challenging the veracity of signs and staked a claim to presenting the truth.

Appendix I discusses the concern of the colonial state with public opinion and its project to present specific images of the state. Institutionalizing publicity provided the bureaucracy the infrastructure to process information for the Indian public and to discipline images - to define what constituted sedition, communalism and obscenity. The lengthy official discussions and conflicting viewpoints in the colonial discourse preserved in the archives unfolds the official perceptions of the self-image and native image. Official concern with pictures as propaganda, came after a period of intensive focus on the press and the written word. Pictures as propaganda surfaced as a medium to address the non-literate public. Increasingly the state's legislation and propaganda bureau were involved in disciplining images

through a selective projection and proscription of the visual medium.

A common theme in the different chapters is the politics of truth. Through the analysis of images, the attempt is to demonstrate how truth gets constituted and how different 'truths' are asserted. If 'truth' is to prevail, it is important to query, 'whose truth?'

Chapter 1

IMAGING THE STATE

Introduction

'Secular' presentations of the earliest visual comment
on colonial Indian politics was perhaps attempted by Subram-
aniam Bharati for his journal *India* in 1906 (Figure 1).[1] The
colonial relationship was interpreted in economic terms i.e.
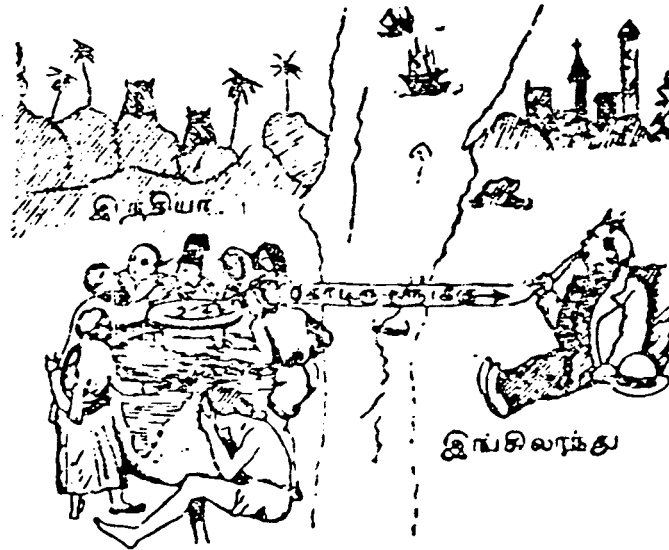
1.   *Bharati's Cartoon On the 'Drain of Wealth',* <u>*India,*</u> *8-9-1906,*

'Drain of wealth' a theme which had gained currency in
early twentieth century. Water bodies, ships, temples,
church, a pot diffusing into a water body shaped like the
map of South India, Indians in communal headgear (indicating
unity) and a western attired figure - these pictorial ele-

ments bifurcated the illustration to mark the 'East' and the 'West'. The illustration froze at the action of 'sucking', to focus on the relationship of the 'East' and the 'West'. The 'West' was sucking the Indian pot dry. All the pictorial elements were indicated by written texts and a lengthy explanatory text accompanied the illustration. This text directed the gaze of the 'public' to read the pictorial elements symbolically. The explanatory text indicated the artists' struggle to impart form to an eco-political concept. Visualising an eco-political concept proved problematic as the artist had not adopted a formula or evoked stereotypes from 'tradition'. The 'public' gaze therefore needed to be guided, Bharati's illustration was parasitical to the written text. The communicative restrictions in Bharati's illustration makes clear the economics of harnessing mythology/tradition. Mythology provided the emotive symbols and stereotypes to organize the perception of the 'public', it facilitated the identification of the 'present' with the 'past', and it established who was 'virtuous' and who was 'evil'. (See Figures 2 and 3).

Analysis of 'seditious' nationalist pictures and the states images of itself allows us to map the coordinates on which this image hinged. Image building involved constructing and preserving stereotypes which upheld the moral au-

பால் கறக்கும் மார்லி தமக்குள்ளேயே சொல்லிக் கொள்கிறார்......"அடே! அப்பா! இந்த இந்திய பசு எவ்வளவு பால் கறக்கிறது. குடம் குடமாக நமது வீட்டுக்கனுப்பியும் இன்னும் வற்றவில்லையே! இப்படிப்பட்ட பசுவின் வயிற்றில் பிறந்த கன்றுகள் எத்தனே சிறந்த அதிர்ஷ்டமுடையன."
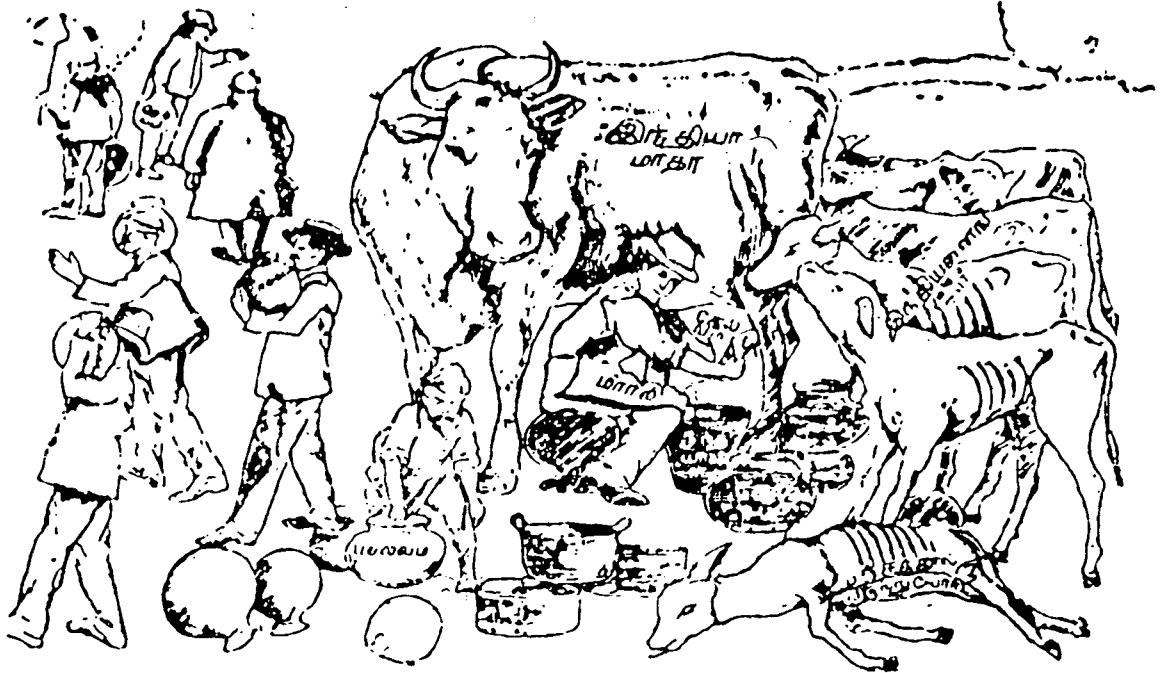
[இந்தக் கார்ட்டூன் சித்திரம் 29-9-1906 "இந்தியா" இதழில் வெளியிடப்பட்டுள்ளது]—(ப.ர்.)

2. Bharati's Cartoon On the 'Drain of Wealth', India, 29-9-1906,

thority of the British and hence legitimized their political power. 'Seditious' nationalist pictures demonstrated nationalist efforts at constructing contesting stereotypes. Here I discuss this contest of stereotypes. Power relations between the colonist and the colonized could be defined and disturbed by constructing differing stereotyped images of the British and the Indian. Works of E.H. Gombrich and Partha Mitter provide apposite operative frameworks to discuss the construction of stereotypes.[2] Following Gombrich, Partha Mitter has demonstrated the process through which Indian gods were represented as monsterous. Partha Mitter has shown how stereotyping facilitated identification of new objects by screening them through received images. Mitter's work pointed to how the image of alterity acquired demonic forms. A study of stereotypes unfolds how 'facts' and 'truths' get shaped within a context of power relations, and how they seek inspiration and legitimacy from 'tradition'.

The vitality of myths in the evocation of tradition surfaces in the nationalist imagery discussed in this chapter. Myths perform what A.K. Ramanujan has argued for the *Ramayana* - the role of 'a second language of a whole cultural area'.[3] Theological, sexual and political discourse can emerge from the pool of myths. 'Re-telling' myths takes place in specific contexts. They are appropriated by groups

Look at the Jubilance of India's Children!

இந்தியாவின் குழந்தைகள் ஆனந்தமடைவதைப் பாருங்கள்!

20-10-1906-ல் இந்தியா காரிட்டூன் வெளியானது.

3.   Bharati's Cartoon On the 'Drain of Wealth', _India,_
     20-10-1906,

to articulate specific concerns. The nationalist imagery of early twentieth century and its proscription by the officials, unveils a contest between the state and the nationalist at the mythic level. The first section in this chapter discusses the political use of myths in imaging the state. I will look into how a past was evoked and myths politicized in nationalist visual compositions. Nationalist imaging of the state as demonic, elicited proscription and efforts by the state to de-politicize myths by furnishing alternate mythic interpretations of these compositions. The next section looks into how the state imaged itself as morally correct, by defining obscenity and a selective projection of visual images of the British. The attempt here is to show the political importance of the states projection of its probity.

SECTION I

The Nationalist Image of the State

For many decades after Colebrook's essay "On the duties of the faithful Hindu widow" (1895), the burning woman came to represent an integral part of the perception of Indian reality. It carried with it associations of a barbaric society and the mystique of the Hindu woman.[4] Throughout the

4.   'Ashtabhuja Devi', Laxmi Press, 1907,

first half of the nineteenth century and even before, writers like Mill, Orme, Dubois, Macaulay and Bentinck were labouring to certify the 'natives' as a frail, cowardly and soft bodied little people.[5] In the latter half of the nineteenth century, Gobind Chandra Sen's account (1840) reflected rudimentarily on stereotypes of Rajputs as "freedom lovers" and Muslims as 'marauders". Perry Chand Mitra too elaborated on the valour of Hindus.[6]

By the early twentieth century, with the Indians portraying the British as demonic, the politics of stereotyping had turned full circle. Posters depicted the British as mythological demons, as *Mahishasur*, *Yama* and *Dushasan*. The colonial state reacted by categorizing these posters as 'seditious' and proscribing them.

Proscription of 'seditious' pictures threw up the question of 'meaning' in visual representation. 'Truth' was not the issue at stake.[7] The state was concerned with the intention of the visual text. The focus on the 'intention' of the pictorial text demonstrated the political utility of stereotyped images.

My discussion in this section on nationalist imagery will focus largely on two pictures of '*Ashtabhuja Devi*'

which appeared in 1907[8] and 1909[9], 'Bharatuddhar' (1930)[10]
and 'The non-cooperation tree' (1935)[11]. These posters drew
upon Hindu mythology; the mythic struggles between the
divine and the demonic came to represent modern political
conflicts.

5.   'Bharatuddhar', proscribed poster, 1930,

The picture 'Ashtabhuja Devi' was in circulation since
1900, but it caught the attention of the officials in 1912.
A similar picture of 'Ashtabhuja Devi' cited in an Intelli-
gence report, 'Political trouble in India - 1907-1917'
(Figure 4). This picture was declared seditious, as the
officials were confident of the political content of the

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mythological form. The picture portrayed an eight armed Hindu goddess killing a half bull demon. The written text indicated that the pictorial form signified abstractions. The deity was 'Rashtriya Jagruti' ('National awakening'). The eight weapons were : 'Swadeshi' ('Nationalism') 'Ekta' ('Unity'), 'Atmaviswas' ('Self reliance'), 'Svatantrya' ('Self-Dependence'), 'Swabhiman' ('Pride of self'), 'Desh Seva', ('Service of country') and 'swarajya' ('Self-government'). The deity was mounted on a lion (or tiger) symbolizing 'Bahiskar' ('Boycott'). The deity attacked and overpowered the demons. The demons signified 'Videshi Mal' ('British Goods'), 'Videshi Vyapar' ('British Trade'), 'Desh Droha' ('disloyalty') 'Fitur' ('treachery') 'Videshi rajya' ('British government') and 'Durbalta' (weakness).

It is important to note here that the artist did not identify the deity or the demon (through written text) as Mahalakshmi and Mahishasur respectively. The visual was assigned a layer of signification by a written text. This written text initiated two processes. First, it translated the mythic figures and armoury in the composition to economic terms: 'British trade' 'British Goods' and 'Swadeshi'; abstractions: 'unity' 'self-government', 'British government' and moral traits: 'disloyalty', 'treachery' and 'weakness'. Second, the economic terms and abstractions were

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imparted a visual form. A mythological form was evoked to present a political reality, to iconically present the Indian overpowering the British. Simultaneously the present political reality was re-worked in mythic terms.[12] The 'public' gaze was directed at these two processes working on each other. The picture juxtaposed the moral with the politics and the economics of the 'present'. The struggle in the 'present' was identified as a struggle between 'good' versus 'evil'.

In 'Bharatuddhar' (the upliftment of India' 1930) (Figure 5) a four -armed Gandhi is portrayed, brandishing an armoury of khadi, charkha, swadeshi and spindle, protecting 'Mother-India' from a British officer (who is textually indicated to be 'Yama'). 'Mother India' ('*Markandaya*') was chained to the bull on which the British officer was seated. Gandhi is divine, he was Shiva because he was four armed and had the mark of Shiva i.e. the crescent, on his head. The black linga further indicated the reference to Shiva. The British official was Yama the Lord of the dead. The buffalo and the written text indicated the status of the official 'mother India' was 'Markandaya'. This visual is complex because two visual texts were superimposed. The two texts slipped into each other to constitute the composition. In the preceding picture discussed, the visual text and the
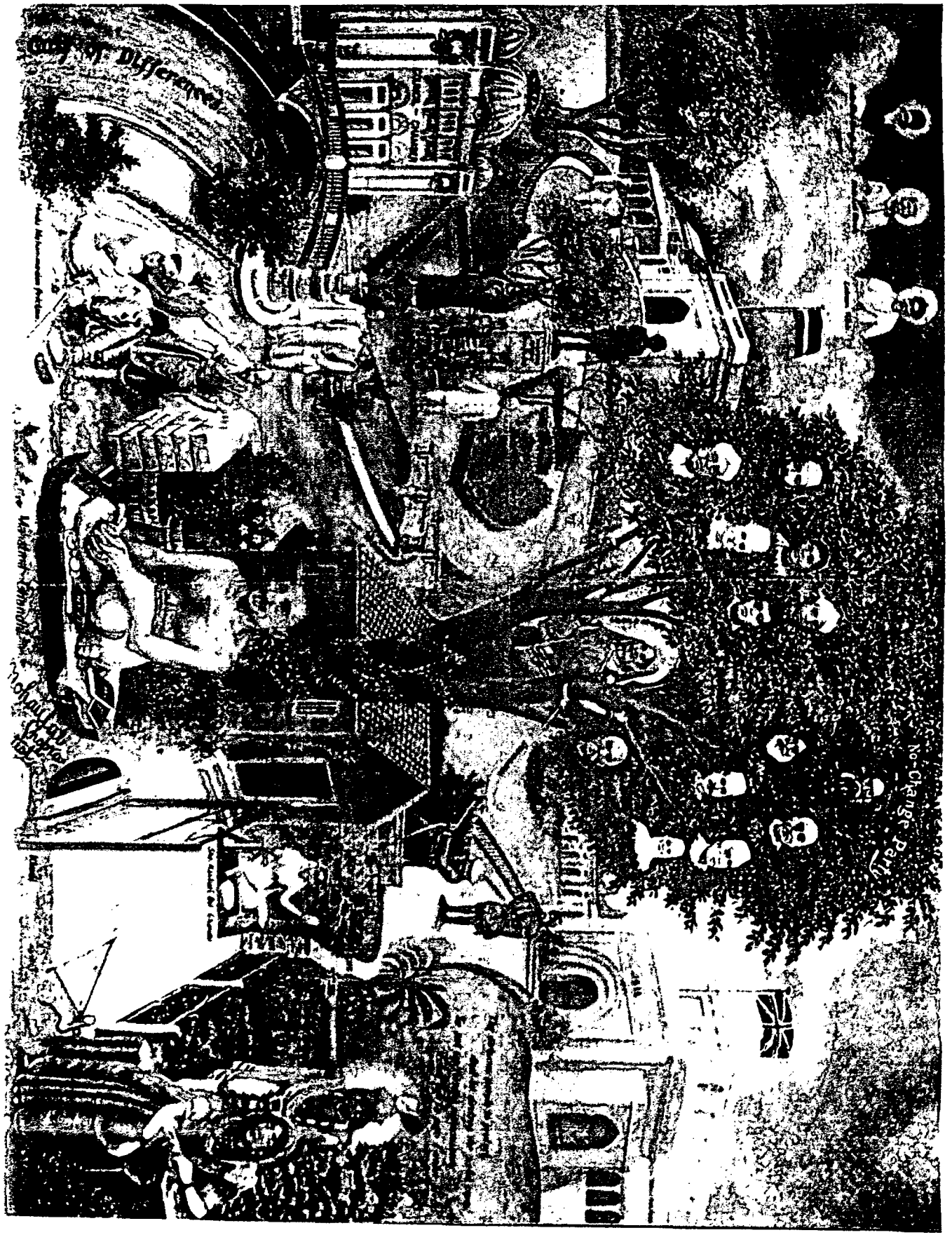
written text indicated different time - frames, invested in the same composition. This picture was a thaumatrope, the image of Shiva slipped into the image of Gandhi (and vice - versa) and the image of Yama slipped into the image of the British official (and vice - versa).

The past could be visually evoked in an alternate form too. In the poster, the 'non-cooperation tree' (1935, Figure 6), the artist, Mohanlal Chopra marked two time-frames, the 'mythical past' and the 'present'. The 'present' was amplified by according to it more space in the poster. The present consisted of Gandhi contemplating under a tree, surrounded by the mark of the Congress i.e. charkha, figures of nationalist leaders, books and colonial buildings of authority and power i.e. prisons and courts. The 'past' occupied a nook in the posters, in it Krishna, pointing to Gandhi announced, 'The virtuous people to protect and to destroy the sinful ones. To set up firmly rightousness from age to age I enter birth'.

The spatial allocation of the 'past' and the 'present' in the poster emphasized the focus on the 'present'; the two time frames were distinct by the presence of specific figures, Gandhi and Krishna. In other words, Gandhi and Krishna were accorded temporality. This released the form of the Gandhi figure from the form of the divine figure. There was

no need to energize Gandhi by juxtaposing his figure with an indicative text i.e. swadeshi etc. or a mythical form i.e. an aggressive Shiva. In this poster, though Gandhi was portrayed as an avatar of Krishna, it is important to note that Gandhi was distinctly the 'present', he was 'Gandhi' and a symbol of the 'present'. The (re-)appearance of legends, particularly unaccompanied by written explanatory texts made it swing between two time-frames, the 'past' and the 'present'. Each time frame allocated it a specific meaning. The white cow in the picture could have signified the British. The vagueness of the time frame of the picture enhanced the potency of the picture, as it could accommodate, many meanings.

Krishna's utterances, indicated who was virtuous and who was sinful. The moral boundaries demarcated the space of the colonist and the colonized, it also legitimated Gandhian politics. Gandhian politics was an extension of sacred politics of the 'past', it was sanctified by Krishna. Victory could thus be anticipated.

These examples indicate how through visualizing the myth, the compositions acquire layers of signification. The compositions have a thaumatropic potential in that two sets of images: the past and the present slip into each other. The recurrent themes - the conflict between the divine and

the demonic and the victory of the good over the evil accom-
odated the 'past' and the 'present' in a single frame.

The pictures discussed above unfold the process of
mythifying the 'present' and simultaneously 'modernizing'
the myth. This process involved the adoption of specific
myths to project a specific theme: in the process myths were
re-signified and the present reality was understood and
represented in mythic terms. The oppositon between good and
evil trapped the 'past' and the 'present'.

The posters discussed in this section point to the re -
working of the divine and the demonic. British officials and
their marks of power were signs of demonic forces, the
nationalists, Gandhi and the marks of Congress politics were
signs of the divine.

The State's Defense: The picture 'Ashtabhuja Devi' was in
circulation since 1900, but it caught the attention of the
officials in 1912. The state officials saw the picture as an
'anti - cow killing' statement, having the potential of
'inciting violence'. The officials demanded the following
alterations in the picture :

(a) The blood stains on the sword of one of the demons were
     to be removed.

(b) The animal (cow) was to be painted black (and not white
     as in the picture).

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(c) The figure of the demon in front of the cow was to be
     removed.

The above alterations were recommended to the printer
of the picture, Mr Schleicher so that it would 'conform more
closely to the legend it was intended to represent'. The
printer defended the picture by arguing that it was a 'co-
rrect representation of the Hindu goddess' 'Ashtabhuja
Devi'. (otherwise also called Mahishasurmardini') and it did
not contain, 'any words, signs or visible representations'
to qualify as seditious.[13] A similar picture of 'Ashtabhuja
Devi' proscribed by the state in 1907 was perceived by the
officials as, 'a cartoon of a well known Hindu mythological
picture which can be bought in the ordinary bazar and is
found in many Hindu homes.. [it] caricatures the fight
between Mahalakshmi and her lion on the one side and Mahisa-
sur and his demons on the other'.[14]

The alterations recommended in the picture and the
official reception of the pictures reflect two issues.
First, the state used the language of the myth to counter
the nationalist use of myth. The struggle over the interpre-
tation of the visuals, was a struggle over the political use
of myth. The failure of the state to proscribe the picture
was due to their inability to demonstrate the political
content of the imagery.

