

The 1857 Indian Uprising and the Politics of Commemoration

The Cawnpore Well, Lucknow Residency, and Delhi Ridge were sacred places within the British imagination of India. Sanctified by the colonial administration in commemoration of victory over the 'Sepoy Mutiny' of 1857, they were read as emblems of empire, which embodied the central tenets of sacrifice, fortitude, and military prowess that underpinned Britain's imperial project. Since independence, however, these sites have been rededicated in honour of the 'First War of Independence' and are thus sacred to the memory of those who revolted against colonial rule, rather than those who saved it. The 1857 Indian Uprising and the Politics of Commemoration tells the story of these and other commemorative landscapes and uses them as prisms through which to view over 150 years of Indian history. Based on extensive archival research from India and Britain, Sebastian Raj Pender traces the ways in which commemoration responded to the demands of successive historical moments by shaping the events of 1857 from the perspective of the present. By telling the history of India through the transformation of mnemonic space, this study shows that remembering the past is always a political act.

SEBASTIAN RAJ PENDER is a research associate at Balliol College, University of Oxford.



The 1857 Indian Uprising and the Politics of Commemoration

Sebastian Raj Pender

University of Oxford







Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009055505

DOI: 10.1017/9781009052276

© Sebastian Raj Pender 2022

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2022

First paperback edition 2025

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data

Names: Pender, Sebastian Raj, 1982- author.

Title: The 1857 Indian uprising and the politics of commemoration /

Sebastian Raj Pender, University of Oxford.

Description: Cambridge; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2022.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2021059615 | ISBN 9781316511336 (hardback) |

ISBN 9781009052276 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: India – History – Sepoy Rebellion, 1857–1858 – Anniversaries,

etc. | Lucknow (India) – History – Siege, 1857 – Anniversaries, etc. |

War memorials – India – History. | Collective memory – India – History – 21st century. | Great Britain – Colonies – Public opinion – History. | India – Politics and government – 1765–1947 – Public opinion. | Public opinion – India. |

BISAC: HISTORY / Asia / India & South Asia

Classification: LCC DS478 .P365 2022 | DDC 954.03/17–dc23/eng/20211208 LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021059615

ISBN 978-1-316-51133-6 Hardback ISBN 978-1-009-05550-5 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



This book is dedicated to Janet, who never stopped reading, Ranjit, who never stopped believing, Tatsiana, who never stopped loving, and Florence, who never stopped paying!



Contents

List of Figures		page viii
Aci	knowledgements	X
Lis	t of Abbreviations	xiii
Int	roduction: Meaning, Memory, and Monument	1
1	'Remember Cawnpore!': British Counter-insurgency and the Memory of Massacre	18
2	'Forget Cawnpore!': Commemorating the Mutiny, 1857–1877	46
3	Negotiating Fear: Celebration, Commemoration, and the 'Mutiny Pilgrimage'	83
4	The Mutiny of 1907: Anxiety and the Mutiny's Golden Jubilee	106
5	The War of Indian Independence: A Struggle for Meaning, Memory, and the Right to Narrate	131
6	Remembering the Mutiny at the End of Empire: 1947–1972	156
7	Celebrating the First War of Independence Today: Caste, Gender, and Religion	191
Conclusion: Memories of the Present and Echoes of the Past		219
Bil	pliography	225
Index		251

vii



Figures

1.1	Sir Joseph Noei Paton, <i>in Memorium</i> . c. 1838, oil on panel,	
	$123 \text{ cm} \times 96.5 \text{ cm}$, private collection	page 21
1.2	This painting, which shows how In Memoriam would have	
	looked when first exhibited, was commissioned by the author	
	and painted by Galina Maximova and Dmitry Repin of the	
	Moscow State Academic Art Institute named after V. I. Surikov,	
	based on research conducted by the author and an analysis of the	
	painting conducted by Simon Gillespie, which was generously	
	funded by Peterhouse, Cambridge, through the Greta Burkill Fund	44
2.1	Photograph showing Woolner's design for the Cawnpore monument	t 62
2.2	Left: The Memorial Well of Cawnpore. Right: The Angel of the We	11 63
2.3	Erection of two monuments at Lucknow in memory of Sir	
	Mountstuart Jackson and other European and native victims	
	of the Mutiny	67
2.4	The Delhi Mutiny Monument	71
2.5	The Residency and 'Lawrence's Cross'	76
4.1	Photograph of Lord Roberts, Colonel J. P. Robertson, and	
	Edward M. Wrench at the Inspection of Mutiny Veterans at	
	the Royal Albert Hall, London	129
5.1	Sir Robert Cassels unveils the monument at Badli-ki-serai	149
6.1	Mr Ireland, Residency Caretaker, with the last Residency Flag	161
6.2	The Angel of the Resurrection at All Souls' Church	167
6.3	The 'Delhi Table'	175
6.4	The Nicholson monument in a shipping crate	181
6.5	Mountbatten unveils the Nicholson monument at the Royal School	182
6.6	Bust of Tantia Tope in Nana Rao Park	186
7.1	Woman dressed as a soldier stands in front of a bust of Uda Devi	
	during a ceremony	202
7.2	Maharani Lakshmibai Nyas procession through Varanasi in 2018	209
7.3	1857 Rashtravaadi Manch protest the grave of William	
	Hodsen (left) and hold a torchlight procession in Chinhut (right)	217

