Uneasy Inheritances: Representations of Anti-colonial Resistance in Heritage Spaces in Britain and India

Rachel Claire Allen

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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On a personal note, I thank my partner, Jacob Cherian, for always pushing me to achieve my best, and Jingles for being ridiculous at just the right moments.

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Abstract

This thesis explores representations of anti-colonial resistance through two well-known historical episodes, the Great Rebellion of 1857 and the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre of 1919, in public heritage sites in Britain and India. Whilst each has a distinct memorial context, they represent broader themes of death, sacrifice and revenge in colonial histories, and demonstrate different forms of aphasia, most notably an inability to acknowledge the extent and impact of the violence inflicted and suffered by both sides within public heritage. Highlighting similarities and contradictions, a variety of sites of memory which represent the rebellion and massacre, including museums, landscapes, and monuments are analysed within a trans-national legacy of commemoration. Whilst this unites them, each is shaped by spatial, temporal, and financial context, making them distinct, with contradictions between and within Indian and British memorialisation. Moreover, their periodic transformation and embodiment of larger meanings are indicative of their ideological potency and capacity to serve political imperatives. This thesis argues, therefore, that whilst these heritage spaces do not represent a shared site of memory between Britain and India, as both nations have interpreted these events very differently, they are used to negotiate and articulate understandings of national identity, and therefore occupy a common discursive field. This argument challenges both Astrid Erll and Benjamin Zachariah's scholarship, seeking to demonstrate that these spaces demonstrate present-day complex, changing and locally specific negotiations of the past, shaped simultaneously by visitor engagement and regional heritage geo-politics and by their role in articulations of national identity.

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List of Abbreviations & Translations

Abbreviations:

ASI – Archaeological Survey of India

BACSA – British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia

BJP – Bharatiya Janata Party

EIC – East India Company

HRIDAY - The National Heritage City Development and Augmentation Yojana

NAM – National Army Museum

UP – Uttar Pradesh

Translations:

Bagh – Garden

Bibighar – Women's house

Boodha Bargard – Banyan tree

Gallis – Lanes

Ghat – A riverside harbour, often with steps

Khadi – Homespun cotton cloth

Harmandir Sahib – Golden Temple, Amritsar

Jauhar – Ritual honour suicide, typically by women

Katar – Dagger

Kotwali – Jail

Lal Quila – Red Fort

Lieux de memoire – Site of memory

Lok Sabha – Indian parliament

Macchi Bhawan – Old fort

Satyagraha – Non-violent protest

Shahadat – Martyrdom

Shaheed – Martyr

Smarak – Monument, or Memorial

Swadeshi – Buy Indian-made / Boycott British-made

Taluqdars – Landowners

Vaisakhi – A Sikh Festival, on 13th or 14th April each year

Introduction

The Great Rebellion of 1857 and the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre of 1919 are both defining moments in the history of British colonialism in India and have been widely memorialised through public heritage. The number and variety of these representations demonstrates that anti-colonial sentiment and repression remain a key arena of ideological and historiographical debate between, and within, the two nations. With this in mind, this thesis analyses and compares Indian and British representations within heritage spaces linked to, or exhibiting about, the Uprising of 1857 and Jallianwala Bagh, arguing that for both nations, they are used to articulate, question and examine national identities. In this sense, they are part of a common discursive space founded in unease about tangible and intangible inheritances of Empire. However, there exists differential and largely oppositional understandings of these histories between Britain and India which complicates this, creating areas of contestation. In addition, each site's specific context makes one distinct from the other, creating inconsistencies even within the same country.[1] This thesis explores these continuities and contradictions, analysing the ways in which monuments to death and resistance to colonialism reflect, and project, collective memory. For, as Tapati Guha-Thakarta argues, 'pasts become meaningful and usable only when they are activated by the contemporary desires of individuals and communities, and, most powerfully, by the will of nations.'[2]

For the colonial state, following the rebellion, a dominant 'mutiny' narrative developed through monumental public memorialisation, artefact-collection and popular discourse legitimising British presence on the subcontinent and positing the uprising as an attack on British people and values, rather than a consequence of unregulated East India Company (EIC) expansion. In contrast, memorialisation of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, due to its contemporary controversy and threat to colonial self-perceptions of the 'civilising mission', was suppressed. Colonial histories have therefore been differentially embraced, reflecting the difficult relationship Britain has with Empire, exemplified in its ongoing absence from school curriculums.[3] Therefore, despite the many cultural idioms, ancestral wealth, and thousands of displaced objects in museum and private collections, there is a widespread inability to speak, or aphasia, about these legacies.[4] According to Ann

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[1] For an exploration of unease, see: Crispin Bates, Marina Carter, 'An Uneasy Commemoration: 1957, the British in India and the "Sepoy Mutiny"', in *Perception, Narration and Reinvention: The Pedagogy and Historiography of the Indian Uprising*, Mutiny at the Margins: New Perspectives on the Indian Uprising (New Delhi: SAGE Publications, 2014), VI, 113–35.
[2] Tapati Guha-Thakurta, *Monuments, Objects, Histories: Institutions of Art in Colonial and Post-Colonial India* (Columbia University Press, 2004), p.xvii.
[3] *Teach Britain's Colonial Past as Part of the UK's Compulsory Curriculum*, 2020, <https://petition.parliament.uk/petitions/324092> [accessed 19 October 2020].
[4] Elizabeth Edwards, 'Addressing Colonial Narratives in Museums', *The British Academy* <https://www.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/blog/addressing-colonial-narratives-museums> [accessed 31 March 2020].

Stoler, aphasia functions as three features of memory: 'an occlusion of knowledge, a difficulty generating a vocabulary that associates appropriate words and concepts with appropriate things, and a difficulty comprehending the enduring relevancy of what has already been spoken.'[5] For British public heritage, as Elizabeth Edwards argues, this has meant a 'wider disavowal of the colonial past and…uneasiness of its inclusion in national narratives.'[6]

This thesis will explore these three manifestations of aphasia further, looking at the ways it affects the curation of heritage sites, and the ways visitor behaviour mirrors, or challenges the site's intended meanings. In the UK, aphasia is apparent in the dissonance between museums, memorials and heritage sites and growing popular pressure on governments and institutions to be more transparent about their links to slavery and colonialism. Diaspora communities have so far been the most vocal, instigating discussions about colonial history which challenge belief in Empire's overarching benevolence, complicating institutional aphasia. Within this context, the Great Rebellion and Jallianwala Bagh are particularly problematic because they expose the systemic violence, brutality and destruction of both the East India Company and British Raj amidst Indian resistance to the colonial state. Moreover, they exist within larger debates about 'decolonising the museum', which challenge the colonial origins and collection, of Western museums. [7] This issue is complex, and hotly debated, and will provide a political backdrop to the negotiations that museums are currently undergoing to redefine their narrative. [8]

In contrast, in India, representation of histories of anti-colonial resistance form the foundation, or origin story, of the national 'imagined community', with public heritage reflecting this imperative: as Kavita Singh asserts, 'museums were required as shrines to the national culture.'[9] In the late colonial era, the 1857 Rebellion, known as 'The First War of Independence', and Jallianwala Bagh, both demonstrative of colonial violence, provided ideological fuel for the freedom movement.[10] Following independence, with changed geographies and a disparate population requiring unity, national imagery embodying martyrdom and revolution became ubiquitous. This is complicated by

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[5] Ann Laura Stoler, 'Colonial Aphasia: Race and Disabled Histories in France', *Public Culture*, 23.1 (2011), 121–56 <https://doi.org/10.1215/08992363-2010-018>, Abstract.
[6] Elizabeth Edwards, Matt Mead, 'Absent Histories and Absent Images: Photographs, Museums and the Colonial Past', *Museum & Society*, 11.1 (2013), 19–38, p.31.
[7] See, for example: T. J. Barringer and others, *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture, and the Museum* (London: Routledge, 1998); Regarding India: Valentina Gamberi, 'Decolonising Museums: South-Asian Perspectives', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 29.2 (2019), 201–18.
[8] Sarah Jilani, 'How to Decolonize a Museum', *Times Literary Supplement,* 17 June 2018.
[9] See: Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Verso, 2006).; Kavita Singh, 'The Museum Is National', *India International Centre Quarterly*, 29.3/4 (2002), 176–96, p.177.
[10] Stephen Legg, 'Violent Memories: South Asian Spaces of Postcolonial Anamnesis', in *Cultural Memories: The Geographical Point of View*, ed. by Peter Meusburger, Michael Heffernan, and Edgar Wunder, (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2011), pp. 287–303, pp.290-1.

the vast legacy of colonial monumental infrastructure commemorating military and cultural victories, the fate of which has rested on the discretion of the state and national governments of India.[11] As noted by William Gould and Sarah Ansari, a 1961 committee deciding the fate of British statuary concluded that those 'which publicly and prominently remind us of our past bondage and which militate against us our ever developing sense of nationalism should be gradually done away with.'[12] Memorialisation has therefore largely been achieved through the re-interpretation, replacement or construction of heritage spaces founded in new narratives, a process which has subsumed local memory, with the contradictions and complexities of 1857 and community trauma of Jallianwala Bagh largely overwritten to serve a larger national imperative. Over time, early attempts at secularism have been overtaken by more divisive identity politics centred around religion, culminating in the election of the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in 2014. As notions of national identity have transformed in India, representations of resistance to colonialism in public heritage spaces have been similarly re-negotiated, with new omissions and emphases – or forms of aphasia.

Focussing on anti-colonial resistance facilitates an exploration of these legacies. As Karma Nabulsi identifies, it can highlight 'the development of collective agency, political production and active engagement with history.'[13] Researching anti-colonial struggles centres colonised peoples' experiences, preventing representations of them as 'objects of politics, objects of history.'[14] Resistance itself was an ongoing process, characterised as much by events as everyday experience, and it is not easily defined as Indian people versus the British state, as there were dissenters and supporters in either camp.[15] The focus on specific historical events thus reflects the tendency of public heritage sites to do the same, but through these aims to explore broader themes of death and mourning, the selectivity of commemoration and memorialisation, and the trans-national space which colonial histories inhabit. This is particularly important in research conducted by a British postgraduate about colonial history and contemporary post-colonial contexts as research is 'a colonizing construct', with historic links between higher education institutions, and the expansion and retention of the Empire.[16] Moreover, whilst a positive research approach considers what is apparent, omissions are inherent to public history in the silences

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[11] Sarah Ansari and William Gould, *Boundaries of Belonging: Localities, Citizenship and Rights in India and Pakistan* (Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp.62-63.
[12] Quoted in Ansari and Gould, p.38.
[13] Karma Nabulsi, '"A Real Education: Learning from Anti-Colonial Struggles"' (Common Ground Symposium: 'Imperial Past, Unequal Present', University of Oxford, 2017) <https://youtu.be/jvXFj4gvdzQ> [accessed 25 March 2020], 22.15.
[14] Ibid., 21:45.
[15] See: Daniel J. Rycroft, *Representing Rebellion: Visual Aspects of Counter-Insurgency in Colonial India* (New Delhi, India: Oxford University Press, 2006)
[16] Kagendo Mutua, Beth Blue Swadener, *Decolonizing Research in Cross-Cultural Contexts: Critical Personal Narratives* (SUNY Press, 2004), p.1.

created by unequal relations of power .[17] Exploring these is particularly necessary, as aphasia is what is unspoken, and this thesis seeks to expose, and engage with this contradiction. The juxtaposition of sites within and between India and Britain will facilitate this, highlighting continuities and contradictions, and the partiality and specific context of each.

Despite much written about the historical complexities of both episodes of anti-colonial resistance, with lively historiographical debate, and studies concerning specific heritage sites or centenary commemorations, there has not been one that combines them. This thesis synthesises historical, museum and heritage and tourism disciplines, combining historical specificity with larger theoretical approaches surrounding the narratives of morality found in violent histories, colonial-era visual representations of India, collective trauma and memory, the situational and ideological power of Pierre Nora's *lieux de memoire*, (sites of memory) and inherent connections between heritage and politics.[18] This thesis juxtaposes museums, memorial landscapes and specific commemorative markers representing the 1857 rebellion and Jallianwala Bagh curated in different time periods across Britain and India, to highlight larger similarities, contradictions and complexities between, and within, them. Situating these spaces within the colonial and post-colonial narratives about Empire within which they were created, demonstrates that although they are both distinct, they are also part of wider discursive fields articulating visions of British and Indian national identity. Comparison of these spaces, and their narratives, between India and the UK also establishes that they remain, in many ways, defined against the other.

This argument complicates any notion of Indian and British histories as entirely shared or separate, presenting instead an understanding that they are simultaneously intertwined, and distinct. This draws on scholarship that has demonstrated, as Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose highlight, that 'British history… has to be transnational, recognising the ways in which our history has been one of connections across the globe, albeit in the context of unequal relations of power'.[19] This thesis therefore contradicts Astrid Erll's assertion that 1857 (and British history on Indian soil) occupies a shared *lieux de memoire* between Britain and India, as despite existing in both nations, the purpose, understanding and representation of these histories have been extremely different for

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[17] Markus Nyström, 'Narratives of Truth: An Exploration of Narrative Theory as a Tool in Decolonising Research', in *Indigenous Efflorescence*, ed. Gerald Roche, Hiroshi Maruyama, Asa Virdi Kroik (ANU Press, 2018), 29–52, p.33.

[18] Approaches demonstrated by: Edwards; Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations*, 26, 1989, 7–24; Kevin Hannam, 'Contested Representations of War and Heritage at the Residency, Lucknow, India', *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 8.3 (2006), 199–212; Legg, 'Violent Memories'; Sadiah Qureshi, 'Tipu's Tiger and Images of India 1799-2010', *Curating Empire: Museums and the British Imperial Experience*, 2012, 207–24 <https://research.birmingham.ac.uk/portal/en/publications/tipus-tiger-and-images-of-india-17992010(b0e1a80e-ee04-491f-b90d-530a0397e62a).html> [accessed 26 August 2020].

[19] Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge University Press, 2006) , p.5.

either.[20] This assumption of a shared history also ignores the century after 1857 in which British interpretations dominated monuments and textual histories, suppressing Indian accounts which told a different story; resisting these narratives has been key to postcolonial understandings of Indian nationhood. However, this thesis also challenges Benjamin Zachariah's contradictory stance that the variety of histories of 1857 within India told by (among others) Savarkar, Ahmed and Nehru, and the differential circulation of cultural media products about 1857 demonstrate that there is no continuity in its representation between, or within, each country.[21] Indeed, when looking at the role of public heritage sites in creating, reinforcing and transforming collective memory, there is a clear commonality and unity in the way such histories are used to project notions of community and national identity. These spaces are therefore both contested and integral to either country's self-perception of nationhood: not the same, as Erll argues, but not entirely separate, as Zachariah believes.

Analysis is largely based on fieldwork conducted between June and December 2019. This process, undertaken extensively in India due to the author living in Bangalore since 2015, has provided the foundations for this thesis.[22] Visual sources are therefore seen through the author's eyes. In this sense, the author occupies the position of tour guide, providing the reader with access to multiple public heritage sites, and is therefore an active research participant. There are anecdotal aspects to some analysis, taken from specific visits.[23] One particular instance, in the Partition Museum in Amritsar, was especially illuminating. Looking at an exhibit of the 'balance sheet', a 1940's era freedom fighter pamphlet listing Empire's negative economic effects for India, an elderly Sikh gentleman briefly watched the author take notes, and then approached, pointed at the exhibit and said "Do you know what this is? See what your people did to my people. My country was rich before the Britishers came, and now many people are poor".[24] This demonstrated that visiting such spaces today continues to be intimately connected to the historical negotiations that

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[20] Astrid Erll, 'The "Indian Mutiny" as a Shared Site of Memory: A Media Culture Perspective on Britain and India', in *Memory, History, and Colonialism: Engaging with Pierre Nora in Colonial and Postcolonial Contexts*, ed. by Indra Sengupta (German Historical Institute London, 2009), pp. 117–51, p.118.

[21] Benjamin Zachariah, 'Histories and National Memory: 1857', in *Mutiny at the Margins: New Perspectives on the Indian Uprising of 1857 Volume VI: Perception, Narration and Reinvention: The Pedagogy and Historiography of the Indian Uprising*, Mutiny at the Margins: New Perspectives on the Indian Uprising of 1857 (New Delhi, India: SAGE Publications, 2014), VI, p.107 (Footnote 4).

[22] A visit to two spaces, Bodmin Keep Museum and the Partition Museum's *Punjab Under Siege* Travelling Exhibition was not possible, instead documentation from others, and the institutions themselves, as well as supplementary research has been used.

[23] Fieldwork also consisted of other visits providing further context of each country's wider heritage landscape. This included: Imperial War Museums London and Manchester, V&A, British Museum, Nehru Centre, Rashtrapati Bhavan, Fort St George, National Gandhi Museum, The Red Fort Bose Museum, and Tipu Sultan's Summer Palace.

[24] 'The Balance Sheet of British Rule in India' (The Hindustan Gadar Office, 1917), South Asian American Digital Archive <https://www.saada.org/item/20101015-122> [accessed 18 April 2021].

surround them. This was particularly poignant due to the author's family involvement in the colonial-era British Army in living memory; one grandparent was born in India, and another fought against the guerrilla independence movement in Malaysia, and at the Suez Canal. The author has lived in Bangalore, South India, since 2015, and is married to a Keralite Syrian Christian, and only after moving to Bangalore found out that her Great-Grandparents had spent significant time in the city, and region, in the Madras Sappers and during a 1970's military reunion tour. Throughout this thesis then, as with everyday life in India, every effort has been taken to consider the author's unique positionality and significant privilege.

The first and second chapters focus on the Great Rebellion and the last on the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre. Chapter 1 begins with the Residency in Lucknow, a somewhat forgotten memorial landscape in independent India, exploring its founding colonial narratives, then expanding into other spaces. It highlights the persistence of trans-imperial memorialisation, the physical manifestation of powerful narratives which posited Indians as a threat to British people and values and resistant to 'civilising' progress, justifying the formalisation of colonial control. The second chapter charts the replacement of a colonial site in Kanpur in 1957, exploring how independent India challenges British memory through re-interpretation or removal of colonial monuments and construction of new heritage. These spaces embody an evolving nationalistic narrative shaped by notions of morality, religion and community, and the heroism of specific individuals and mythology, all serving the dominant political ideology, subsuming community memory into a larger imperative. This tension between legend and fact, and local memory and national history is also encapsulated in the third chapter, focussed on the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre in 1919. Beginning in Amritsar, it demonstrates the political capital invested in specific episodes of Indian history and how the massacre, embodying both colonial violence and nationalist protest, is equally as important in India as it is wilfully forgotten in Britain, something only challenged recently.

This thesis will explore public heritage representations of colonial histories, specifically the Great Rebellion of 1857 and Jallianwala Bagh, demonstrating the complexities and continuities within and between India and Britain and the ways in which these sites are at the core of negotiating these histories. It challenges the binary division between Indian and British history, highlighting lasting trans-imperial connections which originate in the colonial period. Spatially, this is evident through the exploration of British sites on Indian soil, and commemorations of conflict in India across Britain, and in terms of history and nationhood, by demonstrating the ways in which either country uses these histories to negotiate national self-perception, often set against the 'other' nation. This process, reflecting the ongoing potency of violent colonial histories and the death surrounding them, shapes both the evolution and stagnation of collective memory. Within these sites, deaths of both British and Indian people are commemorated as forms of gendered, racial

and national martyrdom and as the result of vengeance. As physical manifestations of memory, the heritage sites considered in this thesis are analysed both as part of this larger process and as distinct spaces situated within their own geographical context. Each serves audiences across national, class, religion, and community spectrums, and is used in different ways; comparative analysis demonstrates overlaps in these functions, and in the way they are perceived, as well as distinctions. Thus, there is both continuity and inconsistency between, and within, these heritage sites representing 1857 and 1919, demonstrating that the collective memory of both nations is neither shared, nor separate – but part of connections still shaping the history of the British Empire in India, and how it is remembered, interpreted, and experienced in both nations today.

Chapter 1

Geographies of Empire: Colonial Memorialisation of 1857

Figure 1.1: Memorial to Sir Henry Lawrence, Author's Own

A period of popular memorialisation followed the colonial state's suppression of the Great Rebellion of 1857, and legacies of monument-creation and artefact-collection are still visible in both countries. Through the preservation or construction of key 'mutiny' memorial sites, described by Paul McGarr as 'corporeal manifestations of colonial authority' inscribed onto India's environment, 1857 became a founding myth of empire.[25] This process solidified British presence on the subcontinent, and spaces that have survived display continuities in how they are visited and viewed. Post-1857, growing interest in Indian heritage also led to the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), founded by British administrators in 1861, an institution still responsible for India's national heritage policy. Rebellion heritage also shaped British towns, churches and museums through the widespread erection of war memorials and plaques, and artefacts transported to the metropole. However, despite shared British and Indian heritage regarding the rebellion, public heritage is a primary space in which tensions between place, object and interpretation, both between and within each country, are negotiated.[26] The memorial landscapes and museum collections, which contain collective and individual histories of anti-

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[25] Paul M. Mcgarr, '"The Viceroys Are Disappearing from the Roundabouts in Delhi": British Symbols of Power in Post-Colonial India', *Modern Asian Studies*, 49.3 (2015), 787–831, p.789.
[26] Zachariah, p.84.

colonial resistance and responses to it, are thus often displaced and contradictory, obscuring certain aspects of the conflict in service to a larger narrative.

Analysis will focus on certain memorial sites, their context, development and representations. The first is the Residency in Lucknow, relatively unaltered since 1859, alongside war memorials across Britain. A consideration of colonial heritage tourism and 'mutiny' tours will then highlight imperial geographical networks, including three especially emotive sites in Kanpur: the Cawnpore Memorial Well, 'Massacre Ghat' and All Souls Church.[27] Trans-imperial connections are embodied in the third space, the Bodmin Keep, a British regimental museum to the 32nd Cornwall Light Infantry who were stationed in Lucknow and Kanpur in 1857. Then, a return to the Lucknow Residency Museum, curated since 1957 by the ASI, exposes the difficulties of re-interpreting a space founded in colonial narratives. Finally, the unacknowledged provenance of the Leeds Royal Armouries weaponry collection contextualised within growing conversations about museum object reparations demonstrates the persistent impact of the rebellion on the British heritage landscape.

Uniting these spaces is an unease with their legacies in tandem with their temporal location in the postcolonial world; where India is independent with a new national history, and Britain increasingly though reluctantly held to account for its past. The persistence of aphasia about the true causes, extent, violence, and legacies of the colonial response to 1857 is still an issue, with an inability in Britain today to find a new way to discuss a historical event now significantly re-interpreted by Indian and revisionist scholarship. In India, nationalist understandings of the uprising characterising it as the 'First War of Independence' are complicated by widespread and persistent remnants of colonial memorialisation, thus to some extent continuing to shape representations of anti-colonial resistance. This is due to surprisingly embedded trans-imperial commemoration through both monuments and rituals of remembrance, which indicates one reason for ongoing British aphasia about 1857: the ongoing influence of early post-rebellion narratives of loss, grief and revenge. Both countries see the deaths of their peers as sacrifice, causing an emphasis on the violence of the other. This chapter in particular highlights the 'importance of connections across empires, the webs and networks operated between colonies, and the significance of centres of power outside the metropole' which as Hall and Rose identify, challenges the centre/periphery binary.[28]

It is in this context, rather than in media culture, that Astrid Erll's perception of a shared *lieux de memoire* is most persuasive, as monumental infrastructure continues to shape public heritage

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[27] This thesis will refer to colonial era Kanpur using the British origin 'Cawnpore', and for the postcolonial era, 'Kanpur'.
[28] Hall and Rose, p.6.

in both countries to a large extent.[29] Histories of the 1857 rebellion, described by Stephen Legg as 'an event that still haunts the places in which it occurred', do contain narratives which in some ways remain interwoven and mutual.[30] However, there are significant contradictions in the way that British and Indian people perceive these legacies, and the ongoing existence or removal of colonial memorialisation in India has not been consistent, but rather shaped by local and institutional context. Similarly, sites in the UK which contain 1857 histories vary widely. For both, there is significant diversity in the way these sites are used, engaged with, and challenged. The commonality is therefore found in the ways in which these sites represent or challenge national identities, with physical manifestations of the Great Rebellion of 1857 creating focal points for the larger negotiations surrounding victory, loss, death and commemoration.

The Great Rebellion of 1857: Event and Legacy

Whilst by no means the only episode of resistance to EIC expansion, the widespread uprising in 1857 was, according to Gautam Chakravarty, 'the most protracted and extensive.'[31] Despite the fame of the revolt of Mangal Pandey, a 34th Bengal Native Infantry soldier in Barrackpore, rebellion in earnest began in Meerut, with Bengal Army soldiers revolting on the 10th May 1857, spreading to other British cantonments and beyond.[32] The rebels captured Delhi from the unprepared British, who were hampered by slow communications and intensely outnumbered. The 1848 Doctrine of Lapse disinheriting Mughal rulers without a male heir provided the popular movement with powerful support from Nana Rao (or, Nana Sahib), Begum Hazrat Mahal and Rani Lakshmibai with the rebel side uniting behind Mughal King Bahadur Shah Jafar. After four months, the recapture of Delhi turned events in British favour, followed by Kanpur, Lucknow, Jhansi and Gwalior. The rebellion was violent, with the killing of besieged British people avenged via retributive manhunts and indiscriminate mass executions into 1859.[33]

Historically, accounts of 1857 were dominated by British arguments that the conflict was solely a 'mutiny', sparked by rumours about pork and beef fat in new sepoy weaponry.[34] The rebellion was perceived, argues Manu Goswami, 'as symptomatic of indigenous fanatic religiosity', with the 'constant danger of savage outbursts and rebellion.'[35] Memoirs, historical accounts and

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[29] Erll, p.118.
[30] Legg, 'Violent Memories: South Asian Spaces of Postcolonial Anamnesis', p.290.
[31] Gautam Chakravarty, *The Indian Mutiny and the British Imagination* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), p.22.
[32] For a summary, see Kim A. Wagner, *The Great Fear of 1857: Rumours, Conspiracies and the Making of the Indian Uprising* (Peter Lang, 2010), pp.1-4.
[33] Ibid., p.xvi.
[34] Biswamoy Pati, 'Historians and Historiography: Situating 1857', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 42.19 (2007), 1686–91 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4419570> [accessed 8 October 2020], p.1686.
[35] Manu Goswami, '"Englishness" on the Imperial Circuit: Mutiny Tours in Colonial South Asia', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 9.1 (1996), 54–84 <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6443.1996.tb00178.x>, p.63.

monuments are thus characterised by Chakravarty as operating 'in tandem with the administrative needs of the colonial state…explaining events and enlisting opinion', shaping British collective memory.[36] This was challenged from the 1960's onwards by historians such as Eric Stokes, and then again by Subaltern Studies literature in the 1980's, with a range of new approaches in recent decades.[37] Together, this body of work has demonstrated a complex, varied popular rebellion caused by fear of unchecked cultural and religious intervention and economic drain by EIC administrators. However, there remains a distance between this and public history, with some dissonance in their representations.[38] As Nayarani Gupta argues, '[t]he British imagination still tenaciously retains some popular and unshakeable 'truths': that a small number of brave British soldiers fought and defeated vast numbers of treacherous Indian rebels, that the Indians perpetrated heinous crimes against all British civilians, particularly women, and that whatever punishment meted out to the rebels was only just.'[39]

The best-known rebellion accounts come from Delhi, Lucknow and Kanpur, where British people were captured, killed, or besieged. Memorials were built in these locations for personal and political pilgrimage, creating a long-lasting spatial legacy, not only through physical monumental infrastructure but also its intangible influence. These sites are now articulations of conflicting and contested memories, now required to represent Indian national histories of anti-colonial resistance.[40] Academia reflects this: Wagner argues 'Indian historiography on 1857 remains highly politicised and still seems, in part at least, to be responding to the prejudices of colonial accounts.'[41] The re-interpretation of colonial memorials to counter their founding narratives has thus engendered spaces sitting awkwardly between their initial purpose commemorating British collective memory and current incarnation articulating India's revolutionary origins.

Whilst the vast inheritance of museum collections, war memorials and statues in the UK has not yet sufficiently been explored, historical institutions have increasingly been held to account by movements like *Rhodes Must Fall* and *Black Lives Matter*, with accelerating calls for repatriation

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[36] Chakravarty, p.21.

[37] For a historiographical summary, see Wagner, *Great Fear*, pp.20-22.; also Eric Stokes, *The Peasant and the Raj: Studies in Agrarian Society and Peasant Rebellion in Colonial India* (CUP Archive, 1978); a Subaltern approach: Gautam Bhadra, 'Four Rebels of 1857', in *Selected Subaltern Studies*, ed. by Ranajit Guha, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, and Edward W. Said (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 129–75.

[38] Brian Graham, Greg Ashworth, and John Tunbridge, *A Geography of Heritage* (Routledge, 2016), p.93.

[39] Nayarani Gupta, 'Pictorializing the "Mutiny" of 1857', in *Traces of India: Photography, Architecture, and the Politics of Representation, 1850-1900*, ed. Maria Antonella Pelizzari, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 218–39, p.223.

[40] Carol Zhang and others, 'Politics of Memories: Identity Construction in Museums', *Annals of Tourism Research*, (2018), 116–30 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2018.09.011>, p.117.

[41] Kim Wagner, 'The Marginal Mutiny: The New Historiography of the Indian Uprising of 1857', *History Compass*, 9.10 (2011), 760–66, p.762.

of objects collected under colonial conditions.[42] However, monuments like war memorials, representing honour, sacrifice and identity, have so far stood largely undisturbed across Britain, silently shaping collective memory.[43] Moreover, smaller, regional military museums continue to frame the conflict within narratives of bravery and sacrifice, with national institutions under the most scrutiny. As Andrew Thompson argues, these debates therefore represent the 'continued relevance and lasting emotive capacity of memory sites created under imperial conditions' which 'point to the active legacies of empire in the making and re-making of our post-colonial world'.'[44]

Rebellion in Lucknow and the origins of the Residency

Lucknow, capital and economic centre of the powerful Princely State of Awadh (or, Oudh), was a key location in 1857. The Residency complex was built in 1775 by Nawab Shuja-ud-daulah to house the resident, an EIC administrator, or 'an unwelcome guest on a reluctant host', who assisted their employer in the expansion of territorial control.[45] From then, Sabina Kazmi argues, 'the Company subjugated and manipulated various indigenous political and economic structures', 'channel[ling] resources away from the indigenous treasuries to Britain', establishing *de facto* political control by 1801, with annexation in 1856 priming the area for rebellion..[46] The Residency, symbolic of EIC expansion, became a primary rebellion locale, sheltering over 2000 besieged British and Indian people for five months after rebel victory at Chinhut and advance into *Macchi Bhawan*. The first relief failed, with a second evacuating survivors in November, although Lucknow remained a rebel stronghold into 1858. Afterwards, the picturesque Residency ruins were preserved, with popular siege memoirs adding to its infamy.[47]

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[42] '#RHODESMUSTFALL', <https://rmfoxford.wordpress.com/> [accessed 30 October 2020].
[43] James Mayo, 'War Memorials as Political Memory', *Geographical Review*, 78.1 (1988), 62–75, p.64.
[44] Andrew Thompson and others, *Sites of Imperial Memory: Commemorating Colonial Rule in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), p.4.
[45] Hannam, p.205.
[46] Sabina Kazmi, 'Colonial Intervention in Awadh: Indigenous Political Structures and Indirect Rule in Eighteenth Century', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 74 (2013), 447–57, p.452.; For example, due to the economic impact on *taluqdars* (landowners): Iqbal Husain, 'Awadh Rebel Proclamations During 1857-58', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 58 (1997), 482–92, p.486.
[47] Ateya Khorakiwala, 'Staging the Modern Ruin: Beato's "Sikander Bagh, Lucknow"', *Thresholds*, 41, 2013, 138–45, p.139.

Figure 1.2: Residency Ruins, Lucknow, Francis Frith (1850-70s) © V&A Museum

More widely, to formalise colonial control, cities were reshaped to ensure British residents' safety. In Lucknow, a cantonment along civil lines was built near the railway station with mosques, bazaars and houses demolished and replaced by roads. The change led Patrick Geddes, a Scottish town planner, to comment in 1916 that such wide roads were 'exceptional and unnecessary even in Paris.'[48] As Herbert argues, this was both preventative, and 'to proclaim the hegemony of the English urban landscape.'[49] Thus whilst seemingly contrasting actions, demolition and preservation were the same process, or as the ASI guidebook puts it, '[t]he colonisation of public space and memory.'[50] Despite (or perhaps, because of) the site's significance, since 1947, The Residency has been somewhat forgotten by the national governments of both states, and the state government of Uttar Pradesh (UP). This has a wider context, as on leaving India, the British abandoned thousands of monuments, most of which have been since removed into government properties.[51] Thus, the survival of the Residency is extremely interesting, originally memorialised by the colonial state but now serving a second narrative, that of independent India.

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[48] Patrick Geddes, *Town Planning in Lucknow: Report to the Municipal Council* (London: Murray's Printing Press, 1916), p.6.
[49] Eugenia W. Herbert, *Flora's Empire: British Gardens in India* (NY: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), p.305.
[50] Kasturi Gupta Menon, *The Residency: Lucknow* (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 2003), p.88.
[51] Tom Wilkinson, 'Coronation Park and the Forgotten Statues of the British Raj', *LSE International History*, 2019 <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/lseih/2019/06/20/coronation-park-and-the-forgotten-statues-of-the-british-raj/> [accessed 12 October 2019].

Landscape Memorialisation: A Trans-imperial Connection

Figure 1.3: '*Lucknow's memorial to Sir Henry Lawrence and heroes who died in '57 (view N.W.), India', James Ricalton, 1903 © British Library*

During the colonial era, the Residency was one of the most iconic, well-visited memorial landscapes embodying the 'mutiny' narrative, a space characterizable, as Ann Stoler argues, as an 'aftershoc[k] of empire' (Figure 1.2).[52] Green and full of picturesque ruins, today it is visited by young couples enjoying out-of-sight rendezvous and groups of older British or European tourists on 'Mutiny Tours.'[53] It is located close to the main markets, engendering a dramatic decibel change beyond Baillie Gate. Reflecting a common narrative, the 1899 *Tourist's Guide to Lucknow* prepares visitors to be 'filled with strange emotions…when standing beneath the battered walls.'[54] The 2003 ASI guidebook asserts that the 'mutiny myths' were 'built upon…the heroic defence of the besieged in the face of… depredations of a "native mind"', highlighting how the Residency building is situated within rebellion history.[55]

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[52] Hannam, p.208.; Ann Laura Stoler, 'Imperial Debris: Reflections on Ruins and Ruination', *Cultural Anthropology*, 23.2 (2008), 191–219, p.201.