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Second, the state sought to establish the 'truth' of Hindu mythology by correcting all 'mis-representation'. By denying the existence of local variatons in mythology, the state insisted on one valid authentic representation. The state constituted for the Indians an authentic knowledge and representation of their past, their traditions, their myths.[15]

In 1933, the Delhi daily *Tej* was proscribed for containing a picture titled, 'Savior'. The picture was accompanied by a couplet: 'Just as in Mahabarat, o Lord Krishna You saved Draupadi from the tyranny of Dushshasan, in a similar way, make every thread of Gandhi's spinning wheel into a sheet of cloth so that India's hopour may be saved and all her trouble relieved. The state officials recognized this picture as, 'evidently intended to suggest an attack by an individual in European clothes upon the modesty of a lady representing India.[16]

In 1934, the officials of the United Provinces issued orders, proscribing all cartoons which depicted first, 'an Indian being whipped by a character symbolizing Europe to make him hand over him wealth, and second, 'representations of Europe grinding a machine in which a poor Indian from whose mouth is being squeezed a shower of rupees'.

'Undraping', 'whipping' and 'squeezing' highlighted Indian suffering and the state's 'violence'. Unlike the posters discussed in the preceding section, the focus was not on the martial victory of the deity over the demon. A new equation was introduced : suffering - powerlessness - Indian - virtue; coercion - power-British - evil. Suffering' and 'powerlessness' were empowering states, they legitimated the nationalist opposition to the colonial state. Suffering demanded accountability and amplified the coercive power of the colonial state.

In the nationalist visual the opposition of 'good' and 'evil', these two operative categories co-existed with an alternate emotive evocation: suffering and sacrifice became the prominent and powerful emotive motif to highlight British ruthlessness. I have discussed the power of 'sacrifice' in the next chapter. The colonial state countered the nationalist stereotypes of the divine and the demonic by proscribing pictures referring to Gandhi, the Congress and the revolutionaries.

In the proscription of nationalist pictures, the state evaded discussion on the 'truth' content of the picture. Attention was directed instead on the 'intention' of the picture. The Home Department contended that, 'the matter published may be true or false but the effect which it

produces does not depend on its being true or false'.[17] The same note quoting from an *Indian Law Reporter* explained, 'a poem, an allegory, a drama, a philosophical discussion, may be used for the purpose of exciting disaffection just as much as direct attacks upon the government. You have to look through the form and look at the real object'. This was in sharp contrast to the states objections to the 'Ashtabhuja Devi' picture (1909) not being a 'truthful' representation of the Hindu legend. Public 'belief' now constituted the 'truth'. Context and not the 'truth' became the focus in the reading of a picture.

<u>Conclusion</u>: It is important to locate the shifts in techniques of representation as the product of a negotiation between the artist, the 'public' and the politics of the times.

With the advent of cinema in India in the late nineteenth century and particularly by the second decade of the twentieth century, political 'reality' was presented to the 'public' in short films. Through the film the nationalists as well as the colonial state addressed an assembled 'public'. Cinema allowed the pictures to be mobile, the action was not frozen. Cinema staked a claim to document 'reality' where the supposedly neutral camera nullified intrusion of the artist in projecting the 'truth'. The Government pro-

duced short films of 'interest' to villagers and hoped to 'distract the minds' of the people, by giving them 'something new to talk about'. Despite the call of the Congress to boycott the screening of these films, 'thousands of people attended'. This event was celebrated by the Government as the 'failure' of the Congress.[18] Films introduced a new way of showing and a new way of seeing, it also provided a new form of political propaganda.

In 1921, 'Bhakta Vidur'[19] "a thinly veiled resume of political events in India " in which Vidur appears clad as Gandhi was banned; R.S.D. Choudhury's film 'Wrath' (1930) was banned for portraying Gandhi; 'Malapilla' a film in 1938 was banned for references to the nationalist movement by showing the spinning wheel, Nehru's photograph and Gandhi's statue. These examples demonstrate how the state recognized Gandhi as a nationalist icon, the 'charkha', 'khadi', and 'swadeshi', sedimented the icon with nationalist meanings.[20]

SECTION II

Regulating Morality: Nationalist imagery wove in legends, contextualized them by re-working them thematically and figuratively. New demons and deities were accommodated to represent the general conflict between 'virtue' and 'evil'. The state's proscription of the demonic image of itself was

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a part of a larger project of constituting the image of an imperial welfare state. The State sought to projects itself as the guardian of the Indian citizens, as concerned with their physical, moral and mental well being. The selective screening of the image of the British and the attempt by the state to define obscenity revealed the way the state wished to represent itself, how the state censored certain images and encouraged others (see Appendix-I for details on state policy). This section focusses on two concerns of the state: the image of the white woman and the image of the British officer. Kenneth Ballhatchet's has suggested that sexual jealousy latent in males of dominant groups (here the British), unleashes a concern with morals and social distance.[21] This concern of the state was closely linked to the structure of power and authority.

The White Woman: Mr. Kershaw, a British resident wrote a critical review of the film, 'The Prince of Bharata' to the Director of Publicity in India Mr.R.Williams.[22] Kershaw criticized the film's 'grotesque foolishness in details'. The subject of the film, an Indian Raja's marriage or association with a white woman, was 'frankly disgusting and revolting to English ideas of decency'. Kershaw perceived the film in the following terms:

> A young flapper, about fourteen years of age,
> after once meeting an Indian Rajah and (sic)
> makes an assignment with him at midnight
> agrees to elope. She becomes one of the
> Rajah's harem in India and is seen surrounded
> in the Arabian Nights dream environment,
> which silly ignorant European girls always
> imagine would be theirs as the result of
> liason with colourd men. ... in the end the
> white girl refuses a chance to escape with
> her European lover from the harem and elects
> of her own accord to remain with him as his
> concubine.[23]

Hubert Husey, Vice-President of the British Board of Film Censors sought to correct Kershaw's observations. Husey argued that associations of white women and non-white men, 'whatever one's own feeling', could not be regarded as impossible considering the cases of Prince Dhilip Singh and other instances which were known. Acknowledging 'inconsistencies' in Eastern life and surroundings in the film, Husey concluded that he would, 'not pass the film for India', but after 'careful consideration' would not regard it as prohibitive (for exhibition) in England.

The film 'The Prince of Redemption' was also criticized and prohibited for exhibition in India as it showed an Indian Raja marrying an English woman.[24]

In projecting itself as a state which inculcated a sense of moral and physical hygiene, 'obscene' images were barred from the gaze of the Indian public. The state prohibited the exhibition of images of white men and women kissing in public, free association between men and women, indecent positions, orgies, revelry and insufficiently clad women (Figure 7).

KE/TO/-LEND/ LOVELINE//

Kestos Belts and Girdles have been evolved with a wizardry which ensures perfect figure control while allowing the utmost freedom of movement.

(Left) T.4174. Figured Art Satin. Lightly boned. Colour —Peach.

(Right) T.4222. Figured Art Poplin. Lined throughout. Lightly boned. Colour— Tea-rose.

Insist on the Kestos Brassiere which subtly enhances feminine curves. Available in a range of attractive materials.

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For Trade Enquiries: Muller & Phipps (India) Ltd., Bombay

7.   'Kestos' Advertisement, *Statesman*, 1935,

The concern with the Indian public's gaze on the bare body of the white woman is encapsuled in the remark of Miss M. Shephard, representative in India of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene: 'if the papers [containing obscene

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advertisements] were read by the English only it would not matter so much - but Indians read them too ...'.[25] The British woman was perceived by the state as the guardian of purity, it was important to avoid screening images (to the Indian public) which portrayed associations of native men with white women. The social distance between the ruler and the ruled could be marked by disallowing the native's access or proximity to the British woman.

The appearance of Indians among the official elite and the Ilbert Bill controversy in late nineteenth century, demonstrated twin British fears[26]: First, English womanhood was seen as at risk when the structure of British power and authority was threatened. Second, with the spread of western education, the state could no longer assert their superiority on the basis of knowledge or intellect. Arguments on racial superiority rescued the state's claim to political authority. Asserting racial superiority implied representing the Babu and Eurasians as native, incompetent and vile.[27] These stereotypes legitimized the English elites' perception that their women should be protected from physical contact with natives.

The British Officer: Towards the end of the nineteenth century, assaults on Indians by British soldiers came to attract growing attention. The official elite in India were

uneasily aware of the unruly and 'immoral' tendencies of the lower class British subalterns serving in India.[28] This discreditable subaltern behaviour could not be accommodated within the project to image the ruler as morally superior. The urgency to resurrect the British moral image was compounded by the transition of the British in India from traders to responsible governing officials.[29] The British as an exclusive governing elite and the presence of the missionaries (specially around mid-nineteenth century) nurtured notions of moral superiority, moral guardianship and racial segregation.

The state sought to build its moral image by cautiously projecting the stereotype of the ideal British officer. Specific actions of British officers in films were erased from the Indian public view: the British officer seducing Indian women, refusing to sacrifice his life, striking a child and beggar, ineberiated and finally, being chased by an Indian crowd. The state proscribed all pictures which portrayed the British officer physically overpowering or abusing the natives (See p.   ). Adverse images of the white woman and the British officer were received (by the British public and state the colonial) as, 'grotesque foolishness in details', as 'improbabilities and impossibilities'. These images, it was argued were as unreal as the 'erronous depic-

tion of Eastern scenery' in the films, and as factually

perverted as the portrayal of a warship anchored in a 'ha-

rbour' which was actually a well known Indian railway cen-

tre, away from the sea coast. These 'inconsistencies' dis-

qualified the films from being exhibited to the Indian

public, while they could safely be projected to the British

public. This selective projection reinforced the states

perception of the political importance of presenting the

Indian public a morally correct and masculine image of the

state. The Indian public was to be fed a diet of British

images of selfless devotion, heroic and human adventures,

scientific and geographical discoveries and social service -

scenes which actually' abounded in Western life.[30] The

Bombay Cinema Board Enquiry too emphasized that the Indian

'public' had to be exposed to healthy recreation and new

themes for the emulation of the West.

The moral and masculine image of the state was propped

by negative images of the natives as vile and intellectually

incompetent. The Babus and Eurasians were stereotyped as

lacking enterprise, fecklessness, ability and energy. The

dismissal of surgeon Gillies in 1859 unfolded the state's

perception of the Eurasians (as a social marginal like the

Babu) as of filthy habits, lacking in veracity and of vile

tendencies.[31] The natives (including Indian Princes) were

perceived as threats to the sexuality of the white woman. This sexual threat of the native was underlined by the registeration of the notion of the white woman's fascination for the black natives.[32] The native therefore had to be externed from the sphere of the British woman by prohibiting his infringement on this sacred space as a professional - as surgeons and judges. Further the white woman had to be distanced from the native by discouraging the women from prostitution and serving as bar maids. The image of the white woman as sexually pure was further magnified by constructing an ambiguous image of the native woman. The native woman was perceived as necessary to sustain the virility of the British subalterns, to protect them from disease and from emasculation through homosexuality. On the other hand, the native woman was also perceived as sexually charged and as a source of immorality.[33] The stereotype of the Burmese women is a typical case in illustration, they were 'admirable housekeeper(s) ... busy engaging females, with a natural aptitude for the society of men' liaisons with the Burmese women could however also, 'lower the prestige of the English name'.[34] These conflicting stereotypes of the native woman accommodated her in three roles: prostitute, wife and native. It legitimized official proximity and distance as the need arose.

The discussion around the obscene posters Bill in 1934 reinforced the notion of the pervert native by locating two sites of 'obscenity': the Indian mind and American culture. It was argued by the officials that the Indian mind was prone to 'misunderstand' British culture as 'obscene' as the Indians were unable to identify with the context. Further, American films, depicted 'moral laxity'.[35] By proscribing these influential scenes, the state was according itself a moral responsibility. First, it was necessary for the state to 'safeguard the interests' of the people and 'keep up the morals' of the community. Second, sex scenes led the Indian public to 'misunderstand' western culture. It was argued that the lifestyle projected in western films was regarded as typical of the Christian culture. Christianity became associated with obscenity and therefore stood on trial.[36]

Nationalists opposed the state's authority to censor on three grounds. First, that the state ignored "Modern" con-sciousness and was suffering from a "morality complex".[37] Second, that the "real purpose" behind censorship was to popularize British films in India which was economically a profitable venture. Third, that the censorship was being used as a political convenience. The nationalists argued that there appeared to be no objection to pictures which showed Asiatics as villains and Englishmen as heroes. The

Government exercised it's censorship powers by proscribing films on Indian nationalist leaders for example the short film on the 'Dandi March'.[38]

The debate on obscenity demonstrates how the notion of the welfare state was evoked to sanction the state the right to monitor the images transmitted to the Indian 'public'. The debate underlines the tension in the power of the visual images and highlights the politics of image making. The censorship committee was performing a self-perpetuating role. Fifty percent of the members of this committee were British officials. In the course of the debate some Indians argued that obscene images were detrimental because sex scenes affected the young generation. It was impossible to expect the younger generation to, 'grow up into an ideal youth or preserve Brahmacharya', because of the 'distorted view of life' portrayed through these scenes. Sex scenes were considered a threat to the social and moral fabric of Indians.[39] The officials observed that protests against censorship of 'obscene' films was a Nationalist strategy to assign the 'West" a 'lower prestige' in the eyes of the Indian 'public'.

Conclusion: By selectively defining obscenity, the state distanced itself the evil which flowed from obscenity and laid the onus on the American culture and the Indian mind.

The state further empowered itself by imaging itself as a welfare state and acquiring the right to mediate in what the 'public' saw. Arguments against obscenity became an argument against a specific representation of western culture. In films, Christians and Europeans were represented as debauched and indulging in sexual orgies. Defining decency becomes a political issue when the moral image of the state was at stake. British probity addressed the gaze of the Indian public. The definition of decency acquired political overtones when western women were represented as immoral or British officers were projected as aggressive ineberiated and vile.

The Mind of the Villager: The publicity infrastructure for the 'welfare' image of the state operated at the provincial level.[40] Films, magic lanterns and accompanying lectures were the chief modes of transmitting the image to a predominantly village audience. The publicity programme with a broad theme of 'village upliftment' focussed on specific local issues: improved agricultural seeds, fertilizers, irrigation, cattle breeding, hygiene, industries and employment schemes. The films were also targeted to wean students from participation in politics and inculcate discipline. In this section the focus is on the form and content of the

publicity programme in the United Provinces for the years 1932-1933.

The 'village upliftment' programme in the United Provinces was conducted at various levels to provide ideal receptive occasions for propaganda:

a) Lectures and informal talks were given in fairs and *melas*.

b) During *Kathas* (Hindu religious meetings) *Pandits* were expected to shift to propaganda in the course of their interpretation of religious texts.

c) *Bhajan Mandalis* to compose songs, particularly against lawlessness. Songs were recorded in gramophones and these emphasized the removal of illiteracy, the importance of sanitation, hygiene and economic development.

d) Model talks were prepared for school children in simple Hindustani. These talks highlighted the dangers of subversive movements; the advantages of a stable Government; the importance of peace and goodwill among zamindars and peasants; advantages of co-operation; duties of a good citizen.

e) Exhibitions of arts and crafts, baby shows, agriculture, poultry and sports were organized. These exhibitions were also conducted through mobile vans with projectors, wireless and loudspeakers.

The state was cautious not to project the 'welfare' programme as politically motivated. Special care was taken to make the discussions and leaflets appear to be of a non-political character and to give them an ethical and moral colour. To emphasize the apolitical concern of the Government two strategies were employed. First, a mild criticism of the colonial Government was included in the public addresses; and second, speeches and meetings were conducted by leading non-officials of the province. The states publicity programme presented 'facts' to argue for a 'reality' contrary to which the congress was critiquing. The state sought to remove what it saw as the 'fundamental misrepresentation' current among the people. The state's 'truth' questioned the Congress programme of non-cooperation and the 'exploitation theory' which, 'had done much harm to the British rule'. The Government sought to reverse this harm by highlighting the economic harm civil disobedience was doing to the people.

The Government's focus on improved agricultural methods, hygiene and disease sought to inculcate in the Indian 'public', a 'scientific temper', the villages had to be 'reconstructed' and 'up-lifted'. Like the morality project, the Government was introducing specific notions of rationality and physical hygiene.

The politics of the states propaganda did not go unnoticed. The editorial of the *Challenge* of 15 February 1933 stated, 'the Government, inspite of its seeming indifference to Congress activities, has been very busy in building a bulwark against truth: it ... tells the Indian villages in honeyed words that it is for the good of India that the British rule the country, that if there is a fall in the price of jute or tea, it is all due to the Babus, the political agitators, the followers of Mahatma Gandhi; that obedience to the congress would surely result in the total ruin of the country'.

An important aspect of the state's image building project was the visual extension of its symbols of power. Short films were screened during the Governments official ceremonies, Governor's receptions, marches and parades of the troops, inaugurations of institutions by officials and the coronation of the British royalty. These films allowed the 'public' to witness the regalia of the empire and the Government hoped, 'to impress on the rural people the pomp and power of the Government'. These symbols of power marked and extended the distance between the ruler and the ruled.

Notes

(1) I am greatly indebted to Venkat for drawing any attention to Bharati's cartoons.

(2) E.H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the psychology of pictorial representation* (Phaidon, 1960). Especially see the chapter 'Truth and Stereotype'.

(3) Partha Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters: European reactions to India Gods.* (Oxford, 1977).

(4) A.K. Ramanujan, 'Three Hundree *Ramayanas*: Five Examples and Three Thoughts on Translation' in P.Richman ed. *Many Ramayanas : The Diversity of a Narrative Tradition in South Asia* (Oxford 1992).

(5) Uma Chakravarti, 'Whatever Happened to the Vedic Dasi?' In K. Sangari and S. Vaid (eds.), *Recasting Women : essays in Colonial history* (Kali, 1989).

(6) J.Rosselli, 'The self Image of Effeteness: Physical Education and Nationalism in 19th century Bengal' *Past and Present*, 86, February 1980.

(7) Chakravarti p.

(8) Ker's Report: *Political Trouble in India*, 1918.

(9) Home Political, Nos.7-13 (B), May 1912, NAI.

(10) J.Ker's Report, Intelligence Report: *Political Trouble in India 1907-17*, Volume I.

(11) Cited in C.A. Bayly, *The Illustrated History of Modern India* (Oxford, 1990).

(12) Proscribed Tracts, NAI.

(13) E.Hobsbawm 'Introduction: Inventing, Traditions' in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition,* (Cambridge 1983).

(14) Home Political, Nos.7-13 (B), May 1912, NAI.

(15) J.Ker's Report.

(16) See Bernard Cohn, 'The Command of Language and the Language of Command' in R. Guha, ed. *ubaltern Studies* (Oxford, 1985); Lata Mani, 'Contentions Traditions : The Debate on Sati in Colonial India' in Sangari and Vaid eds.

(17)

(18) Report on Propaganda and Publicity, January 1932 to March 1933, Home Political, No.39/9/33, 1933, NAI.

(19)

(20) Arvind Das ed. *Flashback* (Times of India, 1992).

(21) K.Ballhatchet, *Race, Sex and Class in the Raj : Imperial attitudes and policies and their critics, 1793-1905* (Vikas, 1979).

(22) Home Police (B), Nos.346-7, October 1920, NAI.
Home War (A), Nos.138-154, Feburary 1920, NAI.

(23) *Ibid.*

(24) *ibid.*

(25) Home Political, No.115/35, 1935, NAI.

(26) Ballhatchet, p.21.

(27) *Ibid.*, p.

(28) *Ibid.*, p.

(29) *Ibid.*, p.

(30) Arvind Das, p.

(31) Ballhatchet, p.99

(32) *Ibid.*, p.

(33) *Ibid.*, p.150.

(34) *Ibid.*, p.

(35) Amendment of the Indian Cinematograph Act 1918. Home Political. Nos.2-1 -34 & K.W. 1934.

(36) *Ibid.*

(37) *Ibid.*

(38) *Ibid.*

(39) *Ibid.*

(40) Report on Propaganda and Publicity in Bengal, January 1932 to March 1933.

Chapter 2

REPRESENTING THE NATIONALIST

Introduction

At a more general level I look at how a network of
information constitutes the 'public' and projects specific
'truths'. Three factors intervene in the constitution of
knowledge and 'truth': the source of emission, the medium
of transmission and the points of reception. I attempt to
draw out the nature of 'truths' constructed through this
network in general and through the visual medium like the
posters/bazar prints in particular. Through the posters I
attempt to discuss how varieties of nationalist politics are
symbolized and visually constituted, how specificities and
differences are marked. I begin with a focus on a set of
posters and bazar prints of Bhagat Singh and Gandhi and try
to understand the visual representation in terms of a wider
process of constitution of images. The intervention of the
artist, creates the screens through which details get selec-
tively erased and amplified it is important to know what
these selections are, and how they are imparted a visual
form. This chapter does not discuss the public reception of
truths. It is implicit that public opinion is not only
constituted by these truths but in turn constitute them. How

the public perceived these 'truths' is however beyond the scope of this dissertation.

The constitution of the 'truth' is discussed by focussing on the world-view of the Revolutionaries and the Congress, the negotiation of their politics and the symbolization of their politics through the image of Bhagat Singh and Gandhi.