viii



List of Figures ix

C.1 Left: Nagesh Yoglekar's statue of Subhas Chandra Bose, photograph by Biswarup Ganguly which has been slightly edited to remove powerlines obscuring monument. Right: John Henry Foley's statue of James Outram

220



Acknowledgements

My fascination with the history of India was born over the course of one remarkable summer when I was around fifteen years old. I had grown up listening to the stories of Madan Singh, my paternal grandfather, describing his time serving in the Royal Indian Navy (RIN) during the Second World War and better still his account of the RIN 'Mutiny' of 1946, in which he had played a notable part. But it was during that long summer holiday that I rigged up an old ADAT audio recorder and spent several weeks documenting his remarkable life. My task was made much easier by having such a willing subject! My grandfather would spend many hours writing and arranging his notes in the evening so that he would be ready to help organise his interrogator's haphazard questions into a coherent narrative the following day. The result was a long series of often comical, but sometimes tragic, personal anecdotes of events that occurred in India, the United States, the United Kingdom, Russia, the Middle East, and Africa, all seamlessly blended into an overarching story of the end of empire, and the complex and bloody process of decolonisation.

My interest in the 'Mutiny' of 1857 is a direct consequence of these and subsequent conversations, but it was whilst studying in Aberystwyth under Professor Jenny Edkins that I first began to formulate the idea for the current book. This outline was further developed during my graduate studies at Oxford under Professor Nandini Gooptu, although I didn't have the time or resources to fully develop my thoughts until I arrived at Cambridge. Supervised by Dr Shruti Kapila, I wrote a thesis which is the foundation of this book. During my time as a PhD student, I accumulated many debts of gratitude to senior academics who took the time to read and comment on my work, especially Professor Sir Christopher Bayly and Dr David Washbrook. In addition, I am enormously grateful to Dr Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, who was kind enough to discuss my work with me, and to provide me with a wealth of additional information and ideas for this project. I am likewise grateful to Dr Mary Ann Steggles, who was kind enough to offer advice and help me locate relevant information. I am also enormously grateful to my examiners, Dr Jon Wilson and Professor Kim Wagner, whose enthusiasm for and critical engagement with my thesis helped it develop significantly. I am especially grateful to Kim, who has continued to

X



Acknowledgements

хi

be a source of support and help ever since. I would especially like to thank him for reading draft after draft of the introduction and for giving me invaluable advice which proved instrumental in how I framed the study.

Since completing my PhD, I have been fortunate to work with a great number of senior colleagues in London, Delhi, and Oxford who have greatly supported my work. I would especially like to thank Dame Helen Ghosh, Dr Indra Sengupta, Professor Sudhir Hazareesingh, and Professor Martin Conway, who in different ways have been most generous with their help. I am also enormously grateful to everyone I have worked with at Cambridge University Press, especially Santosh Laxmi Kota, Rachel Blaifeder, and Lucy Rhymer, for all their help and support. I am also deeply indebted to the two anonymous reviewers whose comments and suggestions have been invaluable in improving and finalising this text.