[53] E.g. 'The Great Indian Mutiny Tour', *Indian Odyssey* <https://www.indianodyssey.co.uk/tour/the-great-indian-mutiny-tour/> [accessed 4 February 2020]; 'Lucknow Is For Lovers', *NPR.org* <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=92203952> [accessed 28 April 2020]; *Young Couple Residency Park* <https://www.lucknowtips.com/young-couple-residency-park/> [accessed 28 April 2020].

[54] Edward Hilton, *The Tourist's Guide to Lucknow*, (Lucknow: Methodist Publishing, 1899), p.154.

[55] Menon, p.9.

Figure 1.4: British Memorial Plaque, The Residency, Author's Own

That it elicited specific visitor reactions is demonstrated in both Edith Cuthell's remarks in 1905 of the 'sharp contrast between the present and the not-so-far-away past—the gay gardens round deserted palaces; the shot-riddled pleasure-houses, with loop-holed walls' and recent online reviews.[56] The landscape's ideological purpose is evident in the emphasis of certain monuments, exemplified in Figure 1.3. Furthermore, plaques, graves, and cenotaphs such as one marking where Brigadier-General Henry Lawrence, Awadh's Chief Commissioner during 1857, died – one of three memorials to Lawrence throughout the site (Figures 1.5 and 1.1). Another, Figure 1.4, honours a loyal Indian regiment, citing their "fidelity and gallantry". Together, they position the besieged as defenders and the rebels as aggressors, obscuring the wider context of EIC conquest. As Ann Stoler elucidates, '[r]uins are not just found, they are made', and the Residency is less the 'remnants of a defunct regime' but capable of being reappropriated in the 'politics of the present.'[57] This is evident in fear of aggression towards British monuments at independence, with officers removing both the Union Jack that had flown day and night at the Residency since 1858 and the entire flagpole, ensuring it could not be replaced.[58] As late as 1947, there was persistent imaginative and symbolic power vested in the

[56] Edith Cuthell, *My Garden in the City of Gardens: A Memory* (John Lane, 1905); for example: 'Evocative Ruins', *TripAdvisor* <http://www.tripadvisor.in/ShowUserReviews-g297684-d555319-r654751685-British_Residency-Lucknow_Lucknow_District_Uttar_Pradesh.html> [accessed 4 July 2020]

[57] Stoler, 'Imperial Debris: Reflections on Ruins and Ruination', p.196.

[58] 'British Flag at Lucknow Residency Lowered on August 14, 1947', *Hindustan Times*, 2017 <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/ht-archives-british-flag-at-lucknow-residency-lowered-on-august-14-1947/story-w0HzZp45yLvnd9yLmRuXhL.html> [accessed 27 April 2020].

complex: in Henderson's words, landscapes such as this are therefore a 'culturally produced system of meanings.'[59]

Figure 1.5: 'Here, Sir H Lawrence died, 4th July 1857', The Residency, Author's Own

The Residency was a space of collective mourning, and as such is full of emotive gravestones.[60] Large numbers dying quickly heightened collective grief, indicating, as Henderson highlights, wider 'cultural framings of the discourse of violence' surrounding British memory of the rebellion.[61] The fate of graves in India was of interest decades after independence: the British Association of Cemeteries in South Asia (BASCSA), founded in 1977 by colonial officials and their descendants to restore cemeteries like this is still active today.[62] As Elizabeth Buettner argues, cemeteries – and by extension, memorials – thus provide a crucial opportunity for the the ex-colonised and ex-colonisers to engage with Empire's legacies.[63] For the British, this is partly because the aftermath of 1857 saw public participation in memorial-building, with people mourned as part of sacrifices for the wider imperial project.[64] Evident in the Residency gravestones, recording grieving relatives alongside narratives of duty via military terms such as "defence of Lucknow" and "suppression of the rebellion", deaths are framed within a discourse of sacrificial service (Figure 1.6).[65] As Nayanjot Lahiri identifies, 'it is the epitaphs…that allow

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[59] Carol Henderson, 'Spatial Memorializing of Atrocity in 1857: Memories, Traces, and Silences in Ethnography', at *Mutiny at the Margins Conference* (Edinburgh University, 2007), 1–35 <http://www.csas.ed.ac.uk/mutiny/confpapers/Henderson-Paper.pdf> [accessed 18 August 2020], p.4.
[60] Characterised as 'manipulatively sentimental' by Goswami, p.75.
[61] Henderson, *Conference Paper*, p.10.
[62] 'BACSA' <http://www.bacsa.org.uk> [accessed 13 November 2019].
[63] Elizabeth Buettner, 'Cemeteries, Public Memory and Raj Nostalgia in Postcolonial Britain and India', *History and Memory*, 18.1 (2006), 5–42 <https://doi.org/10.2979/his.2006.18.1.5>, p.9.
[64] Henderson, *Conference Paper*, p.10.
[65] Robert Travers, 'Death and the Nabob: Imperialism and Commemoration in Eighteenth-Century India', *Past & Present*, 196, 2007, 83–124, p.86.

us to visualize how the army wanted their dead to be remembered': particularly poignant in the Inglis memorial, which references "the horrors of the siege" (Figure 1.7). [66] Gravestones thus functioned as symbols of imperial nationalism, with imperialism 'a vehicle for a national mission' – here, consolidation of imperial control.[67]

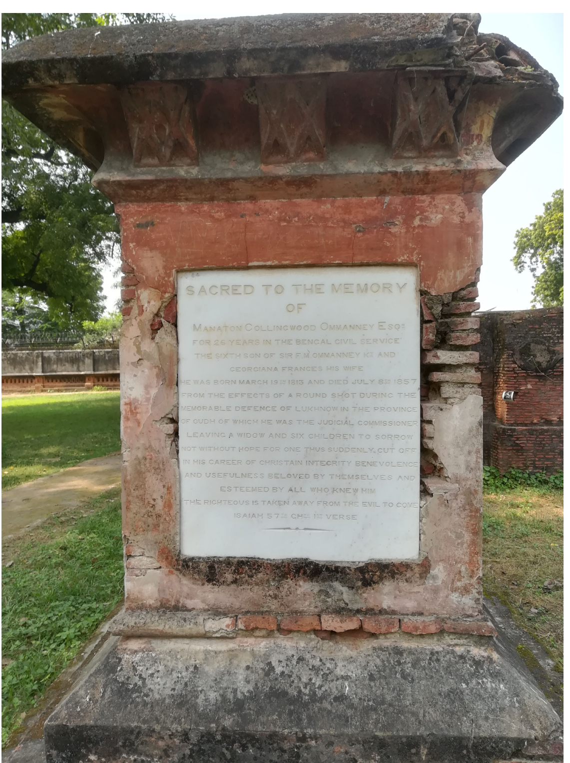

Figure 1.6: Mannaton Collingwood Ommanney's Grave, The Residency, Author's Own

Figure 1.7: Sir John and Carol Inglis Memorial, The Residency, Author's Own

Anxiety about improper burials, a key trope in siege memoirs, is reflected in group graves in the Residency. *A Lady's Diary of the Siege of Lucknow,* noted that during the siege people were

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[66] Nayanjot Lahiri, 'Commemorating and Remembering 1857: The Revolt in Delhi and Its Afterlife', *World Archaeology*, 35.1 (2003), 35–60, p.44.
[67] Kevin Colclough, 'Imperial Nationalism: Nationalism and the Empire in Late Nineteenth Century Scotland and British Canada', 2007 <https://era.ed.ac.uk/handle/1842/2228> [accessed 19 August 2020], Abstract.

'buried several in the same grave, and sewn up in their bedding, as there are no people and there is no time to make coffins.'[68] Mass gravestones like Figure 1.8 therefore provided a physical mourning location for contemporary colonial visitors, something arguably ongoing for descendants today, the epitaphs unchallenged and unchanged. However, as Lydia Murdoch has highlighted, the frequency of child deaths at the Residency, revealed 'the violence at the hearts of the imperial project', which meant that some were not marked.[69] It is notable too that there are no Indian graves: Christians and Muslims would have required burial, and are neither marked, nor mourned, in the Residency.

Figure 1.8: Tribute Gravestone, The Residency, Author's Own

Figure 1.9: 'The Inside of Secundra Bagh after the Slaughter of 2,000 Rebels by the 93rd Highlanders and the Punjab Regt. First Attack of Sir Colin Campbell in November 1857', Felice Beato, 1858 © Getty Museum

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68 G. Harris, *A Lady's Diary of the Siege of Lucknow* (J. Murray, 1858), p.87.

69 Lydia Murdoch, '"Suppressed Grief": Mourning the Death of British Children and the Memory of the 1857 Indian Rebellion', *Journal of British Studies*, 51.2 (2012), 364–92 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23265480> [accessed 4 November 2019], p.364.

British attitudes towards commemoration and burial were markedly different regarding Indian people. Figure 1.9, a photograph of Secundrabagh by Felice Beato, demonstrates callous disregard for Indian remains, a common phenomenon.[70] Although described as taken in November 1857, it is actually from March 1858, requiring disinterment of the pictured bones, with Sir George Campbell recording in his memoirs of Beato 'having them uncovered to be photographed before they were finally disposed of.'[71] As Sean Willcock highlights, it is not only the skeletons here subject to 'colonial pictorial demands', but also the living sitters, demonstrating the breadth of 'punitive colonial violence.'[72] Indian people were thus co-opted to signal British triumph and the end of the rebellion, with this widely reproduced image becoming a popular colonial postcard.[73] This indicates the extent of the 'othering' of Indian people, exemplifying that memorial landscapes created within the rebellion's aftermath, and their mementos, contain legacies of both tangible and ideological violence by the colonial state.

Figure1.10: 78th Highlanders Memorial, The Residency, Author's Own

[70] Kim A. Wagner, *The Skull of Alum Bheg: The Life and Death of a Rebel of 1857* (Penguin Random House, 2017), p.xxii.
[71] Sir George Campbell, *Memoirs of my Indian Career*, Vol. 2, (London: Macmillan & Co., 1893), p.4.
[72] Sean Willcock, 'Aesthetic Bodies: Posing on Sites of Violence in India, 1857–1900', *History of Photography*, 39.2 (2015), 142–59 <https://doi.org/10.1080/03087298.2015.1038108>, p.157.
[73] Anne Lacoste, Fred Ritchin, *Felice Beato: A Photographer on the Eastern Road* (Getty Publications, 2010), p.126.; Legg, 'Violent Memories', p.290.

Figure 1.11: 78th Highlanders Memorial, Edinburgh © Adam Brown (WMR-53581), Imperial War Museum

The commemorative markers in the Residency were imitated in war memorials and plaques across Britain, with 218 entries in the Imperial War Museum database.[74] Some of these are direct replicas, such as the 1862 78th Highlanders monument in Edinburgh, a regiment involved in recapturing Lucknow and Cawnpore, earning 8 individual and 1 regimental Victoria Crosses (Figure 1.11).[75] This mimics the Celtic iconography, design and language of the 78th Highlanders Memorial, erected in 1883 in the Residency (Figure 1.10). Military achievements and losses were therefore trans-continentally commemorated over time, speaking to lasting legacies which connected British cityscapes to purpose-built landscapes like the Residency. Such culturally specific forms of memorialisation undoubtedly engendered familiarity for colonial travellers, something arguably still experienced by nostalgia-seeking visitors today.

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[74] Search: 'Indian Mutiny 1857-8': www.iwm.org.uk, [accessed 04 September 2020].
[75] '78th Highlanders Regiment', *National Army Museum* <https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/78th-highlanders-regiment-foot-ross-shire-buffs> [accessed 30 September 2020].

Figure 1.12: Christian Family Commemorative Tablet, Salisbury Cathedral, Wiltshire © Clive Farmer (WMR-74137), Imperial War Museum

Further demonstrating the inherent connection between British mourning practices and Christianity are church plaques and stained-glass windows depicting the ‘mutiny’. Each British regiment has a chapel located in its home county, containing memorials regarding relevant conflicts. Figure 1.12, a plaque in Salisbury Cathedral, documents the deaths of the Christian family who “perished at Seetapoor” (Sitapur), a cantonment which saw revolt and killings of officers in June 1857 and then in “captivity at Lucknow” - where survivors escaped to. Another, Figure 1.13, a stained-glass window in Newcastle-Upon-Tyne’s St Nicholas Cathedral commemorates the Northumberland Fusiliers, depicting George slaying the dragon, an analogy of good over evil, and also of ‘Othering’, with the dragon likely representing the rebels.[76] Two adjacent biblical scenes link Christian sacrificial service with the British army, and names of soldiers who “perished in the Indian Mutiny of 1857-9” recorded below. Thus, public

[76] Lorinda Fraser, ‘Saint George and the Dragon: Saintly and Othered Bodies’, *The Corvette*, 4:1, (2017), p.1 (Abstract).

memorialisation of such deaths linked family grief to the larger colonial conflict, a process simultaneously transplanted onto Indian landscapes, creating a shared physical legacy.

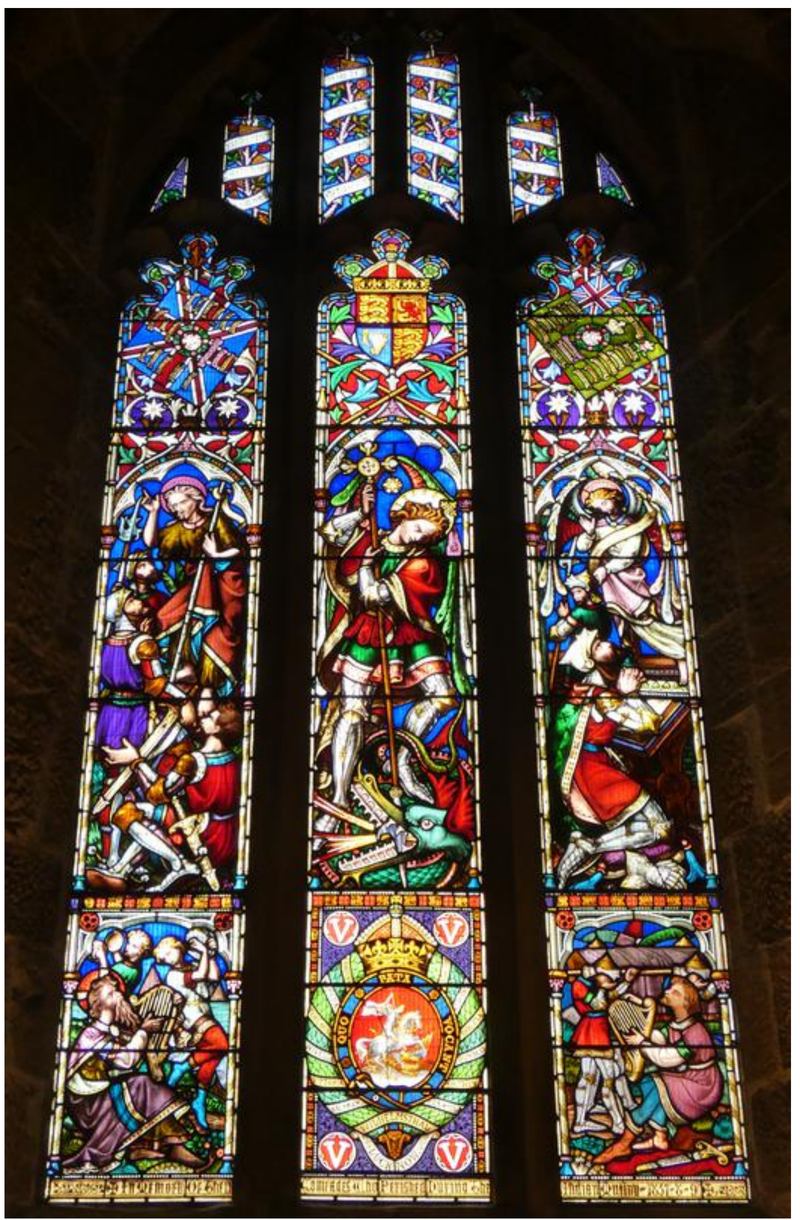

Figure 1.13: Stained-Glass Window, Northumberland Fusiliers, St Nicholas Cathedral © John Scurr (WMR-48416), Imperial War Museum

Geographies of Empire: 'Remember Cawnpore!'

Rebellion heritage sites became part of wider colonial tourist routes. For example, John Murray's 1911 *Handbook of India* describes The Residency as 'the spot which all Englishmen will wish to visit first in Lucknow', detailing the siege, military manoeuvres, and patriotic poems.[77] 'Mutiny Tours' advertised in colonial guidebooks thus commodified the nostalgia of memory sites, reinforcing specific narratives through recurrent references. As Arunima Bhattacharya surmises,

[77] John Murray, *A Handbook for Travellers in India, Burma and Ceylon…*, (J. Murray, 1907), p.292.

this highlights the 'hegemonic nature of colonial administration in commissioning monuments and writing histories that appropriated local sites to serve colonial interests', and the role of tourism in this process.[78]

Figure 1.14: 'Residency Gate, Lucknow' Postcard, Author's Own

Colonial 'mutiny tours' were spatial rather than temporal, focussed on commemorating British losses and triumphs at Lucknow, Delhi and Cawnpore, creating a map of imperial sites of memory.[79] The razing of certain landscapes and preservation of others created hegemony, cemented by events such as King George VI's 1905 Royal Tour of India, commemorated in commercial souvenir albums filled with 'mutiny' iconography (Figure 1.15).[80] These tours highlighted the sacrifice of British soldiers, women and children, and the military victories of British regiments, simultaneously ignoring rebel equivalents.

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[78] Arunima Bhattacharya, 'Representing Calcutta through Handbooks, 1840-1940: Narrativizing City Space' (unpublished philosophy doctorate, University of Leeds, 2018), p.55.
[79] Goswami, p.73; regarding 'maps of Mutiny': Ian Baucom, *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999), pp.101-135
[80] For example: *Souvenir Album: Indian Tour of Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, November 1905 to March 1906* (Higginbotham & Company, 1906).

Figure 1.15: The Residency, Lucknow: The Royal Tour of India, 1905-06 Royal Collection Trust © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2020

Other forms of tourist engagement reinforced the same 'visual network of power.'[81] For instance, postcards became, according to Stephen Hughes and Emily Stevenson, a widespread 'colonial medium directly implicated in wider discourses of Othering, hierarchy, and power', today commonly found in family archives and antique shops (Figures 1.14, 1.16 & 1.17).[82] As shown in their 2018 exhibition of colonial-era postcards at SOAS, widespread circulation reproduced visual iconographies of empire using certain monuments.[83] Visitors responded to, and mimicked this replication: as Sophie Gordon describes, '[e]very photographer…was almost duty-bound to photograph the tower and every tourist purchased a photograph to paste in their scrapbook.'[84]

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[81] Bhattacharya, p.83.

[82] Stephen Hughes, Emily Stevenson, 'South India Addresses the World: Postcards, Circulation, and Empire', *The Trans-Asia Photography Review*, 9.2 (2019), 1–35 <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.7977573.0009.208>, paragraph 33.; Figures 1.14, 1.16 and 1.17 were all bought on eBay.

[83] 'From Madras to Bangalore: Picture Postcards as Urban History of Colonial India', *SOAS*, <https://www.soas.ac.uk/gallery/from-madras-to-bangalore/> [accessed 5 July 2020].

[84] Sophie Gordon, '"A Silent Eloquence": Photography in 19th-Century Lucknow', in *Lucknow, Then and Now*, ed. Ravi Kapoor, Rosie Llewellyn-Jones (Marg Publications, 2003), 134–45, p.142.

Figure 1.16: 'The Residency, Lucknow', Postcard, Author's Own

The Residency skyline with the Union Jack was particularly iconic, demonstrated in its use as a helmet badge by the Lucknow Rifles Regiment between 1933 and 1947 (Figure 1.18), continuing recognisance into the mid 20th century.[85] These representations of the ruined building posit the British as defenders and the rebels as merciless attackers. Thus, 'colonial picturesque' aesthetics – a visual construction which Auerbach argues was aimed at uniting and homogenizing the disparate regions of British Empire - built and reinforced a network of imperial geographies tangibly situating British 'history' in India, a process inherently linked to the army.[86]

[85] Helmet Badge, No. 13 Field Battery: Lucknow Rifles, 1933, *National Army Museum Study Collection*, Acc. No. NAM. 2013-10-20-84-266.
[86] Khorakiwala, p.139; Auerbach, Jeffrey, 'The Picturesque and the Homogenisation of Empire', *The British Art Journal*, (5:1), 2004, pp. 47–54, p.47.

Figure 1.17: 'Residency Lucknow', Postcard, Author's Own

Figure 1.18: Helmet Badge, No 13 Field Battery, Lucknow Rifles, 1933-1947 © National Army Museum

Surprisingly, such tours are still available today. On the *Lonely Planet Lucknow Mutiny Tour*, the visitor follows 'the routes and relief efforts led by the British Major General Henry Havelock, Lieutenant General James Outram and General Colin Campbell', a journey shaped by celebrated British military figures.[87] Another, *The Cultural Experience*, led by a retired British Army Major, characterises the rebellion as erupting in 'a frenzy of religious fervour.'[88] These descriptions, particularly 'the famous British Residency compound where the besieged garrison held out…an epic feat which became a symbol of British courage and endurance', mirror colonial guidebook narratives such as John Murray's 1911 *Handbook*.[89] By situating the conflict within specific memorial landscapes and narratives, these tours reinforce rather than challenge imperial hegemony, omitting post-colonial re-interpretations which refute such understandings.

There remained controversy surrounding these public history representations 150 years after the rebellion. On the 2007 anniversary, a BACSA-led group of British historians, retired soldiers and descendants of colonial officials were protested against by local people during a memorial tour in Kanpur.[90] *The Guardian* attributed this to 'reconciling different versions of history' with protests beginning when it was 'revealed that they planned to present a memorial plaque at a church to those British soldiers who died in 1857' which 'praised the "bravery" of British soldiers

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[87] 'Lucknow Mutiny Tour', *Lonely Planet* <https://www.lonelyplanet.com/india/uttar-pradesh/lucknow/activities/lucknow-mutiny-an-exclusively-curated-tour/a/pa-act/v-50182P241/356515> [accessed 26 August 2020].
[88] '12 Day Indian Mutiny Tour', *The Cultural Experience* <https://www.theculturalexperience.com/tours/the-indian-mutiny-battlefield-tour/> [accessed 4 February 2020].
[89] Ibid.
[90] Randeep Ramesh, 'Protests Force India War Grave Visitors to End Tour', *The Guardian*, 26 September 2007, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/sep/27/india.uknews4> [accessed 4 May 2020]; Ram Dutt Tripathi, 'Anger over UK India Mutiny Trip', *BBC News*, 25 September 2007 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/7013091.stm> [accessed 4 May 2020].

during the mutiny.'[91] Thus, British remembrance rituals mimicking colonial counterparts are no longer relevant, or tolerated in post-colonial India. This episode challenges both Erll and Zachariah's arguments: firstly, Cawnpore functions not a shared site of memory, but one location representing two distinct perspectives. Secondly, opposition to British memorialisation and the alternative narrative of the *Boodha Bugard* indicates cohesion in Indian understandings of national history beyond that which Zachariah acknowledges.[92] The similarity comes, therefore, from both nations' use of the former Cawnpore Memorial Well to simultaneously project, and defend, two very different collective memories since colonial times.

Figure 1.19: The Cawnpore Memorial: The Royal Tour of India, 1905-06 Royal Collection Trust © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2020

For the colonial visitor, equally important was a visit to Cawnpore for the Satichaura 'Massacre' Ghat, Memorial Well and All Souls Church, commemorating two massacres of besieged British people. The first was at Satichaura Ghat, after three weeks of siege, when after surrendering upon promise of safe passage to Allahabad, whilst loading onto boats, the men were killed. This is contested, with British narratives emphasising Indian 'savagery' and historiographical literature reaching no consensus about whether it was planned or the result of confusion.[93]

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[91] Ramesh.; 'Briton Visits India Mutiny Grave', *BBC*, 26 September 2007 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/mobile/south_asia/7014281.stm> [accessed 24 June 2020].
[92] Erll, p.118; Zachariah, p.107.
[93] See debate: Rudrangshu Mukherjee, '"Satan Let Loose upon Earth": The Kanpur Massacres in India in the Revolt of 1857', *Past & Present*, 128, 1990, 92–116.; Barbara English, 'The Kanpur Massacres in India in the

Surviving women and children were kept in Bibighar House until they were massacred just before relief arrived, also a source of debate, with some positing that news of indiscriminate killing by advancing British troops led to Nana Sahib and his supporters, seemingly reluctantly, mirroring this violence with their own.[94] Bodies of women and children were thrown into a well and this discovery became infamous in Britain, with 'Cries of "Remember Cawnpore!"' justifying indiscriminate revenge against Indian rebels and bystanders alike.[95] This included mass hangings, blowing revels from cannons, and religious punishments including smearing cows blood on Brahmin sepoys, and sewing Muslim soldiers inside pig skins before execution.[96]

Figure 1.20: Wooden model of the cross over the well at Cawnpore. © Nicole Hartwell, National Museum of Scotland

Thus, as Wallace puts it, 'Cawnpore became what Pierre Nora has termed a *lieu de mémoire*, 'a symbolic element of the memorial heritage' of the British by which they converted the chaos of past events into a coherent, instructive narrative.'[97] Bibighar House was razed, All Souls Church built on top, the mass grave was filled in and topped with a sandstone cross. Miniature wooden replicas (Figure 1.20) of this temporary monument in multiple British museum collections highlight that, as Nicole Hartwell argues, objects related to Cawnpore were a form of

Revolt of 1857', *Past & Present*, 142, 1994, 169–78; Rudrangshu Mukherjee, 'The Kanpur Massacres in India in the Revolt of 1857: Reply', *Past & Present*, 142, 1994, 178–89.

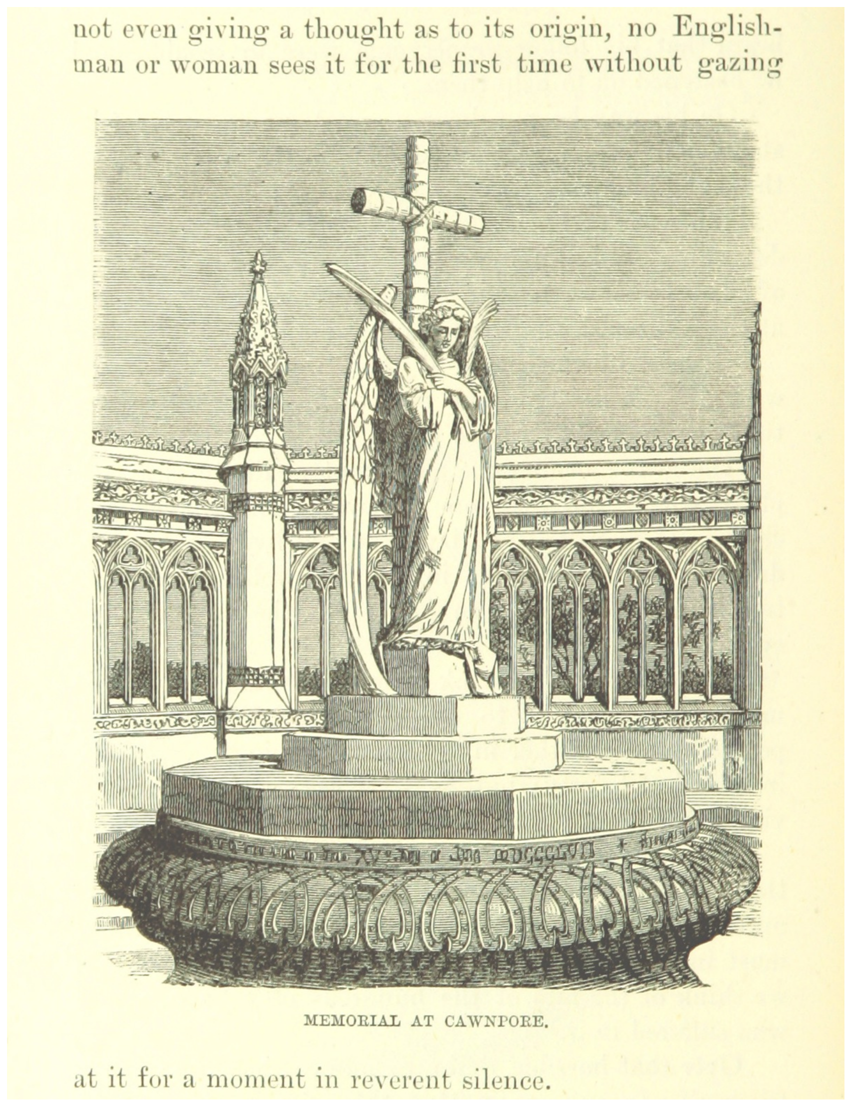
[94] Mukherjee, *Satan Let Loose*, p.93.; Andrew Ward, *Our Bones Are Scattered,* (John Murray: London, 1996), pp.404-7.

[95] Ward, p.439.

[96] Ibid., p.442.

[97] Brian Wallace, 'Nana Sahib in British Culture and Memory', *The Historical Journal*, 58.2 (2015), 589–613, p.599.

imperial mourning, resonating on a personal and individual level.[98] More widely, commercial souvenirs connected tourism to geographies of warfare by encouraging colonial travellers to visit such monuments.[99]


not even giving a thought as to its origin, no Englishman or woman sees it for the first time without gazing

MEMORIAL AT CAWNPORE.

at it for a moment in reverent silence.

Figure 1.21: Page 128 of "The Land of Temples (India)", (Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co., 1882) © British Library

In 1863, an angel statue, created by Italian sculptor Carlo Marchetti from sketches drawn by Countess Canning, wife of the Governor General of India, was erected over the well and enclosed by a gothic screen (Figure 1.19). In 1897, John Stoddard described the site as:

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98 Nicole Hartwell, 'The Miniature Cawnpore Cross', *Researching Military Collections: National Museums Scotland*, <https://blog.nms.ac.uk/2018/09/10/researching-military-collections-the-miniature-cawnpore-cross/> [accessed 22 June 2020].

99 Willcock, p.146.

‘an angel stands in snow-white raiment, so pure, so beautiful, and so pathetic…that at the sight the eyes grow dim with tears.’[100]

Figure 1.22: The Memorial Well, Cawnpore, Samuel Bourne, 1865 © British Library

Visitors reinforced these discursive tropes, mirrored in Figure 1.21. The Memorial Well thus functioned as an assertion of colonial understandings of the ‘mutiny’ and a locus for collective grief, or in Stephen Heathorn’s words, ‘both as monumental tomb and…place where remembrance of British trauma could be reverently rehearsed.’[101] The park was exclusionary and punitive: paid for by taxing Kanpur’s local citizens, with Indians banned from the park without a pass, and never permitted inside the gothic screen, guarded day and night by a British soldier until 1947 (see Figure 1.19).[102] Figure 1.22, from 1865, thus presumably shows caretakers, allowed in to work; ‘picturesque staffage’ posed against a backdrop of British hegemony.[103]

[100] John Stoddard, *Lectures [on His Travels],* (Chicago: Belford & Middlebrook, 1897), IV, p.184.
[101] Stephen Heathorn, ‘Angel of Empire: The Cawnpore Memorial Well as a British Site of Imperial Remembrance’, *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, 8.3 (2007), Paragraph 1, Conclusion.
[102] Jan Morris, *Stones of Empire: The Buildings of the Raj* (Oxford University Press, 2005), p.192.
[103] Willcock, p.142.

Figure 1.23: Memorial Plaque, All Souls Church, Kanpur © BACSA

Figure 1.24: Memorial Plaque, All Souls Church, Kanpur © BACSA

Figure 1.25: Memorial Plaque, All Souls Church, Kanpur © BACSA

Mirroring the Residency, and Salisbury Cathedral, graves and plaques erected inside All Souls Church and the park accord deaths to the 'Great Indian Mutiny' (Figures 1.23 and 1.25). Most descriptive is John Martin's plaque, describing how "whilst gallantly fulfilling his duty [he] was treacherously killed by the mutineers in the boats at Cawnpore" (Figure 1.24). Such markers at massacre locations, as Robert Travers identifies, 'represented a form of posthumous reclamation and burial', applicable to all of the sites considered thus far.[104] The commemoration of deaths at Cawnpore indicates that British memory was founded in emphasising rebel violence, fostering a national narrative of defenders and victims, rather than aggressors and conquerors. These understandings, inscribed and imbibed into India's landscape, have left a complex and contested legacy behind.

Soldier's Memorialisation from Bodmin to Lucknow

Figure 1.26: Indian Mutiny Exhibit, Bodmin Keep Museum, Author's Own

The Bodmin Keep, a regimental museum commemorating the 32nd Cornwall Light Infantry and their families 'trapped within the walls of the Residency for 148 days' exemplifies the persistent links between the rebellion, India's heritage landscape, and the British Army.[105] The 'Mutiny' display was largely gifted by returning soldiers, with few records attached: an archive which 'reflects the interests of the colonial state' making it 'necessary to reinterpret objects and (re)frame

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[104] Travers, p.105.
[105] 'The Indian Mutiny & The Final Relief of Lucknow', *Bodmin Keep Museum*, 2019 <https://bodminkeep.org/the-indian-mutiny-the-final-relief-of-lucknow/> [accessed 26 August 2020].

them in a critical context.'[106] However, the museum's focus (Figure 1.26), is to commend "the gallant defenders of Lucknow", in contrast with Indian rebels, who are described throughout as "mutineers", particularly reductive considering the extensive civilian involvement in Awadh. The military historiography within which spaces like this are curated, a body of work which has consistently focussed on regimental histories, stoicism, and military manoeuvres and successes, is perhaps one reason for this.[107] Beyond this, the Keep is notable because it highlights regimental commemoration practices: memorial erection and memorabilia collection, legacies of military ancestry which form part of the national narrative about colonial history, and the role of the army within it.

Figure 1.27: Base of Granite Cenotaph, 32nd Light Infantry, The Residency, Author's Own

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106 According to the curator.; John Giblin, Imma Ramos, and Nikki Grout, 'Dismantling the Master's House', *Third Text*, 33.4–5 (2019), 471–86 <https://doi.org/10.1080/09528822.2019.1653065>, p.481.

107 For example: Sir John William Kaye and George Bruce Malleson, *Kaye's and Malleson's History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8* (London: W. H. Allen & Company, 1889).