Images **in** **Prints**: Grounded in the politics of the period, nationalist posters/bazar prints presented specific notions of the political self. The posters shared a common emphasis on the theme of sacrifice and deification. Sacrifice was presented as being patriotic and politically creative. Deification of the revolutionary, drew upon a long tradition that glorified deprivation and suffering. The death of the Revolutionaries facilitated their passage into the Hindu pantheon.

Gandhi was projected as paying obeisance to the revolutionary martyrs. Sacrifice as the recurring theme of the posters, sought to erase notions of revolutionary 'violence'. The notion of legitimate violence was closely related to the construction of a sacrificial order. Girard has argued that the mythological beliefs of all societies trace the origin of human society to an act of violence which is then sought to be contained by the construction of a sacri-

ficial order.[1] The posters do not portray any contestation between the world views of Bhagat Singh and Gandhi. They are presented as harmonious. The posters unfold the process through which a code of personality, the idealized image of the nationalist, is constructed. The images of Bhagat Singh and Gandhi in these posters can be viewed as syntactical constructs. In this section, I have attempted to unfold the politics of Bhagat Singh and Gandhi's attire and the gestures in which their images are trapped. The operative framework here is the importance of Kinesics and the study of costume in communication.[2] The communicative value of the dress and the gesture lies in their verbal silence.[3] Silence gives meaning to gestures/dress; they in turn impart meaning to silence. Contextualizing silence, gesture and dress unfolds the artists' strategical intervention in stereotyping the image of Bhagat Singh and Gandhi.

A study of nationalist posters of the 1930s brings to surface how the artists intervened to present contesting notions of sacrifice, violence, and patriotism within the national movement and the way conflict were iconically represented and reconciled.

Locating Bhagat Singh: In the nationalist posters under discussion, Bhagat Singh is magnified and moulded into a

symbol, saturated with the ideals of the revolutionary; a

martyr whose death exposed the tyranny of the British State.

8. 'Three Indian Heroes in the Prison', Proscribed poster,
    c 1930,

To attract the 'public' gaze, Bhagat Singh is located

as the central figure in the posters. In figure 8 which

depicts Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev as condemned

prisoners, Bhagat Singh is placed at the centre of the trio. Rajguru, and Sukhdev despite participating in the same sacrifice were accorded a marginal space. While the complete figure of Bhagat Singh is portrayed, Rajguru and Sukhdev, occupying the same plane are not fully visible. The size of Bhagat Singh's figure in this composition accorded importance to his presence. In turn, the popularity which Bhagat Singh acquired after death, elicited this logic of composition from the artist (see Figures ,   and   ).

The spatial centrality of Bhagat Singh is reinforced by the text that underlined the imagery. It directs the 'public' to 'see' the poster as the 'sacrifice' of Bhagat Singh. <u>Dress</u>: The centrality of Bhagat Singh's figure in the posters is emphasized further by stereotyping Bhagat Singh. The Stetson, khaki shirt and shorts, stockings and shoes appear in nearly every figure of Bhagat Singh (see Figures ,   ,

and   ). This ensemble enables a quick identification of the martyr. The Stetson, khaki clothes, stocking, shoes and the twirled moustache become Bhagat Singh who in turn embodies the revolutionary movement. The figure of Bhagat Singh is invested with meaning through his costumes; the costume begins to identify the person and minimizes the artists' effort at reproducing a facial likeness of Bhagat Singh in the poster. The costume replaces the person and
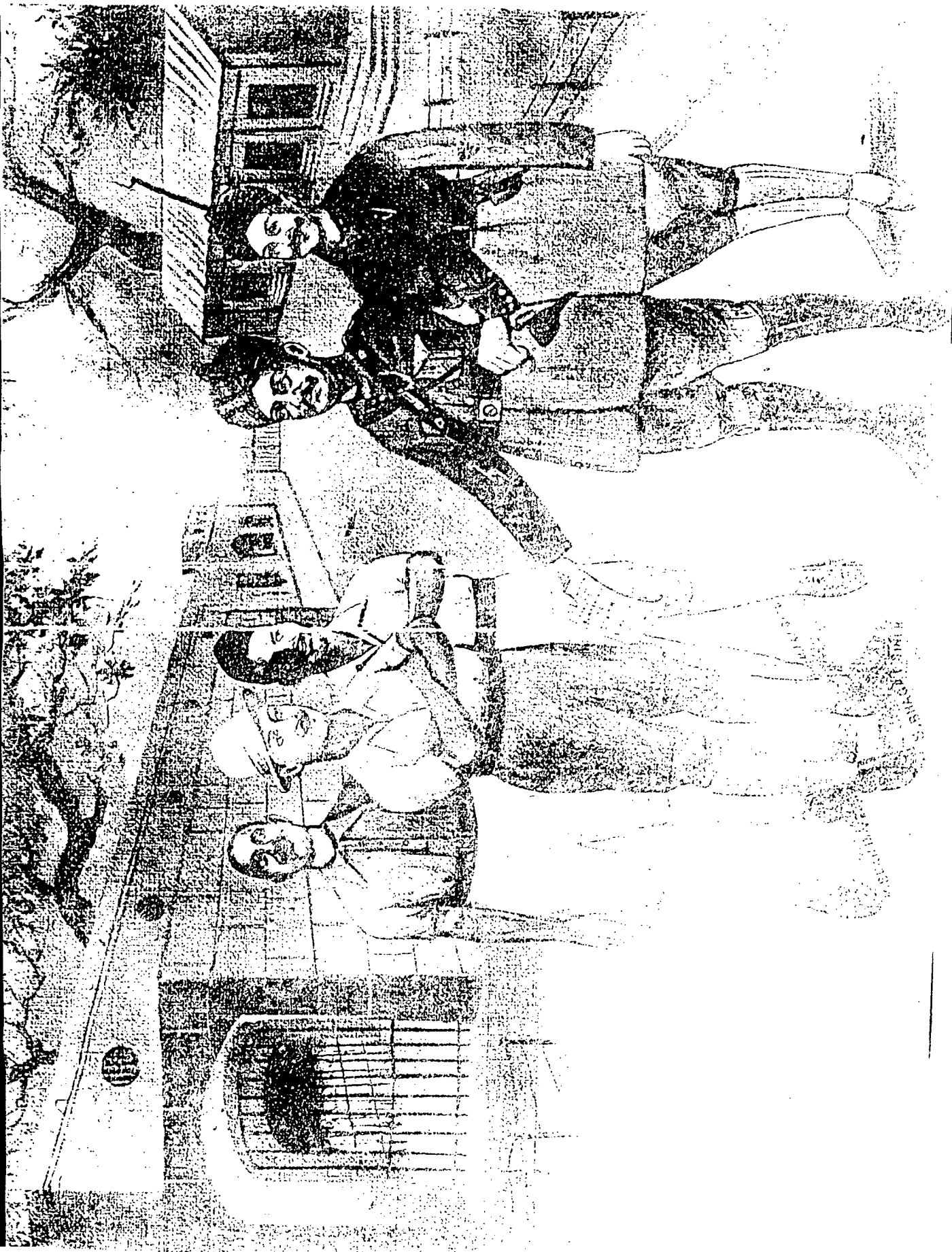
9. 'Mr. Bhagat Singh, RajGuru and Sukhdeva hearing the sentence of hanging with pleasure', Proscribed poster, c 1930, P. 42 Overleaf.

introduces a personality. In other words, the person gets trapped in a costume which is further trapped in a personality that is employed to produce an icon.

The dress appropriates the state's mark of power and in turn empowers the revolutionary. Bhagat Singh's attire, particularly the Stetson, distanced him from an alternate nationalist headgear-the Gandhi ‎ap and from an alternate nationalist politics - that of the Congress. Bhagat Singh's dress becomes a strategical site for confronting the state and Gandhian politics. Further, the dress is marked as that of the revolutionaries, It came to symbolize the specific politics of the revolutionaries; it gave a recognizable regimented and uniform appearance to the revolutionary organization.

Gesture: The economics of representation would demand the freezing of action at the most communicative point. Two gestures recur in the images of revolutionaries: the smile and the prestation.

In figure 9, Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru, all attired in a uniform similar to the colonial officials, are portrayed with arms akimbo and smiling at the two constables who display (to the 'public' and to the trio) the court orders of a death sentence to the three revolutionaries. The text anchoring the picture reads, 'Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and

Rajguru, hearing the sentence of hanging with pleasure'. In

figure 10, Batukeswar Dutt is portrayed smiling when impri-

sioned.

10. 'The Lion of India in Prison', Picture Merchant, Kan-
pur, c 1930,   Also see figure

The smile indicated two things. First, it mocked at

state-power: the state's capacity to punish. Second, smiling

came to be identified as characteristic of the revolutionary, a sign of his masculinity. Smiling erased any trace of fear of death, thereby undermining state power and simultaneously highlighting the prowess of the revolutionary. By not getting provoked by punishment, the smile denied the state the occasion to demonstrate its power.

Prestation was the other recurring gesture in which the revolutionaries were trapped. In the posters, the death of the revolutionary is portrayed as a cephal sacrifice to Mother-India (Figures 9, 10 and 11).

The revolutionary prestates his head to the deity who symbolizes an enslaved nation. The text anchoring the image points out that the 'sacrifice' was a 'wonderful presentation' a 'curious gift'. The prestation erases any indications of death through state punishment. The accent was on the 'sacrifice' which was self-opted. These posters focussed on the death of the revolutionary. Death, particularly as self-opted, marked revolutionary politics, his prowess, sacrifice and also indicated his relationship with the mother-nation.

The smile and the prestation marked the 'power' of the revolutionary, and his masculinity. In figure 10 and 12 for instance, the revolutionary figure is magnified in comparison to those of the British officials. In figure 12 an

Mother! for thy freedom's sake I offer my life.

या तेरी स्वतिंत्रता पर प्राणों की भेट चढावा हूँ ।

11. 'Bhagat's Curious Present', G.N. Beharilal, Kanpur, c
1930,

12. 'Ch. Sher Jung Now Under Arrest', Krishna Printers, Lahori Gate,

entire batallion of armed troops stand in attention to arrest one unarmed revolutionary, the Revolutionary was presented as more powerful than the British.

The visual stereotyping of Bhagat Singh (and revolutionaries) and the focus on their 'sacrifice' performed two further functions. First, Bhagat Singh came to be identified with two specific events-Saunders' assassination and the Assembly Bomb Case. Bhagat Singh's image replaced a visual depiction of the above two 'violent' events. Second, the sacrifice directed the gaze of the public not towards the 'violent' activities of revolutionaries but towards their

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death. The icon of Bhagat Singh and the focus on the death erased the violence in the visul depiction of the revolutionaries. I discuss this erasure and amplification of the visual 'truth' with reference to figures 13 and 14. The strategic value of the thematic content and the icon of Bhagat Singh surface emphatically if we compare these figures. In figure 13 Bhagat Singh's martyrdom is presented in a series of frames illustrating a chronological sequence of events: Saunders' assassination, Assembly Bomb case, the surrender, execution, cremation and deification. Six frames were required to narrate the story of Bhagat Singh's martyrdom. In figure 14 , the story freezes at the scene of the cephal prestation to mother-India. The focus here clearly is on Bhagat Singh and his sacrifice, scenes of terrorist 'violence' were concealed. The immediate association of Bhagat Singh in his 'uniform' and the 'events' eroded the need to depict 'violence'. This selective focus served to build the image of Bhagat Singh as non-violent. In these posters, 'violence' is not legitimated. Bhagat Singh was dissociated from a specific form of politics - terrorism, and incorporated within a tradition of sacrifice and non-violence.

This erasure of violence in the posters deserves close attention. It illustrates the artists' attempt to re-define
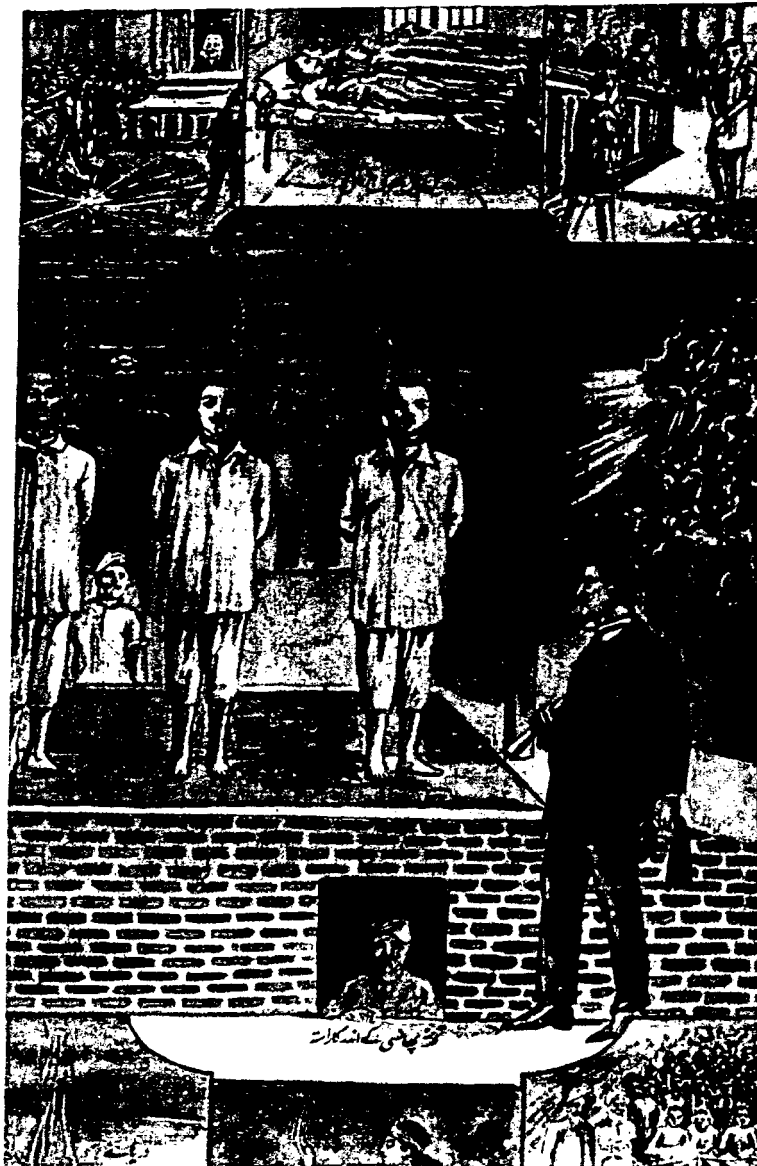
13. 'The Life of Bharat Heroes', Krishna Printers Lahori Gate;

the notion of legitimate violence and operate within the Gandhian notion of non-violence, it demonstrates the effort to reconcile the opposition between revolutionary 'terrorism' and Gandhian politics.

Associating with the Congress: The pictures of Gandhi and Nehru appear in the posters depicting Bhagat Singh's activities. This indicated the artists identification of the Congress with the Revolutionaries. It also indicated that the Revolutionaries had the Congress' sanction for their activities i.e. sacrifice. A harmony within nationalist politics was visually portrayed in the posters (Figures 15 and 16). The Congress leaders are presented as witnesses to the revolutionary activities and are spatially located along the borders of the poster (Figure 15). Bhagat Singh's death accorded him a deified status, this status was denied to Gandhi as he was still alive. Gandhi is therefore portrayed paying tributes to Bhagat Singh- this in a way established the relationship of Bhagat Singh and Gandhi. While Gandhi was a mortal , Bhagat Singh was a deity.

In figure 17, drawing from the Ramayan tradition, Gandhi was portrayed tearing his chest to reveal the images of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev imprinted on his heart. The poster points to the following issues:

Sardar Bhagat Singh's wonderful presentation

14. 'Sardar Bhagat Singh's Wonderful Presentation', Laksh-
mibilas Press Ltd., Kanpur,

15. 'Bhagat Singh on the Scaffold'. Rattan Printing Press,
Lahore,

(a)   It was an affirmation of Gandhi's appreciation of Bhagat Singh and his sacrifice.

(b)   Gandhi's action is directed to be viewed by the youth of the Naujawan Bharat Sabha.

16. 'Bhagat Singh and His Companions Being Carried to
Paradise,' Arorbans Press, Lahore,

17. 'The Love', Krishna Pictures Lahori Gate,

(c)   The youth while facing Gandhi has one arm in a near
akimbo pose, and the other is outstretched as if accepting
Gandhi's claim.

(d)   The martyred Revolutionaries are circumscribed by a
halo and a star : They are in 'heaven' with shafts of light
beaming down to the youth. This technique (and the 'uni-
form') identifies the youth as a revolutionary and also
asserts the fact that martyrs energize the youth through
their sacrifice. An effervescence is shown emanating from
Gandhi's chest rising towards the martyrs in heaven, linking
Gandhi to the revolutionary martyrs in a different way. The
martyrs do not energize Gandhi, but Gandhi pays his tribute
to the martyrs.

Conclusion: These posters thus reveal the process through
which the identifying marks of the Revolutionaries and
Gandhian nationalist were iconically created and represent-
ed. They reveal the process through which artists attempted
to bridge the distance between different forms of national-
ist politics and reconcile them, how they sought to legiti-
mate Revolutionary politics through Gandhian sanction and
Gandhian politics drew upon the popular appeal of revolu-
tionaries. The politics of these posters were grounded in a
wider politics of the time which helped create political
identities and images, and which attempted to define the

mutual relation of difference and harmony between different forms of politics. It is to a discussion of this wider process that I now turn.

Three themes emerge from the discussion on nationalist political imagery: the nationalist notion of violence and suffering, the image of the Revolutionary and the image of the Congress. How were these issues addressed in a non-visual communication? How did visual imagery relate to, re-affirm and re-order notions which were part of the politics of the time. To argue for the specificity of the visual communication, I shall now look into how the three aspects were projected to the 'public' through public statements and newspaper reports.

Violence And Suffering

The Revolutionaries and the Congress evoked 'tradition' to stake their nationalist claims and legitimize their respective world-views and politics. The 'present' crisis was shown as a re-enactment of a 'past' crisís. By drawing on a mythical past, not only were nationalist activities legitimated but the leaders of the movement were accorded the status of modern Gods and Heroes. The revolutionaries argued for retaliatory aggression, they questioned:

> Is it really degrading for us, with Guru
> Gobind singh, Shivaji and Hari Singh as our
> heroes, to be told that we are incapable of

defending ourselves? In India, where for the honour of one Draupadi, the great Mahabharat was fought, dozens of them were ravaged in 1919... did we not see all this?[4]

The revolutionaries argued that the need of the hour was of a leader like Guru Ramdas, Shivaji or Krishna. 'Violence' had traditional sanction, it was a legitimate instrument for defence. For the revolutionaries therefore, all forms of physical force were not violent. The motive of the action was important. 'Force' when aggressively applied is 'violence' and is therefore morally unjustifiable, but when it is used in the furtherance of a legitimate cause, it has moral justification. They argued, if motive was not considered then 'even judges will be accused of murder'.

For Gandhi non-violence was empowering. He condemned physical force, irrespective of motive and drew legitimacy for his arguments from 'tradition' :

> Non-violence is the weapon not of the weak
> but of the strong ... Yudhisthra gave an
> exhibition of this quality when he even
> though provoked beyond measure by virata not
> only forgave him but took extraordinary
> measures to protect him against the wrath...
> of Arjuna.[5]

When Gandhi was confronted with a historical argument about the great Indian epics which point to the reality of warfare and violence in human life; when he was asked about the relevance of a text such as the *Gita* for power politics,

Gandhi would insist that the truth of the *Mahabharta* or the *Ramayana* was a 'poetic truth' not historical. The epics were allegories and not theoretical treatises.

For Gandhi, Indians had 'no tradition of the violent method'. Violence was the trait of the 'beast in us' and could only be restrained by 'training'. Satyagraha was a 'legitimate, moral and truthful form of political action by the people against the injustice of the state', The 'science of satyagraha' held that the 'greater the repression and lawlessness on the part of authority, the greater should be the suffering courted by the victims'.

Gandhi's non-violence pointed to two issues which defined his politics as distinct from the revolutionaries. First, the Revolutionary claim to legitimate violence as a continuum of a tradition of heroism was overturned by arguing that non-violence denoted strength and violence marked beastly qualities. Second, Gandhi projected the Satyagrahi as a 'victim' empowered by his 'suffering'. The state by its exhibition of violence and aggression was powerless. The revolutionary, according to Gandhian logic, was operating within the vocabulary of the state, the vocabulary of the beast. Non-violence and 'suffering' therefore came to be identified as marks of strength and power. This was in sharp

variance with the revolutionary agenda of legitimate violence and physical strength.

Revolutionary Violence: The Revolutionaries reacted to Gandhian politics by arguing that the Congress, despite its claims of non-violence, actually supported violence, and that death, not imprisonment, was the true test of strength and suffering. The 'philosophy of the Bomb' a revolutionary pamphlet by Bhagat Singh pointed to the impossibility of the Gandhian project:

> In spite of the fact that the congress is pledged to non-violence and has been actually engaged in carrying on propaganda in its favour for the last ten years,.. the resolution (deploring the attempt to blow Up the Viceroy's Special on 23 December 1929) could only be adopted by a dangerously narrow majority. That demonstrates beyond the shadow of doubt, how solidly the country is backing the revolutionaries. In a way Gandhi [has] shown to the world at large that even the congress - that stronghold of non-violence - is at-least as much, if not more with the revolutionaries as with him.[6]

This argument of the revolutionaries is interesting as it acknowledged the Congress as the spokesman of the nation. It also indicated the challenge that the Revolutionaries posed to Gandhi's claims of representating the Congress and hence the nation. In other words, Gandhi's leadership was challenged and so was the notion of a single Congress opinion. Non-violence was projected as specifically Gandhian and

not an ideology of the Congress. This also marked more importantly, the Revolutionaries' appropriation of the Congress. The Revolutionary project sought to gain further legitimacy by pointing to the Congress' (atleast a part of it) sanction of the use of legitimate violence.

