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AMBIGUOUS IMPERIALISMS
British Subaltern Attitudes towards the 'Indian War'[1]*

Projit Bihari Mukharji

> The battle for the past is the battle for the future
> Must be the winners of the memory war
> Smash, reach out and then grab the flower
> At the end of the day their defeat will be for sure.
>
> —'Memory War', Asian Dub Foundation.

WITH the demise of Liberal, as well as Marxist, Humanism in intellectual circles and the rise of a post colonial regime of difference, colonial historiography has often lapsed back into an ironically Kiplingesque assertion that the 'east is east and west is west and ne'er the twain shall meet'.[2] Nowhere is this tendency more pronounced than in the scholarship on the Indian Mutiny. Even as localised studies proliferated in the 1990s, adding nuance and shade to the Indian side of the picture, talk of a unified and often monolithic 'British imagination' continued to haunt much of the scholarship on the Mutiny and Rebellion of 1857.[3] The Briton and the Indian in this narrative are two mutually opposed identities ranged across the imperial divide. Even when one occasionally hears of the odd 'White Mughal' actually fighting on the side of the rebels, this is usually a one-off. For most people 1857 continues to mark a watershed, after which a thoroughly arrogant imperialism inspired every Briton in her/his attitude towards India. Even studies of popular culture in mid-century Victorian Britain have usually served to strengthen this picture of rampant imperial arrogance.[4]

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A not wholly intended consequence of this state of the historiography has been to reaffirm the older and more avowedly imperialistic narrative frame where fractious Indians incapable of united action—a sign perhaps of their savage and/or child-like state—were pitted against a British nation united in their outrage if not in their imperial blood-lust.[5] Such a view emerges in part from the historical archive that informs these narratives. Scholars studying British views on the rebellion have relied largely upon the huge number of memoirs, journals, government records and newspapers, intended mostly for the consumption of polite society. The contradictions and ambiguities of the subaltern orders towards the imperial project have thus been rendered opaque. Yet there is enough incidental evidence to suggest that ambiguity was indeed present among large sections of the British population. Lilian Nayder, for instance, has mentioned how authors such as Charles Dickens and Wilkie Collins were motivated into writing on the subject due to the sagging recruitment figures and the working class's persistent lack of enthusiasm for 'winning the empire back'.[6]

Studies in popular culture that may have addressed such concerns have also remained hamstrung by looking merely at the production of popular cultural phenomena without attention to their consumption. As subaltern historians have long pointed out, the subaltern—by definition—does not enjoy cultural or political independence from domination. Its autonomy resides in its capacity to re-imagine elite cultural narratives and artefacts, through an oppositional consciousness, into different registers of meaning. The British subaltern thus often lacked both the confidence and the freedom to voice its lack of commitment to the imperial project openly and often raised a cheer for Empire in the name of 'King and Country!' To mistake this cheering for a firm commitment to a common imperial ethic would be, I would argue, erroneous. By tapping into hitherto unused archives of British street literature and by focusing on the reception/consumption of cultural phenomena along with the contexts of their production, this essay attempts to fracture the binary model of mutiny historiography and show that British subaltern attitudes to imperialism were manifold and often ambiguous in their zeal and commitment to colonisation.

Broadside ballads are a good window into the opinions of the Victorian streets. Unfortunately, however, a combination of technological possibilities and social priorities has ensured that not many of these have survived. Moreover, those that have survived have usually done so through their inclusion in the collections of polite enthusiasts, and the latter's own cultural proclivities, shaped by their social positions, have influenced their selection. Broadside ballads were, after all, until very recently looked upon, even by enthusiasts and scholars, as 'sub-literary' productions, plagued by 'corruptions' of 'original' ancient ballad literature.[7] Amongst these too, the short-lived ballads which narrated contemporary events before disappearing were thought to be the most corrupt of all and hence largely ignored by collectors and archivists of the nineteenth century. Francis James

Child for instance, the nineteenth century Harvard scholar whose five volume collection of English and Scottish ballads published between 1882 and 1898 is still seen as the most authoritative repository, did not include any ballads directly related to India. Similarly David Murray, the nineteenth century Glasgow lawyer and ballad and broadsheet collector, also largely overlooked ballads that spoke of India.[8]