Figure 1.28: 'The Presidency of Lucknow', © Wellcome Collection, RAMC/1876

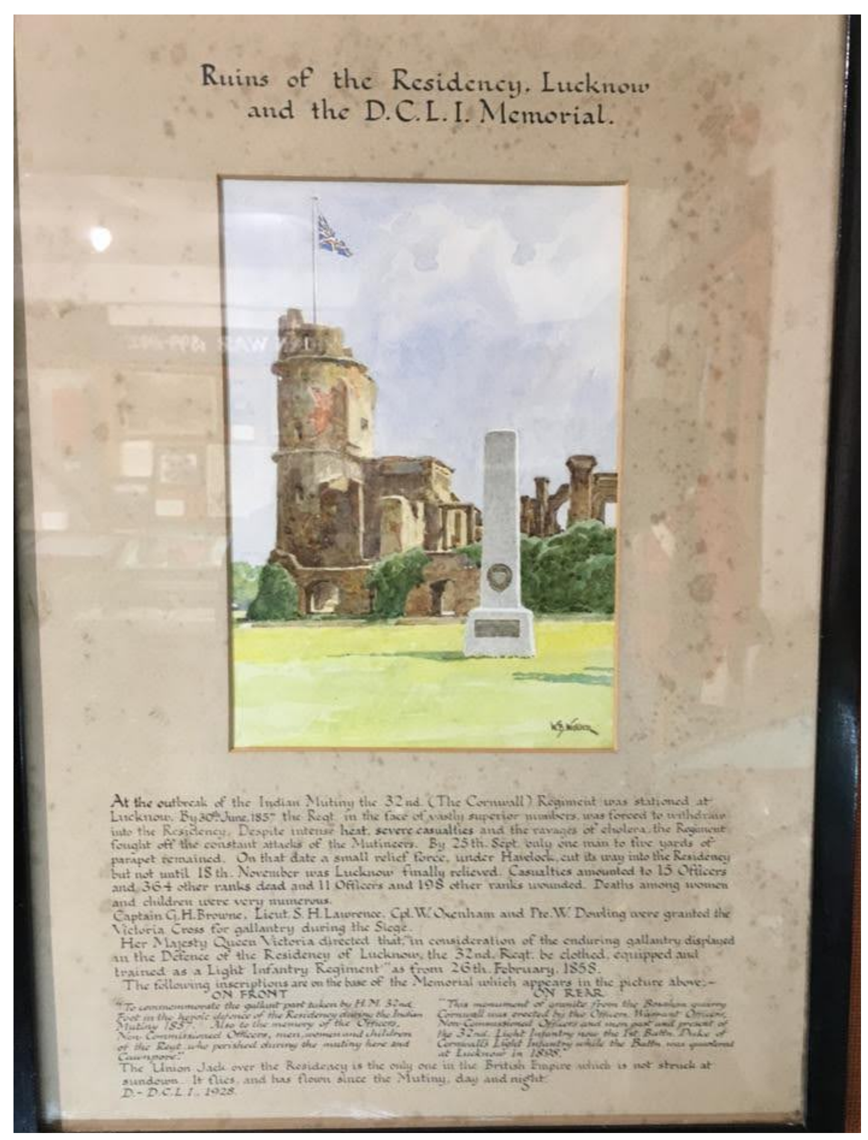

Figure 1.29: ''Ruins of the Residency, Lucknow and the D.C.L.I Memorial', Bodmin Keep Museum, Author's Own

In 1898, a granite stone from Cornwall's Bosahan Quarry was transported to the Residency by the 32nd, an example of regimental commemoration of colonial conflict. The heavy stone, the base of a cenotaph still standing today, is a lasting and almost immovable physical connection between the regiment and Lucknow (Figure 1.27). This monument took on iconographic significance, represented on popular postcards and paintings as part of the Residency skyline (Figure 1.28). A 1928 watercolour on display (Figure 1.29) shows the cenotaph, beneath which a regimental siege account describes "constant attacks of the mutineers", and transcribes the cenotaph's inscription, noting that the Union Jack at the Residency was never lowered, a comment designed to reinforce 'imperial nationalism'. The cultural importance of memorialisation is further reflected in the Lucknow Quilt, sewn during the siege from dead soldiers' uniforms and billiard tablecloth, an object which reveals that such processes began during the event itself, not afterwards (Figure 1.32).[108]

Figure 1.30: 'Mutineers Grape Shot and Brick Rubble, Souvenirs of the Banqueting Hall of the Residency, Lucknow', Bodmin Keep Museum, Author's Own

Figure 1.31: An Original Brick from The Lucknow Residency' © Bodmin Keep Museum

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[108]'The Lucknow Quilt', *Bodmin Keep Museum* <https://bodminkeep.org/the-lucknow-quilt/> [accessed 18 October 2020].

Mirroring this, two bricks taken from the Residency as memorabilia are also on display. The first is a piece of wall and 'grape shot' from the Banqueting Hall where Sir Henry Lawrence was wounded, a choice revealing how heroic figures shaped British memorialisation (Figure 1.30). The second brick, Figure 1.31 was collected during a 1995 memorial visit by 'Officers, Thornton, Dyer and Haines', who 'presented it to their regiment to commemorate the experience of those who endured the siege.'[109] Here, a piece of the Residency was transported to the UK 97 years after the granite cenotaph travelled the opposite way. Characterised as a 'Souvenir', it is unclear whether the soldiers were permitted to take the brick, raising ethical questions regarding the displacement of such objects, particularly as souvenirs possess such symbolic value.[110] The Keep's collection thus indicates numerous things: a perception of ongoing ownership over the Residency landscape, with symbolism still invested in the ruins, the shared history between Cornwall and Lucknow, the legacy of extraction of Indian artefacts by British soldiers continuing into the postcolonial era, and a lasting trans-imperial exchange of memorialisation.

Figure 1.32: The Lucknow Quilt, Bodmin Keep Museum, Author's Own

Throughout, a focus on rebel violence reveals, as Deborah Withers highlights, that museum displays can support 'the prevailing tendency in British culture to render British colonial activity, and the violence many experienced, as invisible and unidentifiable.'.'[111] The Keep website reads '[a] shocking feature of the mutiny was the ferocity that accompanied it. The mutineers commonly shot their British officers on rising and were responsible for massacres at Delhi and Cawnpore murdering women and children.'[112] This is exemplified by the display of a diorama, apparently a

[109] 'Souvenirs and Spoils', *Bodmin Keep Museum* <https://bodminkeep.org/museum-history/exhibitions/souvenirs-and-spoils/> [accessed 26 August 2020].
[110] IpKin Anthony Wong and Mingming Cheng, 'Exploring the Effects of Heritage Site Image on Souvenir Shopping Attitudes: The Moderating Role of Perceived Cultural Difference', *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 31.4 (2014), 476–92 <https://doi.org/10.1080/10548408.2014.883351>, p.89.
[111] Deborah M. Withers, 'Ss Great Britain and the Containment of British Collective Memory', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 17.3 (2011), 245–60 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2011.557835>, p.257.
[112] 'The Indian Mutiny', *Bodmin Keep Museum*

combination of the Satichaura Ghat and Bibighar House massacres (Figures 1.33 and 1.34). Highlighting the power of specific images, the sword-wielding Indian man on a horse cutting down a British woman holding a baby replicates Charles Ball's infamous 1859 engraving which Joanna de Groot describes as '[v]ulnerable female bodies, brave male protectors and violent Indians…presented…more like a stage spectacle than a visual report' (See Figures 1.34 and 1.35).[113] Rather than undertaking a decolonising exercise, that according to Giblin, Ramos and Grout requires 'turn[ing] colonial objects on their heads, recontextualis[ing] them, and interrogat[ing] the stories they reveal as well as conceal', the uncritical manner of this display reinforces contemporary perceptions of rebel violence and gendered British victimhood.[114] One of the characteristics of aphasia most visible in a military context is therefore the emphasis on Indian violence, and occlusion of British equivalents.

Figure 1.33: Diorama of Massacres, Bodmin Keep Museum, Author's Own

Figure 1.34: Diorama Close-Up, Bodmin Keep Museum, Author's Own

113 Joanna de Groot, 'Depicting Conflict in India in 1857-8: The Instabilities of Gender, Violence, and Colonialism', *Cultural and Social History*, 14.4 (2017), 463–82, p.465.
114 Giblin, Ramos, and Grout, p.473.

Figure 1.35: 'Massacre in the boats off Cawnpore', Charles Ball © New York Public Library

The provenance of the Keep's collection and pride in the regiment's ancestry, therefore, makes for an uneasy legacy. Garnering much acclaim for conduct during the siege and awarded with four Victoria Crosses, the 32nd became permanent Light Infantry 'in consideration of the enduring gallantry displayed in the defence of Lucknow.'[115] Thus, defence of the Residency is both part of the British Raj's origin story, and the regiment's founding event. This explains the dissonance between the museum's purpose to honour the regiment, and a wider post-colonial context which would critique narratives of Indian 'savagery', question the characterisation of British forces as defenders, and acknowledge the violent retribution of the rebellion's aftermath. Moreover, the foundation of the collection is itself problematic, as soldier's collecting practices shaped which objects are there for display and discussion. These tensions between the individual and institution, between sacrifice and struggle and the role of individuals in collective memorialisation shape the Bodmin Keep, likely continuing to do so, and provide some insight into the institutional aphasia which characterises the British army's collective memories.

[115] 'British Light Infantry Regiments' <https://www.lightinfantry.org.uk/regiments/dcli/duke_index.htm> [accessed 14 September 2020].

Figure 1.36: Entrance, The Residency Museum, Author's Own

The Residency Museum, shown in Figure 1.36, housed in a surviving section of the building since the 1957 centenary, has surprising similarities to Bodmin Keep. Before its current incarnation, it contained only Sir Thomas Moore's 1873 scaled clay model of the Residency, which still sits in the central room.[116] Rosie Llewellyn-Jones noted in 1985 that the model referred to the rebels as the 'enemy forces', something which had been hastily replaced by curators with 'Indians', rather encapsulating the building's history.[117] As, despite work by the ASI which Hannam argues is 'reinscrib[ing] the site as a memorial to the Indian resistance rather than…to British domination', the museum is still largely shaped by colonial infrastructure and narrative inheritances.[118] This is perhaps partly because the museum was curated a while ago, and therefore contains different omissions than more recent spaces, and also because the Residency landscape dominates the visitor's time, rather than the museum building.

Figure 1.37: Cannonball Hole & Plaque, The Residency Museum, Author's Own

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116 Menon, p.94.
117 Rosie Llewellyn-Jones and Ravi Kapoor, *Lucknow, Then and Now* (Marg Publications, 2003), p.7.
118 Hannam, p.210.

Like the site-wide memorialisation, the deaths of notable British people are marked, with a grey marble plaque underneath a large hole in the wall, commemorating “Susanna Palmer, killed in this room by a cannon ball on the 1st July 1857” (Figure 1.37). Markers like these likely pre-date the existing curation of the museum. Brigadier-General Henry Lawrence was also wounded in this room, and alongside Palmer, his death is represented in high-relief artwork, with a lack of compelling Indian equivalents, even since ASI curation, demonstrating the dearth of local histories, rebel and not, from this period (Figure 1.38).

Figure 1.38: Sculptures of Susanna Palmer & Henry Lawrence, The Residency Museum, Author’s Own

Palmer’s death is a neat segue into the colonial gender politics characterising the ‘mutiny’ narrative, with Indian resistors seen as a racialised sexual threat and attacks on British women justifying post-rebellion repressive violence. As Alison Blunt identifies: ‘the prestige of the British army [was] inextricably linked to its ability either to protect or to avenge British women.’[119] Women’s suffering sparked Victorian imaginations, reinforced by contemporaries: in an 1897 guidebook, John Stoddard inaccurately reported that British women were ‘given over to the brutal passions of the rabble’ after being stripped and paraded.[120] This victimisation of women within ‘mutiny’ violence was a core image defining British understandings of the rebellion, and the many female siege diaries from the Residency provide an opportunity to interrogate broader imperial gender politics through the site’s own history.[121]

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119 Alison Blunt, ‘Embodying War: British Women and Domestic Defilement in the Indian "Mutiny", 1857–8’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, 26.3 (2000), 403–28, p.409.
120 Stoddard, p.188.; also see Wagner, *Great Fear*, pp.236-7.
121 Blunt.; Kevin Hannam, Anya Diekmann, *Tourism and India: A Critical Introduction* (Routledge, 2010), p.82.

Figure 1.39: 'Cock Fighting', The Residency Museum, Author's Own

Racist depictions of colonised people exemplified in Johan Zoffany's *Colonel Mordaunt's Cock Match* go similarly unchallenged (Figure 1.39). A famously controversial depiction of Nawab-ud-Daula from c.1784-6, the version on display (one of two) is the more satirical one. As Griselda Pollock contends, the painting reduces 'the Indian community…to passive spectatorship', establishing 'the dominance of the inner space of power by the Europeans leaving the impressive Nawab a diminished figure.'[122] The caption 'Cock-Fighting' therefore does not encapsulate the painting's racialised representations in the early East India Company era.

As Christina Kreps identifies, in a museum, it is not the objects but their stories, display, and relationships to people and places that are important.[123] In this context, the Residency collection could expose and contradict larger colonial narratives. Perhaps these omissions could be due to the economic implications of radical re-interpretation, as for museums looking to attract foreign heritage tourism, there is a financial need to maintain agreeability.[124] Additionally, the manner in which young couples and foreign tourists use the landscape, for clandestine meetings or present-day 'mutiny' commemoration, may take precedence. Lastly, the museum was curated in an earlier era, and so perhaps represents contemporary trends in heritage, and the narratives which the political ideology of the time required. However, if, as Mark Elliott argues, decolonising

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[122] Griselda Pollock, 'Cockfights and Other Parades: Gesture, Difference, and the Staging of Meaning in Three Paintings by Zoffany, Pollock, and Krasner', *Oxford Art Journal*, 26.2 (2003), 143–65, p.159.
[123] Christina Kreps, 'Indigenous Curation, Museums, and Intangible Cultural Heritage', in *Intangible Heritage*, ed. Laurajane Smith, Natsuko Akagawa (London: Routledge, 2008), 193-208, p.197.
[124] See analysis of Lonely Planet in: Deborah P. Bhattacharyya, 'Mediating India: An Analysis of a Guidebook', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 24.2 (1997), 371–89, p.377 in particular.

a museum begins with 'deconstructing and dismantling, or at least making visible, what coloniality looks like', then the Residency Museum has not yet been thus transformed.[125]

Legacies of Disarmament

Figure 1.40: Entrance, 1857 Exhibition, Royal Armouries, Author's Own

This is equally relevant to British museums, particularly considering collections bought, taken or looted under colonial conditions, a concerted policy culminating in events like the Great Exhibition of 1851 and in more Mughal artefacts in a Welsh National Trust castle than Indian government museums.[126] The Royal Armouries in Leeds, owned by the Crown and embodying the historic links between the monarchy, museums, and Empire, houses military collections, some from 1857. South and East Asian objects are displayed in the questionably named 'Oriental Gallery', alongside a permanent *Great Rebellion of 1857* exhibition. This analysis will therefore consider that, as Bryce and Carnegie argue, museums have been shown to be 'sites where objects reflec[t]…institutional values linked to…foundational legacies of imperial power.'[127]

The collection originates in 1857's aftermath, when fearing further rebellion, the colonial government instituted mandatory disarmament in India, to the extent that John Stoddard noted in that 'no natives, outside the army, are allowed to carry firearms.'[128] In an 1859 House of Lords debate, the Duke of Argyll explained:

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[125] Mark Elliott, 'Decolonial Re-Enactments?', *Third Text*, 33.4–5 (2019), 631–50, p.633.
[126] William Dalrymple, 'The East India Company: The Original Corporate Raiders', *The Guardian*, 4 March 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/04/east-india-company-original-corporate-raiders> [accessed 31 March 2020].
[127] Derek Bryce and Elizabeth Carnegie, 'Exhibiting the "Orient": Historicising Theory and Curatorial Practice in UK Museums and Galleries', *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 45.7 (2013), 1734–52, p.1740.
[128] Stoddard, p.189.

> *'The complete disarmament of our own subjects was proceeding…not a gun could be cast in India without our consent…[and] our relative superiority to the Natives had…increased.'*[129]

Large quantities of arms were shipped to Britain, according to the Armouries website, becoming the Crown's property as a result of:

> '*the **collection** of **representative sets** of arms and armour from across India by the East India Company…; the **purchase** of multiple display items from the Great Exhibition of 1851; and the **general disarmament** of 1859 following the Indian Rebellion of 1857, which prompted the **Indian government** to **bestow** a large amount…in 1861.'*[130]

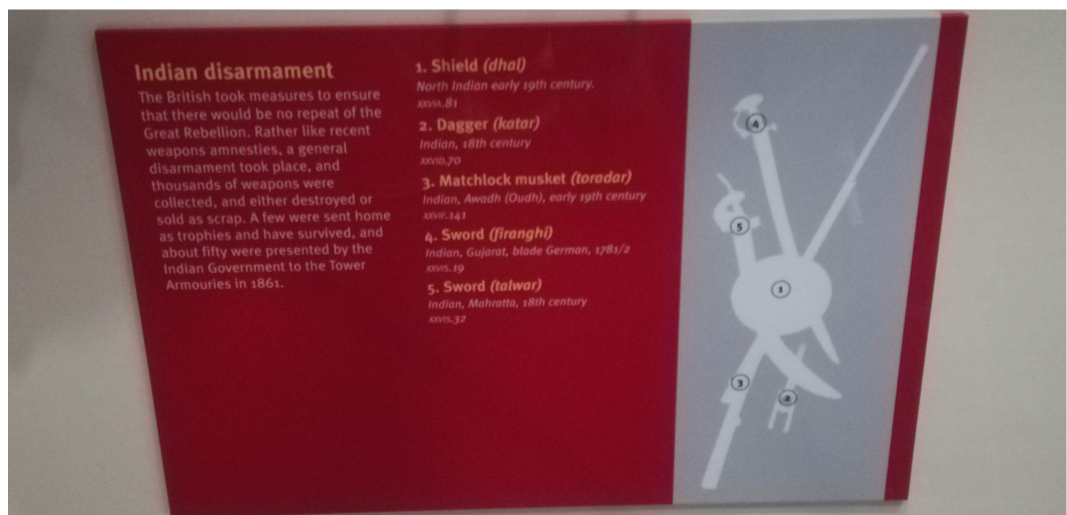

Figure 1.41: 'Indian Disarmament', Royal Armouries, Author's Own

Whilst detailed, this description does not acknowledge the collection's origins, legitimising EIC extraction using euphemisms such as "purchase" and "bestow" and labelling the colonial state "the Indian government", implying local agency and not a colonising power. This information is absent from the Oriental Gallery, where the weapons are displayed and in the 1857 exhibition, is inappropriately compared to "recent weapons amnesties": as Argyll highlighted, only the Indian population were disarmed, to increase British 'relative superiority' (Figure 1.41).[131] Further, on their website, the Armouries states that some were traditional display pieces.[132] By portraying them within discussions regarding disarmament and weapons amnesties, the

[129] House of Lords, *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates: The Official Report - East India Loan Bill* (Vol. 155; 11 August 1859; cols.1320-5) <https://hansard.parliament.uk/lords/1859-08-11/debates/02bc051d-9f1e-4977-bff9-115d34e09ef4/EastIndiaLoanBill> [accessed 26 August 2020], col.1325.
[130] 'Indian Arms and Armour', *Royal Armouries*, 2016 <https://royalarmouries.org/stories/our-collection/indian-arms-and-armour-physical-spiritual-and-mythological/> [accessed 19 November 2019] (emphasis author's own).
[131] House of Lords, *East India Loan Bill*, col.1325.
[132] 'Indian Arms and Armour', *The Royal Armouries.*

museum has therefore separated these objects from their original context, misrepresenting ornaments as objects of potential violence and a threat.[133]

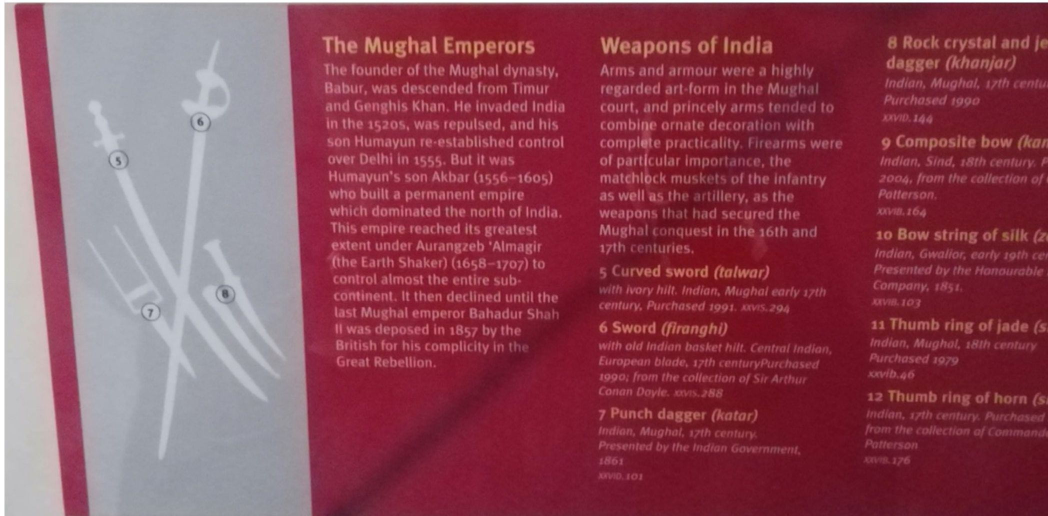

Figure 1.42: 'Weapons of India', Royal Armouries, Author's Own

Compounding this, the provenance of individual objects is consistently unaccounted for: a *Katar* (Punch Dagger) is among others described as 'Given to the British government by the Government of India, 1861', obscuring the conflict-centred collection process (Figure 1.42).[134] This is particularly relevant due to widespread British looting after victory in 1857, and whilst acknowledging the colonial etymology of "loot", the museum's explanation emphasises rebel actions, minimising the British equivalent (Figure 1.43). However, as Llewellyn-Jones highlights, there was government-sanctioned extraction through the widespread appointment of British prize agents, or 'licensed looters, whose job it was to raid houses and properties after the capture of a city and seize anything of value.'[135] Thus, as Lahiri identifies, 'the whole city [of Delhi] came to be treated as legitimate spoil', a process intimately connected to the Armouries as '"mutiny" veterans brought home their trophies of conquest', many of which 'found their way into British museums' like the Armouries.[136]

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[133] *Indian Arms and Armour,* The Royal Armouries.; Qureshi, p.210.
[134] 'Dagger (Chilanum)', *Royal Armouries* <https://collections.royalarmouries.org/object/rac-object-30835.html> [accessed 2 June 2020]; Shield (Dhal)*, Royal Armouries*, <https://collections.royalarmouries.org/object/rac-object-22162.html> [accessed 2 June 2020]
[135] Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, *The Great Uprising in India, 1857-58: Untold Stories, Indian and British* (Boydell & Brewer, 2007), p.129.
[136] Lahiri, pp.38-39.

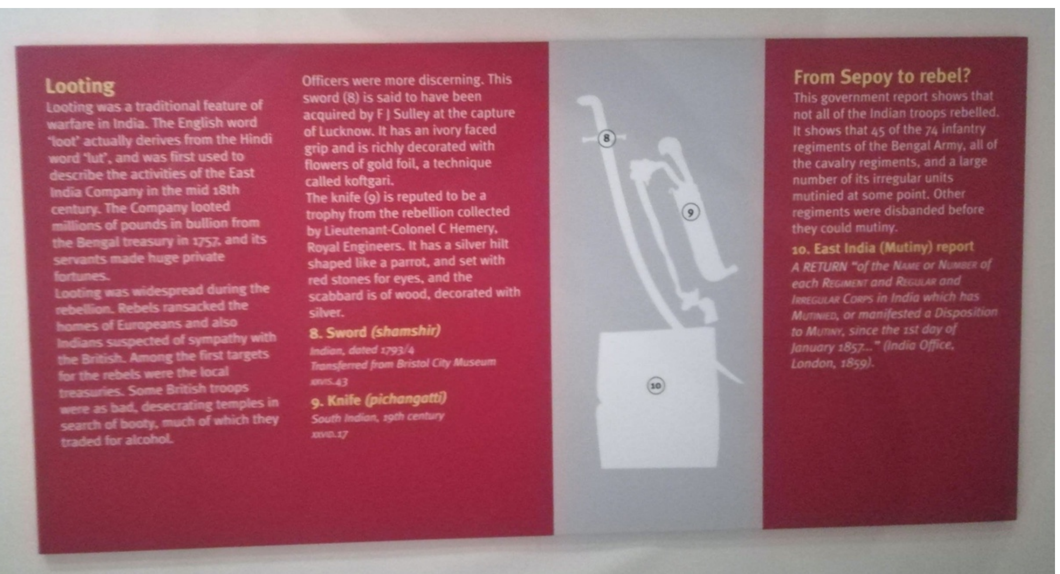

Figure 1.43: 'Looting', Royal Armouries, Author's Own

The Armouries' Indian collection was therefore built from the legacies of 1857, a valuable inheritance. The museum demonstrates ongoing aphasia about its connection to post-rebellion disarmament and extraction, with omissions about the extent of these processes rooted in violence demonstrating an inability in articulation. Displaced objects are therefore part of the memorial landscape: far from being rooted just to places, the rebellion had more intangible, far-reaching, persistent legacies. This is the crux of debates about reparations, as the uneasy presence of collections originating in historic imbalances and violent processes of extraction are becoming increasingly visible, with institutions which contain and benefit from them held increasingly accountable.

Conclusion

Despite decolonisation and Indian independence, the sites explored in this chapter demonstrate that the widespread and purposeful memorialisation infrastructure erected by the colonial state after 1857 has proved persistent, in both countries. This is evident in the survival of some monuments, continuities in their representations, and also the ways that people still visit, interpret and engage with them. It is clear that immediately after the rebellion, the 'mutiny myths' explored in this chapter were part of a narrative sustaining the imperial and national enterprise, and a way to account for British losses. Indeed, British national understanding of the impact of the rebellion in terms of loss and death continues to shape omissions and euphemisms: regimental sacrifice and stoicism is the narrative within which colonial histories are told in army institutions and war memorials, death and mourning defines representations in Lucknow, Cawnpore and British churches, and an inability to acknowledge British retributive action hampers transparency in the Armouries. Demonstrating the extent of these trans-imperial traditions is the regimental commemoration and memorabilia collection spanning 97 years

between the Bodmin Keep and Lucknow, a legacy part of a wider mourning culture shown by memorials still situated in many British and Indian towns and churches.

As spaces like the Residency highlight, these persistent motifs defined by contemporary British interpretations have created a mismatch in colonial and post-colonial interpretations. Highlighted by ongoing attempts to rehearse colonial routes of memorialisation, and local resistance to this, and by growing challenges to euphemistic or one-sided representations in British museums, these sit awkwardly together, indicating that there is ongoing unease with, and aphasia about physical inheritances of Empire between and within either country. Because of this, British monuments in India have often been reappropriated in different ways, with local visitor behaviour defining their everyday function, largely used for greenery in an industrial Indian city or for privacy otherwise hard to come by. Demonstrating the multiple layers of contestation which these sites contain, their fate has depended not only on their regional and institutional context, but also their relationship to national self-perception. In this way, situated as they are in the collective memories of Britain and India, these physical spaces form part of the common discursive negotiations surrounding national identity which the history of 1857, and the death and commemoration surrounding it, engenders.

Chapter 2

From Post-colonial to National: 1857 after 1947

On Independence Day in 1947, after 90 years of being barred from the Cawnpore Memorial Well, a local group entered and defaced the angel statue and some of the graves with black paint.[137] Fearing repeats, British and Indian government departments decided to remove the statue and screen into the grounds of All Souls Church, where it remains today.[138] This was achieved in 1949, under cover of darkness, with all signifiers removed other than an acknowledgment of a Christian burial ground.[139] This anecdote highlights the power of these heritage spaces for the British as late as 1947, representing 'an attempt to prevent the 'authentic' site of memory being sullied or desecrated…by Indians.'[140] The expression of local resentment that precipitated the site's change indicates the uneasy inheritance of formerly colonial sites in independent India.

This encapsulates this chapter's focus: the post-independence construction and transformation of rebellion heritage sites, often specifically to challenge the hegemonic British narrative, and represent Indian stories of anti-colonial resistance, and how this has been shaped by a wider political ideology defining Indian nationhood. Here, postcolonial countries are, as Clarke, Dutton and Johnston highlight, 'in a sense 'aftermath' cultures acting out and working through the legacies of their violent pasts.'[141] These heritage sites, and the collective memories they contain, are simultaneously a space of contestation within India, and a source of unity: they provide a national origin story, and form a key part of negotiations with colonial legacies, something which is inherently political and therefore has evolved and transformed alongside India's perception of its own nationhood since independence.

In contrast to British accounts, in India, the rebellion has historically been considered no less than the 'First War of Independence', the first of many nationalist uprisings against British rule.[142] This began with Savarkar's 1909 *Indian War of Independence* characterising rebels as 'freedom

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137 Stephen Heathorn, 'The Absent Site of Memory: The Kanpur Memorial Well and the 1957 Centenary Commemoration of the Indian "Mutiny"', in *Memory, History, and Colonialism: Engaging with Pierre Nora in Colonial and Postcolonial Contexts*, ed. Indra Sengupta (German Historical Institute London, 2009), 73–117, p.99.
138 Ibid., p.103.
139 Ibid.
140 Ibid., p.106.
141 Robert Clarke, Jacqueline Dutton, Anna Johnston, 'Shadow Zones: Dark Travel and Postcolonial Cultures', *Postcolonial Studies*, 17.3 (2014), 221–35 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13688790.2014.993426>, p.222.
142 Leela Gandhi, 'Imagining Community: The Question of Nationalism', in *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction* (Edinburgh University Press, 1998), 102–21, p.111.

fighters' united behind a national cause.[143] Challenging the British 'Divide and Rule' policy in the rebellion's aftermath, according to the ASI, its religiously united nature 'rekindled the imagination of freedom fighters in the late nineteenth and twentieth century', symbolising the beginnings of an Indian nation.[144] However, as Benjamin Zachariah highlights, there is a difference between anti-colonialism and nationalism and 'difficulties of interpreting 1857 come from a desire to see the two as congruent.'[145] Thus, 'anti-colonialism, whether clearly articulated or implicitly present, was not necessarily nationalism' as 'rebels allegedly lacked the 'modern' outlook that might have qualified them as Indian nationalists.'[146] Here then, as Zachariah notes, anti-colonial sentiment has been framed as 'proto-nationalism' in order to assert that 'the 'Indian nation' has a longer genealogy than simply a colonial one.'[147] It is important to note here, however, that this process in itself – of framing the rebellion within longer national histories – is a form of cohesion which Zachariah fails to give its due. Because of the ongoing re-interpretation of colonial heritage sites and construction of new spaces to serve the independent Indian political state, public histories became central to notions of nation, identity and collective memory, and are therefore created and reinforced towards the purpose of building community – a unifying process.[148]

Complicating this are different community groups within India that have sought to claim different ancestry, assert power and legitimise their presence in public spaces through the construction or demolition of specific physical and narrative heritage landscapes.[149] Perhaps the most infamous, the religiously motivated 1992 Babri Masjid demolition, coincided with the growth of Hindu nationalism across India.[150] As museum studies literature has shown, public history is funded and curated to represent the dominant ideology of the governing power, which since 2014 in India is the BJP party.[151] Muslim involvement in the rebellion and efforts to reinstate Mughal rule thus sit somewhat uncomfortably with growing rhetoric surrounding the 'despotism' and religious intolerance of the Mughal Empire, with many impacts, such as widespread renaming – most recently, Aurangzeb Road in Delhi.[152] In this context, new exhibitions tend to

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143 Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, *Indian War of Independence 1857*, (London: [publisher not given], 1909).
144 Menon, p.70.
145 Zachariah, p.86.
146 Ibid.
147 Ibid.
148 Gentry, p.5.
149 Regarding Dalit communities in Uttar Pradesh: Melia Belli, 'Monumental Pride: Mayawati's Memorials in Lucknow', *Ars Orientalis*, 44 (2014), 85–109.; Regarding Shivaji in Maharashtra: Manu Pillai, 'Shivaji Is an Icon Claimed By Many', *The Wire*, 26 August 2015 <https://thewire.in/history/shivaji-is-an-icon-claimed-by-many> [accessed 24 October 2020].
150 Hannam, p.202.
151 Ibid., p.201.
152 Ranjan Bandyopadhyay, Duarte Morais, Garry Chick, 'Religion and Identity in India's Heritage Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 35.3 (2008), 790–808, p.799.; 'Erasing History', *The Hindu*, 2 September 2015,

focus instead on a homogenous Indian national identity fighting a foreign invader. Anxieties about opposing British narratives and changing notions of what is 'national' in India have therefore created a simplistic but emotive narrative which ironically, mimics some colonial forms of memorialisation in its partiality. Histories of resistance to colonialism are therefore part of a discursive field integral to notions of national identity in both countries, complicating any argument which perceives them as entirely separate. Moreover, there is a clear connection between aphasia and nationalism, as collective memory projections do not have the capacity to speak to all Indian experiences of colonialism and resistance to it in 1857, eliciting narratives which unify by emphasising homogeneity and simplicity.

This chapter expands on the first, drawing out differences, complexities and surprising similarities in representations of the 1857 rebellion in postcolonial Britain and India. The first site, Nana Rao Park in Kanpur, replaced the Cawnpore Memorial Well after erasure on the centenary. Secondly, a return to the Residency Museum highlights how the ASI has attempted to recover besiegers' stories otherwise 'condemned to anonymity.'[153] The removal of Kanpur City Museum and construction of Nana Rao Smarak Park in nearby Bithur highlights the impact of regional politics on national heritage-making and the role of elite figureheads in Indian public histories. Within longstanding links between the British and Indian armies after 1947, the 2017 redevelopment of the London-based National Army Museum demonstrates an attempt to tackle legacies of colonial conflict and is the sole British example. Curated at a similar time, the final site, the new First War of Independence exhibition in *Lal Quila* (The Red Fort) highlights the political capital still invested in rebellion history in India.