In opposition to Gandhian notion of continuous suffering through imprisonment, the revolutionaries focussed on death as the ultimate sacrifice. The power that death by execution had in publicizing the revolutionary cause had been acknowledged by Bhagat Singh:

> My name has become a symbol of the Indian Revolution, the ideals and sacrifices of the Revolutionary organization has raised me to such heights that even if I live, I would not be able to attain such a position ... if I escape the execution, my weakness would be exposed to the public and ... the symbol of the revolution will vanish. But if I face the execution cheerfully, every mother would start desiring that her child should become a Bhagat Singh.[7]

Death was imparted a political meaning, it signified strength, and legitimated the revolutionary world-view. The nationalist overtones of 'death' were amplified by the revolutionaries' strategical appropriation of the Congress leader Lala Lajpat Rai's death.

On 17 December 1929, Saunders was assassinated to avenge the death of Lala Lajpat Rai. The revolutionaries

hoped that the assassination would also win 'public sympa-
thy'. Jawaharlal Nehru, accorded nationalist overtones to
the British official assault on Lala Lajpat Rai:

> Lala Lajpat Rai felt angry and bitter not so
> much at the personal humiliation, as the
> national humiliation involved in the assault
> on him ... It was in this sense a national
> humiliation that weighed on the mind of
> India ...[8]

Nehru's sentiments were echoed by the Revolutionaries.
The assault was stated to be a 'blow to ...[India's]
manhood ... [and had] to be replied. Avenging Lala Lajpat
Rai's death was also a strategic piece of publicity :

> The action of the revolutionaries was two-
> fold. Firstly to gain sympathy from the
> public at large ... this was a fine piece of
> propaganda as Lala Lajpat Rai was a univer-
> sally respected leader. Secondly, this was a
> show to the bureaucracy that there was a
> party which could reply 'Tit for tat'.[9]

The revolutionaries' appropriation of the image of a
Congress leader was significant particularly in the light of
the fact that they operated with conflicting notions of
politics and nationalism:

> Lala Lajpat Rai was not well disposed towards
> Bhagat Singh and Sukhdev. As a matter of
> fact, he had developed some allergy for the
> revolutionaries ... he began to drift and
> ultimately that communal outlook dominated
> and with Malaviyaji he formed the Independent
> Congress Party and opposed Ganesh Shankar
> Vidyarti [a Congress worker] in 1926 ...
> Naturally with this outlook and politics, we

had no place with Lalaji and he naturally had
no place in his heart for us.[10]

This appropriation of the name of Lajpat Rai was
strategic. It signified the attempt by the Revolutionaries
to bridge the distance with Congress politics; it sought to
demonstrate that the 'violence' of the Revolutionary was
nationalistic; it was a reaction which conformed to the
sentiments shared by the Congress, i.e., of national humili-
ation. Violence was translated as a political act, as a
statement of patriotism. The equations were clearly marked :
Lala Lajpat Rai - the Indian nation; Saunders - the colonial
state, and Bhagat Singh - the patriot. In this process of
translation, individuals were displaced by collectives and
the revolutionary as the avenging patriot played the active
role of contesting state power. It reflected how 'public'
sensitivity forced the nationalists to adopt new strategies
and re-work their world-views.

This re-working of Lala Lajpat Rai's death and invest-
ment of 'violence' with a nationalist meaning was partly
directed at acquiring publicity. Reflecting back on the
significance of their re-working of violence, for publicity,
Manmathnath Gupta said many years later:

> The revolutionaries caught the eye of the
> masses all right ... The revolutionaries did
> not want personal publicity, but on such
> occasions as the Assembly Bomb Care, or

> Bhagat Singh's Lahore case, or the Kakori
> Case and our hunger-strike in jail, we always
> wanted publicity because without publicity,
> without the appeal to the masses, without the
> coming of the masses to our aid, we could not
> succeed in anything ... Naujawan Bharat Sabhas
> had become rivals of the Congress Committees
> and were more powerful.[11]

Publicity was important, and this concern was reflected by the revolutionaries and by Gandhi - they expressed a fear that the public might 'misunderstand' them.

The Revolutionaries at times regretted that, they had 'all along been either deliberately or due to sheer ignorance, misrepresented and misunderstood'. During his last days in prison, Bhagat Singh expressed a similar feeling:

> There is a very great possibility of my being
> misunderstood on this subject. Apparently I
> have acted like a terrorist ... But I am not
> a terrorist and I never was except perhaps in
> the beginning of my revolutionary career. And
> I am convinced that we cannot gain anything
> through those methods ...[12]

This marks an important shift in the Revolutionary world-view. The Revolutionaries now distanced themselves from a specific politics - terrorism. The 'public' had 'misunderstood' them, the revolutionaries sought to elicit public approval by asserting that terrorism was merely a brief phase in their politics, and was not to be considered as the defining mark of their ideology.

A similar shift occurred in interpreting the notion of sacrifice. In his letter to Sukhdev, Bhagat Singh observed that, 'in jail and in jail alone can a person get an occasion to study empirically the great social subjects of crime and sin ... the best part of the self-study is to suffer oneself'. Here seems to be a near total approval of the Gandhian notion of suffering through imprisonment.

Gandhi's Non-Violence: Gandhi too expressed a distant fear that the public mind would misunderstand his politics and would be consumed by the 'romance of death'.

> a time is now coming when imprisonment instead of earning praise, will earn ridicule ... There was a time when imprisonment was looked upon as deserving praise. Now praise is given to people who are beaten by police or who face bullets. It is therefore probable that in a very short time people who are imprisoned will be regarded with suspicion. They will say, 'so and so was afraid of bullets and therefore courted imprisonment'.[13]

Gandhi's sense of fear indicated his acknowledgement of the emotive power of death. Gandhi had apprehended that the execution of Bhagat Singh would catapult him to become a 'national martyr'. The Congress strategy to combat 'public misunderstanding' was two-fold. First, Bhagat Singh was denied his popularity, Nehru noted :

> Bhagat Singh was not previously well known, he did not become popular because of an act

of violence, an act of terrorism ... but because he seemed to vindicate, for the moment, the honour of Lala Lajpat Rai, and through him of the nation. He became a symbol the act was forgotten, the symbol remained ... and the popularity that the man achieved was something amazing.[14]

Nehru acknowledged Bhagat Singh's popularity, but denied it any reality. Bhagat Singh had acquired popularity by appropriating the Congress image in the form of Lala Lajpat Rai.

Second, this Congress denial of the popularity of the Revolutionaries was paralleled by an appropriation of the emotive pull of 'death'. At Anand, in the middle of the Dandi March, Gandhi observed that, 'even through death, it [The Satyagrahis] will prove true to its pledge if [it] becomes necessary .... Nothing will be better than if this band of Satyagrahis perish. If the Satyagrahis meet with death, it will put a seal upon their claim'.[15]

Death could deify. After Bhagat Singh's execution, Gandhi was caught in a bind. Bhagat Singh had gripped popular imagination; he had become the hero of the time. Could the Congress criticize Revolutionary violence and distance itself from Bhagat Singh? Could they deny the distance?

Gandhi's statements in the period, before and after the execution of Bhagat Singh, provide interesting evidence on the Congress dilemma. These statements point to Gandhi's

selective perception of Bhagat Singh's activities as 'violence' or as 'sacrifice' according to its strategical value.

Gandhi's appeals and correspondence before Bhagat Singh's execution emphasized the need to suspend the sentence. Gandhi argued that, 'there would be much popular excitement on the 23rd of March as it coincided with the arrival of the new President of the Congress at Karachi. But Gandhi re-affirmed the 'pledge of truth and non-violence ... justice' which he and the working committee were bound to. However, the commutation of the execution was not made a part of the demands for the settlement (though one of the demands was for the release of prisoners of the Civil Disobedience Movement).

The post-execution addresses saw a shift in Gandhi's pronouncements. In this phase Gandhi repeated his failure at having the execution commuted. This shift was accompanied by; first, laying the onus of the execution entirely on the Government: 'I pleaded to the viceroy ... but to no avail'. Gandhi conferred that he had hoped 'the government would be cautious enough to pardon Bhagat Singh ...' and that he had 'hoped for magnanimity'.

Gandhi distanced himself from the execution and accused the Government of 'demonstrating its brute nature and ... arrogance ... by ignoring public opinion'. The Congress

resolution at Karachi on Bhagat Singh, authored by Gandhi, was cautiously worded; it condemned the activities of Bhagat Singh, disapproved of the execution and finally appreciated and acknowledged the sacrifice underlying Bhagat Singh's deeds.

It was through 'violence' that Bhagat Singh's bravery was asserted. Gandhi had proclaimed 'violence' as a sign of weakness yet, he applauded Bhagat Singh after his death. The death of the Revolutionary consumed the Congress, and forced them to revise there perception of the Revolutionaries and their 'violence', and to re-direct their focus on the 'sacrifice' of the revolutionary.

The Congress appropriation of Bhagat Singh went a step further when Sardar Kishan Singh (Bhagat Singh's father), attended the Congress session at Karachi (a few days after his son's execution). He eulogized the services of some Congress leaders for their efforts to save the lives of Bhagat Singh and his comrades and urged the youth to work peacefully to win freedom: 'You must support your General. You must support all the Congress leaders only then you would be able to win independence for the country'.

But the Congress was soon to change its mind.

In the *Young India*, dated 16 April 1931, Gandhi expressed regret at having authored the Karachi resolution on

Bhagat Singh: 'The praising of Sajjan Singh as a hero raises a doubt in my mind about the wisdom of my having been the author of the Congress resolution about Bhagat Singh. My motive was plain enough. The deed was condemned, the spirit of bravery and sacrifice was praised ... *But the effect of the Congress resolution has been perhaps quite the contrary.* It seems to have given a passport for extolling murder itself' (emphasis added). Gandhi distanced himself from the resolution on the grounds that it had lent itself to *'misrepresentation'* (emphasis added). Misrepresentation had encouraged the 'Bhagat Singh Worship' and was doing 'incalculable harm to the country: The spirit of sacrifice had been 'praised ... so much that we reached the limit when we passed the resolution at Karachi ...'

Gandhi now re-directed the public's attention to the 'violence' in the Revolutionary agenda, and sought to vindicate Congress Nationalism. The public's option to 'Misunderstand' Gandhi's judgement posed a challenge to Congress attempts at associating with Bhagat Singh's martyrdom. The process of dissociation had to be initiated again.

Projecting Bhagat Singh: This section looks into the projection of Bhagat Singh as a nationalist icon. The construction of icons to emblemize nationalist politics has to be located within the political concern for publicity and public opin-

ion. This section attempts to see how the Bhagat Singh iconized Revolutionary politics.

Unlike Gandhi, Bhagat Singh was not exposed to the public gaze through mass meetings and public addresses. Revolutionary politics demanded invisibility. The widely publicized photograph of Bhagat Singh in a Stetson later became the visual image of Bhagat Singh. Sohan Singh Josh (in whose house Bhagat Singh sought refuge after Saunders' assassination), an associate of Bhagat Singh recalled that 'Bhagat Singh was wearing a felt-hat and an English style suit. He was quite *unrecognizable* (emphasis added). These marks of misrecognition were to become subsequently the marks of recognition. Why?

Who was Bhagat Singh? The identifying marks appear difficult to elucidate because it depended on who saw him - the Revolutionaries, or the officials, or the public.

The Revolutionary Self-Image: For the official and public gaze, Bhagat Singh was 'disguised' as a British. An often cited description of Bhagat Singh's brave escape from Lahore after Saunders' assassination presented Bhagat Singh in specific attire:

> [Bhagat Singh] dressed himself as one high officer in an overcoat ... [he] purchased first class tickets, reached the station and went straight to a policeman ... asked him which train was for Delhi. So the police

> thought that some high official was there. He
> stepped forward, made alert gave a salute,
> took the briefcase from his hand, ... made
> him comfortable, again stepped back two
> steps, gave a salute and went back.[16]

Eye-witnesses to Saunders' assassination and the Assembly Bomb also pointed to Bhagat Singh's western attire.

Bhagat Singh wanted to be seen by the officials and the 'public' in a western attire, one that resembled the police official's uniform. This conscious projection of Bhagat Singh's image was acknowledged by Jaidev Kapoor; 'we had planned to publicize and circulate the photograph [of Bhagat Singh with a Stetson] before the Assembly Bomb explosion'.

The associates of Bhagat Singh had an alternate image of him. Jaidev Kapoor an associate revolutionary recalled the penury of the revolutionaries: they were always in need of clothes. There is no reference to a prescribed revolutionary uniform in the revolutionary memoirs. Bhagat Singh and other revolutionaries wore 'whatever was available'. Bhagat Singh generally wore 'half-pants' and occasionally a suit, when he travelled to Kanpur, Varanasi and elsewhere, he wore Gujrati type *Dhoti* and a close necked coat. According to Jaidev Kapoor, Bhagat Singh started donning a hat only after Saunders' assassination.

For Jaidev Gupta an associate revolutionary, Bhagat Singh was an 'upto-date young man with short moustache,

curly hair, clean shaven, brown eyes, bright face - a hand-some youngman'.

Kumari Lajjawati, a sympathizer of the revolutionaries recalled that, Bhagat Singh had cut his hair (Bhagat Singh was a Sikh and as was customary sported a beard, long hair and a turban) either before Saunders' assassination or soon after it. Prior to that, Kumari Lajjawati had seen Bhagat Singh in Khaddar clothes, turban and a *dhoti*.

The Public Image of the Revolutionaries: The assassination of Saunders on 17 December 1928 and the Assembly Bomb case of 9 April 1929, were the immediate charges leading to the death sentence of Bhagat Singh. Bhagat Singh and his associates (Jaigopal, Rajguru and Azad) escaped in the Saunders case but were arrested in the Assembly case. The above events led to numerous eye-witness accounts which described Bhagat Singh. These accounts, providing conflicting versions of Bhagat Singh's appearance helped create the Bhagat Singh image in the minds of the reading 'public'.

The Times of India dated 17 December 1928 carried the following report :

> The police are definite that the assailants
> were not Sikhs. They were wearing Indian
> costume and it is stated they were young men
> of about twenty four.[17]

This rather general description of the assailants gave way to a more graphic description after the Assembly Bomb case and during the Lahore Conspiracy Case proceedings in 1930. Specific details of the Revolutionary's physique and dress fed into the public mind and the power of these reports increased with the publishing of Bhagat Singh and B.K. Dutt's photographs in the leading newspapers.

Sergeant Terry, an eyewitness to the Assembly Bomb case, was first reported to have stated: 'both the accused had Khaki shirts and shorts and Bhagat Singh had a green felt hat'. The *Tribune* of 7 June 1929 reported a modified statement by Sergeant Terry: 'both the accused had Khaki shorts and shirts while Bhagat Singh had a bluish coat with checks ... the accused had no head-dress'.

The two statements of Sergeant Terry were inconsistent. Did Bhagat Singh actually don a Stetson on the day of the 'event'?

The *Tribune* dated 13 April 1929 was perhaps the first to publish a photograph of Bhagat Singh and B.K. Dutt. The bust length photograph showed Bhagat Singh with a twirled moustache, wearing a Stetson and a shirt. This photograph re-appeared in the leading newspapers till the day of Bhagat Singh's execution on 23 March 1931. The photograph and eye-witness accounts during the Lahore Conspiracy Case proceed-

ings sealed the image of Bhagat Singh in the eyes of the reading public: the Stetson and Khaki shirt became part of his identifying marks. It is important to note here that only after the wide publication of Bhagat Singh's photograph did the witnesses of both the Saunders murder case and Assembly Bomb Case recall having seen Bhagat Singh in a Stetson and khaki clothes. Typical of such accounts was of Chaudhri Habibullah, an eyewitness to Saunders' murder:

> The tall man Bhagat Singh was wearing a Khaki shirt, shorts, stockings and a folding boat - shaped cap.

In sharp contrast was Traffic Inspector W.J.G. Fearn's observation :

> I cannot say whether the taller of the two assailants was wearing a cap or turban. I attended several identification parades but failed to pick out the two assailants of Mr. Saunders.

Jaigopal, an approver gave a 'true' to picture description :

> Bhagat Singh wore a felt cap, warm coat, Khaki knickers, stockings and a pair of black shoes.[18]

These conflicting accounts were transmitted to the public nearly a year after the incident had occurred, and six months after the first appearance of Bhagat Singh's

photograph in the newspapers. The Stetson remained a point

of dispute with some witnesses claiming that Bhagat Singh

was 'bare-headed' or that he had worn a 'folding-cap'. Yet

Bhagat Singh in a Stetson came to be identified with two

revolutionary events i.e. Saunders' murder and the Assembly

Bomb case. This was how the officials told the 'public'

they had seen Bhagat Singh, this was also how the reading

public saw the revolutionary through press reports. The

costume became associated with an icon, a 'fact' and a

'truth'. Why?

Stories and rumours reflected and constituted popular

images of political groups, leaders and the state. Here I

discuss three stories which received attention in the news-

papers became a site of contesting 'truths' of the state and

the Nationalists. All these stories were associated with

Bhagat Singh i.e the reactions of officials in the Assembly

after the Bomb explosion, the 'capture' of Bhagat Singh and

the Burial controversy.

The Bomb Scare: The *Hindustan Times* dated 11 April 1929,

contained an article, 'The comic side of the tragedy'. This

article mocked at the panic stricken officials in the Assem-

bly after the bomb explosion:

> Sir Hari Singh Gour ran in panic out into the
> lobby and closed himself in the bathroom.
> Another minister M.L.A took shelter behind an
> almirah, Sir John Simon ran from the Presi-

dents gallery and took shelter in the Assembly superintendent's room. There are other stories told also of some official members getting under desks, others crawling out to the lobbies.

Sir Darcy Lindsay complained to the *Hindustan Times* that the publication of the article was 'an offensive against public decency'.

The *Tribune* noted that :

> Various misleading and sensational reports have appeared in different Indian newspaper with regard to the bomb incident... [the truth was that] Sir John Simon was looking after the lady Mitter and Miss Mitter, the wife and daughter of the Law member.

The burial controversy: After the execution of Bhagat Singh and his associates, a controversy arose over the burial accorded to the decreased. The *Tribune* carried a report stating that the bodies of the three revolutionaries were cut to pieces, kerosene poured on them and then burnt. The officials reacted by arguing that :

> The stories current in Lahore since Tuesday [24 March 1931], that the bodies of Bhagat Singh and his two associates were mutilated and burnt without proper religious rituals were absolutely incorrect.. The bodies were cremated according to strict Hindu and Sikh religious rites and were completely burnt near about five in the morning, when the ashes were thrown into the Sutlej in midstream.

Bhagat Singh's 'Capture': After dropping the Bomb in the Assembly, Bhagat Singh and B.K. Dutt were arrested. This gave rise to speculations whether they surrendered themselves or were overpowered by the officials. Sergeant Terry who arrested Bhagat Singh was cross-examined by Mr. Asaf Ali, the defence counsel for the Revolutionaries :

> Q: Nobody saw your heroic dead of wresting the pistol from Bhagat Singh which you claim to have done?
> A: I did not see anybody.
>
> Q: You did not wrest it.
> A: I did wrest it from Bhagat Sing's hand.

The *Tribune*, too presented a similar account by sergeant Terry: 'one of them ... held a pistol in the right hand.. [he] rushed towards them snatching the pistol'.

Sergeant Terry's dramatic account of overpowering the revolutionaries was contested by an eye-witness J.K. Munshi.

> Bhagat Singh threw down his revolver and both the young men threw up their hands to show that they had nothing.

These conflicting accounts follow a pattern, they build the image of the Revolutionaries or the state officials depending on who authored them.

First, the Revolutionaries sought to instill fear in the British. The bomb explosion struck panic in the presiding officials, they took shelter under tables and in bath-

rooms to evade injury or death. The official panic magnified the revolutionary prowess.

Second, these presentations of the Revolutionaries point to their bravado and lack of fear of 'punishment': they did not even offer resistance to prosecution. The revolutionaries refused to get provoked by the power of the states and by offering no resistance, they denied the state an occasion to celebrate its power. State power was not acknowledged. The surrender also reflected the spirit of revolutionaries sacrifice: they opted to get arrested by not offering any resistance. The state alone was not instrumental in punishing the revolutionaries, it was they (the Revolutionaries) who opted to 'suffer'.

Third, the theme of British fear of the Revolutionary was amplified by pointing to the mutilation of Bhagat Singh's dead body. The Revolutionary even in death, elicited a violent reaction from the officials. The body of the revolutionary was powerful, whether dead or alive, but 'death' enhanced the 'power' of the body. It pointed to another fact: the state was feeble, it could only attack dead bodies.

These meanings of the events were contested by the state. The official version, projected the bravado of the British: sergeant Fern dramatically overpowered and arrested

the Revolutionaries. The state·reacted sharply to suggestions of cowardice of the officials after the bomb explosion. They argued that the officials were in fact protecting some ladies who were present in the assembly on the day of the explosion. The officials were chivalrous and brave, they did not panic.

Identifying Gandhians: The Congress distanced itself from the Colonial symbols of power by presenting an alternate symbol - the Gandhi cap. The Gandhi cap came to be associated with the concept of Swadeshi and Satyagraha.