Yet ballads dealing with Indian themes were by no means scarce. The collections of the Bodleian Library, Oxford and the National Library of Scotland together hold some hundred odd ballads dealing with India. Most of these ballads, though not all, are concerned with martial themes. An overwhelming number of these are concerned with the events of 1857. Attesting to the instant popularity of these mutiny ballads, a contemporary report in the *Banbury Guardian* on the Banbury Michaelmas Fair wrote as early as October 1857 that, 'The martial character of past fairs was completely banished if one excepts the "portraits" of Nena Sahib and the Indian Mutiny, the songs being such as the "Farmer's Boy," and "Lily Dale".'[9] Belying the allegation that such ballads were short-lived, in the 1970s Roy Palmer still found a couple of these ballads being sung by local balladeers in the Orkneys and Wiltshire. Palmer's excellent collection of old British ballads collected from ballad and folk singers themselves from 1977 mentions a Peter Pratt in the Orkneys and another Mr Smith in the Wiltshire village of Combe Bissett as singing *The India War* and *The Great India War.*

Broadsides: Nature, Function and Distribution

While broadsides had been around in Britain since the sixteenth century, the nineteenth century witnessed a virtual explosion. Changes in printing technology, combined with the prolific urbanisation of the late eighteenth century created both an increased demand and an increased capacity to meet that demand. This expansion of its market also affected its thematic and formal characteristics. Especially during the Jacobean years and the Corn Law unrest, the broadside ballad succeeded in expanding its market by catering to a growing demand for 'news' at affordable prices. Thus the pastoral themes of the older ballads and their longevity were replaced by hurriedly written-up ballads on contemporary affairs that often borrowed tunes and verses from other older ballads and were themselves in turn soon transfigured into other ballads.[10] The extent of their popularity can be gauged by the fact that when the leading broadside printer and seller on the London streets, James Catnach, retired in 1839, he was able to buy a country house in Barnet, and at his death his wealth was estimated as being between £6,000 and £10,000, after having inherited a debt-ridden business in 1813.[11] The broadside ballads themselves were

> usually a set of unsophisticated verses, either narrative, lyric, or polemic in character, which were printed on one-side of a single sheet of folio-size paper. It was sold in bookstalls, at fairs, or hawked through the streets. Possessing little art or profundity [sic], the ballad normally specified the title of a familiar tune to which it could be sung, thus making it immediately accessible to—and performable by—every cobbler and tinker in the city.[12]

The power of the broadside ballad in moulding popular opinion is expressed in the old catechism: 'If a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he should not care who should make the laws of the nation.'[13] Their themes ranged from 'political lampoons to execution songs and from the comic to attempts at fashionable sentimentality'. Their only commonality was in their origin at the 'pens of street authors'.[14] The broadside ballads, moreover, were situated in the grey zone between orality and textuality and facilitated the traffic in both directions. Catnach is supposed to have always had a fiddler at hand.[15] While old folk tunes and traditions were adapted and moulded in print, the print was also often memorised and introduced into a repertoire of oral traditions. While John Ashton wrote on the incorporation and adaptation of oral folk traditions into English print literatures way back in the 1950s, Robert A. Schwegler has more recently demonstrated that broadside ballads had in turn been memorialised and adapted into oral traditions as well.[16]

The early nineteenth century broadside-seller, William Cameron, or Hawkie as he was better known on the streets of Glasgow, mentions a few interesting anecdotes that well outline the performative/oral nature of these texts. Hawkie arrived in Paisley in the course of his journeys sometime in the 1820s. The town had but one printer, a certain George Caldwell, who had retired from business. Having already sold his fare on the way to Paisley, Hawkie bought Caldwell's stock of old 'newspapers' and proceeded to sell it by embellishing it with significant additions from his memory of other ballads. It was a Saturday night and Hawkie made enough to stay drunk till Sunday night. On Monday though, a young woman confronted him, calling him a 'rascal' and asked for her money back, since the sheet he had sold bore scant resemblance to the tale he told. Surprisingly though, passers-by supported Hawkie and said the woman had no cause for complaint as long as she had been entertained by his performance on Saturday.[17] On another occasion, when Hawkie arrived in Auchterarder, a group of young men warming themselves on a fire next to a dungheap recognised him and asked him to tell a tale and promised to buy him drinks as long as he did. Hawkie confessed he had no 'papers' and the lads immediately went and found a few old newspapers and handed them to him, insisting though that he tell an Auchterarder tale based on them. Hawkie told his story till he had passed out that night.[18]