Whilst not uniform, all of these spaces demonstrate the ongoing narrative power retained in histories of 1857, which have meant in India, it has transformed into part of the origin story of Indian nationalism. This process, evident in 1957 in Kanpur, and in 2017 in Delhi, is ongoing, with dominant political ideologies using the rebellion as a conduit to represent their ideals. Partly shaped by and in defined in opposition to inherited colonial memorial infrastructure, these spaces sit at the intersection of heritage and politics and contain iconography, symbolism and mythological narratives which challenge historical fact. Like the British state during the colonial period and even today, these sites demonstrate aphasia, with national histories prioritised over contradictory and complex rural memory, obscuring certain more problematic aspects: the role of Muslim and Dalit communities, rebel violence against the British side, and the existence of Indian support for the colonial state. In the UK, recent and consciously postcolonial retellings

<https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/editorial/renaming-aurangzeb-road-after-apj-abdul-kalam/article7604307.ece> [accessed 17 October 2020].

[153] Menon, p.9.

have had similar issues with violence, in acknowledging the extent and character of retributive violence in the aftermath – not only bodily harm but also the extraction of objects, collection of trophies, disarmament of the population and racialised ideologies, all of which sustained Empire. Moreover, British institutions still lack engagement with Indian re-interpretations, meaning challenges to the colonial conceptual framework of the 'mutiny' are effaced from public heritage. This chapter charts both growing differences in the ways these histories are told in either nation in the postcolonial era, and the surprisingly persistent similarities in methods of memorialisation: a history not shared, nor entirely separate.

Reclamation and Reinterpretation in Kanpur

On the centenary in 1957, the former Cawnpore Memorial Well was transformed into 'Nana Rao Memorial Park', featuring statues of Maratha ruler Nana Rao and his second-in-command, Tantya Tope.[154] Amita Sinha notes that whilst such spaces 'celebrate the cultural identity of the city…[and] the emerging political ideologies of the state' they are ultimately 'based upon colonial precedents.'[155] The transformation signifies that this location was a continued source of local resentment beyond independence, with the same site reconfigured into something essentially opposite. To British administrators' consternation, the Tantya Tope statue was originally placed directly onto the former well; a petition from the British-run Memorial Well Trust opposing this was eventually successful, and the statue moved (Figure 2.2).[156] This negotiation highlights that after independence, the space began to represent dual and simultaneous narratives, speaking both to British collective grief and India's national freedom.

Figure 2.1: Entrance Sign, Nana Rao Park, Kanpur © Wikimapia

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154 Heathorn, *Absent Site*, pp.73-74.
155 Amita Sinha, 'Colonial and Post-Colonial Memorial Parks in Lucknow, India: Shifting Ideologies and Changing Aesthetics', *Journal of Landscape Architecture*, 5.2 (2010), 60–71, p.60.
156 Heathorn, *Absent Site*, pp.73-74.

The park also demonstrates how, as Zachariah argues, ‘the villain of the British in India is often a hero to Indians’, with the opposite true for British heroes and ‘loyal’ sepoys seen as villains and traitors in India.[157] The commemoration of these two men, who allegedly ordered the Bibighar and Satichaura Ghat Massacres, embodies these similar but opposing narratives. Both were infamous, widely demonised in contemporary British media, with Nana Rao described in one newspaper as a ‘grim king of strecious savages, butcher and fiend in chief.’[158] As Wallace describes, well into the 20th century, he was ‘the embodiment of…latent treachery of all subject races, the rejection of British progress, the destruction of the sacred family unit and the rape of British women’, especially as he escaped reprisal, his whereabouts after 1859 still unknown.[159] In independent India however, Nana Rao and Tantya Tope embody the fight for freedom, their alleged role in the massacres obscured within this larger context.

Fig 2.2: Tantya Tope Statue, Nana Rao Park, Kanpur © mouthshut.com

Demonstrating Bhattacharya’s supposition that ‘any discourse of heritage constructed by the colonial rulers…excluded local perspectives’, is the *Boodha Bargard* banyan tree.[160] It is said to be the location of the hanging of 137 rebels (Figure 2.3), one instance of mass executions by the colonial state who used banyan trees as makeshift gallows.[161] Although the tree died in

[157] Zachariah, p.100.
[158] ‘King Smith Introduced to Nena Sahib’, *Lloyd’s Illustrated Newspaper*, 20 September 1857.
[159] Wallace, p.611.
[160] Bhattacharya, p.56.
[161] Kim Wagner, *Alum Bheg,* p.156.; Mutiny at the Margins, ‘Sacred Spaces & Contested Sites’, *Part 3: The Impact of the Mutiny* <http://www.csas.ed.ac.uk/mutiny/Texts-Part3.html#Part3Sacred> [accessed 27 October 2020].

2010, it is seen locally as a symbol of sacrifice, marked by a Hindi plaque written in first person, with some translating as:[162]

> *'I am the living history of the 1857 revolt…I can hear the sounds of horses galloping, the screams of revolutionaries and the firing of cannons…I am an old banyan tree, relegated to the margins of history…When I remember the cruelty of the British while punishing the revolutionaries I still get shivers up my spine.'*[163]

Fig 2.3: Boodha Bargard Tree Stump & Marker, Nana Rao Park, Kanpur © Patrika

Stephen Heathorn's phrase 'absent site of memory' therefore perhaps does not acknowledge that the space is now defined by the presence of postcolonial Indian voices, emphasising British cruelty and the lingering situational remnants of the rebellion and its aftermath.'[164] However, it is true that because of this, today, the park is not an easy space for British pilgrimage, unlike the Residency, hindering the replication of colonial-era movement by modern-day visitors. This is due to the complete erasure (other than the government sign in Figure 2.1) of the memorial, and more mundanely because Kanpur, today a large and busy industrial city, is no longer part of a typical foreign tourist itinerary – perhaps in some ways a sign of the waning influence of colonial geographies on transforming Indian urban environments.

Therefore, representations of local memory of colonial retributive violence in the park demonstrate that since independence, certain Indian landscapes now contain a dual narrative. The *Boodha Bargard*, like the British plaques in the Residency, provides a marker for collective memory and mourning. As Sinha intimated, re-interpreted postcolonial sites sometimes replicate

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[162] 'Boodha Bargad Dead, but Its Tale Still Alive', *The Times of India* <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/kanpur/Boodha-Bargad-dead-but-its-tale-still-alive/articleshow/15414955.cms> [accessed 28 May 2020].

[163] For the full translation, which emphasises that it was Dalit soldiers who were hung: *Sacred Spaces and Contested Sites,* Mutiny at the Margins.

[164] Heathorn, *Absent Site*, see title.

the ‘colonial’ – here, the site still only presents one side of the story.[165] Resentment about the well, arguably the purest embodiment of colonial rebellion narratives, and the desire to oppose this has instigated its transformation, creating a site which whilst re-interpreted to suit post-colonial India, has elicited new obscurities in its representations: mimicking the aphasia surrounding colonial memorialisation in Britain, and its meanings today.

The Construction of Heritage

Regional politics and the state-led system of governance have largely determined the fate of colonial heritage sites in India, with acts such as one passed in UP in 1956 allowing the state government ‘to provide for the preservation and protection of ancient and historical monuments…other than those declared…to be of national importance.’[166] The fact that the Kanpur Museum collection, formerly housed in the colonial-era King Edward Memorial Hall built in 1876, has moved to a different site, the Nana Rao Smarak Park in Bithur, is likely therefore a state government decision (Figure 2.4).[167] The new space, a tourist landscape an hour from Kanpur, is an example of manufactured heritage, indicative of regional political priorities and exemplifying modern Indian commemorative culture.

Figure 2.4: King Edward Memorial Hall, Kanpur, Author’s Own

The ‘Incredible India’ website implies that this is perhaps due to Bithur’s wider significance, as it is ‘believed to be the birthplace of the sons of Lord Rama, Luv and Kush’, and ‘regarded holy by the Hindus.’[168] The presence of these religio-historical sites suggest that it is an important

[165] Sinha, ‘Memorial Parks’, p.60.
[166] ‘U. P. Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Preservation Act', 1956 <http://indiacode.nic.in/handle/123456789/14166> [accessed 24 October 2020].
[167] ‘Nana Rao Park, Government of Uttar Pradesh’ <https://kanpurnagar.nic.in/tourist-place/nana-rao-park/> [accessed 5 July 2020].
[168] ‘Bithur’ <https://www.incredibleindia.org/content/incredible-india-v2/en/destinations/kanpur/bithur--bithoor-.html> [accessed 12 June 2020].

heritage city for the UP government, and it is only on clicking 'read more', that Bithur's connection to the rebellion appears:

> *'Bithur is widely known for its association with the Independence Struggle of 1857…Peshwa's adopted son, Nana Sahib, made the town his headquarters, which was captured by General Havelock in 1857.'*[169]

In this way, heritage tourism in India, like most countries, is tied into regional and religious politics, reflecting, as Legg argues, the 'constructed and political nature of collective remembrance.'[170] The removal of colonial state-enforced secularity began with the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act of 1958, enabling religious communities to claim ownership over, and access to, heritage sites.[171] Moreover, the Government of India's 2015 HRIDAY project to redevelop and preserve heritage in certain cities references 'temple/mosque/basilica areas' as key for 'service provision.'[172] Since the shift in mainstream political ideology to an ostensibly Hindu Nationalist platform and election of the BJP in 2014 and, Brian Hole argues, heritage has been 'systematically leveraged…to create communal tensions.'[173] In areas with a minority Muslim population and a rich legacy of Mughal heritage, this is especially contested, with recent uproar after the omission of the Taj Mahal from a UP tourist flyer following the success of the BJP in state elections, with some incumbent MLAs then advocating to have it demolished.[174] That Nana Rao, a Hindu figurehead, is honoured in two memorial parks in neighbouring towns when there are alternatives from other communities also suggests the prioritisation of a specific version of rebellion history.

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[169] Ibid.
[170] Stephen Legg, 'Contesting and Surviving Memory: Space, Nation, and Nostalgia in Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 23.4 (2005), 481–504, p.127.
[171] Government of India, *The Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act 1958*, <https://www.indiaculture.nic.in/sites/default/files/Legislations/6.pdf> [accessed 25 September 2020].
[172] Ministry of Urban Development, 'Guidelines for HRIDAY: Heritage City Development and Augmentation Yojana' (Government of India, 2015) <http://mohua.gov.in/upload/uploadfiles/files/Guidelines%20HRIDAY.pdf> [accessed 19 October 2020], p.5.
[173] Brian Hole, 'A Many-Cornered Thing: The Role of Heritage in Indian Nation-Building', *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, 7.2 (2013), 196–222, p.196.
[174] 'Another Stab at Taj Mahal's Heritage', *The Hindu* (16 October 2017), <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/sangeet-som-terms-mughal-emperors-traitors-questions-taj-mahal-history/article19870060.ece> [accessed 6 July 2020]; 'BJP MP Charged With Demolishing Babri Masjid Now Wants Taj Mahal Converted Into "Tej Mandir"', *The Wire* <https://thewire.in/communalism/taj-mahal-bjp-vinay-katiyar> [accessed 8 October 2020].

Figure 2.5: Entrance, Nana Rao Smarak Park, Bithur, Author's Own

Despite lauding Nana Rao, his physical legacy has been largely abandoned as 20-25 acres of fort ruins (the childhood home of Nana Rao and Rani Lakshmibai) are adjacent to, but blocked off from, the new site by high walls.[175] Rather than restore or preserve the ruins, a newly constructed interpretation of the fort has been built next to it. This choice, differing from the colonial focus on preservation enshrined in the ASI, signifies how, as Sinha highlights, 'sites of the Uprising in India have largely been memorialized…in ways that reflect uniquely Indian traditions of memory-making.'[176]

Figure 2.6: Museum, Nana Rao Smarak Park, Bithur Author's Own

[175] 'A Ramshackle Heritage', *The Times of India* <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/kanpur/A-ramshackle-heritage/articleshow/5324203.cms> [accessed 6 July 2020].
[176] Amita Sinha, 'The Uprising Remembered: Memorials to the Rani of Jhansi in India', *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, 30.1 (2018), 35–35, p.35.

Figure 2.7: Photograph Album, Nana Rao Smarak Park Museum, Bithur, Author's Own

A large gate similar to the Residency's Baillie Gate is the main feature, housing the museum collection, with artefacts from different eras labelled using literal English translations, without historical context or provenance (Figures 2.5 & 2.6). There is also no available information about the collection (Figure 2.7). The museum does not explore the significance of Bithur in 1857, despite local history which contradicts British silences about retributive and exemplary violence as they advanced into rebel strongholds. This area was razed by British troops, with the UP Ministry of Tourism website quoting the killing of 25,000 people.[177]

Moreover, local Dalit memory of 1857 in nearby villages is unexplored throughout the site, despite, as Chris Moffat argues, 'memorialising activity travers[ing] the social spectrum' in India.[178] There are many examples of a rich oral narrative charting Dalit involvement in 1857 characterised by local heritage spaces, and associated rituals. One example comes from Majhauwa village, where a Dalit man said to have fought with Nana Rao, Gangu Baba, is commemorated with four concrete stones, which every bride in the village visits before her wedding.[179] The absence of such stories in the park, as Badri Narayan Tiwari highlights, demonstrates the 'wide gap between people's history and mainstream academic history writing in which [D]alits have not been acknowledged as agents and actors of the revolution', demonstrates the partiality of representations within this landscape.[180]

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[177] 'Incredible India I Bithur'.
[178] Chris Moffat, *India's Revolutionary Inheritance: Politics and the Promise of Bhagat Singh* (Cambridge University Press, 2019), p.207.
[179] *Sacred Spaces and Contested Sites,* Mutiny at the Margins.
[180] Badri Narayan Tiwari, 'Identity and Narratives: Dalits and Memories of 1857', in *Mutiny at the Margins: New Perspectives on the Indian Uprising of 1857* (Edinburgh University, 2007) <http://www.csas.ed.ac.uk/mutiny/confpapers/Tiwari-Paper.pdf> [accessed 27 October 2020]; Badri Narayan Tiwari, 'Reactivating the Past: Dalits and Memories of 1857', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 42.19 (2007), 1734–38 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4419578> [accessed 4 June 2020]..

Figure 2.8: Nana Rao Statue, Nana Rao Smarak Park, Bithur, Author's Own

Following independence in 1947, as Sushmita Pati highlights, the installation of such monuments were part of a 'visual production of the nation.'[181] This process, to an extent, mimics the visual language of colonial commemoration, merely replacing it with new figureheads.[182] Certain individuals, such as Nana Rao and Rani Lakshmibai, embodying specific parts of national history and from certain communities, are ubiquitous across India for this reason.[183] In Bithur, landscaping and iconography signify this site's purpose, like the Residency, with a central statue of Nana Rao, further highlighted in the symbolic narratives of the statue's plaque (Figure 2.8):

- *"He called for the British to be driven out of India through a revolution in April 1857.*
- *His plan to drive the British out of India could not achieve lasting success due to some traitors.*
- *The spark which he instigated in 1857 became a flame of independence in 1947 after 90 years.*
- *The British could never catch him alive. He was a lamp who lived as a flambeau. He lived with the burning flame of self-respect all his life. He lived his life by putting everything at stake. He lived by awakening the dream that we have to get freedom from slavery."*[184]

As Sinha argues, Indian collective memory uses mythology in its representation of historical events, similar to British colonial mourning culture which used Christian narratives and

[181] Sushmita Pati, '"A Nation Set in Stone": Insight into the Politics of Statuary in Delhi (1950-65)', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 47.30 (2012), 232–38, p.232.
[182] Sinha, 'Memorial Parks', p.60.
[183] Amita Sinha, 'Memorial Parks to Begum Hazrat Mahal and Mayawati in Lucknow: Cultural Landscape and Political Ideologies', in *Woman's Eye, Woman's Hand: Making Art and Architecture in Modern India*, ed. D Fairchild Ruggles (Zubaan, 2014), 92–113, pp.97-98.; Tiwari, 'Reactivating the Past', p.1736.
[184] Full translation: Appendix A

imagery.[185] The imagery of a "flame" and fiery revolution is used throughout Indian histories of anti-colonial resistance, linking the rebellion to the later movement.[186] Moreover, the divisive mention of traitors, something which will be explored further in the Red Fort exhibition, is indicative of an exclusive nationalism, with aphasia about the multiplicity of Indian experiences in 1857.

Figure 2.9: Murals, Nana Rao Smarak Park, Bithur, Author's Own

Figure 2.10: Stage, Nana Rao Smarak Park, Bithur, Author's Own

Throughout, the rebellion is depicted using murals, providing a counterpoint to the visual productions by the British after 1859 (Figures 2.9 & 2.10). One is painted on the backdrop of a public stage with a well hidden behind it. This well is the subject of myth: Nana Rao is rumoured

[185] Sinha, 'The Uprising Remembered', p.35.
[186] This is also explored in Chapter 3.

to have thrown his jewels and gold down it before disappearing in 1859 (Figure 2.11).[187] His escape and survival became a matter of great speculation for both British and Indian contemporaries, and in this context, the well creates situational historical significance. However, the signboard tells another story, instead asserting:

- *"This well was built by Bajirao Peshwa in 1835.*
- *This well was used to provide water for the horses of the stables near the castle.*
- *Rani Lakshmibai's horse also lived here, whose name was Sarang.*
- *It is said that when the castle was attacked by the British in the revolution of 1857, the women and children present in the castle jumped in this well to avoid being humiliated by the British.*
- *It is believed that the water of this well never dries up."*[188]

Figure 2.11: Well, Nana Rao Smarak Park, Bithur, Author's Own

This description links the park to the Maratha Peshwa region, blending folklore and mythology with historical accounts, highlighting the potency of storytelling in Indian public history. The account of women and children in the palace committing mass suicide to avoid British violence is particularly evocative, an image replicated across Indian history.[189] This has clear parallels to the Cawnpore Memorial Well, subverting the racialised gender politics of the 'mutiny' narrative by positioning the British as a threat to the honour of Indian women, and men such as Nana Rao as their heroic defenders. [190]

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[187] Llewellyn-Jones, pp.145-6.
[188] Full translation: Appendix C
[189] Lakshmi Vijayakumar, 'Altruistic Suicide in India', *Archives of Suicide Research*, 8.1 (2004), 73–80.
[190] Partha Chatterjee, 'Colonialism, Nationalism, and Colonialized Women: The Contest in India', *American Ethnologist*, 16.4 (1989), 622–33 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/645113> [accessed 15 October 2020].

Figure 2.12: Rani Lakshmibai Statue, Nana Rao Smarak Park, Bithur, Author's Own

Similarly, the statue of Rani Lakshmibai, Queen of Jhansi, uses gendered representations to reinforce specific national iconography (see Figure 2.12). The Rani was the widowed wife of the Maratha Maharaja of Jhansi, whose adopted son was disinherited by the 1848 Doctrine of Lapse, leading her to support the rebellion, fighting in battle. Such statues are common across North India, because, as Prachi Deshpande argues, 'in the dominant Indian nationalist narrative, she has emerged as a heroic mother battling for her son's patrimony, an iconic figure in the gendered representations of the modern Indian nation.'[191] Moreover, this is a common image of the Rani; on horseback with her son strapped to her back. Despite transgressing traditional social expectations of upper-class widowhood by behaving as a warrior, as a mother, Rani Lakshmibai fits into the 'Mother India' paradigm in which Indian female public figures are represented through a maternal relationship to the nation.[192] Deshpande also highlights that in popular culture, the Rani not only embodies 'national' nationalism, but also Maratha regional nationalism.[193] She further argues that this creates tensions, as the 'process of localizing the national and vice versa' involves 'negotiations between the contested claims of different regions and communities to specific narratives and figures.'[194] The statue plaque infers this, titled "Great Adventuress Queen Lakshmibai":

- *"On 19 June 1858, A historic battle was fought on the land of Gwalior.*
- *In this battle, Rani Laxmibai fought bravely and killed many British soldiers, but Rani Laxmibai was seriously injured in this battle.*

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[191] Prachi Deshpande, 'The Making of an Indian Nationalist Archive: Lakshmibai, Jhansi, and 1857', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 67.3 (2008), 855–79 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20203427> [accessed 3 February 2020], p.856.
[192] Amita Sinha, 'Chapter 17: Lakshmibai', in *Cultural Landscapes of India: Imagined, Enacted, and Reclaimed* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2020), 180–89, p.183.
[193] Deshpande, p.865.
[194] Ibid., p.875.

- *Her trusted soldiers supported her and took her to Baba Ganga Das Ji's hut.*
- *She breathed her last there and was cremated there.*
- *The British could not catch her alive."*[195]

As the 14th British Hussars regiment commented, the Rani was 'just the sort of dare devil woman that soldiers admire.'[196]

The new memorial landscape in Bithur, like the Residency, thus projects specific narratives, prioritising statuary, folklore and symbolism over the museum, primarily functioning to emphasise 1857's connection to the freedom fight, and eventual national victory. The well provides historical significance for a site constructed rather than preserved, not only replicating key themes of colonial memorialisation but similarly demonstrating the post-curation involved in manufacturing heritage. This is further achieved through statues such as the one of Rani Lakshmibai, celebrating specific aspects of Hindu Maratha regional history and highlighting aphasia about Muslim and Dalit involvement. These examples demonstrate the simultaneous replication and subversion of colonial memorialisation – using similar techniques but framed within oppositional narratives. Ultimately, in removing a museum collection from a historical site and moving it to a new space, the Indian government has divorced heritage from public history, replacing it with a constructed vision of nationhood which celebrates anti-colonial resistance within specific and visible parameters, exemplifying that, as Zachariah notes, 'nationalism writes its history backwards' – applicable to both Britain and India.[197]

The Post-Colonial Residency

Despite also being located in UP, the Residency Museum in Lucknow has not been similarly transformed. In their 2003 guidebook, ASI historians argue that Indians have been rendered an 'indistinguishable mass of the 'mutineer'', aiming to correct this in the museum.[198] However, as Wagner argues, the hegemony of colonial-written histories 'remains a perennial problem facing historians desperately trying to imbue their analysis with a semblance of balance.'[199] Thus, whilst Hannam and Diekmann assert that 'recent interpretations of the conflict by the ASI have begun to reinscribe the site as a memorial to the Indian resistance rather than as a memorial to British domination', this is demonstrably hampered by the colonial state's suppression of counter-narratives.[200] This is particularly stark in the Residency, a site where the vast numbers

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195 Full translation: Appendix B
196 Rainer Jerosch, *The Rani of Jhansi: Rebel Against Will* (Aakar Books, 2007), p.109.
197 Zachariah, p.88.
198 Menon, p.10.
199 Wagner, 'The Marginal Mutiny', p.762.
200 Hannam and Diekmann, p.21.

of British siege memoirs contrast with the lack of Indian rebel accounts, and which for a century was used to memorialise and mourn British losses, and celebrate eventual victory.[201]

The primary purpose of the ASI, caretaker of the Residency, is the 'maintenance of ancient monuments and archaeological sites and remains of national importance.'[202] As Sengupta highlights, the ASI's Director General can label monuments 'of national importance', a distinction which affords or removes legal and governmental protection, meaning heritage can be used to 'legitimate the regime in power' by 'highlight[ing] the preferred version of memories.'[203] This prerequisite for protection indicates a larger political incentive to focus on national history, demonstrating the links between nationalism, aphasia and public heritage.[204] Moreover, heritage sites such as the Residency Museum are curated periodically, with the most recent available guidebook dating from 2003. This undoubtedly affects both the political context of their curation, and the techniques used.

Figure 2.13: Main Gallery, The Residency Museum, Author's Own

The museum's main hall features large portraits of individuals including King Wajid, Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula, Nawab Saadat Ali Khan, Rani Lakshmibai, Maulvi Ahmadullah Shah and Begum Hazrat Mahal, visual representations of Indian people involved in 1857 (Figure 2.13). One of the most vocal was Begum Hazrat Mahal, the second wife of the Nawab of Awadh: in 1858, Irish traveller William Russell described her as 'the presiding genius of the defence…whose son…is

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201 Menon, p.11; Archaeological Survey of India, 'Residency & 1857 Memorial Museum' (Lucknow) <http://asilucknowcircle.nic.in/publication.html> [accessed 27 April 2020].
202 About Us, ASI, <https://asi.nic.in/about-us/> [accessed 27 April 2020].
203 Sengupta, p.116-7.; Zhang and others, p.118.
204 For a succinct summary, see Hilal Ahmed, 'Secularising the "Secular": Monumentalisation of the Taj Mahal in Postcolonial India', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 48.50 (2013), 71–78, p.72.

the puppet king of Oude.'[205] Described in Figure 2.14, the Begum was a fierce opponent of the British who responded to Queen Victoria's offer of allowances and status if she surrendered with her own royal proclamation.[206] Notably, as Amita Sinha has highlighted, the Muslim Begum appears less frequently in public histories of the 1857 rebellion in comparison to Hindu alternatives such as Rani Lakshmibai – a dissonance in representation.[207] The portrait on display, on the left of Figure 2.13, is reputed to be the only one in existence, dating from 1879 – and despite seemingly in 'pride of place', as Sinha argues, it is difficult to reconcile her 'particular absence with the profuse iconographic imagery prevalent in the larger Indian visual culture.'[208]

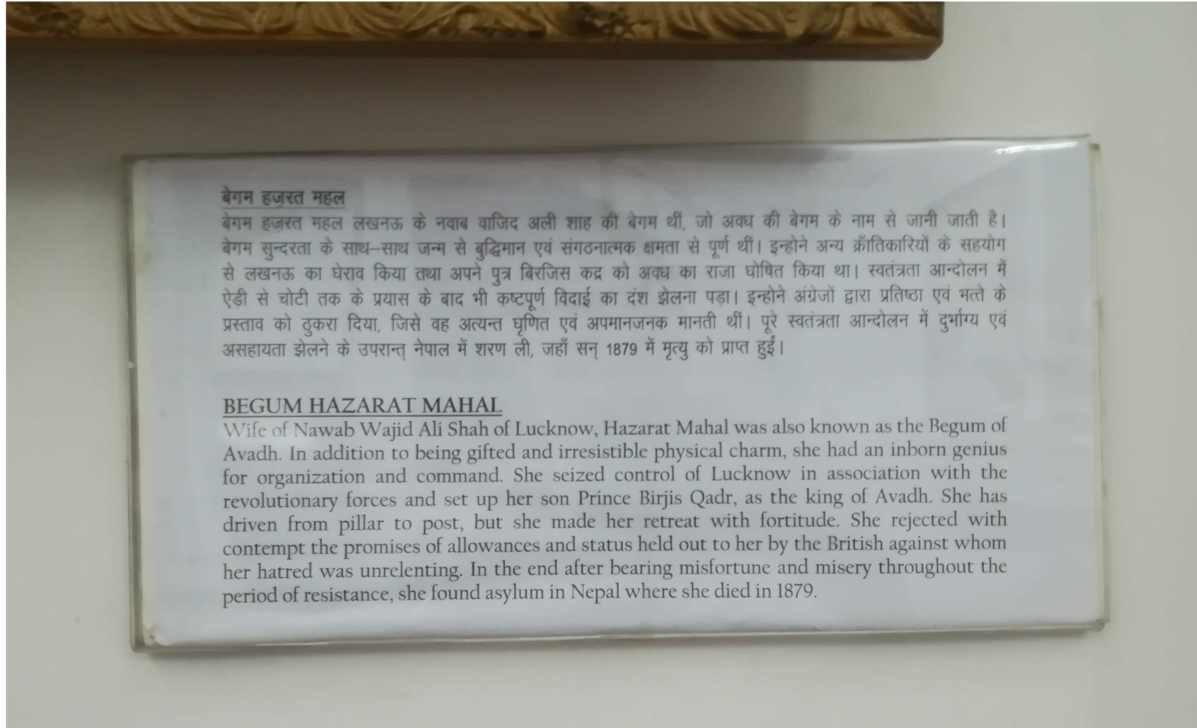

Figure 2.14: Begum Hazrat Mahal, The Residency Museum, Author's Own

Another portraited figure, Maulvi Ahmadullah Shah, appears in Gautam Bhadra's *'Four Rebels of 1857'*, a study highlighting the regional variation and popular nature of the conflict.[209] Bhadra demonstrates that men like Shah, who became a local leader, 'asserted themselves through popular insurgency', refuting the notion of rebellion in Awadh being fought solely by sepoys.[210] Though represented in portraiture, the larger challenges to problematic British characterisations of the conflict that his story could engender are absent: as many historians have highlighted, the

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[205] William Russell, *My Diary in India, in the Year 1858-9* (London: Warne & Routledge, 1860), p.257.
[206] Simmi Jain, *Indian Women Through the Ages: Period of Freedom Struggle* (Gyan Publishing House, 2003), p.21.
[207] Sinha, 'Begum Hazrat Mahal and Mayawati', p.96.
[208] Ibid.
[209] See: Gautam Bhadra, 'Four Rebels of 1857', in *Selected Subaltern Studies*, ed. by Ranajit Guha, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, and Edward W. Said (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 229–275, p.263 onwards.
[210] Bhadra, p.174.

rebellion was neither homogenous nor politically ‘national’, nor by any accounts solely a military revolt.[211] Specifically, argues Thomas Metcalf, Awadh saw ‘peasantry flock[ing] to the rebel standard’, a regional specificity which could greatly enrich the museum through more emphasis on similar local, ordinary rebel stories like that of Shah. [212]

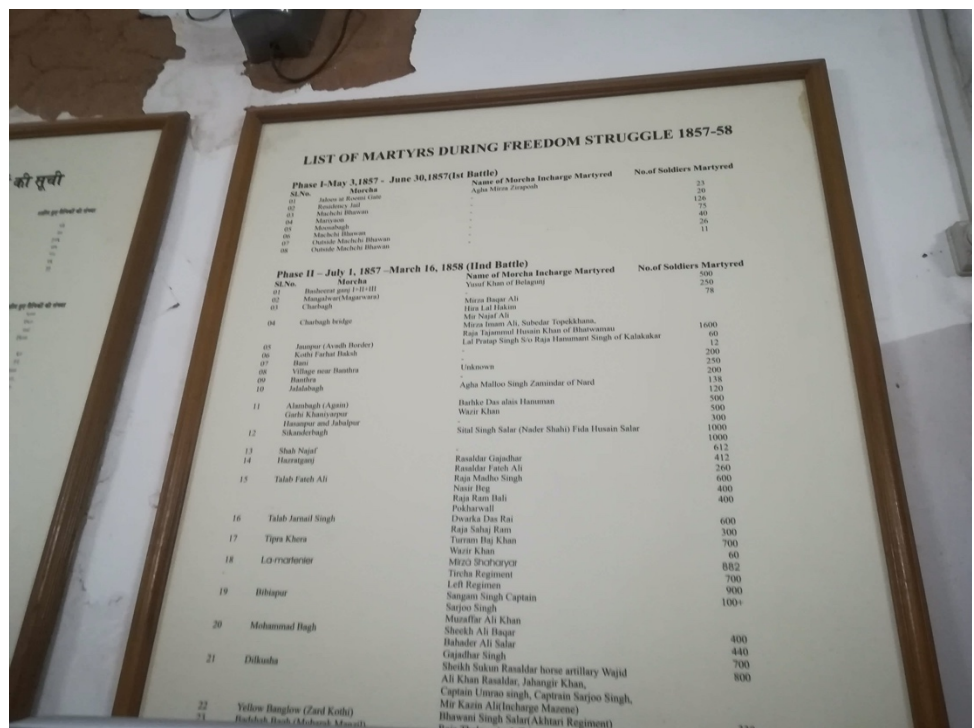

Figure 2.15: 'List of Martyrs during Freedom Struggle 1857-8', The Residency Museum, Author’s Own

Further, whilst ‘The First War of Independence’ appears oppositional to ‘Sepoy Mutiny’, both are military frameworks, a surprising commonality as in countering British word ‘mutiny’, the word ‘war’ similarly obscures the uprising’s social history, an aphasia reflected in the Residency Museum. In the basement ‘War Gallery’ (under renovation during fieldwork) the central displays are two statistic tables listing the names of rebels killed in the conflict, and a list of shelling and mining operations undertaken by rebel forces (Figures 2.15 & 2.16). Whilst this rectifies the anonymity issue highlighted in the guidebook, the lists say very little about the rebels’ motivations, beliefs and experience of the siege. Moreover, this cannot be excused by a complete dearth of evidence, as Indian historians have uncovered and explored compelling cultural evidence such as Awadhi rebel proclamations which the museum does not make use of.[213] Also notable is the lack of information about Indian soldiers who fought on the British side, a nuance absent from most sites analysed in this thesis, which challenges the black and white

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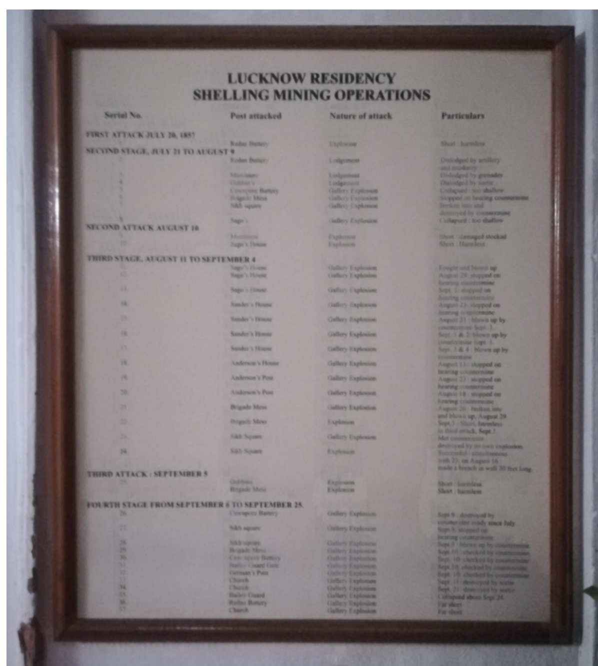
[211] See: Bhadra; Stokes; Zachariah.
[212] Husain, p.482.; Thomas Metcalf, *Aftermath of Revolt: India 1857-1970* (Princeton University Press, 2015), p.60.
[213] Menon, p.9.; See, for example: Husain, *Awadh Rebel Proclamations*.

portrayal of the rebellion as national for India, and Indians as treacherous by Britain, stories of individuals who potentially complicate notions of the separateness of Indian and British colonial history.

Overall, therefore, potential counterpoints to the myriad British memoirs produced in the Residency such as local stories from Lucknow, the regional context of rebellion in Awadh, or the socio-cultural experiences of the rebels besieging the landscape, are not addressed. What is evident is the requirement to highlight significant individuals and military feats in order to situate the Residency as a monument of national importance - something which has engendered the beginnings of the process which Hannam argues is underway: to emphasise resistance, rather than domination.[214] The museum is therefore part of the wider discursive re-appropriation of colonial-era sites, but due to its size and locality this process is partial, and is so far somewhat unachieved.