Gandhi projected an image in stark opposition to that of the Revolutionaries. Clad in a Khadi *dhoti*, 'armed' with a charkha, matchstick limbs, a supporting cane, and a bald head - the Gandhi image can be understood at two levels. First, Gandhi rejected the 'dominant' signs of power - Western notion which saw nakedness as uncivilized, and saw Western attire as a sign of civilization. Swadeshi, khadi and the charkha, not only implied alternate instruments of power, as signs of opposition to the state. Second, Gandhi projected 'suffering' as empowering. Gandhi's feeble body announced 'victimization'. Pitted against British 'power', Gandhi's 'suffering' achieved a 'maximum emotional impact'. The individual image appeared de-politicized and victimized, much like the now stereotyped image of famine victims.

Images of helplessness and victimization demand accountability. The feeble body was powerful by its sheer display of powerlessness. The display of the victimized image of Gandhi became emblematic of Congress politics.

The emotive pull of the 'victim' and his suffering image was paralleled by a projection of Gandhi as a modern deity. In the Congress exhibition at Surat (1942), Gandhi's image was superimposed with the images of Christ and Buddha.

Shahid Amin and others have demonstrated how Gandhi was accorded thaumaturgical powers by a specific 'public'. More importantly these studies have unfolded how the Congress appropriated this public belief and re-worked them politically. Numerous stories, it is claimed, appeared which accorded Bhagat Singh super-human powers i.e. when Bhagat Singh and B.K.Dutt were travelling in a ship, some Englishmen spoke against India, at this Bhagat singh and Dutt picked them up by their ears and dumped them in the sea. Another 'legend' had it that during interrogation all the limbs of Bhagat Singh and Dutt were mangled and pulversied and copper sulphate was poured on them. Though beyond the scope of this dissertation, it would be interesting to analyze such stories and the revolutionaries' and the artists' reactions to them.

Conclusion: Nationalist politics saw a negotiation through distancing and appropriation of the notion of non-violence and sacrifice as defining patriotism. In this section I have looked into the official statements and pronouncements which constituted for the 'public' the ideology of the congress and of the Revolutionaries. Revolutionary - Congress politics is not to be seen as syncretic or syzygial, but in term of a continuous negotiation; of dissociation and association. The ideological claims of the congress and the revolutionary, their mutual appropriation of each others world-view and the iconization of Bhagat Singh and Gandhi - all point to the concern with the importance of a public presentation.

So, it becomes important for us to know how the image of the Revolutionary and the Gandhian nationalists were constituted through the network of communication. In part this relation between the two types of politics was linked to the way they conceived of notions like 'violence' and 'suffering' and how over time they redefined such notions in their interaction with each other and with the public they sought to mobilize.

Notes

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Chapter 3

IMAGING THE NATION: BHARAT MATA

Introduction

It has been argued that women in colonial India were the sites where the relationship between the state and the ruled was negotiated.[1] The visual representation of women in nationalist pictures and bazar prints, provides an entry point for analyzing this negotiation.

Focussing on the representation of women in Ravi Varma's paintings, Patricia Uberoi argues that the constitution of a national identity through the construction of the ideal Hindu women saw three processes at work. First, 'exclusions' of other religions and cultural traditions by the newly emerging Hindu tradition, of lower caste practices by brahmanical and kshatriya models; of folk genres by the new genres of the compradore bourgeoisie, and of indigenous aesthetic values by those of the colonial power. Second, the 'commoditisation' of women and the 'tropising' of the feminine, by projecting her as the pre-eminent signifier of society. Third, 'resacralization', which was 'consistent with the formula of cultural nationalism' which identified 'tradition' with 'religion' and religion with a newly constituted 'Hinduism'.[2]

Addressing the same issue Tapati Guha-Thakurta points to the 'terrain of continuity and change that was formed by *familiar* (emphasis added) divinities and mythological scenes'.[3] 'Modern' experience was interpreted in 'traditional' terms and the traditional re-created.[4]

Uberoi and Guha-Thakurta show how Ravi Varma's women came to figure as emblems of classicism, tradition and modernity and embodied values like motherhood, fidelity, self-sacrifice and religiosity. These arguments are useful in locating the visibility of Bharat Mata in nationalist pictures and bazar prints. In this chapter, I investigate the construction of the image of Bharat Mata and the roles she plays in a nationalist project which was masculine.

Bharat Mata - The Problematic Icon: The concept of Bharat Mata gendered the nation and imparted to it specific roles: that of mother and goddess. At one level the nation as mother transformed the populace into 'children', specifically male. At another level, the nation as goddess transformed the populace into male devotees. Within the gendered nationalist project, the nation as mother and goddess was feminine; the nationalists as sons and devotes were masculine. The filial, sexual and devotional over-tones of the nation-people relationship layered the emotive appeal of nationalist politics.

18. 'Bharat Mata', Abanindranath Tagore.' 1905,

19.   'Kedarnath Sehgal, Jatindranath Dass, Ch. Sher Jung,
B.K. Dutt.   Krishna Pictures Lahori Gate, P. 78

The grieving nation was the leitmotiv of nationalist imagery. But what were the identifiable iconic marks of Bharat Mata? It is difficult to give a definitive answer. Abanindranath Tagore's Bharat Mata (Figure 18, 1905), a four armed female ascetic, holding khadi (symbolizing Gandhian nationalism), Vedas (symbolizing a Hindu past), grain (symbolizing sustenance) and a rosary (symbolizing asceticism), bore no iconic resemblance to the saree clad, crowned, trident armed (and at times holding the Congress flag) Hindu goddess of the nationalist pictures and bazar prints. Nor did these two images resemble Ashtabhuja Devi (as Rashtriya Jagruti) in her martial victory, in their emotive content and iconic form (Figures 19, 20 and 21).

20. *'Heroes Sacrifice', Krishna Pictures Lahori Gate,*

Defining the marks of Bharat was problematic. The suffering of the nation-as-mother, could not easily be reconciled with the deified status of the nation-as-goddess. There was no recognizable tradition of a suffering goddess in the Hindu pantheon. This problem surfaces effectively in the poster titled 'Bharatuddhar', (Figure 5). In this poster, the artist has evoked a Hindu legend of Shiva protecting the Sun-god-Markandya from the god of death - Yama (who is also the son of Markandya).[5] In this composition, Markandya is imaged as a grieving woman-Bharat Mata. The artist's visual evocation of the motif of protection and helplessness, involved two processes. The mythical male deity-Markandya who embodied helplessness (in the specific legend), is reworked in the 'present' as Bharat Mata, a feminine figure. Suffering (as helplessness) in the 'present' is seen as a specifically feminine characteristic. The story of the suffering god-Markandya in the 'past' becomes an allegory for the suffering of Bharat Mata. Bharat Mata had to be invented.

In a sharp contrast, in the nationalist imagery, Gandhi in his role as protector could be represented as Hindu Gods or their reincarnations. He was Shiva who embodied power and creativity; he could also be Krishna - the saviour, redeeming the virtuous and annihilating the evil (Figure 6).

It is important to note that by the 1930s, Ashtabhuja Devi in her role as redeemer was replaced by Gandhi as an incarnate of a Hindu God. The power to redeem became a male prerogative, political activity came to signify as a masculine domain.

The problematic icon of Bharat Mata can be understood by investigating the roles she was imaging, and the emotive content of these roles. The process of 'resacralization' and accretion of layers of signification in the construction of Bharat Mata has to be located in a specific colonial context.

The Nation as Goddess: In 1909, the picture 'Ashtabhuja Devi' (published by the Ravi Varma press in 1900) was the site for a contest between the state and the publisher in the 'meaning' of a Hindu legend (this has been discussed earlier).[6] This picture was among the earliest to frame a set of oppositions: divine/demonic and victory/defeat. The picture shows an eight-armed goddess in a 'violent' gesture, slaying Mahishasur. The act of slaying symbolized the end of the confrontation, the victory of the divine and the prowess of the goddess. This specific legend, theme and deity recurred in the imagery of early nationalist visuals. Ashtabhuja Devi re-appeared as a new goddess - Rashtriya Jagruti.[7] Her arms came to represent different attributes and ideals

21. *Illustration of a Hindi Drama 'India's Ruin',*

associated with national awakening. These were marked in words: swadeshi, unity, confidence, self-government, self-reliance, state-service, self-respect and swarajya. The divine and the demonic were re-signified in nationalist terms: the nationalist occupied a sacred space against a demonic states. In this re-signification, the traditional armoury acquired nationalist meanings and nationalist ideals were imparted a mythical iconic form. 'Rashtriya Jagruti' was portrayed as the redeeming goddess, she was accorded a politically creative role of liberating the Indian populace. The role of the goddess as liberator marked the status of the populace as subservient and requiring liberation. It was the populace which was suffering. Aurobindo Ghose's political ideology (formulated in the early twentieth Century) was built around a mythography of India as a powerful mother, sakti, who had to be liberated through sacrifice made by her children.

Subsequently, in the nationalist posters of the 1930s, a shift in emphasis is discernible. Bharat Mata as goddess gets propitiated by the nationalists. The goddess was offered sacrifices (by the nationalists) through death and imprisonment.

The goddess as the receiver of sacrifice, was stripped of her active role: it was she who needed liberation. The

THE END

PRICE ANNAS 2

22. 'The End', Mehta Half Tone Press Lahore',

nationalist sacrifice was politically creative and they replaced the goddess as the liberator. Through sacrifice, the nationalist as a devotee could in turn acquire a deified status. In other words, the propitiation of the nation-goddess provided male nationalists a possible path to a sacred world.

The Nation as Mother : The image of the nation-goddess as the beneficiary of nationalist sacrifice slipped into the image of the nation as mother. The filial relationship of the nation and its populace evoked an alternate emotive pull: suffering. The mother-nation was imaged as a victim who needed redemption. The nationalist as an adult son redeemed the mother from bondage. In the nationalist posters of the 1930s, Bharat Mata was pictured chained, grieving over her enslavement (Figure 22). In these compositions, the revolutionaries, Bhagat Singh being their iconic figure, played a politically creative role. Revolutionary sacrifice (death) could redeem Mother-India. Bhagat Singh was pictured telling Bharat Mata: 'Mother, for thy freedom's sake, I offer my life (Figures 11, 23 and 24). It is important to note here that the sacrifice of the revolutionaries was projected as a prestation. The compositions show Bhagat Singh prestating his head on a platter to mother-India who was seated on a platform. Further, these compositions were

captioned variously as: 'Bhagat Singh's wonderful presentation' and 'Bhagat Singh's curious gift'. This theme of prestation was specific to revolutionaries' sacrifice. (We have discussed earlier how in nationalist posters and bazar

23. 'Martyrs of an Unhappy India', Bande Matram Press Lahore,

prints, sacrifice as death (of the revolutionary) constituted the thematic content of the imagery. This imagery erased the notion of violence in revolutionary activities). Presta-

tion marked the relationship between the nation and the nationalist. The nationalist always offered his self. The revolutionary was selfless, he did not receive anything. The revolutionary, in fact, would not be 'alive' to witness the freedom of the nation or to reap its benefit. To work for the mother-nation was an obligation; but the nation, collectively and morally, would be indebted to him for his sacrifice.

Gandhi and other Congress leaders who were alive do not appear in the posters prestating themselves, offering their decapitated heads. Death was not celebrated in the Congress agenda. Sacrifice to be effective had to be prolonged and continuous imprisonment. Imprisonment was not a prestation, yet politically creative: it could redeem the mother notion. Bharat Mata questioned Krishna, 'Don't you remember Krishna thy promise madeth in Gita?' Krishna replies, 'Yes Mother I remember. The gulf is being paved. A little more sacrifice and the road complete' (Figure 25).

Bharat Mata's suffering, her enslavement, legitimized Gandhi's 'violence'. Gandhi as a 'non-violent' saviour could be iconically trapped in a military metaphor (Figure 6), he could also be projected imprisoned (Figure 25).

The two alternate forms of sacrifice for the mother, death and imprisonment were both projected as politically

24.   'Lahore Conspiracy Case Decision', Arorbans Press,
      Lahore,

effective, essential for saving the mother. The revolutionaries and the Congress were seen in the posters as participating in a common project of redemption. This marked the relationship of the mother and the adult son; the mother received, the son delivered.

Conclusion: In this chapter I have attempted to discuss the problematic nature of the icon of the Indian nation. Why was there a need to deify the nation, to accord it the form of a goddess? In conclusion, I seek an answer to this question. Two explanations can be forwarded. First, the imagery of the nationalist posters and bazar prints can be viewed as a cultural response. The 'past' reality furnished the frame of reference to explain the 'present' reality. Modern struggles were understood and represented in mythical forms; secular issues were sanctified. Modern heroes (nationalists) were seen and represented as traditional heroes (gods). Tradition, myth and religion legitimated nationalist politics.

Second, the nation as a deity accorded to the patriot the role of a devotee. The patriot-devotee through his sacrifice (propitiation) attained a deified status. So, the nation as a deity was essential to the deification of the male as nationalist.

A complex process was operating. Deification elicited death and suffering. Similarly, death and suffering elicited

DOTH YE REMEMBER O KRISHNA! THY
PROMISE MADE THIN GITA.

يہ دلے کہاں ہیں دگہاں اپئے زبان تیری
میں کفتنام ابترنال ہیں پے آج ماں تیری

YES MOTHER I REMEMBER, THE GULF IS BEING [...]
A LITTLE MORE SACRIFICE & THE ROAD COM[...]

میں سوکا ہوں جنودہ کربت جلای زندہ ہیں
تیں نادلاں پینں میں رکاجل خانے ہیں

RIGHT

THE PATH OF LIBERTY

रक्ष-रेखा का सही मार्ग

25. 'The Right Path of Liberty', N.D. Sahgal and Sons, Lahore,

deification. These two processes inter-laced and were polit-icized in the nationalist project in marking the realm of the patriot and the male. The nationalist imagery and bazar paints trapped the goddess nation in an ideological paradigm where a 'sacrificial complex' was resurrected in which the burden of saving the nation rested on the male. This adula-tion of the nation as mother and goddess can be located as a specific nationalist construct. Among others, Lata Mani has shown how debates on women were not only about women but also instances in which the 'moral challenge of colonial rule was confronted and negotiated'.[8] Addressing the debate around concremation in the nineteenth century, Lata Mani has shown how the colonial officials conceptualized the woman as a victim of a coercive society. The widow was projected as helpless by 'infantilizing' her: she was quite often de-scribed as a 'tender child', even though she was on most occasions aged above forty years.[9] The nationalist response to the colonial focus on the victimized woman projected the Indian woman not as a social victim but as opting for the path of suffering and death. The mother in nationalist imagery embodied this suffering. Suffering marked the strength and the weakness of women.[10] It was through her suffering that Bharat Mata was goddess and mother; divine and victim. The cause of this suffering was attributed to

imperialism, and not to a coercive internal structure. So the colonial representation of the suffering Indian woman was turned on its head.

For the male nationalist however, suffering through sacrifice marked strength; it empowered him. The patriot's suffering was empowering because it was directed at the protection of the feminine (mother/goddess), and also because through suffering the patriot attained divinity.

Suffering had specific meanings for the feminine nation and the male patriot. The patriot's suffering incorporated him into the Hindu pantheon, Bharat Mata's suffering transformed her into the archetypal female victim of the external oppression, in this case the imperial rulers. Suffering mortalized the nation and immortalized the patriot.

Notes

(1) See Uma Chakravarti, 'Whatever happened to the Vedic Dasi?' in K.Sangari and S.Vaid eds. <u>Recasting Women: Essays in Colonial History</u> and Lata Mani, 'Contentious traditions: The Debates on Sati in Colonial India' in <u>ibid</u>.

(2) Patricia Uberoi, 'Feminine Identity and National Ethos in Indian Calendar Art', <u>Economic and Political Weekly</u>, 28 April, 1990.

(3) T. Guha-Thakurta, 'Westernisation and Tradition in South Indian Painting: the case of Raja Ravi Varma, 1848-1906', <u>Studies in History</u>, July-December 1986.

(4) The same issues have been addressed in Geeta Kapur, 'Ravi Varma: Representational Dilemmas of a Nineteenth Century Indian Painter', *Journal of Arts and Ideas*, Nos. 17-18, 1990.

(5) I am grateful to Chandrani for enlightening me about this legend.

(6) See p.

(7) Ker's Report: *Political Trouble in India, 1918*.

(8) Lata Mani, p.118.

(9) *Ibid*. p.97.

(10) See Uma Chakravarti.

Chapter 4

CARICATURING COMMUNITIES

Introduction

Three features constitute the specificity of cartoons. First, cartoons are a daily feature in newspapers. This regularity allows the construction and popularization of stereotypes, and through this the representation of communities and other social groups are standardized. Second, cartoons critique society: its ethos, power structures, way of life and dominant practices. Third, they are a form of humour: they laugh at the world, and this is the basis of their subversive power. An analysis of standardized representations of social groups unfolds the outlook of the cartoonist and the 'public' it addresses. More importantly, cartoons are in turn constituted by the the 'public', they reflect the conflicting ways of looking at the world. Detecting a pattern in criticism provides an index to the daily concerns of the times. The study of the construction of and shifts in stereotypes and criticism unfolds the politics of perceptions and alterity.

Through the image of the Brahmin priest and the sites of parody specific to early twentieth century, I attempt to understand how Hindu modernity was addressed and constructed

and how it entailed the projection of a specific stereotype of the Muslim. Then I discuss British cartoons lampooning the company officials and finally the image of the Babu in British and Indian cartoons.

The Brahmin Priest: There is a long comic tradition in India which s~a~tarizes the Brahmin priest. In a sense this tr~a~dition is continued in the cartoons of the *Hindu Punch* (1926-1930) showing the Brahmin's insatiable desire for sex and food. But the tradition is also transformed the cartoons bear specific marks of the 'modern' political context.

<u>The Background</u>: Lee Siegal has shown that the insatiability of the Brahmin, the most holy of men in the Indian social and spiritual hierarchy, is an ancient motif in Indian satire.[1] Stories ridiculing the Brahmins abound in Sanskrit dramas and Buddhist texts: In all these texts Brahmins are ridiculed for their insatiable appetite for sex and food, and their disregard for religion. The following passage typifies the satire:

> The somber sages are just canting frauds. In
> the ways they try to revile young broads.
> They want Heaven from fevers just for the
> nymphs up there! - those vain deceivers![2]

When Brahmins tried to be sacredly chaste they were exposed as being profanely salacious. But when they tried to be husbands or lovers, they were cuckolds and sexually

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inept. It was either their wives or prostitutes who were
sexually ravenous. A whore tells her friend:

> like death dressed up as a lover some stupid
> brahmin tried to make it with me last night -
> he was totally inexperienced with women, he
> was inept, childish and stiff only with
> fatigue.[3]

There is a conflicting existence of two images: the
Brahmin as driven by lust, the Brahmin as impotent. Here,
the Brahmin is denied a claim to masculinity: his libidinal
impluse does not make him virile.

The satire on the Brahmin in Buddhist texts, was
matched by a similar lampooning of the Buddhist and Jain
monks:

> O most venerable monk with a fondness for
> meat,
> Don't you like wine with the delicious food
> you eat?
> And what goes better with wine than a loving
> coquette?
> But whores like money and what can a Buddhist
> monk net?
> Where do you get your riches, where do you
> come by wealth?
> By gambling or by thieving or by what acts of
> stealth?
> Sir, you are depraved, and that is really
> appalling -
> Tell me, what other practices make up your
> calling?[4]

The contest of religion gets embodied in the Brahmin
priest and the Buddhist monk. The respective pontiffs shared

हिन्दू-पञ्च

अजा रखनेको हिन्दूकी, हिन्दू-नाम बचानेको ।
आया 'हिन्दू-पंच' हिन्दमें, हिन्दू-जाति जगानेको ॥

26.   *A Cover of The 'Hindu Punch', D. N. Varma, Calcutta,*

the sites for criticism i.e., their desire for food, sex, wine and gambling.

How does the Brahmin priest appear in the cartoons of *Hindu Punch*? A continuity and a shift in the pattern of representation in these cartoons can be seen. First, the terms of traditional representation continues at one level: the Brahmin is greedy and promiscuous. But a new site for ridicule appears: the Brahmins' non-accommodation of 'Hindu Modernity'. Second, ancient satire was misogynistic. The whores and the Brahmin's wife are projected as the sites of vice and they are instrumental in corrupting the priest/monk. In the cartoons under discussion the woman is instrumental in the emasculation of the Hindu male, the Muslim is projected as the repository of vice and the source of corruption. Meat and wine as signs of impurity are associated with the debauch Muslim. Third, in ancient Indian satire (to go by the examples Siegal has furnished) through the unmasking of the Brahmin, the image of the ideal Brahmin was constructed. The satire was, in this sense, normative. It imagined society as the realm of the common populace on the one side and the social ideals in the figure of the priest on the other. In the cartoons of the *Hindu Punch*, unmasking as normative, occurs at two levels. First, there is an opposition between the masses and the Brahmin priest.
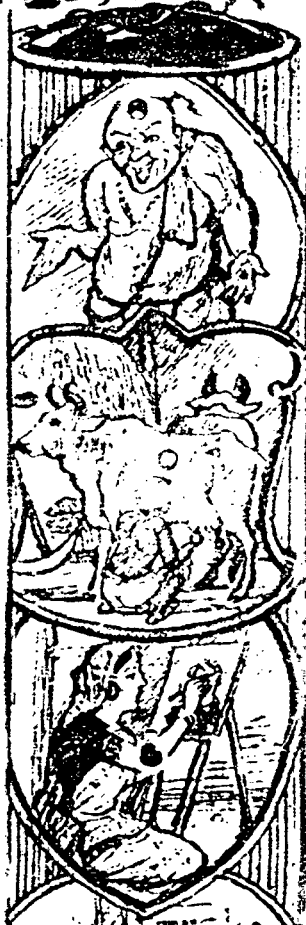
हिन्दू पंच

हिन्दू-पंच

प्रधान उद्देश्य :-

१- हिन्दू-संघठन।
२- शुद्धि-संस्कार।
३- अछूतोद्धार।
४- समाज-सुधार।
५- हिन्दी-प्रचार।

27. Theme Page from the *'Hindu Punch'*, Calcutta, 14-3-1929,

Second, and specific to the colonial context, was the communal frame. Here, the cartoons constructed stereotypes of the Hindu (as priest) and the Muslim (no specific designation, he could be a *fakir*, a waiter, or even a western attired gentleman), to mark the boundaries of the ideal and the corrupt.