A particularly rewarding and interesting part of this project was my work on Sir Joseph Noel Paton's In Memoriam. I am incredibly grateful to Lord Andrew Lloyd Webber for giving me access to the painting and allowing me to analyse it as well as to Sarah Miller for all her logistical help. I am most grateful to Simon Gillespie, who oversaw the technical analysis of the painting, and David Parmiter for photographing it. I am especially indebted to Galina Maksimova and Dmitry Repin, who painted a reproduction of *In Memoriam* as it would have looked when first exhibited. Another challenging but ultimately fruitful period of research was completed during my last field trip to India for this book in 2017-18 as a Max Weber Foundation Postdoctoral Fellow at The M. S. Merian – R. Tagore International Centre of Advanced Studies: Metamorphosis of the Political (ICAS:MP). I would like to thank Dr Elvira Graner, Dr Laila Abu-Er-Rub, and Mr Himanshu Chawla for all their support as well as Dr Mareen Heying, Dr Zarin Ahmad, and Dr Emilija Zabiliute for many interesting and informative conversations. I am immensely grateful to my old friend Dr Jan-Jonathan Bock, for advice on research methodology. During my fieldwork, many different individuals connected with the commemoration of the 1857 Indian uprising allowed me to interview them, or gave me access to commemoration ceremonies that they were involved in organising. I would especially like to thank Pravin Rajwanshi, Vinod Kumar Rawat, Rajendra Pratap Pandey, Rajeshwari Devi, M. P. Singh, Amaresh Misra, and Deepak and Sufi Kabir for all their help. I also owe a tremendous debt of gratitude to Prateek Hira and Pankaj Singh of Tornos, who guided me around various sites associated with 1857 and helped me locate the descendants of various individuals associated with the uprising. Pankaj also acted as my interpreter at many of the different events I attended and astounded me with his knowledge of the uprising and his ability to talk to, and make friends with, anyone!

I would also like to thank the kind and helpful staff at the Centre for South Asian Studies, the University of Cambridge; the British Library; the Bodleian



xii Acknowledgements

Library; the National Archives of India; the Imperial War Museum; the Lidell Hart Military Archives, Kings College London; the Manuscripts and Special Collections Room, Nottingham University; the National Archives, Kew; Rhodes House Library, Oxford; the Royal Engineers Museum, Gillingham; the Staffordshire Regiment Museum; the Templer Study Centre at the National Army Museum; and the Royal Green Jackets Museum. Whilst I am grateful to all those working at these institutions, I am especially indebted to Jill Shepherd of Wellington College for helping me locate a number of intriguing letters relating to the last flag to fly from the Residency, and to Ivor Edgar for all of his invaluable help in ferreting out every last document contained in the archives of the Royal School, Dungannon, pertaining to the transfer of Nicholson's monument from Delhi to the school grounds. I am also grateful to several funding bodies and institutions which have supported my work at different points, including the Bruckmann Trust, Peterhouse Travel Bursary, Peterhouse Fund, the Max Weber Foundation, ICAS:MP, and the School of Advanced Studies at the University of London. I am also grateful to Carmen, Gigi, and all my students at Peak Courses.

My greatest debt is, however, to my friends and family who have put up with so very much whilst I have been writing this book and have contributed even more! I am especially grateful to Catriona Toms, Swanny, Arturas Ratkus, Ilya Berkovich, Sohan Dasgupta, Tadas Jucikas, Levi Baljer, and everyone at CUABC and KNG whose friendship has meant a great deal. I would have certainly perished on numerous occasions in India had it not been for my uncle Guru, aunty Annu, and cousin Zora Dhillon. I am especially grateful for the friendship of Zora and the many high jinks we have enjoyed together over the years. I am likewise grateful for the encouragement of my uncle and aunt Vijay and Amrita Singh, my paternal grandmother Pritam Kaur, who always ensured that I was supplied with homemade aloo paratha when I was able to visit her in Chandigarh, and my sister Jasmine Pender, who probably did write that line. Finally, my greatest thanks are to my mother Janet, who never stopped reading, my father Ranjit, who never stopped believing, my wife Tatsiana, who never stopped loving, and my grandmother Florence Morris, who never stopped paying! This book could not have been completed without each of you.



Abbreviations

ASI Archaeological Survey of India

BJP Bharatiya Janata Party

BMGS British Monuments and Graves Section of the High

Commission

BSP Bahujan Samaj Party

CRO Commonwealth Relations Office

EIC East India Company IOR India Office Records

IWM Imperial War Museum, London LDTA Lucknow Diocesan Trust Association

MLN Maharani Lakshmibai Nyas NAI National Archives of India, Delhi

OBC Other Backward Class

OIOC Oriental and India Office Collection, the British Library,

London

RSS Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh

SP Samajwadi Party

SPG Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
TNA The National Archives, Kew, London
UKHCI United Kingdom High Commission in India

UP Uttar Pradesh

USPG United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel

xiii