LUCKNOW RESIDENCY
SHELLING MINING OPERATIONS

Serial No. | Post attacked | Nature of attack | Particulars

FIRST ATTACK JULY 20, 1857

SECOND STAGE, JULY 21 TO AUGUST 9

SECOND ATTACK AUGUST 10

THIRD STAGE, AUGUST 11 TO SEPTEMBER 4

Figure 2.16: 'Shelling Mining Operations', The Residency Museum, Author's Own

Representing the Ethics of Colonial Warfare

Disbanded in 1947 after over 150 years and in some ways the foremost institution involving local people in colonial state infrastructure, the British Indian army has a longstanding legacy, with soldiers playing an integral role in collecting memorabilia and processes of memorialisation.[215] Within this context, it is not surprising that the National Army Museum (NAM) in London contains one of the foremost British colonial collections, including military records and objects, collected

[214] Hannam, p.210.
[215] Hartwell, *Researching Military Collections*.

or taken by soldiers during colonial expansion, making it both a heritage site and a national depository for military memorabilia. To contextualise analysis of NAM, it must be acknowledged that the British Indian army operated within the imperialist and racial parameters characterising colonial rule. As Tarak Barkawi highlights: '[r]ather than putatively shared national identity, colonial armies and societies were often marked by sharp ethnic division, fostered and maintained by imperial rulers.'[216] Thus, despite the participation of Indian soldiers in colonial warfare, 'cultural and colonial divides marked relations between the British and Indian officers and other ranks', defining experiences of army life.[217] These power structures will thus be kept in mind, especially considering the museum's mission statement, which reads '[NAM] is a leading authority on the British Army and its impact on society past and present', aiming to 'challenge the way people think about the Army and their relationship to it.'[218]

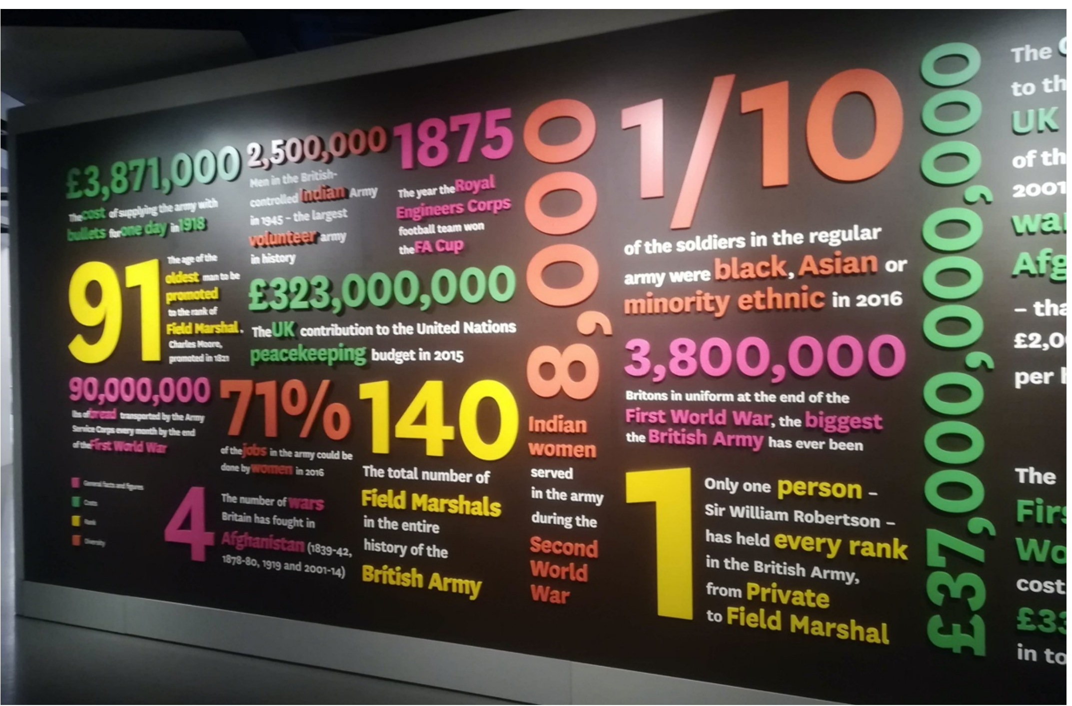


Figure 2.17: Introductory Board, National Army Museum, Author's Own

War museums have long been accused of glorifying and sanitising war in order to ascribe meaning to the collective trauma of large-scale violence, with the discipline of military history defined by Eurocentric understandings and frameworks.[219] As is now well-known, resistance to EIC domination in 1857 was a social, ideological, and cultural movement against British expansive intervention, making a solely military focus too narrow. Nevertheless, it is an

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[216] Barkawi, 'Culture and Combat', p.327.
[217] Ibid., p.328.
[218] 'About the Museum', *National Army Museum,* <https://www.nam.ac.uk/about/about-the-museum> [accessed 24 June 2020].
[219] Tarak Barkawi, 'Decolonising War', *European Journal of International Security*, 1.2 (2016), 199–214 <https://doi.org/10.1017/eis.2016.7>, p.199.

interesting prism through which to examine representations of colonial warfare and military ethics in the postcolonial world. For Britain, 1857 did not threaten national geographies, yet popular portrayals characterised the conflict as an attack on British people and values, and victory as a national, and military, one. For contemporary Indians, it was a fight against a foreign invader, one which now represents the origins of the freedom movement and the beginnings of a national identity. Indeed, keeping the links between the military history of 1857, national self-perceptions and aphasia in mind, a war museum using colonial conflicts like the rebellion to interrogate the British Army's conduct sits at an interesting juncture.

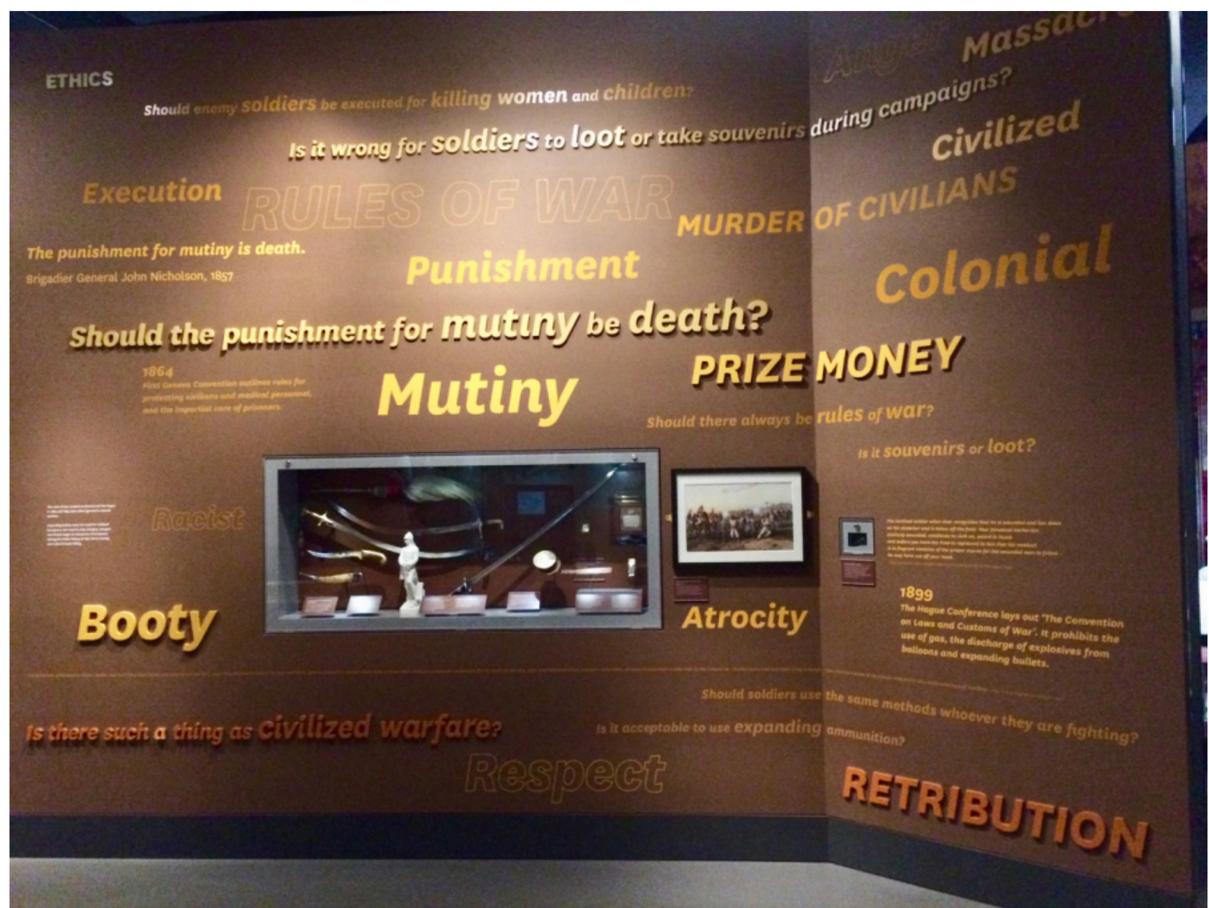

Figure 2.18: The Battle Room, National Army Museum, Author's Own

Like most British war museums, NAM largely contains world war displays, mentioning colonial and commonwealth armies, but avoiding more recent and controversial colonial military history, such as the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre in 1919 or the defection of soldiers in the 1940's to the Indian National Army fighting with the AXIS Powers in World War Two. The Battle Room, one of four permanent exhibitions, focusses on the expansionism of the East India Company and the ethics of colonial warfare, displaying artefacts from 1857 on a single wall. At the centre is a glass case surrounded by a wall of words, questions, and contextual information, highlighting wider issues surrounding the collection and interpretation of artefacts (Figure 2.18). Noting the negotiations surrounding creating museum displays, Divya Toliah-Kelly notes that 'the museum

cabinet, viewed through a postcolonial lens, exposes the continuities of imperial taxonomies and hierarchies of culture that underpin its use.'[220] The contextual questions and ethical debates surrounding the cabinet are therefore attempts to tackle the fact that exhibitions are contested, with negotiations between the authority of the curator and institution, and the visitor.[221] This format posits NAM as a facilitator, aiming to be participatory, and attempting to relinquish the authoritarian museum voice.[222]

The rules of war created at Geneva and The Hague in 1864 and 1899 were often ignored in colonial warfare.

Expanding bullets were too cruel for 'civilized' Europeans, but used to stop charging 'savages'. And British anger at massacres of Europeans during the Indian Mutiny of 1857 led to looting and indiscriminate killing.

Figure 2.19: Text, National Army Museum, Author's Own

Words such as "Booty", "Racism" and "Retribution", an explanation of the Hague Convention of 1899 and Figure 2.19, a small paragraph exploring the racist stereotyping which characterised colonial encounters, highlight ethical concerns surrounding warfare. These interventions put the behaviour of East India Company troops, and larger colonial expansion, in contemporary global context, introducing ideas of the 'Othering' of Indian soldiers to the visitor. This concept, so central to civilising mission and narratives justifying colonial expansion, perhaps deserves more exploration of the racial stereotyping which shaped the conduct of individual soldiers and the military establishment, for the largely British museum audience. Nevertheless, the display otherwise exposes conceptual prejudices which linger in British popular understandings of colonial warfare. Thus, the museum somewhat achieves its aim of challenging people's perceptions of the Army by questioning contemporary ethical frameworks rather than perpetuating traditional war museum tropes of glorifying sacrifice, valour or victory.

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[220] Divya Toliah-Kelly, 'Feeling and Being at the (Postcolonial) Museum: Presencing the Affective Politics of "Race" and Culture', *Sociology*, 50.5 (2016), 896–912, p.897.
[221] Sarah Longair, 'Cultures of Curating: The Limits of Authority', *Museum History Journal*, 8.1 (2015), 1–7, p.1.
[222] Ibid.

Figure 2.20: '*Mutineers about to be blown from guns by the Bengal Horse Artillery, 1858' by Orlando Norie, National Army Museum, Author's Own*

Above the word 'Atrocity', *'Mutineers about to be blown from guns by the Bengal Horse Artillery, 1858',* a painting by Orlando Norie is displayed (Figure 2.20). This practice of blowing people from cannons, a formerly Mughal form of capital punishment, was used consistently by the British as a penalty for resistance.[223] For Mark Brown, it was exemplary, and 'articulated through the structures of law…neither summary nor executive in character.'[224] However, many historians argue the opposite: for Kim Wagner, 'the British exacted an unbelievably brutal revenge; tens of thousands of Indian men, women and children were indiscriminately shot, hanged, or blown from cannons in an unbridled assertion of colonial power and authority.'[225] That Governor-General Canning was derisively labelled 'Clemency Canning' for attempting to ensure trials, rather than summary executions, indicates large-scale retributive violence beyond judicial process.[226] The museum's explanation, highlighting the execution of innocents, counters British narratives of just recompense for Indian rebel atrocities. Thus, whilst at the time of this painting's creation, such

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223 Kim A. Wagner, '"Calculated to Strike Terror": The Amritsar Massacre and the Spectacle of Colonial Violence', *Past & Present*, 233.1 (2016), 185–225, p.197.
224 Mark Brown, *Penal Power and Colonial Rule* (London: Routledge, 2014), p.164.
225 Wagner, *Great Fear*, p.223.
226 Biswamoy Pati, *The Great Rebellion of 1857 in India: Exploring Transgressions, Contests and Diversities* (London: Routledge, 2010), p.92.

executions may have been perceived as necessary justice, today, it means the opposite: a colonial-era object, displayed in this way, therefore has the capacity to challenge the context in which it was created and collected.

That the NAM collection was largely created by soldiers is demonstrated in the type of objects, largely collected in the rebellion's aftermath. Nicole Hartwell identifies that soldiers were:

> *'creators and collectors of commemorative objects…poignant reminders of the devastating and bloody costs of military conquest and Empire.'*[227]

This culture was part of larger ethnographic practice creating museums as depositories of knowledge, distilling superficial understandings of colonised cultures for British consumption, and serving as commemorators of collective trauma. [228] This is evident in the display, in three particularly emotive household objects from the aftermath of the Bibighar Massacre: a lock of hair, a woman's manicure box, and a child's shoe (Figure 2.21). These reflect the larger gender politics of the rebellion, and their display highlights, and perpetuates, the colonial focus on rebel violence against British women and children. The domesticity and physicality of these objects emphasises their helplessness and role as unwitting bystanders and civilians in the conflict. Collected amidst narratives of masculine righteous anger and collective mourning, they provided a physical connection to those who had been killed, containing a clear narrative purpose and demonstrating the power of the furore surrounding Cawnpore in Britain.

Figure 2.21: Glass Cabinet, National Army Museum, Author's Own

These three objects are displayed adjacently to weapons taken from Bahadar Shah Zafar and his sons, the last Mughal Princes of Delhi. This curatorial choice of displaying two contradictory objects, as Jessyca Hutchens argues, can work to 'neutralise' the coloniser's perspective, rather

[227] Hartwell, *Military Collections*.
[228] Giblin, Ramos, and Grout, p.471.; Ibid.

than democratise the display.[229] The swords originate from the recapture of Delhi, when Zafar's sons were executed by William Hodson after they had surrendered; the end of the Mughal line.[230] The impact of this summary and retributive violence, controversial at the time, is not explored in this display.[231] Moreover, Hodson's actions remain topical: recorded indignantly in a 2018 BACSA newsletter, 'a group…led by the right-wing historian Amaresh Misra approached Hodson's tomb with the demand that a new plaque be installed listing his atrocities in Delhi' under the name '1857 Nationalist Forum.'[232] The group's key contention was that men like Hodson, called 'pious' in their epitaphs, 'killed hundreds of Indians'.[233] Their anger, and the reaction of BACSA demonstrate the ongoing contestation in India between colonial legacies and today's interpretations of history. This is embodied in NAM's display: for both nations, objects like this shape how deaths are accounted for, avenged and mourned – a common discursive field. The swords, and their histories, therefore, contain multiple narratives, and require more explicit display and contextualisation to indicate their myriad meanings.

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[229] Jessyca Hutchens, 'Ambiguous Narratives: Artist and Empire at Tate Britain', *Third Text: Critical Perspectives on Contemporary Art and Culture*, 2016 <http://thirdtext.org/hutchens-artist-empire> [accessed 16 March 2020], paragraph 11.
[230] Wagner, *Great Fear,* p.228.
[231] Written to defend himself: W. S. R. Hodson and George Hewett. Hodson, *Hodson of Hodson's Horse, or, Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life in India* (London: Paul, Trench & Co., 1889).
[232] BACSA, *Chowkidar Newsletter* (Spring 2018), <http://www.bacsa.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Chowkidar-Spring-2018-2.pdf> [accessed 10 October 2020], p.2.
[233] 'Group Demands Change in Description on Graves of British Officers in UP', *The Indian Express*, 7th May 2017 <https://indianexpress.com/article/cities/lucknow/group-demands-change-in-description-on-graves-of-british-officers-in-up-they-werent-pious-they-killed-indians-4644141/> [accessed 10 October 2020].

Figure 2.22: Lock of Hair from Cawnpore, National Army Museum, Author's Own

Next to this sits a lock of Tantya Tope's hair, cut from his body after execution (Figure 2.23). The ethics surrounding bodily remains in museum collections is highly contested, and whilst hair is considered less problematic than bones or skulls, still warrants consideration. The placement next to the lock of hair from Cawnpore intimates that they are like-for-like: Tope allegedly ordered and oversaw the massacres, meaning these objects literally speak to each other (Figure 2.22). However, as Kim Wagner argues, the removal of human remains by a victor is founded in a different commemorative process, and is therefore a trophy object.[234] This is exemplified in his study of the discovery of the skull of Alum Bheg in a Surrey pub in 2011.[235] Bheg, a rebel, was blown from a cannon after his capture and his skull transported back to Ireland by Captain Costello of the 72nd Highlanders, demonstrating, like Beato, disregard for Indian burial rites.[236] The collection of human remains in this manner is therefore, according to Wagner, an act of 'physical and symbolic violence intended to dehumanise', and for Tope, a freedom fighter lauded in statues across India, is arguably an undignified legacy.[237] Moreover, the museum provides little context to the object, omitting discussion of the trophy-collecting processes of soldiers, and by extension, replicating the problematic narrative structures it seeks to challenge surrounding the commemoration of colonial military victory.

Figure 2.23: Lock of Tantya Tope's Hair, National Army Museum, Author's Own

234 Wagner, *Alum Bheg,* p.2.
235 Ibid., p.xix.
236 Ibid., p.189.
237 Ibid., p.xxii.

In sum, whilst an improvement to conservatively curated war museums such as the Bodmin Keep, as evident in academia, military history shorn of its cultural and social contexts cannot encapsulate the myriad ways that British colonialism was imposed on the subcontinent and in which it was resisted. What NAM does, fairly uniquely, is to demonstrate that war museums can honour the historical role of the British Army without exclusively highlighting glory and valour. The most consistent issue is the little space or consideration for post-colonial Indian perceptions, an aphasia exemplified in the contrast between the display of Mughal swords in Britain, and the furore about Hodson's grave in India. Putting debates about the extent of political nationalism aside, this counter-narrative is central to a well-rounded representation. As Stoler identifies, aphasia can mean not having the appropriate vocabulary – here, it manifests in an inability to demonstrate the perspectives of the resistors and their descendants, exposing the institution's inherent and often invisible biases.[238] To the extent of acknowledging colonial warfare and its legacies as morally difficult however, NAM takes a step towards more nuanced representations of anti-colonial resistance and the overwhelming themes of death and commemoration that surrounds these episodes in British heritage institutions.

(Anti)-Nationalism in the National Capital

Figure 2.24: Inside the Palace, Robert & Harriet Tytler © British Library

Nationalistic narratives are a prominent aspect of newly curated Indian museums, such as the *1857: India's First War of Independence* exhibition in Delhi's *Lal Quila* (the Red Fort), a historic structure built in the 17th century by Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan. Nearly two thirds was demolished during the recapture of Delhi in 1858, compounded by its deployment as British

[238] Stoler, 'Colonial Aphasia: Race and Disabled Histories in France', see Abstract.

Army barracks after this (Figure 2.24).[239] Moreover, the fort was infamously used for the trial of Bahadur Shah Zafar, Mughal King of Delhi in 1859.[240] The reclamation of the four British barracks in the *Lal Quila* into new museums, is therefore refreshing. However, the exhibition, a carefully designed historical journey, creates new politically motivated omissions in its challenge of British understandings, and divisions in its representation of national history, demonstrating new forms of aphasia in Indian museology.

Figure 2.25: Entrance, Red Fort 1857 Exhibition, Author's Own

The exhibition operates within a larger revitalisation of formerly empty or old Mughal museums, overseen by Professor Kapil Kumar.[241] Director of the Centre for Freedom Struggle and Diaspora Studies, IGNOU, Kumar is in his owns words, 'political commentator, terror watcher, nationalist to core.'[242] This perhaps explains the exhibition's focus, and the political context within which this revitalisation was commissioned. Rather than artefacts, the exhibition uses text, quotes, and graphic images to tell the story, with an authoritarian museum voice (Figure 2.25). The introduction immediately engages with 1857 historiography, arguing that the rebellion was "fought by all sections of Indian society and had an all-Indian nationalist character" attributing earlier reductions of this to "British historians and some others", further stating that it

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239 Lahiri, p.40.
240 Wagner, *Great Fear*, p.230.
241 Richi Verma, 'Four Museums at Red Fort Open Window to Battle for Freedom', *Times of India* (24 January 2019) <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/delhi/four-museums-at-red-fort-open-window-to-battle-for-freedom/articleshow/67664340.cms> [accessed 18 October 2020].
242 '@ProfKapilKumar, Determined Nationalist', *Twitter* <https://twitter.com/profkapilkumar> [accessed 6 July 2020].

was "not only the first war of independence, not confined to certain regions, and certainly not a feudal war" (Figure 2.26). This both situates the rebellion within the longer freedom fight and presents the conflict as national, and the text concludes with a manifesto to share this with "the present generation of India", demonstrating the ongoing importance of 1857 to Indian history curriculums. This is perhaps to what Zachariah is intimating in his *Histories and National Memory*: the 'some others' noted in the exhibition text are the Indian historians with differing interpretations of the rebellion.[243] However, as the omission of their contested views in the exhibition demonstrates, the *lieux de memoire* is the construction of an Indian national history of resisting British domination – partial in its retelling, but nonetheless common to Indian museums and heritage sites.

ब्रिटिश ईस्ट इंडिया कम्पनी के विरुद्ध लड़े गए प्रथम स्वतंत्रता संग्राम में भारतीय समाज के हर वर्ग के लोग शामिल थे
और अखिल भारतीय स्तर पर इसकी प्रवृत्ति राष्ट्रवादी थी। दुर्भाग्यवश, ब्रिटिश इतिहासकार और कुछ अन्य लोगों ने
सदैव इसे एक सिपाही विद्रोह अथवा सामंती विद्रोह के रूप में चित्रित करने का प्रयास किया और इसके विस्तार को
सीमित क्षेत्रों तक ही प्रस्तुत किया।
ऐसा उन्होंने इसलिए किया ताकि ब्रिटिश शासन के दौरान हुई नृशंसता और शोषण को छिपाया जा सके और भारत
की जनता के राष्ट्रवाद और राष्ट्रीय भावनाओं को दबाया जा सके।
तथापि, हाल में हुए शोध और उपलब्ध बहुआयामी स्रोत कुछ और ही कहानी कहते हैं। यह प्रथम स्वतंत्रता संग्राम था,
केवल कुछ क्षेत्रों तक ही सीमित नहीं था और एक सामंत युद्ध तो निश्चित रूप से नहीं था। वास्तव में, यह भारत में रहने
वाले समस्त वर्गों के रोष और प्रतिरोध के फलस्वरूप उपजा, जिसने ब्रिटिश राजनीतिक विस्तार और सांस्कृतिक
आक्रमण को इसकी शुरुआत से ही चुनौती दी थी, इसकी शुरुआत महान सन्यासी और फ़कीर विद्रोह से हुई अतः, यह
संग्रहालय न केवल 1857 की स्मृतियों और इतिहास को पुनर्जीवित करता है, अपितु, कई भारतीय विमर्शों को ध्यान में
रखते हुए 1857 की वास्तविक प्रकृति और इस महान स्वतंत्रता संग्राम से जुड़ी घटनाओं को वर्तमान पीढ़ी के सामने
प्रस्तुत करता है। इस संग्रहालय में प्रदर्शित वस्तुएं और पठन-सामग्री बहुआयामी ऐतिहासिक स्रोतों, जैसे भारतीय
कथानकों, लोकवार्ता, तत्कालीन विवरणों और सूचनाओं तथा आधिकारिक अभीलेखों पर आधारित हैं।

The First Indian War of Independence against the British East India Company was fought by all sections of Indian
society and it had an all India nationalist character. Unfortunately, the British historians and some others have always
attempted to depict it as a sepoy mutiny or a feudal revolt and confined to limited regions. This, they did in order to
hide the atrocities and exploitation under the British rule and to suppress the nationalism and nationalist feelings of the
people of India. However, recent research and the availability of multiple sources speak the other way around. It was not
only the first war of independence, not confined only to certain regions and certainly not a feudal war. In fact, it
resulted out of the anger and protests by all sections of the Indian population that had challenged the British political
expansion and cultural invasion of India, right from its inception, beginning from the great Sanyasi and Fakir Rebellion
of the 1770s. Hence, this Museum brings back not only the memories and history of 1857 but also showcases the real
nature of 1857 to the present generation of India along with the events surrounding this great uprising. This Museum's
displays and contents are based on a variety of historical sources like the Indian narratives, folklore, contemporary
accounts and official records of that period.

Figure 2.26: Introductory Board, Red Fort 1857 Exhibition, Author's Own

The exhibition is structured spatially, which at first glance mirrors colonial 'mutiny tours', focussing on sites rather than an overarching narrative. However, this is a larger statement about the rebellion's widespread nature, reinforcing that it was "all-India". The inclusion of lesser-known or researched areas such as Haryana, the Punjab and the North Western Provinces

[243] Zachariah, p.107.

highlights widespread retributive violence never acknowledged by the British colonial state. Moreover, such local legends have been vindicated, such as in the 2014 discovery of a mass grave of rebel sepoys in a well in Ajnala, demonstrating both the extent of British violence, and suppression of these aspects to rebellion history.[244] Thus, moving beyond locations of British besiegement or massacre indicates the vast impact of the rebellion in rural spaces – ultimately challenging the spatial hegemony of colonial sites of memory.[245]

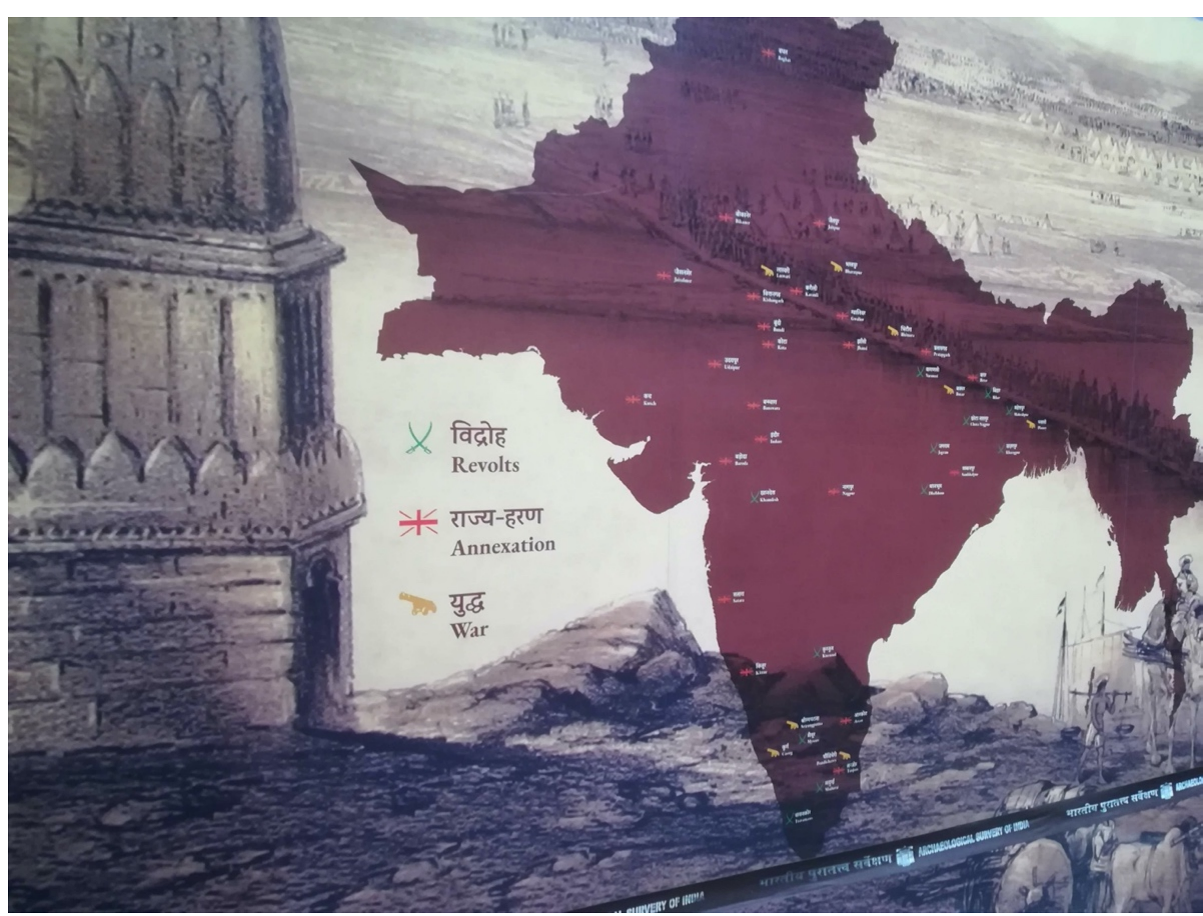

Figure 2.27: Map, Red Fort 1857 Exhibition, Author's Own

However, collective memory in rural regions does not necessarily reflect the exhibition's national narrative interpretations (Figure 2.27). As Zachariah argues, rebellion histories 'can invoke identities that are less or more than national, but must be incorporated into the national to obtain their legitimacy.'[246] This is further highlighted by Henderson's study of spatial memories of 1857 in community landscapes, comparing the Cawnpore Memorial Well with recollections in

[244] 'The Black Hole', *The Indian Express*, 2014 <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-others/the-black-hole/> [accessed 30 October 2020].
[245] See Eric Stokes, *The Peasant and the Raj*; and Gautam Bhadra, *Four Rebels*.
[246] Zachariah, p.88.

Rankhandi Village in UP.[247] She demonstrates that the conflict resonated through generations via oral tradition and hyper-local memorialisation or monumentalism, not only complicating imperialist accounts, but also nationalist ones, as 'stories of Rankhandi's engagement in the war provide conflicting accounts of its allegiances to specific politics.'[248] Thus, 'at best, Rankhandi people both help specifically and fight the British...Local memorialisation is not stridently set against the 'state'; nor is it internally consistent.'[249] The exhibition therefore counters imperialism with a similarly dominant ideology, seemingly unable to acknowledge the 'intimate stories about homeland and the quintessential links among ancestors, land and kinship' characterising rural memory.[250] This encapsulates the connection between nationalism and aphasia, where narratives of collective memory are partial due to their discursive power and political relevance.

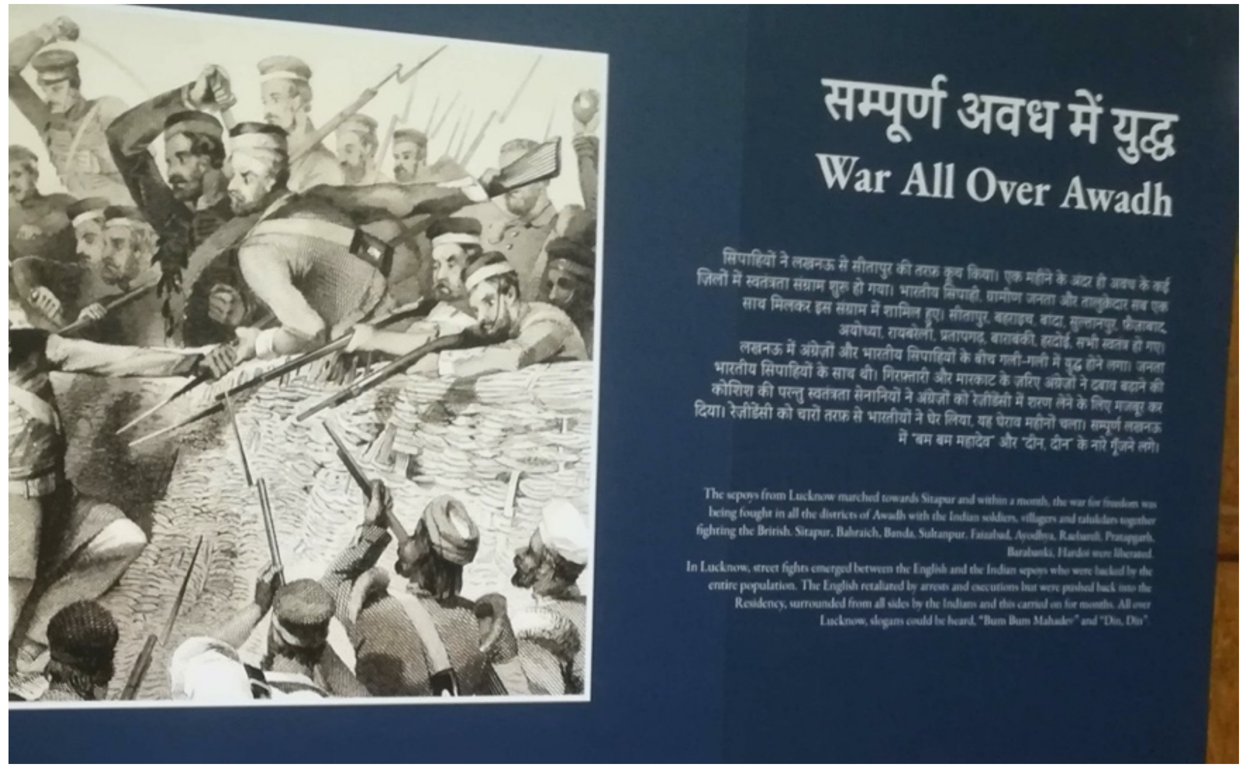

Figure 2.28: 'War All Over Awadh, Red Fort 1857 Exhibition', Author's Own

Furthermore, the exhibition's omission of the *Bibighar* and *Satichaura Ghat* massacres, despite the detailed *'War All Over Awadh'* board focussing on colonial violence, demonstrates an inability to discuss rebel-committed atrocities (Figure 2.28). This is interesting, as whilst rebel violence has been widely debated, with some like Mukherjee asserting it was a replication of colonial brutality, most agree that attacks on European settlers were central to rebel expressions

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[247] See chapter: Carol Henderson, 'Spatial Memorialising of War in 1857: Memories, Traces and Silences in Ethnography', in *Volume I: Anticipations and Experiences in the Locality*, Mutiny at the Margins: New Perspectives on the Indian Uprising of 1857, (SAGE Publications, 2013), 217–36.