Edwin Roffe, a middle-class enthusiast and collector's description of the establishment of the James Catnach in London's East End in 1864 is very similar to Hawkie.

> ... in front of a pork butcher's shop, situated near the western end of Chapel Street ... a gentle Swain is to be found on Saturday evenings, from eight or nine o'clock upto the 'witching time of night', when, as the bells strike he prepares to return to his home. His stall stands in the gutter but is well furnished with bundles of ballads: while his memory is, I think, better furnished still.[19]

James Catnach's Seven Dials Press in Monmouth Court was a family concern, started by his father John sometime in the early decades of the nineteenth century. John had become one of the biggest balladeer/ballad sellers by adding attractive woodcuts on top of his sheets. According to Henry Mayhew, 'Jemmy' Catnach and Tommy Pitt were the 'Colburn and Bentley of the paper trade'.[20]

The balladeer/ballad-sellers or 'gangrels', to use Hawkie's word, were authors, publicists and entrepreneurs all in one.[21] They exchanged and bought each other's pieces and built up collections from which they liberally drew to create new ballads or to reprint whenever thought fit. Occasionally a single sheet or 'slip' ended up including two ballads said to be published and printed by two different printers. James Catnach, printer and seller, was reported to have a collection of 12,000 broadsides, while his relative, Ryle, advertised a collection of over 4,000 sheets.[22] Occasionally some of the gangrels dabbled in religion as well, becoming what Henry Mayhew called 'street preachers'. Hawkie, for instance, mentioned having indulged in street-preaching as an easy way of earning money. Itinerant gangrels like Hawkie travelled widely, picking up, selling and exchanging ballads and broadsides.

Issues of individual authorship of broadside ballads are relatively difficult to establish, as well as being somewhat perfunctory. A set of themes, tropes and images circulated along semi-formal networks. Old stories, in the process, got re-peopled by new characters, while new stories got shaped in the moulds of older legends. Broadside ballads that claim to deal with the events of 1857 are therefore often adaptations of older pieces written at other times. Two broadside ballads entitled *The Late War in India* and *The Battle of India*, for instance, mention the names of Generals Gough and Sale, both of whom had fought in the Sikh Wars of 1845–1846 and not in 1857.[23] A third broadside entitled *William and Mary or The Indian War* substantially reproduces the two Sikh War ballads, but introduces the name of Sir Colin Campbell to make it relevant to the present purpose, though it continues to mention Gough and Sale as well.[24] Moreover the latter ballad also combines the Sikh War ballads with other older broadside ballads such as *I Wish the Wars Were All Over, A Favourite Song* from 1799 which sang of a girl dressing up as a soldier and going to war in order to be with her beloved.[25] The *William and Mary* ballad also mentions Tipu Sultan, another historical figure popularised by earlier broadside ballads such as *Siege of Bangalore* and *Come Soldiers Cheer*.[26] Another ballad, *A New Song called the Late Indian War*, purportedly 'composed by a soldier of H.M. 54th Regiment', mentions the gruesome killing of Sir William McNaghten and his wife. McNaghten had in fact

been killed in the Afghan War, although the regiment mentioned in the ballad had not served in the Afghan War, but did fight in Lucknow.[27]

While the production and circulation of the broadside ballads were controlled largely by the urban under-class, their audience was definitely not limited to this class alone. Hawkie, for example, had mentioned the friend of a magistrate at Kirkcaldy as having been one of his supporters in the town, and as the century progressed, middle-class interest grew. Spurred on perhaps by the dislocations and consequent nostalgias of rapid urbanisation, journals such as the *Notes and Queries* regularly published discussions amongst its middle-class readers on specific broadsides. In fact, much of the information we have mentioned above has been preserved due to this mid-Victorian middle-class appetite for the world of broadsides.