The Brahmin priest, the ascetic and the monk were accorded a socially elevated status on the basis of their capacity to restrain and refrain, to discipline desire. In a sense they were marginals in society, performing a vicarious sacrifice. The priesthood/monkhood empowered the practitioners. Satire contests the basis of this power by presenting an alternate truth by exposing the breach in precept. Satire inverses the ascesis of the priests/monks and unmasks their inability to curb desire for sex and food. This inversion of the moral hierarchy, redistributes power by establishing that sexual and gastronomic needs were 'normal'. Restraint and discipline in food and sex was projected as a strategy to accord the practitioners of the 'normal', powerless. Unmasking can therefore be seen as a revolt of the Normal against the Established, as a contest of power.

The Hindu Punch: In the cartoons of the *Hindu Punch*, the corrupt Brahmin, the Muslim and the Westernized Babu are projected as the repositories of vice. These stereotypes need a close look as a specific type of Hindu reaction. The critique of Muslims and of westernization were the coordinates on which the idealized image of Hindu Modernity hinged.

मातृ भक्ति ।

माँ 'विश्व साला गोद ...माँवतूगव परमात्मा है । भैरव शिवा ! शिव कृपानाथ किसने ...सिंह वाहन ... ...

The *Hindu Punch* was an illustrated newspaper edited by R. L. Verma from Calcutta. It started publication in June 1925. The *Hindu Punch* propagated notions of Hindu Modernity similar to those the Brahmo Samaj and Arya Samaj, had professed in the nineteenth century. The Hindu modernity of the *Hindu Punch* directed the concern of the Indian public to social evils and the need to rejuvenate society. This resuscitation of a dying society was layered by a nationalist agenda. The cartoons and articles in the *Hindu Punch* were marked by their strong Hindu flavour, anti-Muslim bias and Congress politics. Mr. Punch was the mascot of the newspaper, (Figure 26) and the spokesman of the cartoonist

शान्त-रस
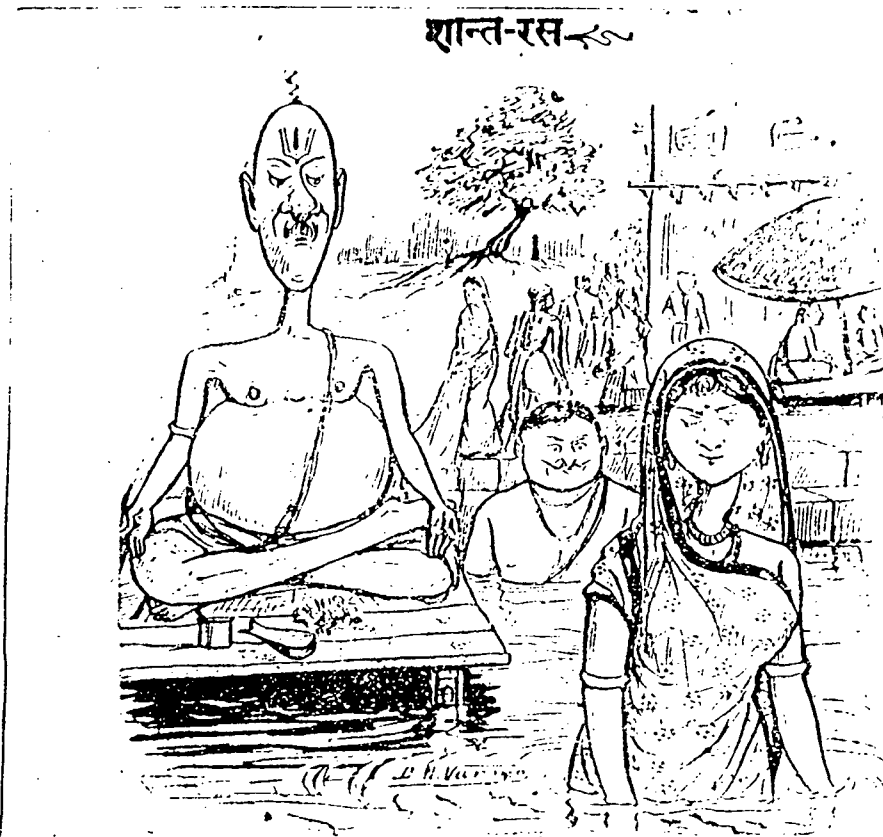
। बढ़ी भोग-लिप्सा महा, बने शान्त साकार। इई निस्तर देह सब, पर न गया ष्यापार

29. *'Shanta Rasa'*, <u>Hindu Punch</u>, 24 -10-1928,

दुरंगी दुनिया !

(नं० १)

पनिर जा माथे त्रिपुण्ड दे, लेकर करमें माला ।
आँख मूँद बेठे आसनपर मन कर स्वाँग निराला ॥
मुद्रा-ध्यान लगाकर दिनमें साध रहा दिवाला ।
मूर्य मंदिर में पनिहारी जानकी यों भर माया ॥

छुप रात बन रसिक-शिरोमणि बीबीके घर जायँ ।
सराके प्यालेपर प्याले दोनों मुख चढ़ायें ॥
गलेसे बीबीजीको कैसा प्रेम दिखायें ।
उधर पुजारी, प्रेम-भिखारी इधर, देख लो माया ॥

30.   'Do Rangi Duniya', <u>Hindu Punch</u>, 3-5-1928,

D. N. Verma. The front page of the newspaper frequently featured Congress leaders like Gandhi and scenes from Hindu mythology (Figure 27 and Figure 28).

Visually the Brahmin priest was marked by his janeyu (sacred thread), caste-mark and chutiya (tuft of hair at the back of his head). Thematically the cartoons continue the comic tradition in India and focus on the promiscuity and gourmandism of the Brahmin. Figures 29 and 30 typify these recurrent motifs. The priest's gaze is directed at sex and food; he lives in a hypocritical world. The Brahmin visits the prostitutes but he is also beaten by his wife when he returns home (Figure 31). These cartoons de-recognize the

ईश-धर्मक्ष भय नहीं, तुच्छ राज्यकी मार। ~~
गात बिता घरमें गये, हुआ खुब सत्कार ॥

31. 'Bhayanak Rasa', Hindu Punch, 24-10-1928,

32. 'Dadashastri', _Din_ _Mitra_, 1927, Bombay,

marks of priesthood and claim to present the 'truth': the evidence of their immorality. In a sense, the cartoons by challenging the meaning of accepted signs contest the power and validity of these signs. On the other hand, the cartoons asserted the validity of signs by projecting new stereotypes signifying purity and impurity.

Who corrupted the priest? Two sites appear as repositories of vice: women and Muslims. In other words, the image of the ideal priest is constructed by first identifying him as immoral and then dissociating him from the sources of evil.

The Sources of Corruption - The Woman and the Muslim: The Hindu modernity as the predominant theme, as a new site for satirising the priest, was the leitmotiv of the cartoons of the *Hindu Punch* under discussion. A similar critique appears in the *Din Mitra* of Bombay (1927).[5] In the cartoon titled, 'Dadashastri', the rigidity of the 'traditional' Brahmins is lampooned (Figure 32). The orthodox Brahmin is shown adhering to an outdated lifestyle, not keeping pace with the younger generation brahmins (symbolizing modernity), who were adopting a new lifestyle i.e., shirts and trousers, cups and saucers, bicycles.

The orthodox Brahmin was lampooned for opposing the increase of the marriagable age in the Sharda Bill (1928, Figure 33 Hindu society was represented as 'degenerate', because of its sanction of marriages of young girls with old men. These cartoons label the society as 'Lanka like' in

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विषधर भुजंग !

अरे बापरे ! निकल पड़ा यह, विषम 'शारदा'-नाग ।
बालवृद्ध-शांतिका प्रेमी प्राण बचाता भाग ॥

which 'Hanuman' (an Indian God) in a Gandhi cap annihilates the practice. The orthodox Brahmin comes to signify a redundant and degenerate society; and evil traditional practices are opposed with the sanction of Hanuman as well as Gandhi. This concern for a transformed present was paralleled by a concern with a displaced past. I shall discuss three cartoons in this series titled 'Yesterday and Today' and refer to other cartoons with the same theme. These cartoons evoked a past to critique the emasculation of the Hindus, and to resurrect Hindu masculinity.

Figure 34, consists of two frames, each specifying a temporal reality: the past and the present. The text

तब और अब

धन्य स्त्री शव सिर घरे, शिव घूमें संसार ।

अब पति-चरण-प्रहारसे, होवे हैं सरक तर ॥

34. 'Tab Aur Ab', *Hindu Punch*, 24-10-1928,

तब — और — अब

डाली-कण सरोज हैं, हिंदों हिंसा हैं। वार-वधूके प्रेमसे, वायुवनको जात !

35.   'Tab Aur Ab', _Hindu_ _Punch_, 24-10-1928,

underlining the image identifies the figures from Hindu
mythology. The images mark a sharp contrast in the two time
frames. The first frame depicts the Hindu god Shiva carrying
Sati on his shoulder. Legend has it that, unable to bear the
insult[6] to her husband, Sati (the first wife of Shiva)
committed suicide. Agitated over the death of his wife,
Shiva carried her body around the universe destroying all
creation. In this frame the focus is on Shiva's powers, his
sensitivity to the treatment of his wife and the affection
and respect Sati drew from her husband. The second frame,
portrays a Hindu violently abusing his wife. The second
cartoon, (Figure 35) represents a legend in which Sati on
warpath destroys all creation. To end Kali's mission of
destruction her husband Shiva lays down on her path. In her
frenzy Kali unknowingly stepped on Shiva. On realizing her
action, Kali was regretful. The picture captures Kali's
regret in the gesture of her protruding tongue. The second
frame, shows a Hindu woman reclining on a bed directing her
husband to polish her shoes. The third cartoon images
Mahishasurmardini's martial victory over the demon
Mahishasur (Figure 36). The text underlining the image
identifies it as the ideal image of womanhood. The second
frame depicts a Muslim abducting a Hindu woman, while her

तब और अब

'अबला' हो, सबका किया, बल-पौरुष खो गए ॥

नायिके नारीस्तनम, किम वैदिको सगप ।
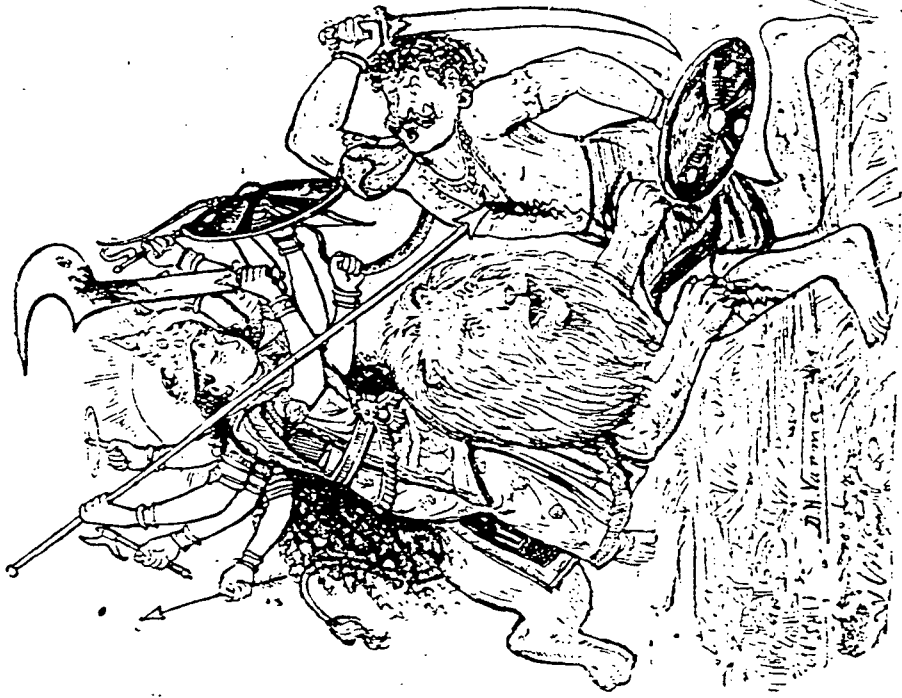
husband relents helplessly. The text below the picture points to the weak woman who has destroyed masculinity.

The contrasting frames in the cartoons highlighted the degenerate present. All these cartoons draw attention to two issues, the idealization of the feminine and the masculine.

The ideal woman was Sati, Kali and Mahisasurmardini, (and the ideal male was Shiva). They epitomized power, and were also the sources through which masculinity could be projected and generated. The image of the 'modern' woman is the inverse of the traditional woman, she is physically weak and generates the emasculated Hindu as the wife-abuser, the hen-pecked and weaker than the Muslim. The onus of masculinity is placed on the woman. Femininity produces masculinity. The modern woman presents herself as the object of desire, she makes voyeurism possible and in the process transforms the man, emasculates him.

The emasculated Hindu, is a marionette in the hands of the prostitute, he is hen-pecked and a wife-abuser, he is physically weak - fearful of the Muslim and of a rat (Figure 37).

The Muslim male stereotyped as lascivious, alcoholic and meat-eating was represented as a moral threat and a degenerate counterpart to the pious priest and the moral standards of the Hindu society. The cartoons portray the Muslim abducting Hindu women and trying to seduce them (Figure 38). The Muslims were not only the signs of impurity but also instrumental in acquainting the priest with alcohol
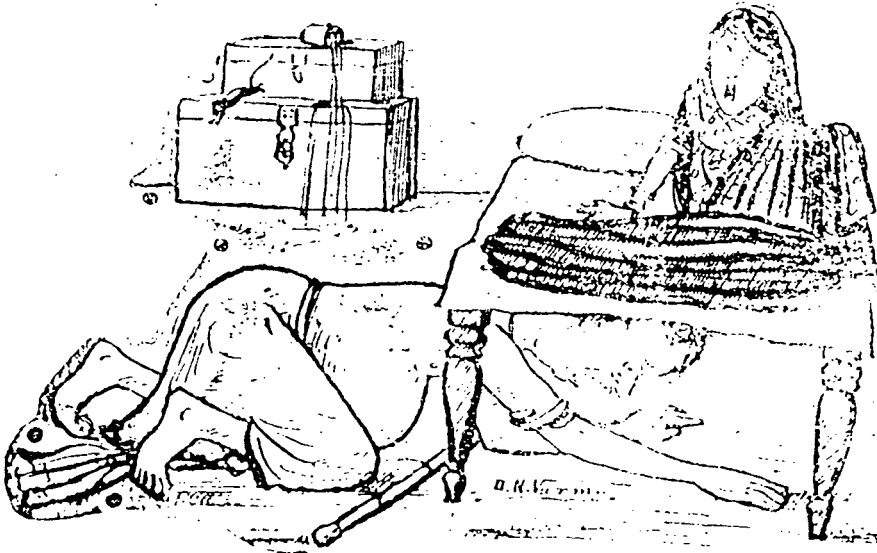
चुग्याफा दौरा छुग्रा, थी अँचियारो रात ।
प्राण बचाये वीरने, किया भीमको मात ॥

37. 'Vira Rasa', Hindu Punch, 24-10-1928,

देख सुन्दरीको बन्धे संग लोट गया छाती पर ख्याल ।
दिया प्रलोभन हार दिखाकर यों फैलाग्रा अपना जाल ॥

प्रलोभन

38. 'Pralobhan', Hindu Punch, 24-11-1927,

and meat. The Muslim is depicted offering/serving the priest meat and wine (Figure 39). Vices were therefore sharply defined - alcoholism, lust and sexual immorality, meat-eating; these vices were identified with a specific community - the Muslim. This image of the Muslim recurs in the cartoons, they come to signify sin, impurity, degeneration and anti-Hinduism. The stereotype of the virtuous Hindu is constructed in opposition to this image.

The Muslim as a signifier of vice and impurity is located in the cartoons to build the argument for a 'Hindu Modernity'. I focus on a set of three cartoons titled 'the scene of the rehabilitation of the untouchable' (Figures 40, 41 and 42). Two key figures appear in this series. The

भीतर और बाहर

भीतर अल्लम-गल्लम खाते । बाहर देखो ध्यान लगाते ॥
शोभित इनसे आज समाज । ऐसे ये पंडित महाराज ॥

39. 'Bheetar Aur Bahar', Hindu Punch, 1-3-1928f,
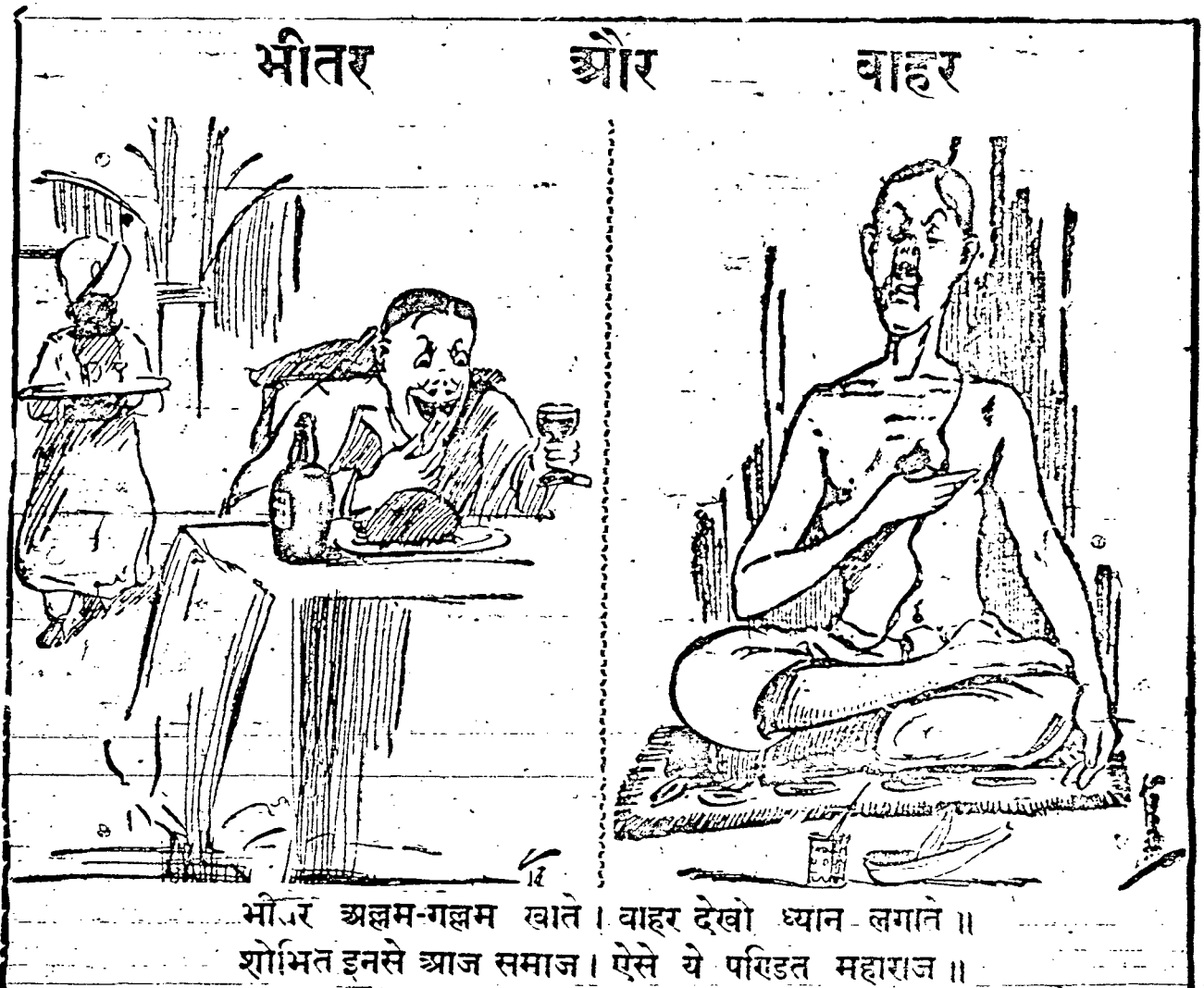
अछूतोद्धारका पहला दृश्य

हाय हाय ! अभी पूजा भी नहीं की और इस चडूद माचीकी छाया पड़ गयी !

40. 'Achootoddhar Ka Pehla Drishya', Hindu Punch, 1-3-1928,

अछूतोद्धारका दूसरा दृश्य ।

"क्यों बे बदमाश ! मन्दिरमें क्यों घुसा आता है ?"