[248] Ibid., p.230.

[249] Ibid.

[250] Henderson, *Mutiny at the Margins*, p.223.

of Indian resistance.[251] Neglecting this, like British equivalents which obscure colonial violence, demonstrates aphasia, undermining the museum's stated educative purpose, particularly crucial in a text-dominant exhibition. Both rebel and British violence are at the core of histories of 1857: describing the conflict as a 'war of independence' without including the siege of Wheeler's Entrenchment, British surrender to Nana Rao, and the massacres which followed is therefore problematic.

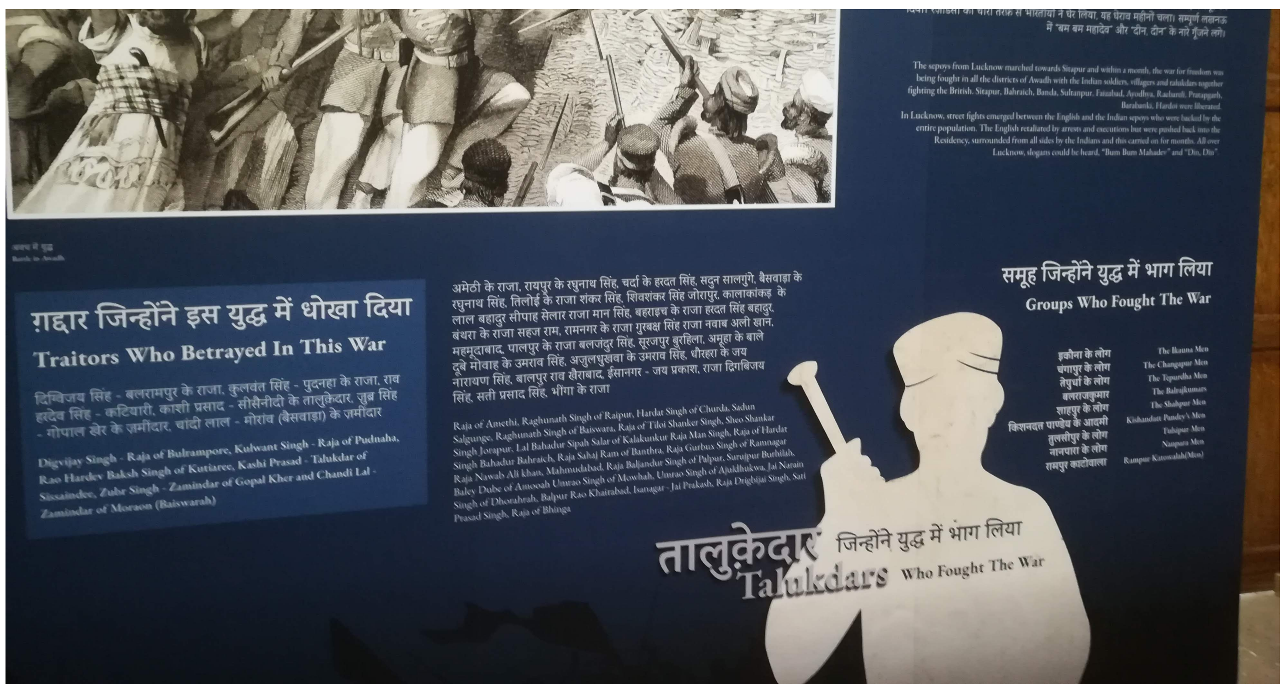

Figure 2.29: 'Traitors Who Betrayed in This War', Red Fort 1857 Exhibition, Author's Own

Earlier "all-India" narratives appear contradictory, however, to the narrative of morality throughout, particularly evident in the names of Indian "traitors" listed next to those of rebels (Figures 2.29 and 2.30). To be listed as a traitor, a militaristic term which mirrors British narratives of treachery, would be an affronting and alienating inclusion for their descendants. Moreover, this division also implies sovereignty and nationality, an attempt to place the rebellion within nationalist ideology, something which as Zachariah highlights is problematic, as '1857 inhabits this peculiar space of non-belonging hovering on the brink of belonging', neither explicitly national, nor lacking a uniting ideology.[252] Here, as Sengupta argues, 'histories continue to be mobilised in the postcolonial present: the politics of identity continue to make communitarian arguments for political self-assertion by claiming specific pasts to set right perceived historical wrongs.'[253] The exhibition therefore situates history in present day politics,

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[251] Mukherjee, p.128.; for the importance of violence in rebel expressions of dissatisfaction, see Wagner, *Great Fear*, pp.24-25.
[252] Zachariah, p.87.
[253] Sengupta, p.128.

judging Indians who collaborated with the British as 'anti-national' when nationalism (as it is perceived today) did not yet exist.[254] In this way, the rebellion of 1857 is crucial to negotiations about Indian nationhood, and the obscurities in the exhibition are used to create a suitably unifying and homogenous history.

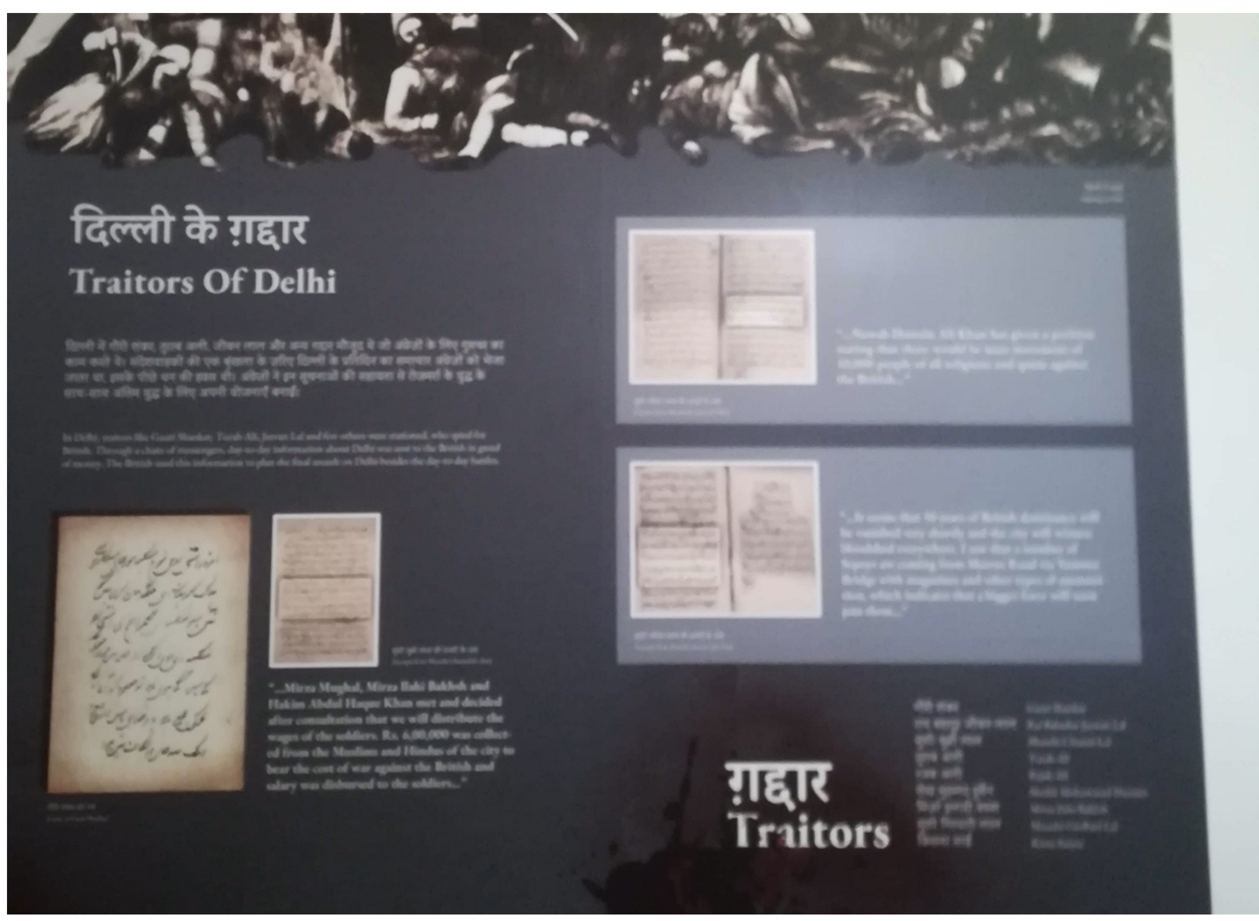

Figure 2.30: 'Traitors of Delhi, Red Fort 1857 Exhibition', Author's Own

The new 1857 Red Fort exhibition therefore has a clear political purpose with text and visuals creating a narrative that classifies people as either traitors or heroes, more divisive than others in this chapter. Particularly interesting is the omission of the massacres of British people which characterised colonial representations of the conflict, perhaps an attempt at reclamation, but demonstrating new kinds of aphasia within Indian museology. The events of 1857 were bloody and complex, with violence and death inherent to both resistance and retributive repression. This exhibition therefore symbolises the creation of a national history, an officially sanctioned narrative which uses the 'First War of Independence' to serve a current political agenda, and one that is ultimately only partial.

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[254] Pradyumna Anil Purohit, 'When the Indian Constitution Defined "Anti-National"', *The Wire*, 12 February 2018 <https://thewire.in/law/indian-constitution-defined-anti-national-revisiting-omitted-article-31d> [accessed 18 October 2020].

Conclusion

The post-colonial transformation and construction of public heritage sites to the Uprising of 1857 in independent India, whilst not uniformly applied, is driven by specific iconographic and narrative purposes: to create an origin story. In this way, like British heritage spaces, it functions as a discursive field in which notions of national identity are negotiated. For India, the history of 'First War of Independence' is part of the freedom fight, a larger imperative which subsumes contradictory, complex, and religiously diverse local rebellion histories. The heritage spaces in this chapter all demonstrate this in certain ways, with specific spatial, political and religious aspects shaping their representations, something also affected more mundanely by temporal curation, and by their visitor demographic. They also indicate the difficulties of re-interpreting rather than replacing well-embedded colonial ideologies, creating sites which since Indian independence and British abandonment of their memorial spaces, have contained dual and oppositional narratives. This is also evident in British museum collections shaped by soldier's collecting practices and the inherent bias of that selection process: the stark difference between the display of Tantya Tope's hair in NAM, a trophy object with a violent collection process, and statues of the same man celebrated across India, such as in Kanpur, demonstrates the ongoing and arguably growing dissonance between British and Indian collective memory.

It is evident that with recent investment and careful curation of exhibitions, debates surrounding the rebellion remain as relevant to India's understanding of its national history as to Britain's. The imperative need to represent the nation has therefore overwritten local collective memories, creating new omissions and aphasia about aspects of the rebellion which do not serve, or complicate current political ideology. In some ways, such as in the narratives of morality contained in the sites explored in this chapter, Indian heritage sites mimic the manner in which the British colonial state re-wrote history to suit a specific narrative. This is particularly evident with the commemoration of only certain figureheads in the Bithur Memorial Park, and the omission of rebel violence in the Red Fort Exhibition which replicates the exclusionary nature of British commemoration and displaying aphasia. The local social, ideological and more problematic aspects and complexities of the rebellion in both India, and in Britain are effaced in service to an easier, less complex, articulation of national identity, demonstrating the ongoing transnational power of rebellion histories in the postcolonial era.

Chapter 3

Community Memory or Nationalist Imagination? The Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, Amritsar, 1919

This chapter considers a different episode of resistance and repression which, while another defining moment in the colonial period, was only officially memorialised after independence: the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre in Amritsar, on the 13th of April 1919. Unlike 1857, which provided ideological fuel for the colonial state, contemporary controversy meant that discussion of and literature about the massacre was banned, as it challenged British projections of a benevolent Empire. This specific aphasia, or 'attempted obscuring acts of omission', as John Mackenzie and John McAleer describe it, will thus need to be kept in mind.[255] Like nationalist interpretations of 1857, the shocking expression of colonial violence at Jallianwala Bagh became central to the freedom-fighting narrative resonating within India at local, regional, and national levels. There exists some tension between the first two and the latter as the Punjab has a unique regional context, with a distinct Sikh minority population, which suffered from bisection during Partition and a separatist movement, army intervention and communal violence in the 1980's. This chapter therefore explores post-independence nationalist representations of Jallianwala Bagh in India and how a local tragedy has been overtaken by national narratives through the institutionalisation of heritage tourism. In the UK, the persistence of perceptions of the massacre as a one-off perpetuates aphasia about the true nature of colonial rule, where violence was systemic, not exceptional. However, recent challenges to this narrative led by the British Indian diaspora and certain institutions are challenging British self-perceptions about legacies of Empire.

This chapter begins in Amritsar, with the newly built and pedestrianised 'heritage mile' connecting the Partition Museum to the *Harmandir Sahib* (Golden Temple) via the Jallianwala Bagh Memorial Garden. The garden, built in 1951, and adjoining Martyr's Museum are key commemorative locations, with their periodic development reflecting larger political changes. Secondly, the nearby Partition Museum, a privately owned and funded institution, and its educative travelling exhibition will be analysed, demonstrating the wider narratives within Indian historiography within which the massacre sits within. Following this, the sole British example, the centenary Manchester Museum *Punjab Under Siege* exhibition co-curated with the Partition Museum amidst a larger campaign for apology by the British Sikh community provides an interesting point of trans-national comparison. Finally, the newly curated Red Fort exhibition represents current understandings of the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre represented in a monument in the national capital.

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[255] John MacKenzie, John McAleer, 'Introduction', in *Exhibiting the Empire: Cultures of Display and the British Empire* (Manchester University Press, 2015), 1–17, p.4.

Linking the Indian sites is the power of Jallianwala Bagh's visual recognisability, demonstrated in Figure 3.1, a postcard bought outside the entrance. For the memorial garden itself, this has meant recurrent redevelopment precipitated by political shifts – also reflected in the adjoining Martyr's Museum and in the recent creation of Amritsar's Heritage Mile. The significance of site is evident in the two museum exhibitions considered: in the jail installations of the Partition Museum exhibition and the construction of memorial iconography in the Red Fort. On a regional level, the massacre and figurehead of Udham Singh have provided a means to situate the Punjab and Sikhs within the Indian nation as avengers and martyrs. However, despite larger nationalistic or historiographical narratives imposed on the space, in Amritsar, there is continuity in local memory of and spatial interaction with the *bagh*, still primarily used as a community space. In the UK, the dearth of public heritage representations of Jallianwala Bagh, contrary to the 1857 rebellion, means the British commemorative landscape largely sits within the collective memory and voices of the Indian diaspora community, only recently supported at an institutional level. For both, the violence of the event and the loss experienced in its aftermath have been central to formulating, and challenging, notions of national identity and history, negotiations which are ongoing, demonstrated by the site's continual re-interpretation, by its larger absence from British public heritage, and by ongoing historiographical debates surrounding the massacre.

Jallianwala Bagh: Event and Legacy

Figure 3.1: Jallianwala Bagh Postcard, Author's Own

Within the contest of growing popular and political protest against colonial policy, the institution of the Rowlatt Act in 1919, an extension of the wartime 1915 Defence of India Act enabling preventive indefinite detention without judicial review, became a key point of contention, leading to

satyagraha protests led by the Indian National Congress across India.[256] In Amritsar, these began on the 10th of April after the arrest and deportation of local political figures Dr Kitchlew and Dr Satyapal, and then of Gandhi, to prevent them from speaking publicly as planned.[257] According to Wagner, this unrest played on the 'pervasive sense of vulnerability' of the British state following the Great Rebellion of 1857.[258] The army fired on a crowd of 40,000, killing approximately 20 people; following this, 'popular aggression accompanied the violence of the state' with protestors burning government buildings, banks and committing acts violence against Europeans.[259] Martial law was then declared in the Punjab, with British officers on high alert.

Despite the curfew, on 13th April 1919, approximately 20,000 people gathered at a centrally located *bagh,* seemingly to protest.[260] The *bagh* was a mud square enclosed on three sides, with some families there to celebrate *Vaisakhi* festival.[261] Hearing about the gathering, Brigadier-General Reginald Dyer, commander in charge of Amritsar, set out with a battalion and a machine-gun equipped armoured car to forcefully disperse it. The car did not fit through the narrow gully, but the soldiers appeared and fired into the crowd, ostensibly without warning, for over ten minutes. Death toll estimates range from 375 to over 1200 people, with bullets directed at people climbing the walls of the *bagh* to escape.[262] Afterwards, Amritsar was placed under stricter curfew, preventing family members from retrieving or burying their wounded or dead. Locally, humiliating and brutal punishments were instituted, one of which was the infamous crawling order, in retribution for a near-fatal attack on a British female missionary named Miss Sherwood.[263] The unrest had sparked fears of another Great Rebellion, eliciting an overreaction by Dyer and the Punjab administration that has 'come to symbolise the brutality of British rule in India.'[264]

Afterwards, there was widespread outcry against the massacre in India. Whilst opinions were split, with some (including the Governor of Punjab, Sir Michael O'Dwyer) lauding Dyer's actions and a popular collection for him in *The Morning Post* receiving £26,000, British parliament also largely

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[256] *Satyagraha* = civil disobedience, and non-violent protest methods espoused by Mahatma Gandhi.
[257] For summaries, see Kim A. Wagner, *Amritsar 1919: An Empire of Fear and the Making of a Massacre* (Yale University Press, 2019). & Taylor C. Sherman, *State Violence and Punishment in India* (London, UK: Routledge, 2009).
[258] Wagner, *Amritsar 1919*, p.16.
[259] Ibid., pp.101-4.; Sherman, p.15.
[260] Wagner, *Amritsar 1919*, p.152.
[261] Ibid.
[262] Helen Fein, *Imperial Crime and Punishment: Massacre at Jallianwala Bagh and British Judgement, 1919-20* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1986), p. xiii.
[263] Sherman, p.28.
[264] Ibid., p.16.

condemned the event.[265] Dyer testified to his actions at a government investigation, with the commission finding that whilst there was a credible threat to law and order, 'notice "should have been given" to the crowd…and that Dyer had "committed a grave error" in continuing to fire as the crowd dispersed.'[266] The Indian National Congress conducted their own investigation, with markedly different findings, particularly regarding the body count.[267] Largely however, in Britain, the massacre was seen as exceptional; characterised by Winston Churchill, as 'a monstrous event…which stands in singular and sinister isolation.'[268] With Dyer presented as an exception, his resignation preserved the legitimacy and benevolence of the larger British regime and its civilising mission.[269] Taking the opposite view, Indian nationalists and Congress saw the massacre as exemplifying the violence inherent to the colonial state structure.[270]

Jallianwala Bagh now has a life of its own in Indian popular culture, both within the Punjab and at a national level. As Lisa Trivedi explored, the massacre entered into the 'visual vocabulary of nationalism' via microfilm slides shown during touring *Swadeshi Khadi* exhibitions in the late colonial era.[271] Thus, according to Tuteja, it 'was made an icon in the nationalist discourse in the subsequent phase of anti-colonial struggle', and 'invoked with great effect…during the…Gandhian movements to arouse the sentiments of the Indian masses.'[272] Within the Punjab, Jallianwala Bagh was immortalised through political pamphlets, folklore and the arts, such as *Khooni Vaisakhi,* a banned 1920 poem written by a massacre witness, Nanak Singh.[273] These representations, however, as Wagner highlights, have largely focussed on the massacre as a 'pure symbol of colonial violence', with the preceding unrest somewhat forgotten.[274]

Until recently, the massacre has not featured in British national heritage institutions or popular discourse.[275] This is changing, as public discussions about colonial history are increasingly

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[265] 'When a Daily Collected 26,000 Pounds for Dyer', *Tribune India*, 13 April 2019 <https://www.tribuneindia.com/news/archive/amritsar/when-a-daily-collected-26-000-pounds-for-dyer-757950> [accessed 8 October 2020].
[266] Sherman, p.34, quoting *Punjab Disturbances 1919–1920, Volume Two, British Perspective: Report of the Disorders Inquiry Committee 1919–20,* (New Delhi, 1976), p.46.
[267] Sherman, p.16.
[268] House of Commons, *Hansard Parliamentary Debates: The Official Report – Army Council and General Dyer,* (8 July 1920; Vol 131; Cols. 1705-819), col. 1725.
[269] Wagner, *Amritsar 1919,* p.235.
[270] Ibid, pp.232-236.
[271] Swadeshi refers to the movement to buy India-made goods, not British imports; see Lisa N. Trivedi, 'Visually Mapping the "Nation": Swadeshi Politics in Nationalist India, 1920-1930', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 62.1 (2003), 11–41, p.28.
[272] K. L. Tuteja, 'Jallianwala Bagh: A Critical Juncture in the Indian National Movement', *Social Scientist*, 25.1/2 (1997), 25–61, p.50.
[273] Raza Naeem, 'Rediscovering "Khooni Vaisakhi"', *The Wire* <https://thewire.in/books/book-review-discovering-nanak-singh-khooni-vaisakhi> [accessed 7 August 2020].
[274] Wagner, *Amritsar 1919*, p.xviii.
[275] According to extensive online research.

growing, and holding institutions and the government to account.[276] In 2019, the British Sikh community used the massacre's centenary to bring the massacre into the national news cycle. Following a campaign by Lords Desai and Loomba, members of the newly formed Jallianwala Bagh Centenary Commemoration Committee, the massacre was debated in British parliament.[277] However, Prime Minister Theresa May did not apologise, instead expressing 'deep regret', calling it a 'shameful scar on British Indian history', mirroring Churchill's words.[278] This demonstrates ongoing popular belief about the massacre's exceptionality, alongside an official unwillingness to apologise, in contrast to more vocal commemoration by the South Asian diaspora. This is one instance in a larger inability in Britain to acknowledge the more difficult parts of the history of empire, moments that Hall and Rose categorise as 'imperial crises' – such as Jallianwala Bagh – and which today are largely euphemised, or effaced, from public heritage.[279]

The Heritage Mile, Amritsar and the Punjab

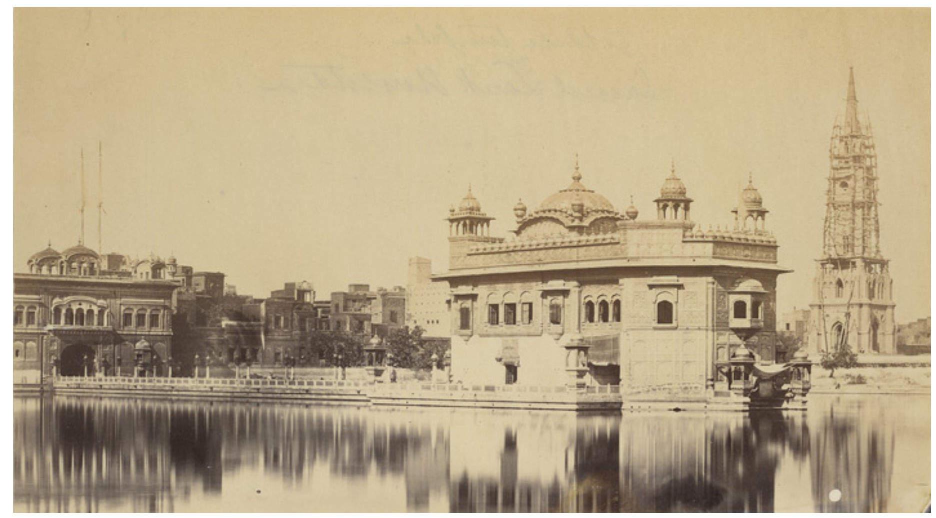

Figure 3.2: Golden Temple, Amritsar, Unknown Photographer, c.1860s
© British Library, Crofton Collection

Following the relatively late annexation of the Punjab in 1849, following defeat in two Anglo-Sikh wars, the British maintained the power of rural landowners and aristocrats in exchange for support,

[276] Ian Birrell, 'Black Lives Matter Protests Show Britain Needs to Confront Its Colonial Past', *I News*, 7 June 2020, <https://inews.co.uk/opinion/black-lives-matter-protests-london-britain-colonial-past-434893> [accessed 18 October 2020].
[277] 'UK to Debate Jallianwala Bagh Massacre in House of Lords', *Livemint*, 14 February 2019 <https://www.livemint.com/news/world/uk-to-debate-jallianwala-bagh-massacre-in-house-of-lords-1550154277525.html> [accessed 13 March 2020].
[278] 'May Calls Amritsar Massacre "Shameful Scar"', *BBC News*, 10 April 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-47887322> [accessed 13 March 2020].
[279] Hall and Rose, p.23.

transforming the region into a civil-military Garrison State.[280] In 1857, when Bengal Army regiments rebelled, Punjabi sepoys largely stayed loyal, with some helping to suppress the uprising.[281] According to Tan, following this, and aligned with British ethnographical 'martial races' theory, the region began to 'constitute the principal [army] recruiting ground.'[282] For a colonial state maintaining power through military prowess, the Punjab was thus central to imperial interests. Amritsar was an administrative hub transformed by the British, with Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Summer Palace (*Ram Bagh*) becoming civil defence offices and the construction of colonial buildings, Radhika Chopra argues, 'designed to dominate the skyline.'[283]

The region's position near the Radcliffe line meant it was split by Partition, suffering widespread communal violence. Coupled with mass refugee migration either way across the border, the Punjab has since had a complex relationship with the national boundaries of India and Pakistan. Regional communal tensions founded in the colonial period, particularly in urban areas, were sparked again with the growth of Sikh religious separatism in the 1980's.[284] This culminated in Operation Bluestar, when Indian Army forces entered the Golden Temple to remove Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale's separatist group, in retribution for which Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was killed by her Sikh bodyguards.[285] The 1984 Sikh pogrom followed, in which tens of thousands of Sikhs were killed, attacked and had their property burnt or ransacked.[286] With such recent community memory echoing trauma similar to Jallianwala Bagh, its commemoration in Amritsar is an insight into how the region defines itself within national history and the collective memory of India.

Figure 3.3: Amritsar's Heritage Walk © The Punjab Government

[280] Ian Talbot, 'British Rule in the Punjab, 1849–1947: Characteristics and Consequences', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 19.2 (1991), 203–21, p.213.; Tai Yong Tan, *The Garrison State: Military, Government and Society in Colonial Punjab, 1849-1947*, (Sage Publications, 2005), p.17.
[281] Shiv Gajrani, 'The Sikhs: The Revolt of 1857 in Punjab', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 61 (2000), 679–85, p.682.
[282] Tan, p.305.
[283] Radhika Chopra, *Amritsar 1984: A City Remembers* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2018), Ref.16, pp.87-88.
[284] Talbot, p.213.
[285] Chopra, p.xiv-xviii.
[286] Ibid., p.4.

Amritsar is today a bustling metropolis recently transformed by a newly christened ‘heritage mile’ linking three sites in the old city: the *Harminder Sahib* (Golden Temple), the Partition Museum and Jallianwala Bagh Memorial Garden, using pink sandstone facades, pedestrianised roads, statues and tourist shops (See Figures 3.3 & 3.4).[287] This is part of a wider 2015 Government of India *HRIDAY* project, with mirror-image ‘heritage miles’ built in pink sandstone in thirteen sites, following demolition of historic areas – including the removal of the ancient *gallis* (lanes) of Varanasi.[288] With much funding, this transformation speaks to an institutionalisation of memory by the Indian government. As described in the *Hindustan Times*, ‘the long stretch from Town Hall to Jallianwala Bagh has nothing of the old familiar bustle...for a moment, one wonders if it is our old “Ambarsar” or a newly renovated heritage palace from the Pink City of Jaipur.’[289] Similarly, Gurmeet Kaur argues that the ‘architectural vocabulary is alien’ and the changes have alienated locals living in the by-lanes.[290] Thus, local and visitor interactions with the city have been transformed, overwriting earlier architectural layers founded in the city’s organic evolution.

Figure 3.4: The Heritage Mile, Amritsar, Author’s Own

The replication across India suggests that local context matters less than a uniform, generically ‘Jaipuri’ heritage aesthetic, prioritising easy access and pedestrianised roads over local neighbourhoods. As Gurmeet Kaur highlights, this is part of a ‘pan-India demolition drive’ of older, narrower parts of historic cities: here, like Bithur, historic buildings matter less than the construction

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287 ‘Amritsar Heritage Walk’ <http://punjabtourism.gov.in/Punjab.html#/attraction/50/amritsar-heritage-walk> [accessed 8 October 2020].
288 ‘HRIDAY’ <http://mohua.gov.in/cms/hariday.php> [accessed 19 October 2020].
289 ‘Amritsar’s Makeover: Golden Grandeur with a Heritage Tinge’, *Hindustan Times*, 24 October 2016 <https://www.hindustantimes.com/punjab/ht-special-amritsar-gets-a-majestic-makeover-golden-grandeur-with-a-heritage-tinge/story-0GisnbT7dbOtJj4l6fG2aI.html> [accessed 4 March 2020].
290 Gurmeet Kaur, ‘The Built Heritage of Amritsar’, *UKPHA Book Club: Partition Series* (10 August 2020) <https://ukpha.org/bookclub> Responding to question from Author. Moderated by Amandeep Madra.

of an imagined history.[291] The 'Jaipurisation' of facades represents a similar political process, removing Muslim and Sikh architectural iconography, replacing them with a majoritarian and uniform 'Indian' facade. As Churnjeet Mahn and Anne Murphy contend, 'the levelling of the past in the face of the present and the former's reanimation through a programme of heritage management represents how memories, history and the past can be recycled.'[292] Today, visitors to Amritsar encounter the old city through a purpose-built vision, packaged as a heritage tourism site, not a local neighbourhood.

Demonstrating the transformation's narrative purpose, statues of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, B. R. Ambedkar, and an eternal flame memorial outside Jallianwala Bagh for the "martyrs who lost their lives in the 1919 massacre" (Figure 3.13) pepper the heritage mile. Thus, as Mahn and Murphy argue, 'histories of nation, empire, decolonisation and violence have…been simultaneously renovated in Amritsar, a kind of cacophony of memory inscribed in the built environment.'[293] Like colonial statuary and the nationalist versions that replaced them, these statues create iconographic checkpoints linking the Heritage Mile both to the Punjabi region and Indian nation with statues of B.R. Ambedkar particularly ubiquitous across India, representing a common visual narrative of nationalism.

Memorial or Garden? Martyrdom at Jallianwala Bagh

[291] Ibid.
[292] Churnjeet Mahn and Anne Murphy, *Partition and the Practice of Memory* (Springer, 2017), p.2.
[293] Ibid., p.2.

Figure 3.5: Jallianwala Bagh in 1919 © The Partition Museum, from British Library

The massacre site has changed significantly between 1919, 1951 and 2019. Immediately after the massacre, in 1920, the surrounding community raised funds to purchase it from Hamir Singh of Jalla village (Figure 3.5).[294] Following independence, in 1951, the Jallianwala Bagh Memorial Act was passed in parliament and the Jallianwala Bagh Memorial Trust formed to oversee the institution of a national monument commemorating the massacre.[295] Despite the colonial legacy of minimal party influence in the Punjab, it was Congress politicians who conceived the site's memorialisation.[296] Comprised of Party members, Punjabi government ministers and with Prime Minister Jawarhalal Nehru as Chairman, the Trust began a transformation of the *bagh*, purchasing 12 vacant houses on the perimeter.[297] The 'Flame of Liberty' obelisk monument was designed by American architect Ben Polk, and overseen by Nehru, and the memorial garden was completed in 1957, containing the Martyr's Well, brick walls with bullet holes and the obelisk. [298] Madanjit Kaur writes, in the *Jallianwala Bagh Commemoration Volume*, the memorial became 'a place of pilgrimage for Indians and a centre of attraction for the tourists.'[299] Thus, the massacre, which provided ideological fuel for freedom fighters before Partition, afterwards presented an opportunity to solidify party support through local memorialisation.

Figure 3.6: Presentation of soil from Jallianwala Bagh from Pradhan Singh Patel to Prime Minister Modi © DD News

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[294] Madanjit Kaur, 'Jallianwala Bagh Tragedy: Its Impact and Emergence as National Historical Monument', in *Jallianwala Bagh Commemoration Volume and Amritsar and Our Duty to India*, ed. by Gursharan Singh and others (Patiala: Punjabi University, 1994), 163–70, p.167.
[295] See: Krishan Lal Sachdeva and G. Singh, 'The Jallianwala Bagh National Memorial Act, 1951 (Act XXV of 1951) and the Historic Monument Constructed There', *Punjab History Conference*, 27.1 (1996), 221–230, p.222.
[296] Talbot, p.215.
[298] Madanjit Kaur, p.168.
[298] Madanjit Kaur, p.168.
[299] Madanjit Kaur, p.168.

In 2019, there was again a construction project underway at Jallianwala Bagh, the timing of which infers, as Zhang and others highlight, that heritage sites such as this ‘legitimate the regime in power…highlight[ing] the preferred version of memories.’[300] The project was precipitated by a 2019 amendment in the original 1951 Memorial Act by the BJP government removing the Congress Party leader as a mandated Trustee and spreading Trust control across political parties. Prahlad Singh Patel, BJP Union Minister of State for Culture and Tourism since May 2019, wrote an op-ed in *The Hindu* entitled ‘*Putting back the ‘national’ in the Jallianwala Bagh trust’* arguing that the Trust should not be ‘formed on the basis of a political approach’, reporting that under Congress leadership, namely Indira Gandhi, it was not run according to regulations.[301] This, in conjunction with the amendment bill, indicates the political capital which continues to reside in the memorial, with Rs20 Crore allegedly allocated to the project.[302] Moreover, Patel delivered soil from Jallianwala Bagh to Prime Minister Modi at the *Lok Sabha* in Delhi (Figure 3.6).[303] Patel is quoted as saying that the soil was from ‘the “site of martyrdom”’, and would be displayed at the National Museum of Delhi going forwards.[304] This gesture highlights that re-developments precipitated by larger national-level political exercises in power periodically transform the space.