Social Class

Despite their fascination, much of the interest shown by the likes of Henry Mayhew in subaltern cultures remained patronising and denunciatory. Mayhew himself compared the people on the streets of London at one time to 'savage tribes' and 'the Bushmen of Africa'.[28] Hence when one John Camden Hotten bought up the woodcut blocks of the Catnachs, he still found that many of them were 'exceedingly rude and not nearly so well drawn'.[29] A reciprocal subaltern angst similarly motivated many of the broadsides despite their multiple sympathies with the world of polite society. The much touted 'spoils of empire', in fact, hardly percolated to the lower ranks of British society. As one contemporary commentator in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* pointed out, 'The patronage of the Directors flows almost wholly to the middle classes.'[30]Another commentator wrote in 1862 that the 'war of the classes' and the Indian Mutiny were two signs of the same problem, i.e., the policy of telling 'each separate interest' to fight for its own individual interest without any regard for 'the bundle of interests that form the well-being in aggregate'.[31] The reasons for this so-called divergence of interests and its reflection in the broadsides were the results not of any ephemeral principle of class-antagonism, but rather of concrete conditions on the Victorian streets and the effects that the 'Indian War' had on those conditions. A close study of the Broadside Ballads suggests that the experience of returning army subalterns, radical religion and the long history of racial proximity to poor South Asians on the streets of Victorian Britain were three important vectors that shaped the oppositional consciousness of the gangrel poets.

The most open refutation of the 'spoils of empire' thesis are to be found in the ballads professing to narrate the experiences of the returning soldiery. *The Poor Discharged Soldier* mentions the salary for fighting in India being as little as

'thirteen pence a day'. More than the salary, however, what hurt the old soldiers the most was the lack of a pension. Military pensions till the 1870s were only available to those permanently injured. A good many of those who fought in 1857 returned, able-bodied, to utter poverty. Moreover, even when one was crippled and therefore eligible for a pension, this pension was seen to be wholly insufficient. *The Poor Discharged Soldier* thus lamented:

> Now very long ago, you must know, it was so,
> Off to India I did go, says the poor soldier boy,
> And fought the black men there, I declare, and I swear,
> Without either dread or fear, says the poor soldier boy.
> But after the campain [sic] I was sent back again,
> Some were kilt, and more were lame but it mattered not a toy,
> They'd no pension give to I, live or die, I might fly,
> To the devil or Buckleroy, says the poor soldier boy.

It was from this impoverished position that the 'poor discharged soldier' now looked back and wished for a different past. He thus sang:

> So now to end my theme, I'm to blame for the same,
> I wish I had been slain, says the poor soldier boy.[32]

In another ballad entitled *Dear Old Saxhorn*, Jim Williams, who had served in the army band told how his old age was racked by poverty, disease, desolation and starvation.

> My once erect form is now bent with woe,
> And my steps they are tottering, feeble and slow;
> Whilst poverty, sickness, sorrow and care,
> And grief beyond measure have whitened my hair.

Commenting on the insufficiency and unfairness of the pension, the *Late India War*, said that

> A freedom box of massive gold we understand will be
> Presented to the officers all for their bravery
> But soldiers that have lost their limbs which they cannot restore
> They will not so rewarded be for the late India war,
> The poor man for his services now mark what do
> His reward will be a wooden leg and perhaps 6d a day[33]

Such stark poverty often precipitated millenarian religions. A ballad entitled *Jordan* published from Brick Lane, an area known for its religious radicalism, used biblical imagery to suggest that unless the crushing poverty at home was addressed there would be no difference between India and England, i.e., that the

English poor would also rise up in rebellion.[34] While expressing hope that the rebels would be quelled, it warned that England might itself become the 'other side of Jordan'. It also mocked the anti-slavery activists who ignored their own poor, who were hardly better than slaves. The open radicalism of the ballad coupled with its use of somewhat obscure biblical imagery suggests the influence of the radical, heterodox Christianities that were known to thrive in the area. The *Relief for Lucknow* similarly called for 'India to be better governed' and 'Christian rule' to 'protect each as a brother the country prosper and the people bear good will to one another'.[35]