41. 'Achootoddhar Ka Doosra Drishya', Hindu Punch, 1-3-1928,

priest and the low-caste Hindu ('untouchable'). A third figure, the Muslim, appears in two frames, and a dog appears in the third.

In figure 40, the priest is depicted purchasing some goods from a Muslim hawker and violently dismissing a cobbler (a low-caste Hindu/untouchable). The text underlining the picture relayed the meaning of the two actions i.e., association with the Muslim and dissociation with the untouchable, 'Oh no! I have not yet performed my daily prayers and the shadow of this impotent cobbler has fallen on me!'. In figure 41, a priest reprimands a sweeper (untouchable) sweeping the courtyard of the temple. The picture also shows a dog tied to a post in the temple. The text indicates the priest's ire: 'you rogue! why are you forcing your way into the temple?' In figure 42, the priest disallows the beggar (an untouchable) to use the water-pump, but allows the Muslim to use it. The text underlining the picture explains the priest's actions: 'Keep away you rogues, don't touch'.

The three texts underlining the pictures relay the meaning of the cartoon and along with the image re-signify and satirize the caption of the cartoons. The three images of a common theme provide interesting equations. First, the Muslim and the dog signify impurity. The Muslim, in other words was a dog and needed to be externed from society.

अछूताद्वारका तीसरा दृश्य

धस, दूर रहो साल्ो !   द्ना मत ।

42. 'Achootoddhar Ka Teesra Drishya', _Hindu Punch_, 1-3-
    1928,

Second, there is a re-definition of the 'untouchable'. The cartoons dismiss the traditional notion of low-caste Hindus (i.e., sweeper, cobbler) as untouchables. The traditional untouchable is to be incorporated as a member of the Hindu society. The Brahmin priest was critiqued for his incompetence in determining the 'real' impure elements i.e., the Muslim and for his passivity: he lived in a state of inertia, unable to modernize and recognize modernity. Tradition is modernized by projecting the Muslim as the modern untouchable, as the one who should be excluded in society. Third: they show that rehabilitation remains an unfulfilled project. The Brahmin priests continue to distance themselves from the cobblers, sweepers, beggars, while associating with Muslims. This was the reason for the degeneration of society. It ridicules the notion of rehabilitation which habilitates Muslims while expelling the low castes. It argues for the exclusion of the Muslims and incorporation of the lower castes within the fold of society. This was the project of modernization of tradition: a Hindu monolith had to be created in opposition to the Muslims. Untouchability as a practice and concept is not critiqued, instead, new personifications of impurity were located (Muslims) and traditionally impure elements were purified. The images suggest that Hindus could never be impure. These 'modern' sites and

notions of purity/impurity marked the boundaries of the two communities: Hindu and Muslim. It also pointed to the social process of inclusion and exclusion of social groups through which specific identities were asserted.

Thus the Hindu woman and the Muslim male were sources of perversion. It is interesting to note that there is an absence of the Muslim woman in the cartoons. It can be argued that within a project of Hindu modernity in which the Muslim and the woman are being demonized, the Muslim woman could have been adopted as an appropriate sign of impurity, she could signify both community and misogyny. Why was the Muslim woman not the subject of attack needs scrutiny, but this is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

These images have to be located in the communal politics of the times. Bengal, Maharashtra and Punjab contributed heavily to the creation of a modern Hindu consciousness. By the nineteenth century, the colonial encounter through new forms of occupation, communication and cultural interaction created groups of 'marginal men'. 'Cultural marginality' and 'educationally - inspired alienation'. unleashed a process of 'identity formation' in the inhabitants of the 'grey area of marginality'.[7] The search for identity produced new forms of group consciousness and ideological competition - it also implied a communal mobilization. The

awareness of decline from past preeminence was registered by the Muslims well before the arrival of the British. The Mughal displacement by the Marathas, Sikhs and finally the British highlighted for the Muslims their communal weakness. Muslim thinkers led by Shah Wali-ullah hoped to restore Islamic glory through an end to internal divisiveness and a return to religious purity. Thus restoration implied purging the community of Hindu practices and customs and stress the brotherhood of Islam.[8]

Early twentieth century India, therefore saw various groups debating, associating and dissociating with specific notions of orthodoxy and modernity - in a bid to re-define their identity. The ideological learnings of the groups, acquired political overtones as municipal committees and electoral politics provided the arenas to express group solidarity and hostility antagonism.

"There is nothing of our work from administration of justice down to digging of drains, in which we do not have to face trouble arising from communal differences"[9] - this official view briefly capsuled the states perception of the communal tension of the period, which was gradually institutionalizing through the Hindu Mahasabha, Shuddhi Sabhas and Jam'iat-i-Tabbigh-ul-Islam.

43. 'Sacrificial Scene of Swami Shradhanand', Master Broth-
    ers, Amritsar,

By the mid 1920s, communal riots occurred almost on an weekly basis. Between 1922 and 1926, over two hundred incidents were reported, the high points being the Kohat riots of 1924 and the 1925 Calcutta riots. Communal tension was sparked by local issues or concern with symbols, the cow, processional lights and music before mosques.[10] Two events intensified the Hindu-Muslim conflict towards the end of 1926. First, the assassination of Swami Shraddhanand, a leader of the Arya Samaj who was involved in the Hindu Shuddhi movement by Rashid, a Muslim. The murder catalyzed violence and perpetuated a specific genre of writing - 'Martyr' writings. Prose and poetry eulogized Shraddhanand as the symbol of Hindu self-defense, while gory coloured pictures depicting his murder circulated widely through North India (Figure 43).

Second, there was the publication and circulation of *Rangila Rasul* ('The Merry Prophet'), an Urdu tract critical of Muhammad. The tract argued that Dayanand the founder of the Arya Samaj, typified celibacy, unlike Muhammad who regaled in sexual affairs and relationships with women.

Communal identities acquired political overtones as they were asserted in public debates and electoral politics. Being 'Indian' was one of the many layers of indentity that accreted on the individual. For example, one could be an Arya, a Hindu, a Punjabi and also Indian.[11] Identity could be extracted from a micro-level and projected on to a macro

level, from a small frame it could slip into a larger frame of the nationalist. Lala Lajpat Rai can be cited as exemplifying this process at work - he was an active proponent of the Arya Dharma, he was Hindu and also asserted his nationalist credentials. There could be many sources of nationalism and patriotism.

Banned nationalist literature in Punjab, for example was a mix of anti-British and communal sentiment. One set of tracts narrated the exploits of an imaginary hero, Harphul Singh Jat. The tales of his bloody encounters with police officers and Muslim butchers usually were presented in a melodramatic dialogue such as this conversation between him and an old woman:

> Lady : O Darling, bloodthirsty butchers live here, O Darling we are so weak and helpless. O Butchers, they daily slaughter the poor cows.

> Harphul: I will become a Kshatriya (Warrior). I will remove forever the sufferings of cows and cause mourning among the butchers. With Durga's help I will crush our oppressors just as I have crushed the British Officials.[12]

Communal bias surfaced in literature claiming to present the verity of the others religion. In 1923, for example, Maulvi Abdul Hak commented in a Muslim newspaper, *Paigham-i-Sulah*, that while Hindus often made fun of Muhammad's marriages, they have conveniently forgotten the sexual practices of Hindu gods.[13] Articles in the same genre were written by communal Hindus too. An Arya Samaj polemicist,

Pandit Kalicharan Sharma, in an article, 'Strange life', discussed Muhammad's sexual life and alleged the Prophet's immorality. All Muslims according to the author, were intent on loot, arson and rape.[14] Communal critiques operating in smaller frames too adopted a scatological vein.

Communal tension operated in smaller frames too. Sanatanist versus Arya Samajists and Shias versus Sunnis. The Arya Samaj tracts attempted to expose the Puranas as glorifying sex. Sanatanist writings attacked the Arya Samaj. In one of their tracts, 'A shoe on the Head of the Arya Samaj', Dayanand was presented as an abuser of saints, as a person of dubious character and it surveyed his ideas on sex.[15]

Sunni-Shia exchanges were similar. A Sunni work quoted the 'Encyclopedia Britannica' and missionary studies as "unbiased authorities" in labelling Shias "butchers".[16] One Ahmadiya tract, 'The Cutter of the Nose of the Vile Shias', tried to show that the Shias were heretical and indulged in unnatural sexual acts. Ahrars, a militant group operating from central Punjab, reacted by claiming that Ahmadiyas drank wine, ate pork, fornicated, and in general sold the Muslim community into British slavery.[17]

This brief appraisal of the Hindu-Muslim conflict telescopes two issues: both important to understand the way communities represent each other. First, communal critique rested on its claims to expose the verity of the others religion. This exposé was scatological. Critique acquired

sexual dimensions. The obsession with the sexual dimension (as evil) surfaced even in the intra-community conflicts. Second, communal politics slipped into nationalist politics (and vice-versa). Nationalism therefore also becomes an arena for exclusions and the marking of community identities.

These two issues are discernible in the *Hindu Punch* cartoons. We have discussed how the Muslim is denied high morality, the community is attributed a set of vices, degenerating the society. The political cartoons in the *Hindu Punch* interestingly exclude the Muslim in all representations of the nationalist self (Figure 44). The Hindu is

44. 'Adhunik Lanka Kand', *Hindu Punch,*

made to constitute a nationalist community. The *Hindu Punch* in its subscription to notions of *shuddhi*, of a modernized Hinduism, anti-Muslim sentiment, critique of untouchability, and polygamy - adopted the polemics of the Arya Dharm. More specifically, the *Hindu Punch* identified with the militant section of the Arya Dharma which sought to create a new man - the Arya Hindu.

Was the past celebrated or denigrated? A definitive answer is not possible. Masculinity and femininity are defined in these cartoons by evoking the past. On the other hand, traditional untouchability is rejected in favour of a modernized form of Hinduism - in conformity with various reform movements of Hinduism. The cartoons therefore suggest the critic's/cartoonist's selective celebration and denigration of the imagined past. This selection was guided by the images that needed to be constructed/resurrected to participate in the power politics of the times.

Communal politics was enacted in a large Hindu-Muslim frame, this large frame could be squared further, to form smaller duplicated frames where intra-community tension was enacted. This discussion has limited communal politics to two large frames: Hindu and Muslim, and within the Hindu frame to the Arya Dharma reaction to a Hindu orthodoxy. It would be interesting to analyze there small frames and

Anonymous. *The Bengal Soldier's Defence of a Hot Climate.* c. 1800. Colored engraving. Walt
Collection.

45. 'The Bengal Soldier's Defence of a hot climate', Anony-
mous, c 1800,

46. Rival Candidates at Calcutta, James Moffat, c 1800

discuss the specificities of criticism in them. A comparative analysis of the large and small frames could provide useful clues to the constitution of communities through images.

The Colonist And The Missionary: Numerous anonymous cartoons-engravings lampooned the officials of the East India Company. The official in his western dress was depicted as oppressed by the Indian heat: 'plague take such a country, tis as hot as a battond (sic) hold.... my main top feels as greasy as a slush bucket' (Figure 45 c.1900 anonymous). The depiction of the discomfort of the company officials was paralleled by their projection as alcoholics and womanizers (Figure 46).

The colonist was therefore located within three coordinates: sex, alcohol and wealth, colonization was projected as a convenient route to profligacy. These cartoons in unmasking the colonization project, questioned its welfare and civilizing claims. The cartoon titled, 'The death of Tipoo or the besieging of the harem', typifies the sentiment of these cartoons (Figure 47).
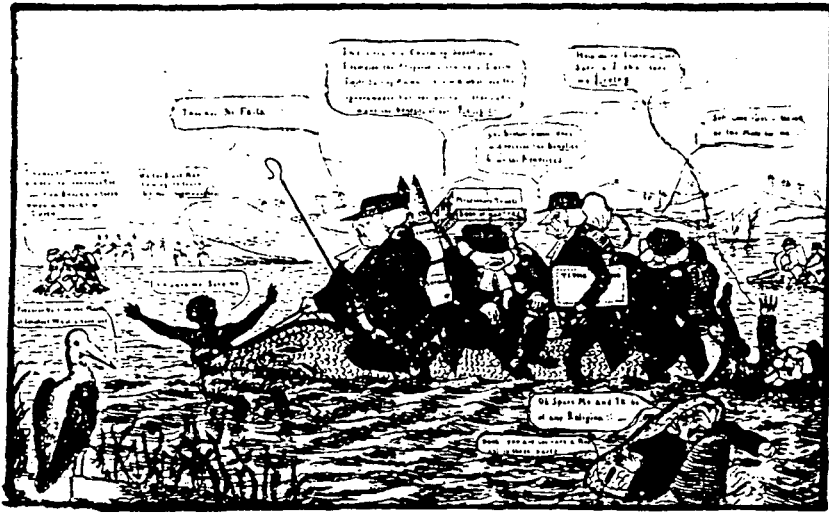
48. *Emigration of the Clergy, Anonymous, c 1830,*

The caption of the cartoon and the image of British soldiers abducting Indian women, de-politicizes Tipu's death and the company's annexation of Mysore. The military victory is not a sign of British Imperial power. The underlying impetus for the military venture was the desire to abduct the women in Tipu's harem. Sexual impulse induced the valour of the company soldiers. The imperialistic zeal is seen as the expending of sexual energy. The cartoon depicts an official consoling the women, 'cheer up my girls we'll supply his *place* well!' Another official comments, 'hurrah my honey, now for the Black joke.'

The company official was projected as physically and morally misfit in the colonies.

With the corrupt company officials came the corrupt missionaries. The cartoons project the missionary zeal as a farce, a money-making adventure. In an anonymous cartoon, a drowning missionary screams for help, 'Help me for brotherly sake or I shall lose my living' (Figure 48). Here religion is seen as a profession. The missionary caught between the jaws of an alligator pleads (to the alligator), 'Oh! spare me and I'll be at any religion' (sic).

The anti-missionary sentiment surfaces effectively in Thomas Rawlandson's cartoons (Figures 49 and 50). In these cartoons, the encounter of the missionary and 'oriental'

priests is depicted: The missionaries have assumed a self-imposed mission of converting the 'infidels, Barbarians' to the European faith.   The missionaries urge the Indian

49.   'Missionary Influence Or How To Make Converts', Thomas
      Rowlandson, 1815,

priests to destroy their gods, burn their books, learn and get saved.   The natives reply that they have their own gods and will not become Christians. Another cartoon, shows the British officials and the Indian princes witnessing a con-cremation and receiving money as bribe from the Hindu priests.   The   bribe   sustained   the   practice   of   Sati (Figure 50).

These cartoons point to three issues. First, the mis-sionary was Un-Christian, because while he professed toler-

50. 'The Burning System', Thomas Rawlandson, 1815,

ance, he was not practising it, he was intolerant of orien-tal religious beliefs. Conversion implied intolerance, it was therefore a breach of the Christain precept and the missionaries had made it the raison d'etre of their mission. Second, British claim to 'rationality' was questioned as it did not surface in practice, rationality was thrown over board with ease. Wealth made 'Barbarism' and 'Heathenism' tolerable. The cartoons, unveiled the economics of the evengilizing and civilizing mission. Third, the natives were shrewd, they could defend their religion and detect the 'real' motives of the colonist.

It is important to note here that these early stereo-type of the missionary and the company officials were ad-dressing the British public. These stereotypes and cartoons provided the frames of reference to an audience which was spatially distant and could not witness the colonial reali-ty.

The parody of the missionary and company officials in early British Cartoons an entry point to investigate the British 'public' reactions to colonization. It would be interesting to analyze the shifts in these colonial stereo-types, to investigate the British popular construction of the images of alterity and colonization. But such a project is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

THE BABOO'S PROGRESS.

(*After Hogarth.*)

1.—Young and Un Sophisticated Hindoo, eating Mangos.

2.—Progress?

3.—Natural result of "Progress."

4.—Thinks British Civilians are daily growing more venal and advocates their replacement with Bengalees.

5.—(Lip) Loyalty.

6.—Real Allegiance.

7.—The Lion of the Season.

8.—My Eyes!

9.—More Wonders!!

The Modernizing Native: The Babu as a native stereotype becomes the site of asserting, defining and distancing the West. The Babu as a misanthrope was the motif in British and Indian critique of westernization. I shall first discuss the British response and then the Indian.

The *Indian Charivari* of 1876 issued a nine framed cartoon titled, 'The Babu's progress' (Figure 51). The first frame indicates the 'childhood' of the Babu, untouched by the West. He was the 'unsophisticated Hindoo, eating mango'. The subsequent frames depict the signs of his progress : shoes, parasol, western clothes, wine, eloquence, lip loyalty to the British, and socialization with women in clubs. The concluding frame reinforces the first frame - the inherent crassness of the Hindoo. The Babu is not a gentleman, he is unable to conceal his pounch and his lack of sophistication beneath the superficial marks of westernization. The Babu's progress was impossible. Progress as Westernization was an exclusive western domain. Fanny Parkes made a characteristic remarks when Dwarkanath Tagore presented a cup in the winter races of 1836, 'The design [of the cup] was in excess bad taste, and such as only a Baboo would have approved'.[18]

Western education, the western life-style and notions of healthy recreation - marked the British and the distance

between the state and the native. The state sought to present itself as an ideal for the native to emulate. Yet, native efforts at westernization remained unacknowledged and ridiculed. The Babu's efforts at westernization were acknowledged and lampooned. The marks of the West were denied to the native. The colonial discourse adopted a dual strategy - the West was to be emulated, yet it was rendered beyond emulation, as an exclusive inherentness. The Babu, like the Eurasians in the colonies, was condemned to exist as a social marginal. Accomodating the Babu and the Eurasian in the realm of the West would disturb and threaten the carefully constructed social distance between the ruler and the ruled. As westernized natives, the Babu and the Eurasian were excluded from the domain of the ruler by stereotyping them as immoral and incompetent and denying them appointments in the convenented services. It was politically important for the state to contain the westernized native in the domain of the ruled. The Babu provided the occassion for the state to assert its authority and power by installing a native stereotype.

Lampooning and caricaturing the Babu was a strategy to laugh at the westernizing zeal and deny the native the marks of the West. In a way, ridiculing the Babu's West, marked the cartoonists' sense of threat in the recognition of the

52. 'Saheb Babu', *Hindu Punch*, 16-6-1927,

Babu's acquisition of the signs of the West. Denial, through parody countered belief in the Babu's westerness.

In a sharp contrast, the *Hindu Punch* sees the westernization of the Babu as the basis a degenerate Hindu identity. In the cartoons of *Hindu Punch*, westernization is anti-Hindu modernity (Figure 52). The zealous westernized Babu is

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interested in adorning all the signs of the West and becoming a 'gentleman'. The concept of the 'gentlemen' is inversed here - it becomes associated with moral degeneration.

The West is associated with specific forms of recreation: watching films and dining in restaurants. The Babu's cosmetic appearance is ridiculed as is his efforts at being western through association with specific western actions like kissing, contact with white women and powdering his face. These marks of the West are projected as symptomatic of evil - an observation reinforced by the conclusion that the Indian who westernizes deserts his Indian wife and ruins his home. The West as the external, as evil, becomes the source of the destruction of the home, the inner sacred space.

Westernization had contesting meanings, depending on who defined it. The concept signified the boundaries of exclusion which assisted in the construction of the self image. This was a time of intense conflict between different

sections of British officials, between different conceptions of British attitude to India. The liberal civilizing mission was still not on the agenda; the Orientalists were discovering Indian tradition and criticizing efforts at Anglicanization. Company officials were under attack in Britain for their greed, selfishness and immorality. Warren Hastings was impeached for his lapses in official conduct; Edmund Burke was mounting his famous tirade against company rule. Within this historical context one can understand the cartoons. In subsequent decades of the early nineteenth century when the liberal evengilization mission became part of the official project, attitudes changed.

Similarly by the mid nineteenth century many Bhadraloks, intellectuals had begun to operate within the liberal framework of discourse, many associated the marks of western ways of living as those of progress. This Anglicanization of thinking and ways of living came under attack fromn conservatives, traditionalist opinions. Orthodoxies defined themselves in a variety of ways. The *Hindu Punch* represents one way in which a Hindu opinion crystallized.

Conclusion: Cartoons criticize through humour. Anthropological studies in humour have pointed to its ritualized role in reversal, conflict management, rebellion, licensed criticism and normative functions.[19] These are useful frameworks to

locate Cartoons of a specifically colonial India context which perhaps saw its first Indian cartoons in the *Oudh Punch* of Lucknow in early nineteenth century.

Westernization and modernization, were the recurrent themes in British and Indian cartoons. These categories as objects of lampoon, were signified by attire, mannerism and morality. British cartoons structured westernization as a strictly British domain, beyond the capability of the Native. Westernized natives were projected as impostors, adorning the signs of westernization. The cartoons of the *Hindu Punch* associated westernization as anti-Hindu. Instead, they professed a Hindu modernity. This modernity was projected as an exclusively Hindu domain, to the exclusion of the Muslim. In these cartoons, tradition (which was Hindu) had to be modernized. It is important to avoid the use of notions of Tradition and modernity as oppositional categories.[20] The dominant responses to the colonial encounter has to be viewed as different mixes of acceptance, of rejection. In viewing cultural reactions the need to be cautious of paradoxes in perceptions has been demonstrated. For instance a serious threat to the Hindu-Muslim unity was posed by the writings of Harishchandra, Bhatt, Radhacharan and Pratapnarayan who in the late nineteenth century also believed in the Indispensibility of national unity.