Figure 3.7: Entry Signboards, Jallianwala Bagh Memorial, Author’s Own

[300] This was during fieldwork in October 2019; Zhang and others, p.118.
[301] Prahlad Singh Patel, ‘Putting Back the “National” in the Jallianwala Bagh Trust’, *The Hindu*, 27 November 2019, <https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/putting-back-the-national-in-the-jallianwala-bagh-trust/article30090241.ece> [accessed 6 August 2020].
[302] Rs 20 Crore is equivalent to approximately £2 million.
[303] ‘MoS Prahlad Patel Handover Urn Carrying Jallianwala Bagh’s Soil to PM Modi’, *DD News* <http://ddnews.gov.in/national/mos-prahlad-patel-handsover-urn-carrying-jallianwala-baghs-soil-pm-modi> [accessed 14 August 2020]; Vijaya Pushkarna, ‘Work Begins on Jallianwala Bagh Makeover’, *The Week* <https://www.theweek.in/news/india/2019/06/28/jallianwala-bagh-set-for-major-makeover.html> [accessed 14 August 2020].
[304] ‘Jallianwala Bagh’s Soil to Be Displayed at National Museum’, *The Hindu* (New Delhi, 22 November 2019), <https://www.thehindu.com/news/cities/Delhi/jallianwala-baghs-soil-to-be-displayed-at-national-museum/article30043255.ece> [accessed 12 October 2020].

As a landscape, Nonica Datta argues, '[t]he Bagh shapes a national memory and constructs a national past through a patchwork of myth and history, fact and fiction' using specific narratives.[305] This attempt to build cohesive collective memory is evident in the entrance noticeboard, which reads (Figure 3.7):

> *'This place is saturated with the blood of thousands of Indian patriots who were martyred in a non-violent struggle to free India from British domination. General Dyer of the British Army opened fire here on unarmed people. Jallianwala Bagh is thus an everlasting symbol of non-violent and peace-ful (sic) struggle for freedom of Indian people and the tyranny of the British. Innocent, peace-ful and unarmed people who were protesting against the Rowlatt Act were fired upon on the 13th April 1919.'*

The space is dominated by the obelisk monument, arguably an example of phallic architecture projecting male power and metaphorical dominance.[306] It is also the area used for official functions (Figure 3.8). The flame motif in the obelisk, a common icon of the freedom fight, is also featured in the Indian Oil installation at the entrance, and in Figure 3.13, a statue on the heritage mile.[307]

Figure 3.8: Centenary Celebrations 2019, Jallianwala Bagh Memorial © OwnGuru.com

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305 Nonica Datta, 'Why Popular Local Memory of Jallianwala Bagh Doesn't Fit the National Narrative', *The Wire*, 13 April 2019 <https://thewire.in/history/jallianwala-bagh-100-years-amritsar> [accessed 9 March 2020].

306 Gavin Ambrose, Paul Harris, and Sally Stone, *The Visual Dictionary of Architecture* (AVA Publishing, 2008), p.199.

307 Neeraj Bagga, 'Burning the Flame of Nationalism at Jallianwala Bagh', *Tribune India* (Amritsar, 9 April 2019) <https://www.tribuneindia.com/news/archive/punjab/burning-the-flame-of-nationalism-at-jallianwala-bagh-755813> [accessed 18 October 2020].

Figure 3.9: Jallianwala Bagh Memorial © Travel Triangle

However, like in the Residency, these visual and linguistic constructions have not unduly influenced visitor behaviour. In the 2019 documentary *The Massacre that Shook the Empire*, presenter Sathnam Sangera commented that 'the bagh is green and pleasant. There's some topiary commemorating the massacre and white squares mark where the bullets from 1919 have scarred brick walls. But all this is mostly ignored by happy families.'[308] Jamalian, Kavaratzis and Saren, in a visitor behaviour study, argue that this is because it is simultaneously two sites, a garden and a memorial, with 'their combination lead[ing] to a fluidity of the site's meanings', creating 'contradictions between the feel for the place and the feel for its history.'[309] There is also difference in behaviour, with a continuity in its use as a leisure space by locals from before the massacre to the present, whereas tourists visit to commemorate or learn, a nuance and contradition in the site's presentation and visitor engagement (Figure 3.9).[310] This is reflected by Sanghera's comment that 'in a way it feels quite apt that people use this place for life. Its quite a positive way of using a tragic site, rather than it being a place of mourning.'[311] Characterised by Jamalian, Kavaratzis and Saren, as a 'blend of the everyday and the extraordinary', there is therefore potential dissonance in the representation, interpretation and usage of such a space.[312]

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[308] Chris Durlacher, *The Massacre That Shook the Empire - Sathnam Sanghera* (Channel 4, 2019) <https://www.channel4.com/programmes/the-massacre-that-shook-the-empire/on-demand/69319-001> [accessed 16 March 2020], 12:39.

[309] Mandi Jamalian, Mihalis Kavaratzis, Michael Saren, 'A Happy Experience of a Dark Place: Consuming and Performing the Jallianwala Bagh', *Tourism Management*, 81, (2020), p.4.

[310] Ibid., p.6.

[311] *The Massacre That Shook the Empire*, 13:04.

[312] Jamalian, Kavaratzis, and Saren, p.9.

Figure 3.10: The Martyrs Well, Jallianwala Bagh Memorial © Flickr

Furthermore, due to the periodic transformations, only two original monuments remain, both of which have been altered. They are pictured in Figure 3.1, spatially reconfigured on either side of the obelisk, highlighting the commonly replicated iconography of the site. The first is the pavilioned Martyr's Well (Figure 3.10), in which people are rumoured to have thrown themselves to escape the bullets, transforming, as Datta notes, local tragedy into 'a national crisis through the idea of *shahadat* (martyrdom).'[313] This is historiographically contentious, and Wagner among others assert this is not corroborated by contemporary sources.[314] This well demonstrates a culturally-specific commemorative symbol which seems to be replicated across violent historical episodes in India. In this thesis, this comprises of the Cawnpore Memorial Well, the well in Bithur, and the well in Ajmala, alongside the wider history of ritual suicide (known in Rajasthan as *jauhar*) of women into wells during Partition.[315] According to a preview of the redevelopment, 'the "Shaheedi Khu" (Martyrs' Well) and the historic narrow street leading to its entrance have been modernised…amid controversy with some…claiming that the heritage character…was being destroyed in the name of giving a facelift. The well has been plastered and painted from the inside. Glass has been fitted on the windows of the new see-through canopy built on it.'[316] Enacted

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[313] Datta.
[314] Including the Congress Report: Wagner, *Amritsar 1919*, p.264.
[315] Ibid.; Urvashi Butalia, *The Other Side of Silence: Voices from the Partition of India* (Penguin Books India, 1998), p.200.
[316] Surjit Singh, 'Jallianwala Bagh Gets Facelift with 80% Redevelopment Done', *Hindustan Times*, 17 July 2020 <https://www.hindustantimes.com/cities/jallianwala-bagh-gets-facelift-with-80-redevelopment-done/story-ar6r4Ib6ov3ca8Z1tyZrRN.html> [accessed 14 August 2020].

several times, this process indicates that communicating the evolving narratives which these monuments must embody is more important than their preservation.

Figure 3.11: Bullet Marks, Jallianwala Bagh Memorial, Author's Own

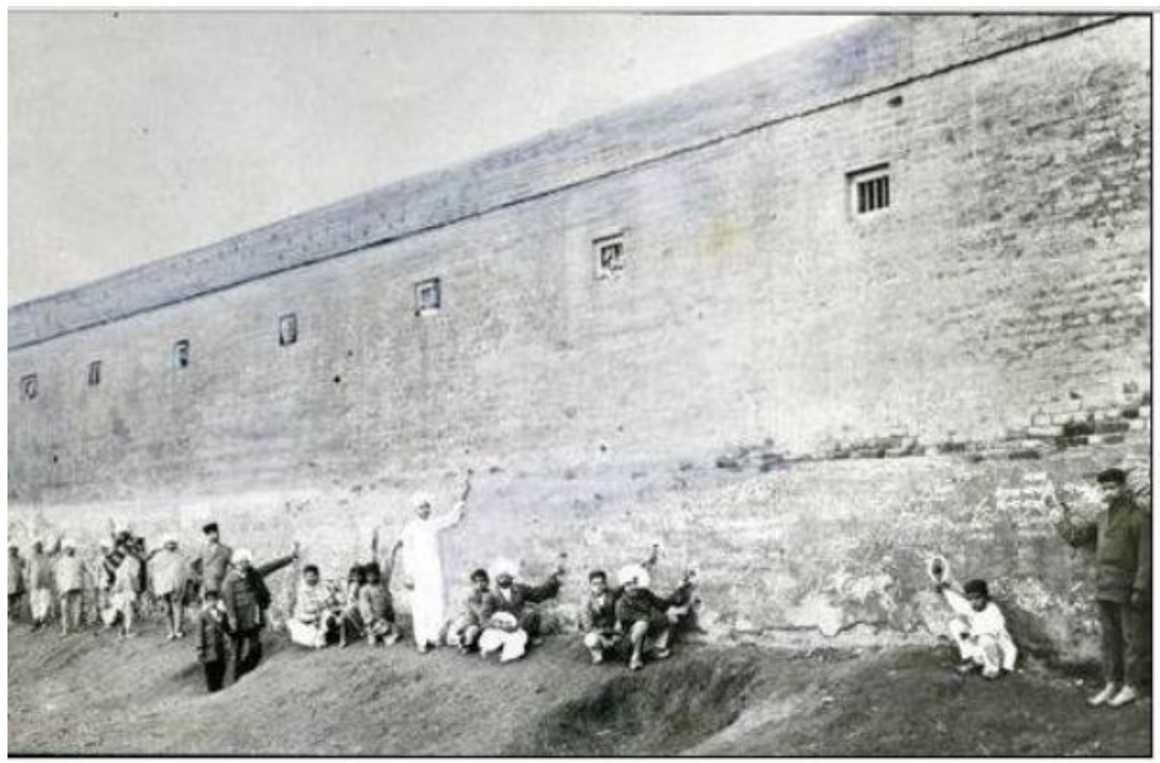

Figure 3.12: Locals with Bullet Marks, Jallianwala Bagh, 1919 © The Indian Express

The second monument in the *bagh* is the walls with bullet holes marked by white squares, which feature in infamous early photographs of posing Amritsari residents (Figures 3.11 & 3.12). The

presence of these markers in local popular imagination, demonstrate how the site sits at 'the intersection of memory and commemoration'.[317] As Nonica Datta writes, 'while the…nationalist narrative is obsessed with numbers…in the popular imagination figures do not matter. But memories of the 'real victims' of the violence do have a lingering presence in family and community histories.'[318] Thus, memory landscapes such as Jallianwala Bagh are 'sites of contested representation, as competing groups seek for their ideas to be realized in the monument and its landscape.'[319] Today, the names of the 379 known victims are still not recorded in the *bagh,* but on the base of the new eternal flame monument outside the entrance (Figure 3.13).

Figure 3.13: Eternal Flame Monument, Heritage Mile, Amritsar, Author's Own

The Martyr's Museum at the perimeter, which historically led into the main ground, was also being redeveloped in 2019. Previously, it housed an artistic interpretation of the massacre, portraits of politicians and freedom fighters, and the ashes of Udham Singh. Singh, a Sikh man, became infamous after avenging the massacre by shooting and killing the Governor of Punjab, Sir Michael

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[317] Mahn and Murphy, p.4.
[318] Datta.
[319] Henderson, *Mutiny at the Margins*, p.226.

O'Dwyer and wounding three colonial officials in London in 1942, actions which led to his execution and earned him the moniker '*Shaheed* (the great martyr)'.[320] Jamalian, Kavaratzis, and Saren highlight that in the museum's former incarnation, '[t]he most striking feature [is] the urn with the ashes of Udham Singh…emphatically shown by guides to (foreign) tourists' (Figure 3.14).[321] Here, common motifs of grief shape the museum experience, with the physicality of bodily ashes creating a focal point for commemoration.

Figure 3.14: Students gather around Udham Singh's Ashes, Martyr's Museum © Nonica Datta

Figure 3.15: Udham Singh's Ashes, Martyr's Museum © Babushahi.com

However, as Louis Fenech notes, Udham Singh's memory 'has been largely constructed through a powerful popular narrative shaped by the discourse of martyrdom in the Sikh tradition', with no evidence he was actually present at Jallianwala Bagh.[322] Nevertheless, he remains important: after a campaign by the Punjab State Government, his ashes were returned to India by the British in 1974 with contemporary Chief Minister Giani Zail Singh stating that he 'avenged our national

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320 Jamalian, Kavaratzis, and Saren, p.1.

321 Ibid., p.5.

322 Louis E. Fenech, 'Contested Nationalisms; Negotiated Terrains: The Way Sikhs Remember Udham Singh "Shahid" (1899-1940)', *Modern Asian Studies*, 36.4 (2002), 827–70, pp. 829-30.; Wagner, pp.264-265.

humiliation', 'played a role in our liberation' and thus 'was a true Sikh.'[323] Following a repatriation tour attended by thousands, the ashes were split into seven urns, with one taken to Amritsar (Figure 3.15).[324] The symbolism of this story and ongoing negotiations indicate that Udham Singh embodies a larger narrative about the martial and sacrificial Sikh community's role within the Indian nation as protectors and avengers, something more important than historical accuracy.[325]

Figure 3.16: Udham Singh Statue, Jallianwala Bagh Memorial, Author's Own

The transformation of the Jallianwala Bagh Memorial Garden between 1919 and 2019 indicates that it retains political capital and national interest. Congress involvement in local memorialisation immediately after independence demonstrates its role in early nation-building and party politics, and the reclamation of control by the BJP in 2019 suggests this is ongoing. Equally interesting is the continuity in its use by the local community, regardless of larger policy change. This tension between the everyday and the extraordinary highlights that the *bagh* contains multiple meanings, with one mundane example that there is clearly a dearth of green space in Amritsar's old city. Compounding this is the transformation of physical heritage through interventions which evoke a mythological focus, divorcing the space from historical fact. The regional histories which define Amritsar, Jallianwala Bagh and the resistance it embodies clearly provide an ideological

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[323] Bernard Weinraub, 'Sikhs Hail Return of 1940 Martyr's Remains to Punjab: Murder Tied to 1919 Massacre Play an Aggressive Role', 5th August 1974, *New York Times*.
[324] 'Jallianwala Bagh Revisited', *Frontline*, 1st November 1997, <https://frontline.thehindu.com/social-issues/article30160329.ece> [accessed 17 October 2020].
[325] Fenech, p.849.; further analysis by Wagner, *Amritsar 1919,* p.265.

framework for the Sikh community to define its role within the Indian nation, best embodied by Udham Singh who represents both community and national pride.[326] Jallianwala Bagh, both metaphorically and physically, is therefore the site of a collective memory exercise which, due to periodic intervention, foregrounds political resistance and regional and national histories of freedom, resistance and revenge over the commemoration of the *shahadat* (martyrdom) of the massacre victims.

Reclamation of a People's History

Figure 3.17: Partition Museum, Amritsar, Author's Own

Also on the heritage mile is the new Partition Museum, an institution which Mahn and Murphy argue aims to ensure 'the conservation of memories becomes an act of restorative justice.'[327] Both their permanent display about the massacre, and their *Punjab Under Siege* travelling exhibition will be considered here. The museum's approach highlights personal accounts which counter the problem Edwards and Meads identify of 'the colonial remain[ing] invisible and unspeakable in broader social histories.'[328] It was founded by Lady Kishwar Desai, author, journalist and wife of Lord Desai, who was born in Ambar, formerly in the Punjab, grew up in Chandigarh and now lives between Delhi, London and Goa, embodying a UK/India connection. The museum is in the Town Hall, a colonial-era administrative building which, as Radhika Chopra writes, within the 'British colonial imprint on [Amritsar's] urban landscape…remains an important public space…as do the

326 Wagner, *Amritsar 1919*, p.265.
327 Mahn and Murphy, p.2.
328 Edwards and Mead, p.31.

Mall Road and Civil Lines, both central spaces of colonial cities.'[329] Moreover, the building is intimately connected to Jallianwala Bagh and Amritsar's colonial history, as the city police headquarters, complete with jail cells, the court of small causes and municipal offices.[330]

Figure 3.18: The Town Hall, April 1919 © The Partition Museum

A part of colonial infrastructural legacy, the Town Hall was a focus of resistance and resentment during the Punjab Uprising on the 10th of April 1919, with nearly half burnt down, shown in Figure 3.18. It is thus refreshing that a building formerly manifesting colonial law and order has been transformed into a 'people's museum' relaying and recording the impact of colonisation, Partition and the effects of independence from the British state on India.

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329 Chopra, p.49.
330 The Partition Museum, 'Town Hall, Amritsar', <https://www.facebook.com/PartitionMuseum/posts/1050222741819365> [accessed 4 March 2020].

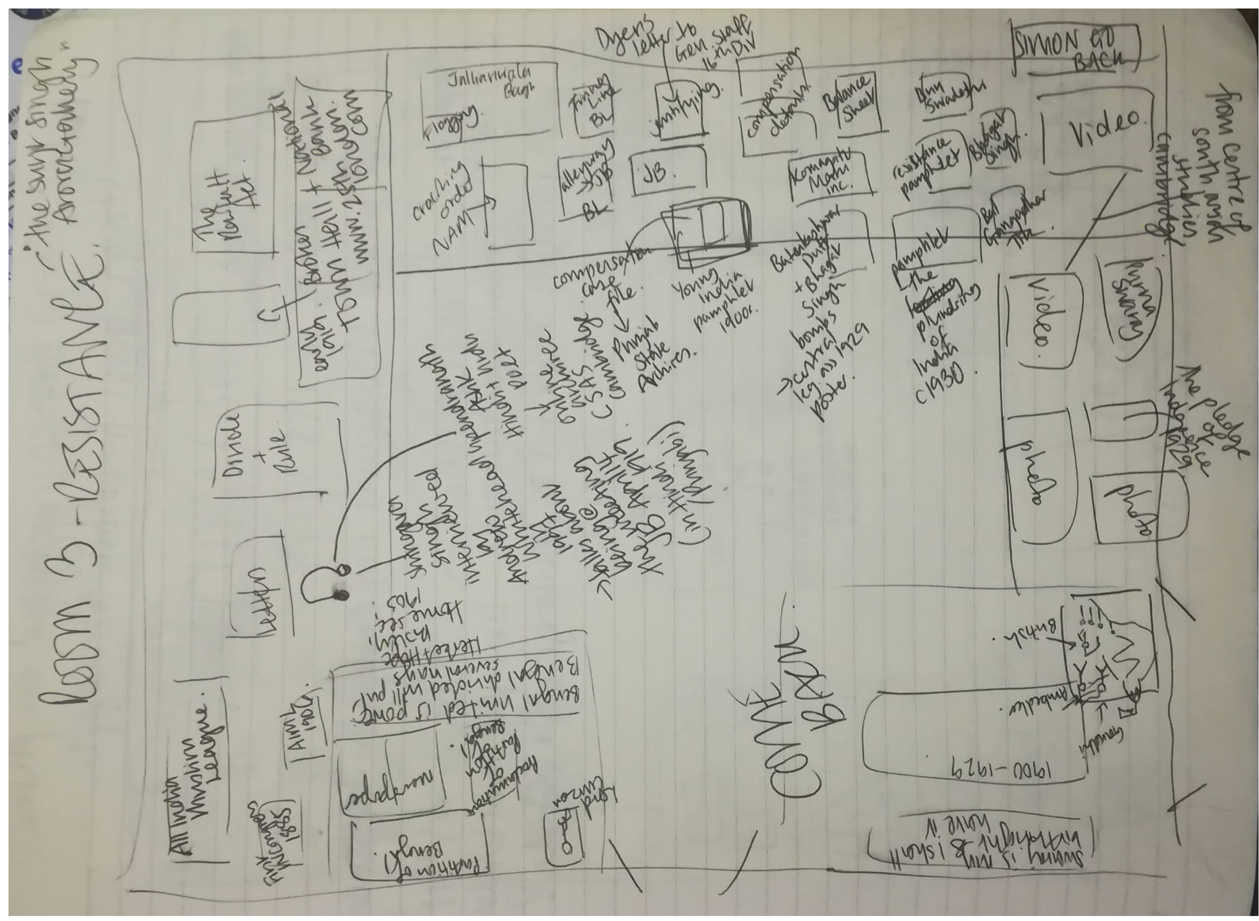

Figure 3.19: Room 3, Birds-Eye View Map, Partition Museum, Author's Own

The museum is structured chronologically, starting with rising resistance to the Raj, and traversing key moments in Indian history between 1900 and 1948 using memorabilia donated by families, contemporary textual and photographic sources, testimonies and purpose-built installations with bilingual text - English and Punjabi. It is distinct from others analysed in this thesis as it is private, unlike systemically underfunded government-run ASI sites with their inheritance of colonial heritage policy, representing a fresh take on Indian history by Indian historians.[331] The first three rooms, 'Why Amritsar?', 'Punjab', and 'Resistance', situate growing resistance to colonialism within local and regional context, positing that this, alongside other factors, culminated in Partition and independence in 1947.

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331 Photography is strictly forbidden, so the following analysis is based on notes recorded during fieldwork. Photos will therefore be sparse in the following section, and quotes from museum text will not be referenced or shown in images.

Figure 3.20: Curatorial Approach, Punjab Under Siege Exhibition, Partition Museum © FirstPost

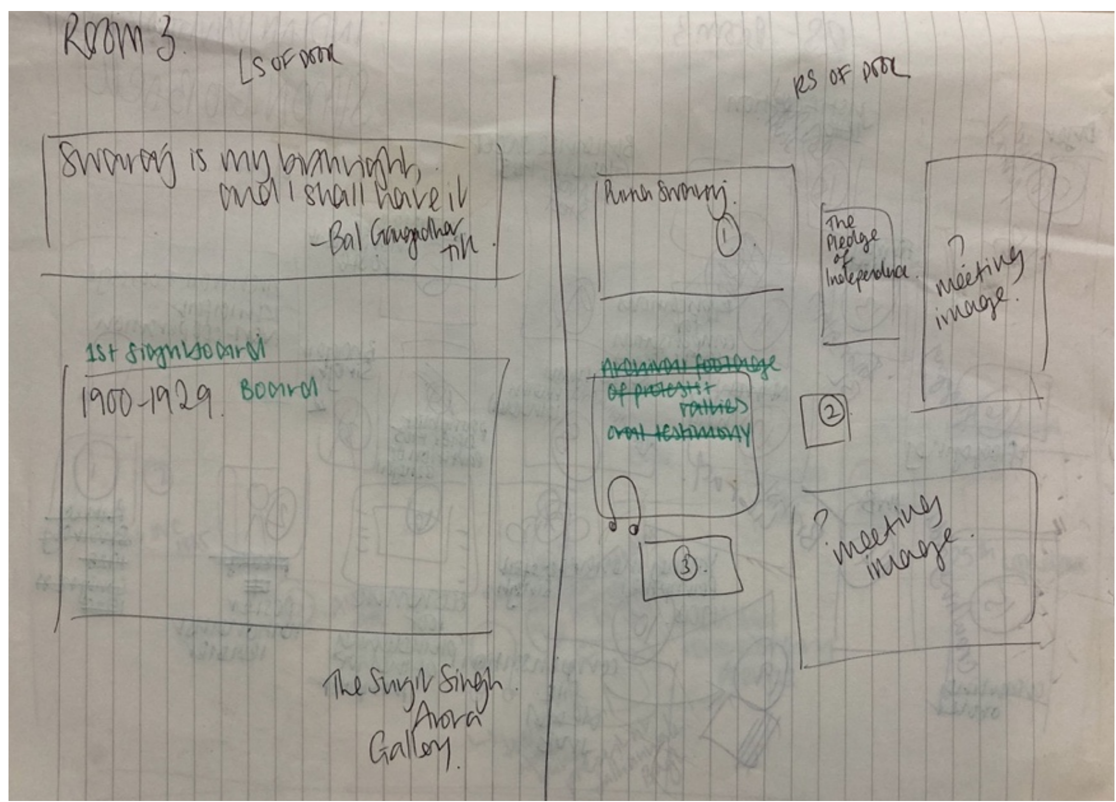

Figure 3.21: Room 3, Either Side of Door Wall Map, Partition Museum, Author's Own

Entitled 'Resistance', Room 3 uses documentary, visual and auditory sources to highlight anti-colonial resistance between 1900 and 1930, using text to provide historical context (see Figure 3.20). This includes the Partition of Bengal, 'Divide and Rule' policies and growing political resistance in the 1920's and 30's, visually represented by 'Simon Go Back' posters, Salt March photos and portraits of freedom fighters. Of the four walls, one covers the prelude, event and aftermath of Jallianwala Bagh. The room is structured through time from left to right, taking the visitor on a journey of 'resistance'. The introduction, labelled "1900-1929", reveals the museum's wider aim to emphasise multi-faith resistance, countering narratives surrounding religious divisions exposed by Partition communal violence. Using the Partition of Bengal as an example of

"continued instances of their [the British] divide and rule policy, which started after the uprising of 1857", thus creates a wider narrative of the impact of British colonisation on India's population.

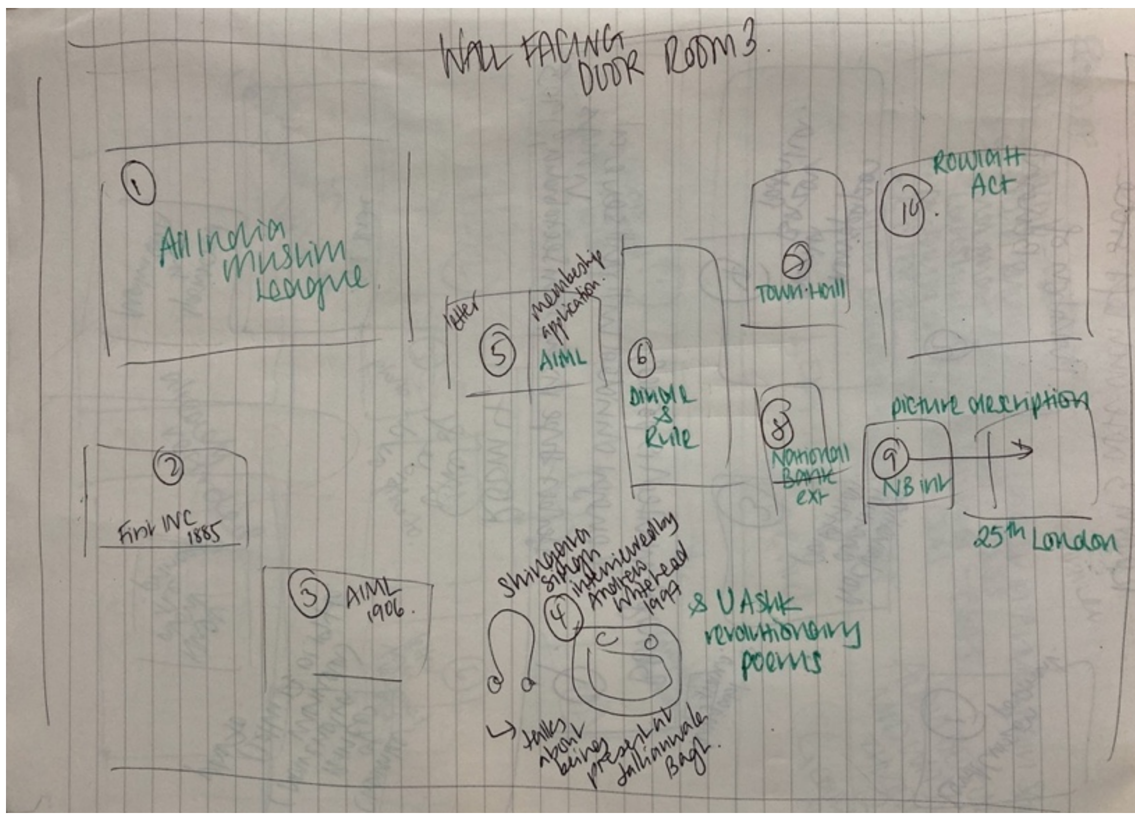

Figure 3.22: Room 3, Wall Facing Door Wall Map, Partition Museum, Author's Own

The most evocative source is a 1997 interview with Singhera Singh for *Partition Voices*.[332] Singh, 97, starts by talking about *Vaisakhi* in 1919, using it to demonstrate his age. He recounts being present at the *bagh* and hiding in the *Harmandir Sahib* during the shooting, returning later to collect bodies.[333] This clip shows the longevity of the living memory of Jallianwala Bagh, as well as the way Singh conflates his traumatic memories of the massacre with Partition violence. Death therefore connects these two events: the hundreds killed in the massacre, and the killings of the Partition. Linking Jallianwala Bagh to later nationalism, an interview with Upendranath Ashk from 1976 reciting revolutionary poetry and songs is attached to this audio clip.[334] Alongside this are photographs of government buildings, including the Town Hall, in the aftermath of the unrest on 10th April 1919 next to photographs and letters from the inception of the Indian National Congress and All India Muslim League (Figure 3.22). Two boards named "Divide and Rule" and "Rowlatt Act" contextualise these sources, with the second quoting an unnamed British officer describing

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332 Shingara Singh, interviewed by Andrew Whitehead, 1997, *Partition Voices* <https://www.andrewwhitehead.net/partition-voices-shingara-singh.html> [accessed 21 August 2020].
333 Ibid.
334 Upendranath Ashk, interviewed by Uma Shankar, 1976, *Centre for South Asian Studies Audio Archive,* <https://www.s-asian.cam.ac.uk/archive/audio/collection/u-ashk/> [accessed 9 October 2020].

the unrest as "widespread disorder." Largely, resistor accounts are emphasised: for the Partition Museum, "the riots that broke out across Punjab in early 1919 were a turning point in the struggle."

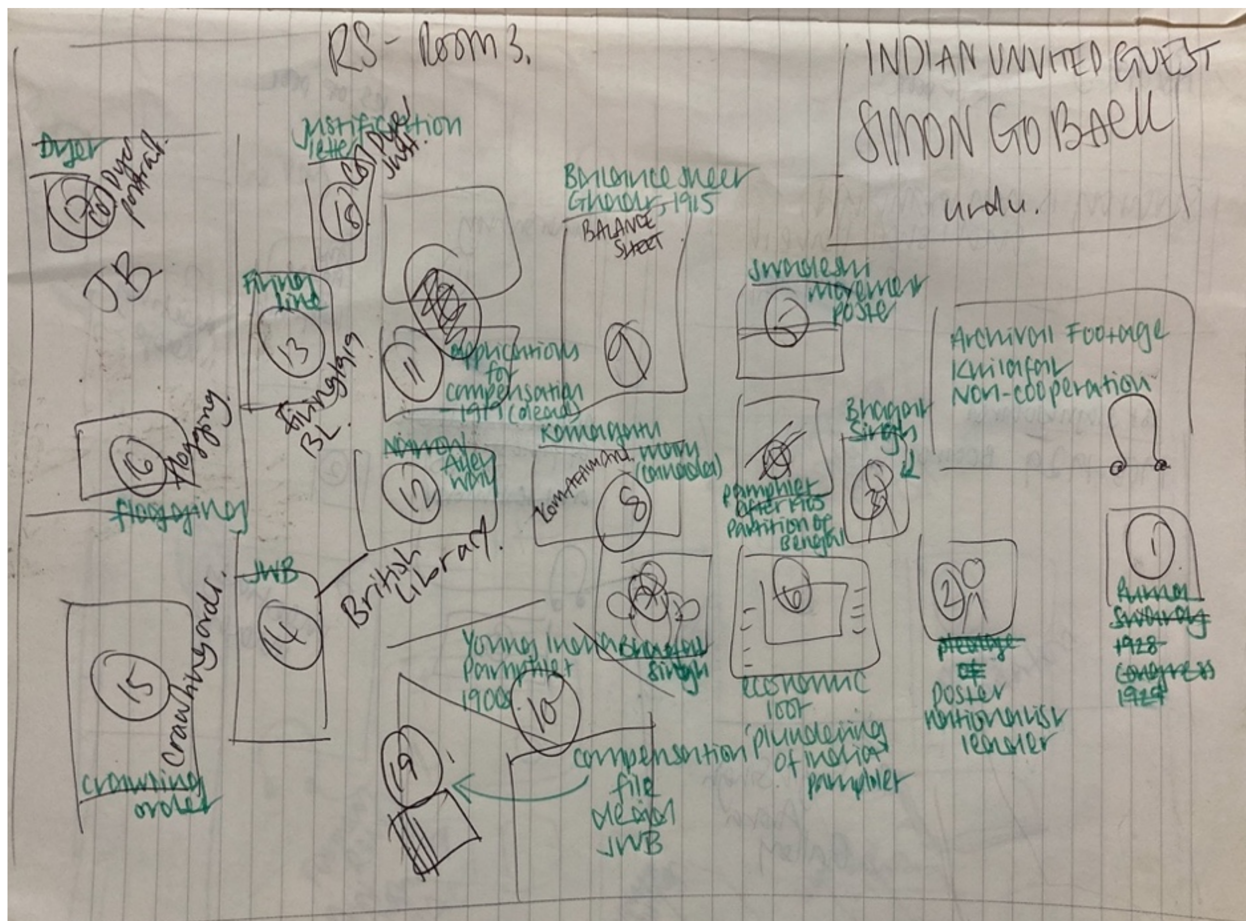

Figure 3.23: Room 3, Right Side Wall Map, Partition Museum, Author's Own

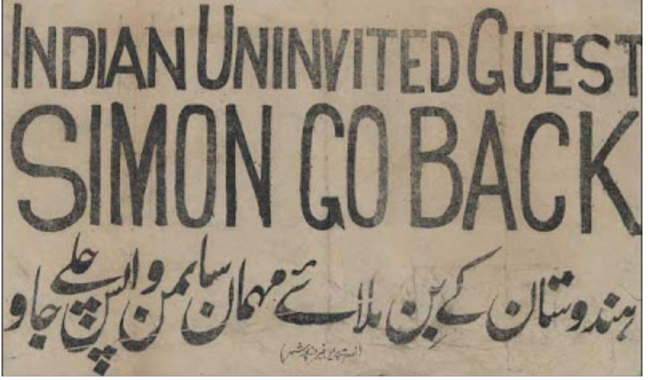

Figure 3.24: Simon Go Back Poster © BBC News

The Jallianwala Bagh board is brief but informative, containing facts and contentions. For instance, the museum indicates that it was 'a mix of protestors and of people celebrating the festival' present on the 13th of April. Kishwar Desai is more specific in *Amritsar 1919: The Real Story*, stating that seventy-five to eighty percent of people in the *bagh* were there as an act of non-violent rebellion,

with the remainder from out of town or *Vaisakhi* celebrants.[335] Highlighting their sacrifice, she argues that people present knew they were in danger, with young boys there by chance, and barely any women present.[336] Desai's book also highlights the unrest leading up to the massacre, using it to demonstrate that repression and violence were longstanding colonial ruling tactics, particularly in early 1919 Punjab.[337] The visuals of the museum display replicate this argument, by surrounding the "Jallianwala Bagh" board with not only images of post-massacre punishments and compensation documents, but also nationalist pamphlets including the infamous 'Balance Sheet', and Partition of Bengal, Swadeshi movement and 'Simon Go Back' posters alongside a 'Plundering of India' pamphlet (Figure 3.23).[338] The massacre is therefore shown as a turning point, framed amongst later political nationalism.