Finally the sentiment of brotherhood with the Indians may have resulted from long association with poor 'Indians' in Britain. Writing around 1857 Henry Mayhew mentioned several 'Indians' working as street-sweepers in London.[36] In March 1855 the journal *Notes and Queries* mentioned that, 'London is full of Lascars, Asiatic seamen who have taken to the trade of begging....'[37] Poor Indians had been in Britain since the early seventeenth century, living and working in close proximity with the native British poor. By the middle of the eighteenth century we hear of quite a few South Asians, especially Bengalis such as Augustine Darosario or John Morgan, living and working in London.[38] Some of them such as Thomas James had come as lascars, while others such as Deaner and Richard Smith had been brought over as domestic servants.[39] A few even married native white women in Britain and raised families such as John Hogan.[40] Ballads like the *Poor Indo* and possibly *Black Eyed Susan* spoke of these inter-racial relationships.[41] This proximity could have perhaps made a certain section of British society suspicious of the war-mongering stereotypes and racial hatred preached by the more polite sections.

John Hasenelly (Hasan Ali?), a resident of Calcutta who claimed to have been forcibly brought to England, was one such early British Bengali. He was also a broadside balladeer. As a Christian convert, Hasenelly used biblical quotations not only to critique profiteering and wealth as unchristian, thereby elevating poverty to the status of a christian virtue, but also to argue for a common humanity that denied and defied racial distance. Hasenelly sought the empathy of his audience/reader by putting them in his shoes:

Natives of a land of glory
Daughters of the good and brave
Hear the injured Negro's story,
Hear and help the kneeling slave

Think how nought but death can sever
Your loved children from your hold
Still alive but lost forever,
Ours are parted, lost and sold.[42]

It was this proximity and empathy that may have inspired William McGonagall, the cotton weaver and autodidact balladeer of Dundee, to depict a loyal Indian sepoy as one of the heroes of British counteroffensive in 1857. In *The Hero of Kalapore: An Incident of the Indian Mutiny*, McGonagall tells of the brave deeds of Lieutenant Alexander Kerr at Kolhapur. Significantly, he dwells in great detail also on the bravery of one of the loyal sepoys, 'Gumpunt Row Deo' in the ballad, going so far as to even attribute the same surname—'Kerr'—to Ganpat Rao. In fact till the very last stanza when we are informed of Lieutenant Kerr receiving the Victoria Cross, it is not quite certain who exactly is the 'Hero of Kalapore', Ganpat or Alexander Kerr. In another even more famous 'Mutiny Ballad', *The Capture of Lucknow*, McGonagall also depicts Indians and British forces fighting the rebels together and contributing in equal measure to their success.[43] McGonagall was the son of impoverished Irish immigrants, and despite being a prolific writer, as well as a weaver, he remained impoverished throughout his life and was buried in a pauper's grave. Interestingly, ridiculed by the polite press at home as the 'worst poet ever', McGonagall had at one time claimed to have been made a 'Knight of the White Elephant' by the King of Burma![44] The 'spoils of empire' clearly did not affect all sections of British society in the same way. The impoverished existence of the ex-soldiers, radical religions and proximity to poor British Asians created an oppositional consciousness that led sections of the Victorian poor to view South Asia and the 'war' there very differently.

Despite the above-mentioned divergences, the relationship of this world of subaltern literature should not be seen to stand in complete isolation or absolute opposition to that polite literature. McGonagall, for instance, loved Shakespeare and even tried to play Macbeth in a penny theatre. Another street-poet that Mayhew interviewed spoke of his admiration of Oliver Goldsmith. E.P. Thompson has pointed out, for a slightly earlier period, that polite and subaltern literature often used the same images,[45] while Partha Chatterjee has argued that subaltern autonomy was founded on oppositional consciousness that allowed them to negotiate a different set of meanings for these shared images.[46]

Suffering, Violence, Sacrifice and the National Religion

Carolyn Marvin and David Ingle, in their study of nationalism and group identity, have stressed the role of violence and blood sacrifice in the constitution of modern nationalisms. Though their work is based principally on the American experience, they have suggested that their conclusions are more generally applicable. They argue that, 'What is really true in any community is what its

members can agree is worth killing for, or what they can be compelled to sacrifice their lives for.'[47] This resonates with Linda Colley's argument that Britain's mid-century wars, including the mutiny, had actually fostered, for the first time, a British national identity.[48] The question that we ask here is: did people really 'agree' on what the killing and dying were about?