The self was imaged through a process of exclusion and opposition: the British in opposition to the native, the Hindu in opposition to the Muslim. The self-image implied counter images of alterity : projecting other communities as repositories of vice. These stereotypes provided the frames through which other communities were then seen. The cartoons processed biases and presented them to the public. Analyzing these biases helps to locate what was considered good/bad and moral/immoral, internal/external - the larger framework within which people and relationships are standardized.

What motivates this rhetorical debasement of alterity? Hayden White's arguement is apposite here: the need for a positive self-definition in times of socio-cultural stress. When empowering notions such as 'civilization' and 'reason' face a threat of resistance, these definitions as well as their identification with a particular people is established by pointing to their supposed opposites.[21]

To analyze criticizm and the politics of stereotypes it is important to know the 'public' they addressed. Analyzing the 'public' provides explanations to the co-existence of polarized stereotypes of the same community and changes in the stereotypes. In early British cartoons, the company official and missionaries were derided and lampooned as

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venal, promiscuous and irrational (as they tolerated the practise of Sati for material gains). Officials and missionaries are also seen as civiliziers. In these cartoons, the Natives were depicted as shrewd and conscious of the 'real' motives of the British. Simultaneously, cartoons in the 'Indian Charivari' (1877) lampooned the Indian Babu as foolish, venal and crass. A similar trend of conflicting stereotypes was visible in the Indian cartoons. The westernized saheb - the Indian in a western attire and mannerism was lampooned. Yet the orthodox Brahmin was criticized for his deep rooted traditionalism, for his inertia and refusal to accomodate the marks of modernization i.e. shirts, trousers, cups and saucers.

I have not looked into the 'public' reception of cartoons. Instead the focus has been on the cartoon as a mode of exposé in which, signs are invalidated and invented and meanings sedimented to direct the viewer to a moral judgement. Targeting the power-icons of society and other communities, cartoons strip them to expose excesses and inherent vices. Like the audience in the strip-tease, the audience of the comic-strip anticipates the exposé.

Notes

(1) Lee Siegal, <u>Laughing Matters: Comic Tradition in India</u> (New Delhi, 1989), p.

(2) ---------------- cited in <u>ibid</u>., p.

(3) ---------------- cited in <u>ibid</u>., p.

(4) ---------- cited in <u>ibid</u>., p.

(5) Cited in C.A. Bayly, ed. <u>The Illustrated History of Modern India</u> (Oxford, 1990).

(6) Sati's father ridiculed Shiva's inelegant appearance and his association with intoxicants and demons. I am greatly indebted to Chandrani for enlightening me about this and numerous other Hindu legends.

(7) See Kenneth Jones, <u>Arya Dharma</u>.

(8) <u>ibid</u>., p.

(9) N.J.Barrier, <u>Banned</u>.

(10) <u>ibid</u>.

(11) <u>ibid</u>.

(12) <u>ibid</u>.

(13) <u>ibid</u>.

(14) <u>ibid</u>.

(15) <u>ibid</u>.

(16) <u>ibid</u>.

(17) <u>ibid</u>.

(18) <u>ibid</u>.

(19) Mahadev Apte, <u>Humour and Laughter: An Anthropological Approach</u>, (Ithaca, 1985).

(20) Sudhir Chandra, <u>The Oppressive Present: Literature and Social Consciousness in Colonial India</u> (Oxford, 1992).

(21) Hayden White, <u>The Tropics of Discourse</u>.

CONCLUSION

I have attempted to demonstrate the role of the visual stereotype in mediating a cultural encounter, defining identities and in representing and constituting truths. The focus has been on a visual contest in three frames: the colonial state and the nationalist; the Revolutionaries and the Congress and the Hindu/Muslim, Native/British.

In chapter 1, the concern is on two issues: the nationalists' political use of myths in imaging the state and the state's defense of this imagery through the language of the myth, proscription and the projection of a morally correct, welfare imperial state. The next chapter has looked at the contest in presenting to the Indian public an idealized image of the patriot. Here, I have discussed the depiction of the Revolutionaries and the Congress in nationalist posters/bazar prints.

The third chapter focusses on the image of the nation as Bharat Mata. I have argued here that, two images of the nation - as mother and goddess, co-exist and result in a problematic icon, unrecognizable in the Hindu tradition. The iconic subscription to Bharat Mata, deified the patriot and projected nationalist activity as a seminal act. The final chapter looks into the construction and projection of commu-

nity identity through criticism of the 'other'. I have focussed on three sites: 'orthodox' Hinduism/Arya Dharma Hindu/Muslim and Native/British.

This dissertation is introductory, close attention needs to be given to issues which though not addressed here are important for the understanding of the use of visuals in image making:

There is a need to be sensitive to the difference between posters and bazar prints which circulated in the market. It is important to identify who is depicting? Is it the Congress, the revolutionaries or are they by anonymous artists. The bazar prints in a way reflected the imagery of the people and constituted it. Through the bazar prints the revolutionaries and the Congress could tap popular reactions. In a complex process, the revolutionaries and the Congress may have appropriated the bazar images and reconstituted them in their own visuals. Further, the revolutionaries and the Congress could also have entered the bazar to reconstitute the popular imagery through prints. This complex negotiation of images needs a closer study.

In the discussion of Nationalist posters/bazar prints I am unable to suggest why Bhagat Singh and Gandhi became nationalist icons. I have instead focussed on how these icons were constructed and why these icons were necessary

for the nationalist project of defining the image of the nation, for specifying its attributes, and for demarcating the realm of the patriot and the martyr.

Posters, films and cartoons are different modes of visual medium. I have clubbed them together and looked at the images they transmitted. There is however a need to be sensitive to the response each mode elicited from the 'public'.

I have not focussed on any specific province, instead I have tried to pan the North. In doing so I have missed out on the local factors that conditioned visual propaganda in the provinces.

Appendix-I

INSTITUTIONALIZING PUBLICITY

With the growth of print culture in the nineteenth century and the expansion of the networks of communication, the power of propaganda increased enormously. Debates between social religious reformers, conflicts between political groups were played out through the print media. Through the press, political groups questioned state power, presented their self-image and contested the way they were represented by others. The state in turn used the press to project specific images of itself and attempted to control representation that challenged state power. It had to define what was subversive and what was not, it had to surveille public opinion. Posters, bazar prints and cartoons - the prime focus of my analysis, reached out to a wide audience since they could be just seen to be understood. The written word had a narrower reach - only the literate could understand. But even the written word could be repeated by word of mouth. So the state had to control use all forms of communication as well as use them for propaganda. Pamphlets, tracts, posters, bazar prints, radio, wireless, cinema projected the state opinion and censored criticism. The concern of the state shifted from the content to the form of propaganda.

Publicity: The earliest colonial debate on the question of publicity was in the 1880s. Around this time the Government felt that it 'suffered' from its attitude of 'silence' as the activities of the Government were not known or explained to the 'general bulk of the Indian population'.[1]

In 1897, the 'Editors Room' was installed in the provinces. The 'Editor's room' housed official documents like annual reviews and reports, the Secretary of the departments concerned being responsible for the proper editing of information and for selecting information which needed to be communicated to the leading newspapers.[2] Through this the Government allowed the press access to selected official documents. This experiment was considered a 'failure' and the local Governments concluded that there was no demand for information because the 'information supplied gradually assumed more of a routine character and therefore, became .... less interesting'. It was argued that 'exclusiveness' had to be maintained, 'routine' and 'dullness' avoided. The need to enlist the interest of the 'public', it was felt, could lead the Government to publish, 'information which had better be kept back'. The 'public' was to be taken into confidence, from this the government would have 'everything to gain and nothing to lose'. Publicity was considered

essential to prevent the 'dissemination of errors, misunder-

standing'.[3]

The 'failure' of the 'Editor's Room' forced the govern-

ment to reconsider their notion of an information hungry

public. The Government now thought of a system of liberal

distribution of official information through a 'Press Room'.

A major shift towards a liberal supply of information

i.e., regarding Government activities, occurred in 1904 with

the establishment of the 'Press Room' at the headquarters of

the Government of India and the provinces. The 'Press room'

was under the immediate control of the Home Department at

the headquarters of the Government of India, where all

information which could be placed at the disposal of the

press was to be sent daily, either in print or in manuscript

by the different departments of the Government. The room

contained official books of reference administration re-

ports, census reports, gazeteers and university calendars to

serve as a library to the journalists. Admission to the room

was restricted to accredited representatives of newspapers

of repute.[4] The 'Press Room' resolution introduced three

unprecedented features. First, the local Governments were

left with the 'widest discretion as to the method of commu-

nicating to the Press, information of local interest'.

Second, the press would be provided with a library and

reference facilities to procure 'authentic information' regarding matters of 'public interest'. Third, the 'public' would be supplied with information regarding official discussions under deliberation.[5]

The 'information' distributed to the 'public' had to qualify as of 'public interest' and 'without prejudice to the interest of the state'.[6] The scheme was expected to be of 'service both to the Government and the public'.

The 'Press Room' scheme, sought to make the 'public' believe that it was witnessing the making of official resolutions, that there was no veil of secrecy. It sought to instil the public's confidence in information supplied by the state, the state had to appear as the bearer of truth.

In 1908, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the assumption of the Government of India by the crown, gramaphone records of the message of King Edward VII to the people of India were distributed. The Government believed that these records would 'counteract the political unrest' that was at that time manifest in Bengal and Punjab.[7] The records were issued in English, Bengali, Urdu, Punjabi, Tamil, Telugu and Burmese and were sold to the public at subsidized rates. It was believed that 'selling' the records would elicit more public interest than a free distribution.

In 1917, the Government experimented with the publication of 'Al-Hakikat' an illustrated newspaper, to advertise British naval and military strength and British friendship for Islam.[8] A trilingual newspaper, the 'Al-Hakikat' was targeted at the Indian troops in India and abroad. The newspaper was sold and freely distributed. Specific locations were considered for the display of the newspaper: its sale on railway platforms, display on notice boards in third-class waiting halls of railway stations, vocal broadcast of the contents of the newspaper to passengers, free distribution to village headmen and its sale in large cities. By August 1916, the newspaper was issued in three editions: Persian, Arabic, Hindustani; Chinese; Hindi, Gujarati and Malay.

The publication of 'Al-Hakikat' registered the Government's concern with the power of illustration, it noted that: 'the menial in the Department ... seem to take interest in the illustrations'.[9] Reactions to the newspaper also pointed to the utility of illustrations, it was now felt that 'pictures ... can do more than mere words'.[10]

The government's use of gramaphone records and an illustrated newspaper points to the shift in their concern for the presentation of information from 'content' to

'form'. It was only in 1922 that the Government contemplated an organized publicity through films.

The suggestion of war propaganda through films received a mixed response from the officials. Some officials expressed a doubt on the efficacy of the medium as propaganda: 'I am tempted to assume that these things are not among the things which really count'. Officials expressed concern that the battle pictures might do 'more harm than good' or that an exhibition of 'the Britisher's martial ardour may easily have a reverse effect on an Indian'.[11]

In 1919, the appointment of Dr. Rushbrook Williams as 'officer on special duty' saw the sharpening of the focus on publicity and its organization.[12] The guidelines regarding publicity, issued to Dr. Williams by the Government of India, required him to concentrate on two issues. First, to provide the public with 'correct information' and 'facts' to 'enable them [the public] to arrive at correct conclusions for themselves', rather than to provide them with 'ready-made opinions'.[13] The Government was cautious not to project itself as 'forcing opinions down the throats of the public'. Second, the publicity board was to tap the subjects of interest to the public and strategically locate propaganda material at receptive points. It is important to reiterate that the Government was emphatic not to 'give off' an im-

pression that it was engaged in 'moulding of public opinion', and it was concerned not to receive adverse judgements by the public by sheer 'default'.

Dr. Williams' review of publicity in India was significant. It focussed on the fact that the Government's press communiques were 'stereotyped and inspired', and needed revision. Dr. Williams argued that the Government Communiques should be 'more interesting and more informative' and 'short-well-written popular summaries'.

Dr. Williams undertook a systematic and detailed appraisal of the Publicity working in all the province of India. These investigations led to the organization of a systematic information network, connecting the Central Government with the local Governments. Adopting the print - newspapers, journals and leaflets and the oral medium, the new information network sought to tap the literate and the non-literate public.

Dr. Williams' review of publicity in India was significant as it enabled the registration of a variety of opinions and suggestions from all concerned quarters. Of interest to us here particularly was the often repeated opinion that the Government's 'stereotyped and inspired' press communiques need a revision.

This emphasis on visual attractiveness led to the appointment of Mr. Evans a cinema expert as an advisor to the Government on Film Publicity. The Home Department was interested in cinema due to the 'necessity of suitable films in India for exhibiting the beneficent activities of the Government [which] would be most useful and would serve indirectly a valuable political purpose'.[14]

The power of images transmitted through posters and films received close attention of the Government. Pictorial material was considered more effective as propaganda because, 'while it [was] possible to be suggestive in words as well as in pictures, there [was] not much evidence to show that non-pictorial [was] causing harm'. In other words the non-pictorial did not affect the 'uneducated'. Pictures were therefore potential communication medium for the uneducated i.e. the villagers.[15]

Posters were considered the most effective of the visual modes for two reasons. First, being exhibited in public places, posters elicited a large audience by attracting the 'unavoidable gaze' of the 'public'. Second, the poster was stationary, it froze a frame of reference. The 'public' could 'see' the picture. In films the pictures moved so fast that the 'people may not really see what is intended'.

Disciplining Images: Between 1907-1947, the government exerted legal restraint on 2,000 newspapers and seized 8,000 to 10,000 pamphlets and books. The Press Act of 1910 consisted of two basic provisions: the right ban and demand monetary security. This was to become the model for subsequent legislation. Hereafter works on terrorism, religious controversy and British rule were proscribed. From around 1914, there was a sharp increase in proscribed titles related to Islam.[16]

After the repeal of the Indian Press Act in 1922, the only means of dealing with seditious writing was (a) by prosecution under section 124 A of the Indian Penal Code and (b) by proscription under section 99A of the code of criminal procedure. The increased communal tension, led the government to add section 295A to the Penal Code which made it an offense to 'intentionally insult' or 'attempt to insult' the religious feelings of any class. The Defence of India Act (1931) empowered the Centre to conduct summary trial without jury, simplified prohibition of public meetings and internment.

Despite the legal framework, no overall 'India' policy on proscription could be followed. Five features characterized state censorship.[17] First, provincial governments developed their own strategies for dealing with political

trouble. Bengal relied heavily on security demands, for example, while the Punjab apparently preferred warnings, prosecution and frequent proscription. Second, Government units (police, customs, postal inspectors, and censors) had difficulty coordinating decisions. Authors and publishers could be prosecuted and their writings confiscated under a variety of provisions of the penal code or press law. Decisions on the specific laws which were to be applied on specific occasion involved time-consuming correspondences and planning. Third, the authorities were aware of the publicity potential of proscription. For example Fisher's 'That Strange Little Brown Man Gandhi' was banned but not notified under the sea customs provisions because the latter would generate publicity. Fourth, the government was grappling with the definition of sedition. As late as 1940, the government was still trying to resolve the question of whether items banned in one province could be automatically considered illegal throughout India.

Fifth, new situations and propaganda techniques demanded a re-definition of what was to be considered seditious. For example, gramaphone records of Congress speeches were banned under the Emergency powers act because they potentially reached large audiences with the 'spoken word'.

53. 'Subhash Chandra Bose', Proscribed Poster, 1943,
Overleaf.

Similarly, *Dhotis* with nationalist pictures on its borders were banned. The category 'seditious document' was not restricted to printed matter but came to circumscribe a variety of propaganda forms.

Of interest to us is the state's concern with pictures. Pictures were banned under the Sea Customs Act as early as 1909. The shifts in proscription policy unfolds how the state was perceiving these visuals. Many pictures, specially allegories, challenged British guidelines on what constituted sedition. This entailed two moves. First, if the case was weak as in the 'Ashtabhuja Devi' case (1909), an out of court settlement was devised.[18] Second, the state focussed on the issue of 'intention' of the document. The discussion around the seditious nature of the poster on Subhas Chandra Bose in 1943, illustrates this (Figure 53).[19] The State screened away from the Indian public gaze, not only undesirable images of itself, but also derogatory portrayal of Indian princes and pictorial references to Mohammad.[20] For example, in the film 'The Prince of Bharata' scenes of a Raja 'abducting' a white girl and his 'gross indecencies' in exposing the ladies of his zenana to male strangers were proscribed. Similarly, in the film, 'The Prince of Redemption' scenes of the Hindu raja parading his wife unveiled in a procession through the bazar; plucking the jewels from his

wife's head to present them to a dancer and killing his sister were banned.

Focus on seditious 'intention' rather than on the objective truth of the pictures provided the government adequate latitude to exercise proscription.

Out of court settlements and accusations of seditious 'intention' reflected the government's insecurity and inadequacy in disciplining images. It is difficult to assume that the legal machinery actually erased all 'undesirable' pictures from public viewership.

The conflict between the nationalist picture productions and state proscription, particularly of bazar prints (which were meant to be sold to the public), the ways the artists' and publishing houses evaded proscription, could provide an interesting entry point to the ways of resistance to the colonial state and the different levels at which this was enacted. These issues have not been addressed here as they are beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Notes

(1)

(2)   Home Political, No.20/VIII, 1928, NAI.

(3)   Home Political (D), Nos.286-293, December 1904. NAI.

(4)   Home Public (A), December 1904, NAI.

(5)   Home Political (D), Nos. 286-293, December 1904, NAI.

(6)   *ibid.*

(7)   Home Political, No.2, July 1916, NAI.

(8)   Home Political, Nos. 500-690, April 1917, NAI.

(9)   *ibid.*

(10)   *ibid.*

(11)   *ibid.*

(12)   Home Political (B), November, 1919, NAI.

(13)   *ibid.*

(14)   Home Political, No.147/II, 1922, NAI.

(15)   Home Political, No.35/17 & K.W. 1932.

(16)   N.J. Barrier, *Banned.*

(17)   *ibid.* p.

(18)   Home Political, Nos. 7-13 (B), May 1912, NAI.

(19)

(20)   Home Political, No. 337, 1925, NAI.
       Home Political, No. 378, 1930, NAI.
       Home Political, No. 90, 1931, NAI.
       Home Political, No. 146/33, 1933, NAI.
       Home Police (B), Nos. 346-347, October 1920, NAI.
       Home War (A), Nos. 138-154, February 1920.

Bhagat Singh is highlighted in the compositions by according him a spatial centrality.

54. *'Prominent Kinghts on whom the Bharat's eye is fixed : Bhagat Singh, RajGuru and Sukhdev, Krishna Pictures, Lahori Gate,* . - .r-. .

55. 'RajGuru, Bhagat Singh and Sukhdev hanged, Arorbans
    Press, Lahore, P. 140.

142

58,   'Seperation of Mr. B.K. Dutt from Bhagat Singh', Kripa
       Ram engravers, Lahore,

59.   A Modern Calendar, 1989

यूवक

५

शहीद स्मृति अंक

60. Cover of a Hindi Magazine *Yuvak*, c 1970,

Drawing from the _Ramayana_ tradition, the action of tearing ones chest (to expose the imprint of the revolutionaries) was employed by artists to depict national commitment.

62. 'Hari Kishan', Rattan Printing Press, Lahore,

NO. 1106.

मेरा प्रेम
TRUE LOVE

IN THE HEART OF Mr. B.K. DUTTA
मिस्टर दत्त के हृदय में

ARORBANS PRESS
LAHORE.

63. 'In The Heart of Mr. B.K. Dutt', Arorbans Press,
Lahore,

Theme pages from the _Hindu Punch_ focussed on Hindu mythology and Congress leaders.

64. 'The Hindu God Ram Conquering The Sea', _Hindu Punch_, 26-3-1928,

66. 'The Caste Machine', Gagendranath Tagore, 1917,

दुरंगी दुनिया (नं० २)

क्या बाँच उपदेश करें—"यस, देवी-देव मनाओ।
शुद्ध पवित्र सात्विकी भोजनका ही भोग लगाओ।
पूजा-अर्चां करो नित्य प्रति गोविन्दके गुण गाओ।
पूछो मत बबरों-पीगोंको, हिन्दू-धर्मं बचाओ॥

छिप शु.य पर होटल जा गऊँचे 'गगशा' रँग चढ़ाया।
बिस्कुट मटन चाप अरु अण्डे उम्नुल्ला ले आया॥
उपदेश.व ओने जो-भरकर बटा-धटा र.य खाया।
'पर उपदुरा कुशल बहुतेरे' देखो इनकी माया॥

67. 'Do Rangi Duniya', Hindu Punch, 26-4-1928,

150

68. 'Under The Table', Gangendranath Tagore,

सनातनी सेठजी

दाग मिटाना शेठसे, चढ़ जाये यायये।
दाँत दिखाई रोखे, मठहुरुको षगा जायये ?

69. 'Sanatani Seth Ji', _Hindu_ _Punch_, 22-12-1927,

आदर्श दानी

'साला ! ढोंग किये बैठा हे, मिहनत-मज़री नहीं होती !'

70.   'Adarsh Dani', _Hindu_ _Punch_, 1-3-1928,

कलियुगी गो-भक्त !

टका बटोरें, मैया बेचें और पुकारें मैया ।
कण्ठा थोपें, तिलक लगायें माने बाप भैया ॥

7:.   'Kaliyugi Gau Bhakt', _Hindu_ _Punch_, 17-4-1930,

72.   'The Memsahib's Waltz', Gagendranath Tagore, 1921,

73. 'Nayi Purani', _Hindu_ _Punch_, 1-3-1928,

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