Location and Education

For the centenary, the Partition Museum created a temporary *Jallianwala Bagh: Punjab Under Siege* exhibit which began in the museum, before travelling to different cities across India. It included news reports, survivor stories, a Martyr's Well, model Whipping Post and Crawling Order Lane. A physical visit was not possible, however reviews, photographs and an understanding of Partition Museum curation methodology indicate the wider context of the centenary, and how the massacre was represented in the exhibition:[339]

> *'Strips of blood-red cloth hung down, a reminder of the turbans that lay scattered in the Bagh after the massacre. A "flogging chair", where Indians were whipped if they violated martial law…stood grimly in one corner. The names and, where possible, the ages of the dead flash on a red brick wall to the sound of gunfire, recorded to last for those awful 10-15 minutes.'*[340]

The exhibition's visual and auditory elements thus heavily feature repressive violence and death, with installations describing some of the most infamous aspects of Jallianwala Bagh, one being the flogging post. In the wake of the Punjab Unrest, this was a form of collective and racialised punishment which, according to Wagner, 'came to define the visual repertoire of British

[335] Kishwar Desai, *Jallianwala Bagh, 1919: The Real Story* (Chennai: Westland Publications, 2018), p.74.
[336] Ibid.
[337] Ibid., p.xii.
[338] 'Indian Independence Posters', *BBC News*, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/spl/hi/pop_ups/07/south_asia_indian_independence_posters/html/2.stm> [accessed 9 October 2020].
[339] The author had a phone call with the Partition Museum curators in which they answered questions about the exhibition with the Manchester Museum.
[340] Nilanjana Roy, 'The Jallianwala Bagh Massacre and Scars from the British Empire', *Financial Times*, 26 April 2019 <https://www.ft.com/content/6fd91900-667e-11e9-a79d-04f350474d62> [accessed 30 March 2020].

oppression.'[341] Widespread in April 1919, Taylor Sherman argues flogging 'was used as a summary, exemplary and judicial sanction' to exert control over Indian people's bodies and the wider population.[342] Looking at the psychology behind this, Talbot argues that whilst brutality may have been rationalised to maintain law and order, 'it's real roots may have lain deep in the attitudes and ethos of British officials.'[343] The flogging of uninvolved schoolboys in Kasur after the derailing of a train and killing of two Europeans indicates that violence was aimed at control rather than a punishment.[344] The visually arresting installation used in the temporary exhibition therefore demonstrates that the manner in which the museum uses physical props to critique wider colonial violence and the punishments inflicted on the local population for violence against British and European people (Figure 3.25).

Figure 3.25: The Flogging Post Installation © Partition Museum

Another example of colonial violence, the 'crawling order', was Dyer's response to the attack of Miss Sherwood, in which local people were made to crawl along the lane where she was beaten at bayonet-point.[345] This is pictured in Figure 3.25 as a wall-sized photograph which shows a crowd watching. According to the Partition Museum CEO, Mallika Ahluwalia, this emphasis was purposeful, as '[t]he exhibition also points out that the Jallianwala Bagh massacre was one part of

341 Wagner, *Amritsar 1919*, p.222.
342 Sherman, p.28.
343 Talbot, p.214.
344 Sherman, p.28.
345 Vinay Lal, 'The Incident of the "Crawling Lane": Women in the Punjab Disturbances of 1919', *Genders*, 1993, 35–60, paragraph 3.

a much larger system of colonial oppression in Punjab.'[346] Visual representations therefore demonstrate that despite being characterised as a one-off by contemporary politicians (an interpretation still shaping British memory), the massacre was part of a system of brutal control over an increasingly politicised Indian population. Moreover, they demonstrate the power of resistance within Indian national histories: as Wagner identifies, '[c]olonial violence ultimately undermined colonial rule by alienating the native population and turning its victims into martyrs of nationalist movements.'[347]

Figure 3.26: Jail Installation © Partition Museum

Further images of the exhibition (Figures 3.26 and 3.27) highlight the use of mimicked jail cells to illustrate similar experiences, based in the rooms which were previously *kotwali* (jail) cells and therefore used, Ahluwahlia describes, for 'torture and oppression.' [348] Inside these cell installations, images of freedom fighters are placed, highlighting their lived experiences of the colonial regime. Thus, the temporary *Punjab Under Siege* exhibit at the museum uses the history of the building space to subvert dominant British narratives of colonial violence.

[346] Aishwarya Sahasrabudhe, 'Partition Museum's Punjab Under Siege Exhibit Recounts Jallianwala Bagh Massacre through Personal Testimonies', *Firstpost* <https://www.firstpost.com/india/punjab-under-seige-a-special-exhibit-by-the-partition-museum-in-amritsar-marks-the-centenary-of-the-1919-jallianwala-bagh-massacre-4934861.html> [accessed 17 August 2020].
[347] Wagner, '"Calculated to Strike Terror"', p.224.
[348] Ibid.

Figure 3.27: Mass Jail Cell Installation, Partition Museum © FirstPost

However, this was not replicated each time the exhibition moved, perhaps as installations are difficult and costly in a travelling exhibition, and according to the curator, the size of the exhibition was location dependent. The Mumbai version [Figure 3.28] is smaller and more text-reliant with no installations, but image-based sources. There is a focus on individuals, with photos of significant people flanked by museum text, with a board about 'Unrest in the Punjab' demonstrating that the overall message is unchanged. The schoolchildren in Figures 3.28 and 3.29 also highlight the role of museums in education and the curriculum, demonstrating the importance of the massacre to Indian understandings of history today.

Figure 3.28: Punjab Under Siege Exhibition, Mumbai © Partition Museum

Figure 3.29: Punjab Under Siege Exhibition, Mumbai © Partition Museum

The Partition Museum *Jallianwala Bagh: Punjab Under Siege* exhibition aims to provide a people's history, with a clear set of beliefs behind their representation of the massacre, emphasising religious unity, and exposing the repression surrounding the massacre, characterising colonial rule as systemically violent. To do this, the exhibition blends compelling primary sources with visually impactful and emotive installations. The reclamation of a formerly colonial building used as a *kotwali* (jail) is particularly inspiring, and the exhibition therefore uses this spatial context to creatively present information. Where this is unavailable, visceral installations act as catalysts for memorialisation among visitors. Thus, whilst there is a textual emphasis on the significance of Jallianwala Bagh to nationalist history, the Partition Museum representations remain rooted in local collective memory and the cityscape of Amritsar, and in the lived experiences of Punjabi people in 1919.

Bridging the Post-Colonial Divide

Unlike in India, until recently, the UK has not seen commemoration of Jallianwala Bagh by heritage institutions, despite diplomatic visits to the memorial garden such as one by Queen Elizabeth in 1997.[349] This is due to an inability to discuss episodes of violence which challenge the 'civilising mission' narrative still characterising British perceptions of this period of history. However, the historic co-curation project between the Manchester Museum and the Partition Museum launched on 11th April 2019 aimed to do this, with simultaneous satellite exhibitions in the London Nehru Centre and in Birmingham. Alongside co-curation, the museum garnered the support of the British

[349] John Burns, 'In India, Queen Bows Her Head Over a Massacre in 1919', *The New York Times*, 15 October 1997, <https://www.nytimes.com/1997/10/15/world/in-india-queen-bows-her-head-over-a-massacre-in-1919.html> [accessed 26 October 2020].

Sikh community through talks, a launch event and cultural collaboration during exhibition design, highlighting the role of the Indian diaspora in commemorating colonial history.[350]

Figure 3.30: Exhibition Advertisement, Manchester Museum, Author's Own

The exhibition description states that it:

> *'explores what we remember, how we remember it, and what we have forgotten, in India and the UK…The exhibition will raise awareness of the peaceful protest and direct action, martial law, the divergent British and Indian inquiry findings, and the ongoing social, political, and cultural response.'*[351]

It is particularly historic due to the co-curation with the Partition Museum, engendering a cultural and creative partnership at the forefront of efforts to reform museum practice. As Giblin, Ramos and Grout argue, '[t]he value of sharing interpretive power and engaging in dialogue with colleagues beyond the museum walls to dissolve the singular curatorial voice is paramount.'[352] There is some debate amongst museum practitioners about whether true co-curation is possible, however a curator from the Partition Museum expressed that it had felt like a collaborative process, and that the exhibition text was in fact, largely theirs.[353] In an explanation of the project's inception, museum director Esme Ward stated that they 'couldn't just take the show as it was in Amritsar to

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350 'Jallianwala Bagh 1919: Punjab Under Siege', *Manchester Museum*, 2019 <https://www.museum.manchester.ac.uk/whats-on/exhibitions/upcomingexhibitions/jallianwalabagh/> [accessed 23 August 2020].
351 Ibid.
352 Giblin, Ramos, and Grout, p.480.
353 'The Museum Will Not Be Decolonised', Media Diversified, 2017 <https://mediadiversified.org/2017/11/15/the-museum-will-not-be-decolonised/> [accessed 19 August 2019].

Manchester as much of it was about being in that place and being able to visit the garden and memorial.'[354] However, strong similarities with the Partition Museum version, such as in the use of bilingual signage, a positive challenge to the historical dominance of English on the subcontinent, meant that the exhibition did not overtly serve only a British audience.

Figure 3.31: Exhibition Panels, Manchester Museum, Author's Own

Despite Ward noting that 'both Manchester and Amritsar are two cities deeply affected by colonialism in very different ways and this was a chance to show a global perspective rarely explored', Manchester's colonial connections were not represented in the exhibition.[355] There was therefore underutilised potential to connect a Northern British city to Amritsar, and the Jallianwala Bagh massacre. These omissions, had they been featured alongside contemporary debates about the massacre in Britain, would have exposed the trans-imperial links still largely missing from popular understandings of colonial history in the UK, which remains limited to island geography and the binaries of metropole/periphery. For British audiences, considering the widespread aphasia which characterises imperial histories, drawing such cross-continent connections and exploring the ways in which colonial-era events define self-perceptions surrounding national identity would be a significant step forward in challenging the aphasia characterising public heritage.

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[354] 'International Co-Curating through Skype', *ICOM UK*, 2019 <http://uk.icom.museum/international-co-curating-through-skype-how-manchester-museum-created-its-jallianwala-bagh-massacre-exhibition/> [accessed 22 May 2019].

[355] *ICOM,* 'International Co-Curating through Skype'.

Figure 3.32: Jallianwala: Repression and Retribution, 2019, The Singh Twins, Author's Own

The exhibition was chronological, featuring a timeline and audio-visual accounts, with an Enfield Rifle and Indian objects from the museum's botany collections adding 3D elements to an otherwise 2D exhibition. Perhaps the most creative intervention was the contemporary artwork by the Singh Twins (Figure 3.33).[356] However, seemingly due to spatial constraints, this was installed away from the exhibition, on the first floor. Similarly, the title image for the exhibition design collaterals came from a music video by Indian band Skavengers about Udham Singh in cartoon form (Figure 3.30).[357] This was a wider theme, with a Popular Culture board featuring responses by contemporary and modern Indians, demonstrating the extent to which the massacre came to symbolise colonial violence and the freedom fight in India (Figure 3.33). This is in stark contrast to the very few popular representations of the massacre in the UK, indicating it's contested legacy within British history, rooted in its capacity to challenge aphasia about colonial violence.

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[356] 'The Singh Twins Unveil Two New Artworks Revealing the Wider Story of a Massacre' <https://artdaily.com/news/115988/The-Singh-Twins-unveil-two-new-artworks-revealing-the-wider-story-of-a-massacre#.X4ACG5MzagQ> [accessed 9 October 2020].

[357] *The Ska Vengers - Frank Brazil (Udham Singh)*, 2015 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VuYgICoMer8> [accessed 9 October 2020].

Figure 3.33: Popular Culture Board, Manchester Museum, Author's Own

The final space in which the *Punjab Under Siege* exhibition was represented was in the gift shop, which featured books (including Lady Kishwar Desai's), Rowlatt Act postcards and commemorative marigolds. As Alice Proctor argues, regarding the commercialisation of historical objects in museums, 'with objects that have a colonial history, or are linked to violence and theft, merchandising carries an extra political weight.'[358] The marigolds, shown in Figures 3.34 and 3.35 in both museums, are symbolic *khadi* brooches, created "in memory of the martyrs killed at Jallianwala Bagh." Similar to the poppy, widely worn in Britain during November to commemorate the armistice and honour losses in the world wars, the yellow and saffron colours of the marigold are symbolic of Vaisakhi and sacrifice respectively. Whilst explained in the Partition Museum, this was not clear in Manchester Museum, with the flowers presented in a woven bowl merely labelled as 'Commemorative Marigold Flowers'. The marigolds, which simultaneously mimic and challenge the rituals associated with the British poppies, elicit an interesting conversation about contradictory British attitudes towards commemorating colonial conflict, violence and mass death versus the losses suffered in the world wars. This is especially significant as souvenirs, as demonstrated throughout this thesis in the memorabilia now part of museum collections, have the longevity and potential to disrupt or perpetuate legacies of colonialism.

358 Procter, p.98.

Figures 3.34: Marigolds, Partition Museum © Condé Naste Traveller India

Figure 3.35: Marigolds, Manchester Museum, Author's Own

Thus, whilst the Manchester Museum exhibition challenges the under-representation of Jallianwala Bagh and colonial violence in Britain to date, the opportunity was not fully capitalised on. The Partition Museum's curatorial involvement was clear, meaning the exhibition lacked local contexts but did follow best practice regarding co-curation, itself a historic aspect. The exhibition's focus on Indian popular memory highlights the dearth of this in the UK, exposing how far the country is from coming to terms with systemic colonial violence, and from commemorating events like this more widely. Here, emphasising the links between Manchester and Jallianwala Bagh would have demonstrated that British and Indian history are simultaneously intertwined, and contested and that public heritage is where these trans-imperial legacies are negotiated. This is evident in the gift shop, where marigolds full of meaning to an Indian audience do not translate effectively, even though they perhaps challenge British aphasia surrounding the partiality of world war commemoration. These issues with the exhibition demonstrate the ways in which certain historical events are commemorated and others are not, a selection driven by their place in history, and how far they support or challenge narratives surrounding national identities.

Jallianwala Bagh in Miniature

Figure 3.36: Entrance, Red Fort Jallianwala Bagh Exhibition, Author's Own

The Jallianwala Bagh Exhibition in the Red Fort, or *Lal Quila,* is part of the larger regeneration project which includes the 1857 exhibition, in one of four redeveloped British barracks. Following a recent visit, Prime Minister Modi asserted 'the entire complex…will be known as *Kranti Mandir*, (temple of revolution) 'as a tribute to the revolutionary zeal of our great freedom fighters' a statement highlighting the narratives the exhibitions is intended to serve.[359] The exhibition was designed by Tagbin, a technology service company who specialise in digital experiences, who describe it as "an experience of sacrifices" designed to "educate the youth", and is text-led, using few physical artefacts but instead wall-sized images and graphic representations.[360] Arguing that "interactivity in traditional museums is dead", they contrast the use of "archival information, posters, paintings or artefacts" with their aim to "teleport [the youth] to the actual ground of bloodshed" (See Figure 3.37), stating:

[359] 'PM Inaugurates Museums on Bose, Jallianwala Bagh in Red Fort Complex', *The Times of India*, 23 January 2019 <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/pm-inaugurates-museums-on-bose-jallianwala-bagh-in-red-fort-complex/articleshow/67655814.cms> [accessed 12 October 2020].
[360] 'Yaad E Jallian Digital Museum at Red Fort', *TAGBIN,* <https://tagbin.in/projects/yaad-e-jallian-digital-museum/> [accessed 12 October 2020].

> *'This museum is designed…to let people wear a role of freedom fighters and to never forget their sacrifice. New-fangled techniques are used to exactly create an emotion which may help people to learn.'*[361]

As Zhang *et al* highlight, 'exhibitions…perform and define the specific, selected version of collective ancestry…legitimating the discourse of a nation', and thus there is a clear narrative purpose of martyrdom and revolution in this exhibition, achieved by mimicking the Jallianwala Bagh landscape.[362]

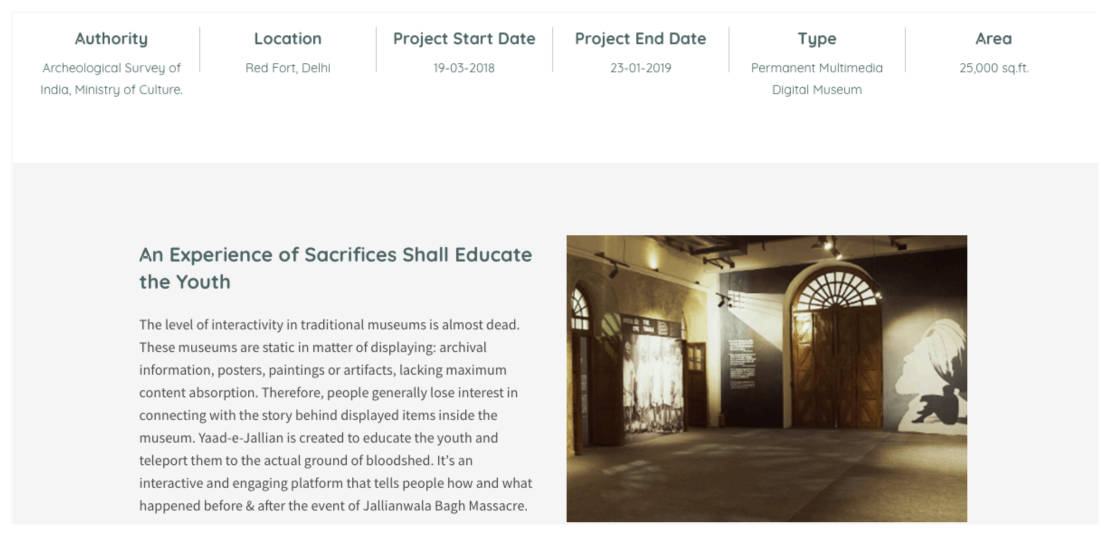

Figure 3.37: Screenshots, TAGBIN Website, Accessed Monday 12th October 2020 © TAGBIN

This is particularly visible in the obelisk replica, which unlike the actual one, has the 379 named massacre victims visible on the surrounding walls (Figure 3.36). This replicates existing iconographies of Jallianwala Bagh, highlighting the importance of constructed symbolism in commemoration. This may be because, as Lahiri suggests, 'it is primarily through the contestation of the landscape of revolt that the Indian state's remembrance can be archaeologically recovered' with transplantation thus enabling this commemoration, like the colonial war memorials in Lucknow

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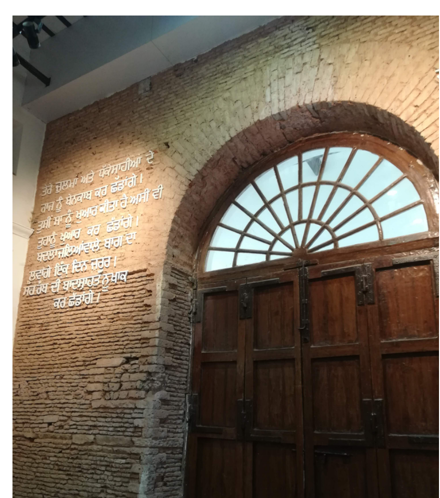
[361] Ibid.
[362] Zhang and others, p.118.

and Britain.[363] This is similarly achieved through the installation of similar red brick walls. On these, either side of the arched doors is a Punjabi poem about revenge, reading among other things, “we will expose your kingdom of oppression and tyranny” connecting the memorial landscape and museum exhibition using recognisable iconography and revolutionary poetry, linking them to the larger freedom fight (Figure 3.38).[364]



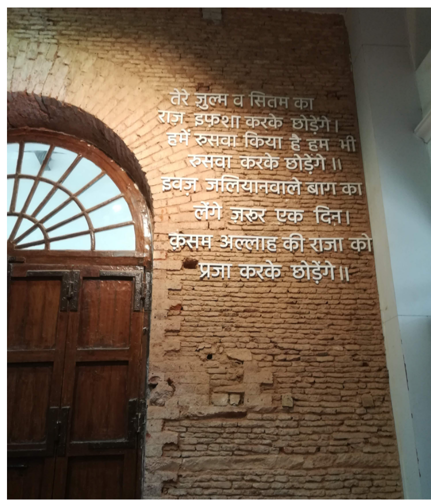


Figure 3.38: Wall Installation, Red Fort Jallianwala Bagh Exhibition, Author’s Own

Like its 1857 equivalent, tthe exhibition is therefore an exercise in specific narrative construction: the national context of a local event designed to illicit emotive reactions from the audience, encouraging them to feel they are in Amritsar. Revolutionary poetry placed throughout connects these on-ground historical events to collective struggle and narratives of martyrdom and revenge. The transplantation of the obelisk and red brick walls indicates that memory of the massacre is driven by place-specific iconography, with the process of replication reflective of the matching war memorials in Britain and the Residency. Thus, local memory and iconography of Jallianwala Bagh are used here, in the country’s capital, to emphasise the national struggle for freedom and to commemorate the deaths of those at Jallianwala Bagh.

Conclusion

This chapter, whilst highlighting that memorialisation of the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre of 1919 was distinct to 1857 in many ways, also demonstrates commonalities in representations of historical violence and death. The development of Amritsar’s ‘Heritage Mile’ and Jallianwala Bagh Memorial reflect political developments of modern India, with party politics and ideologies inscribed on its environment. However, the continuity in the use of the *bagh* by the local community highlights that national heritage concerns cannot transform a landscape enough to change its everyday meaning, with open space for the community taking priority. The Jallianwala Bagh

[363] Lahiri, p.39.
[364] Full translation: Appendix D

exhibitions at the Partition Museum are more informative, told within a larger mandate of people's history, with a focus on representing the repressive violence of the aftermath in the city and wider region. This is reflected in the Red Fort, with transplants of spatial icons from the memorial into the barracks, rather than historical artefacts. Conversely, the Manchester Museum exhibition, largely avoiding Indian politicisation of Jallianwala Bagh, omits the context which might connect colonial histories to a British audience. This means serious consideration of the trans-imperial connections between Amritsar and Manchester, and wider imperial histories and comparison between common rituals of remembrance are absent. Nevertheless, in other ways the exhibition challenges Britain's long-held aphasia about Jallianwala Bagh and the persistent perception that Empire was overwhelmingly benevolent, rather than a regime which maintained its power via exemplary and systemic violence.

Indian representations of Jallianwala Bagh emphasise both the colonial violence and vocal political and cultural resistance integral to understandings of national history, making the massacre an event which is today perceived as "the beginning of the end" of the British colonial state in India.[365] In this sense, Jallianwala Bagh is perceived as both a site of mourning, and as a celebration of eventual victory within a larger arc of Indian independence. This creates tension, as memorials and exhibitions combine the local community memory of violence and loss with regional, party and national political concerns. In the UK, an institutional lack of acknowledgment and apology – aphasia - is now being challenged, creating a disassociation between popular beliefs of Empire as an overwhelmingly benevolent exercise and the systemic violence and repression which Jallianwala Bagh exposes. For both nations, the death and loss surrounding the massacre are part of wider negotiations of national history and identity, and the increase in discussion and investment surrounding the centenary demonstrates its ongoing power, and relevance to contemporary times.

[365] Quoted in the Red Fort.

Conclusion

The Great Rebellion of 1857 and Jallianwala Bagh Massacre have therefore engendered numerous and varied public heritage representations in both India and Britain, physical locations which present a varied, and complex picture of the events, aftermath, and impact of these two historical moments, and the death, loss and sacrifice surrounding them. Each site is shaped by its own specific context and broader competing agendas, displaying contradictions and surprising similarities. This is embodied by sites such as the Residency, which exist awkwardly at an intersection: founded in British collective memory, and since 1947 required to communicate India's freedom story. These tensions have created an unease within the sites regarding these legacies, and their place in the public heritage landscape of either nation. This is particularly evident in three main areas: the infrastructural and artefactual legacies of individual and collective memorialisation, tensions between individual and local memorialisation and institutional or national politics, and obscurities about the violence and loss enacted and experienced by both sides.

The vast infrastructural and artefactual legacy of colonial memorialisation following the rebellion was replicated across Britain and India's landscapes, in graveyards, churches, war memorials and museums. For Britain, these inheritances perpetuate aspects of the 'mutiny myths', sustaining aphasia about the rebellion's causes, extent, legacies and aftermath. This is further reflected in the dearth of commemoration of Jallianwala Bagh, a silence which began in 1919 and which largely continues today. Thus, public heritage representations continue to be shaped by the collecting practices of British soldiers, colonial-era visual and linguistic narratives, and an absence of Indian perspectives, with histories of anti-colonial resistance largely represented as episodic, exceptional and disorganised. The impact of this is a continuity in engagement by British people with colonial monuments in India, exemplified by the mutiny tours, something which demonstrates persistent aphasia about the changed context of these spaces within independent India. For India, these memorials highlight the infrastructural and narrative remnants of a coloniser's perception of the past and signify collective memories of violence and trauma – exemplified in the resentment about the Cawnpore Memorial Well which elicited its transformation. Thus, they have required re-interpretation, a process which has been defined against British narratives and shaped by an evolving notion of the Indian nation and its history, arguably creating simplicity where there would otherwise be complexity and nuance, particularly considering India's vast diversity and size.

This has been exacerbated by a growing preference of homogeneity – most fiercely and more recently under the BJP government, although also seen in heritage-building immediately post-independence in the creation of nationhood through narrative and monumental iconographies. Historic parts of cities have been demolished, mimicking British behaviour post-1858, with a majoritarian and uniform Jaipuri heritage aesthetic chosen, presumably, to connect heritage sites

across state lines. Efforts to institutionalise visitor behaviours are not always successful however, demonstrated by Jallianwala Bagh, where despite periodic politically motivated redevelopment changing the landscape, the community's use of the garden remains the same. In many spaces, there have been ongoing attempts to refute the colonial 'mutiny myths' and highlight colonised experiences, meaning public heritage narratives have been somewhat defined against British equivalents. Thus, despite creating culturally specific memorial landscapes, statuary and monumentalism, like the colonial visual language of power, have been similarly utilised by the Indian state. A larger imperative of 'national' histories has therefore overtaken potentially complicating local memories, shown in Bithur, where nearby Dalit community commemoration is absent from the government site. This unease with the complexities of the rebellion is further evident in the understandings of nationalism which divide people into two camps: rebel, or traitor, and in aphasia about rebel violence, despite it being a key expression of dissatisfaction with colonial rule.

This inability to acknowledge violence and the death it created unites both Indian and British understandings of anti-colonial resistance. It is reflected in every site, with colonial violence systematically effaced from British representations of its history despite widespread belief in, and use of exemplary punishment, and retributive action. This is apparent not only in the physical violence, but also more intangible acts: the disarmament of the Indian population, exemplary punishments in the days after Jallianwala Bagh, the destruction of cities like Lucknow and extraction of cultural artefacts, which have not yet been acknowledged in Britain. A vocabulary exploring these legacies is still largely absent in Britain, with some museums like NAM taking first steps, but the majority still replying on euphemistic narratives of exploration and defence. Conversely, in India, public heritage representations of these periods focus on colonial violence and omit the violence of the resistance itself, which whilst not as systemic as the British state, is still a key part of the story of fighting for freedom, despite complicating Gandhian non-violence philosophies. In addition, deaths are portrayed as part of a national collective struggle, and as martyrdom, to an extent obscuring individual grief. For both nations, the concept of morality shapes responses, indicating the common struggle to align national history and collective memory with an admission of committing acts of violence.

The way in which public heritage representations have responded to the vast infrastructure and ideological legacies of these periods is a clear indication of the ongoing ways these histories are negotiated in the present. This thesis therefore argues that these public heritage spaces occupy a common discursive field in which national identity is negotiated and articulated. These representations, which are contested, complex, changing and locally specific, create contradictions in their content, and surprising similarities in their form both between India and

Britain, and within either country. Throughout, there is a commonality in the way death is commemorated – as sacrifice, loss or revenge – and histories of resistance and repression are central to these understandings. The sites considered in this thesis, consisting of museums and their collections, memorial landscapes, British graves in India, statues of national martyrs and heroes and sacrificial historical narratives, are physical spaces charged with representing the complexity surrounding colonial history, and are both part of India's freedom fight, and part of British colonial history. The histories of the 1857 rebellion and Jallianwala Bagh are therefore neither entirely separate or entirely shared histories, but part of wider trans-national colonial legacies which continue to shape and define British and Indian heritage landscapes to date. The disruptive power of this mutual importance, which has the capacity to challenge the perceptions of each country about its own history and that of the other, could therefore provide a comparative framework within which India and Britain could begin to acknowledge the extent of this shared but contested history, and the lasting legacies it has created.

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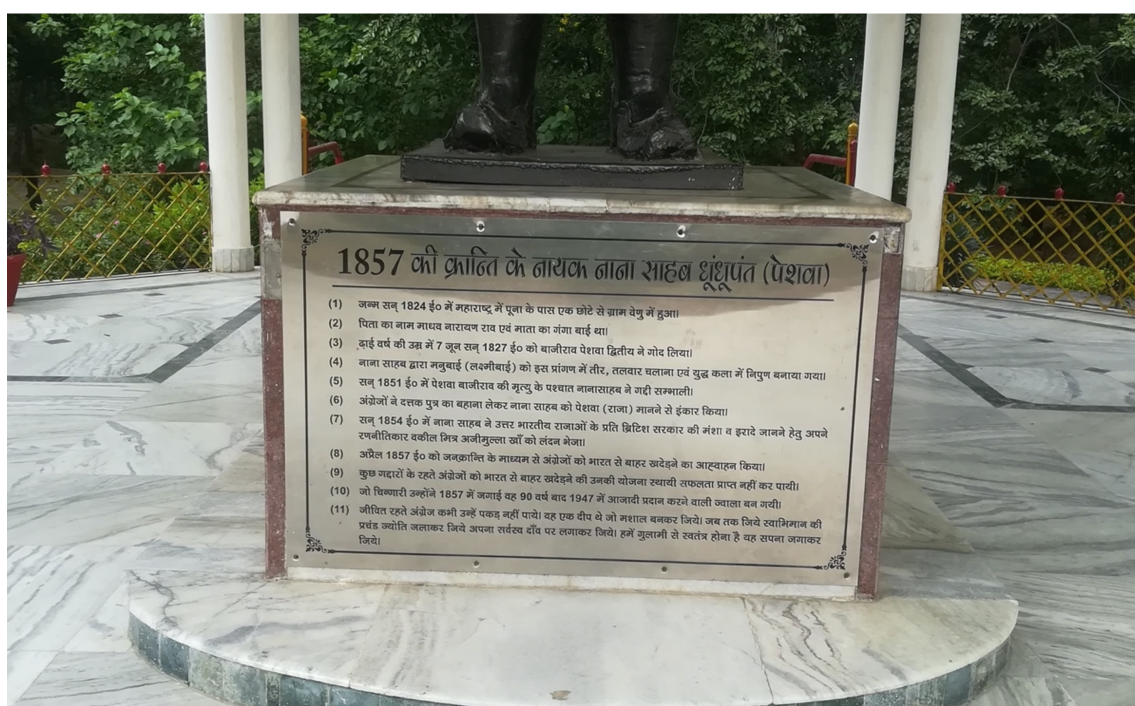
Appendices

Appendix A: Translation of Nana Rao Statue Plaque, Bithur

The Hero Of The Revolution Of 1857, Nana Saheb Dhundhupant (Peshwa)

(1) Born in 1824 in a small village Venu near Pune in Maharashtra.
(2) His father's name was Madhav Narayanrao and mother's Gangabai.
(3) He was adopted by Bajirao Peshwa II on 7 June 1827, at the age of 2.5 years.
(4) Nana Saheb taught Manubai (Lakshmibai) archery and Talwabji in this courtyard and made Manubai skilled in the art of warfare.
(5) After the death of Peshwa Bajirao in 1851, Nana Saheb assumed the throne.
(6) The British refused to accept Nana Saheb as Peshwa (King), using the excuse of adopted son.
(7) In 1854, Nana Saheb sent his strategist lawyer friend Azimullah Khan to London to know the intention of British Government towards North Indian kings.
(8) He called for the British to be driven out of India through a revolution in April 1857.
(9) His plan to drive the British out of India could not achieve lasting success due to some traitors.
(10) The spark which he instigated in 1857 became a flame of independence in 1947 after 90 years.
(11) The British could never catch him alive. He was a lamp who lived as a flambeau. He lived with the burning flame of self-respect all his life. He lived his life by putting everything at stake. He lived by awakening the dream that we have to get freedom from slavery.



Appendix B: Translation of Rani Lakshmibai Statue Plaque, Bithur

<u>Great Adventuress Queen Laxmibai</u>

Born on 19 November 1835, at Banaras
Father's name Moropant tambe and Mother's name Bhagirathi Bai
Childhood name Manubai
Manubai came to Peshwa Mahal Bithoor at the age of 4 with her father. Manubai's early education was with Deeksha Naam Sahib. Manubai completed her early education with Nana Saheb Ji. By the age of 16, Manu had mastered the use of weapons while horse riding and in battles. Manubai was married to King Gangadhar Rao of Jhansi in 1849, since then she was called Rani Laxmibai.

On 19 June 1858, A historic battle was fought on the land of Gwalior. In this battle, Rani Laxmibai fought bravely and killed many British soldiers, but Rani Laxmibai was seriously injured in this battle. Her trusted soldiers supported her and took him to Baba Ganga Das Ji's hut. She breathed her last there and was cremated there. The British could not catch her alive.

Appendix C: Translation of Well Signboard, Bithur

Importance of well

This well was built by Bajirao Peshwa in 1835.
This well was used to provide water for the horses of the stables near the castle.
Rani Lakshmibai's horse also lived here, whose name was Sarang.
It is said that when the castle was attacked by the British in the revolution of 1857, the women and children present in the castle jumped in this well to avoid being humiliated by the British.
It is believed that the water of this well never dries up.

Appendix D: Translation of Punjabi Poem, Jallianwala Bagh, Red Fort

Punjabi poem

We will expose your kingdom of opperession and tyranny

You have fed us, we will fed you too

We will definately take revenge of jalliyan bagh one day

I swear to god that we will destroy your kingdom.