Suffering was central to a good many of the ballads, but the way this suffering was organised in the ballads differed significantly. The principles for which the victims were shown to be willing to suffer violence varied widely. There are, indeed, some ballads that relate the suffering to nationalism and the nation's glory, revenge, etc. In a ballad titled *Massacre in India* it was claimed that 'there is glory for him who for his country bleeds'. The ballad went on to narrate gruesome tales of suffering and violence:

> Our women that were pregnant, were cruelly cut open
> They ravished our fair daughters and to pieces cut our sons
> Then forward, brave hearts, we've sworn by the God that made us
> That we'll blow the cowardly devils away from the British Guns[49]

The suffering and violence are all justified since the 'standard of our country doth proudly wave'. National glory and the need for vengeance justify continued suffering and the willingness to kill and be killed in the process. However, there are also numerous ballads that do not relate the suffering and the blood-thirst to imperial or national glory. One such ballad, for instance, bearing the same name as the above quoted one, justifies the military campaign not for glory or revenge, but rather for the restoration of peace. Having once again spoken of the bloody violence inflicted upon the hapless innocents such as a Mr Archer and his wife whose 'arms and legs they [the Indians] did cut off and their bodies mangled sore/And burnt they were to ashes on India's distant shore' or the children in Delhi whom 'naked did they keep 'neath the sun till they went mad', it goes on to then promise revenge, but also to hope for a speedy restoration of 'blest peace' by the brave Sir Colin Campbell.[50] A third ballad, *The Massacre of Four Catholic Clergymen*, speaks of the unspeakable violence wreaked on four Irish priests, Rev. James Fitzgerald, Rev. John O'Hare, Father Thomas Morgan and Father Smith. The ballad tells the harrowing tale of how these 'poor and holy clergymen' who had left 'sweet Erin's land' to 'preach and to teach all the nations as was by heaven decried' were slaughtered by the Nana's men in Kanpur in the midst of celebrating mass. Their suffering is therefore equated to that of the 'blessed redeemer Upon Mount Calvary'.[51] Another Belfast broadsheet speaks of *The Massacre of Five Catholic Clergymen* and adds the name of Father Thomas Power to the previous four.[52] This too speaks of willing suffering for the sake of God's work. Marvin and Ingle have warned us not to be taken in by the apparent non-violence of certain religious

tenets, for in them lie un-stated the willingness to sacrifice one's own to violence in the form of ritualised sacrifice. The clergy, while praying for forgiveness for their enemies and 'not seeking retribution from the murderous sepoys', clearly legitimise and valorise the concept of Christian martyrdom, thus coding suffering not on the register of the nation, but on that of the Catholic faith. The fact that these broadsheets speak of 'Erin's land' (Ireland) rather than all of Britain is also significant.

The sacred secret that Marvin and Ingle mentioned was not, as they thought, the silent compact to kill and die for a fixed set of reasons considered holy, but the non-existence of any such agreement. The role of ritual, as Slavoj Zizek has recently pointed out, is not to structure personal belief, but rather the staged enactment of faith for the benefit of others.[53] The ritual violence of war, that Marvin and Ingle thought represented the agreement, of a society to kill and die for a certain set of principles, was in fact a clever ploy to convince everybody else that there was such an agreement, when indeed there was none. People participating in the violence of war did so for a host of different reasons. There is no reason to consider one person or group's reasons to be any more valid than those of another.

In fact, different ballads often spoke for different nations. Ballads like the *Catholic Clergymen* ballads quoted above, or the *Late Indian War*, spoke in the name of the Irish nation, while those like the *Bonnets O Blue* or the *Lads That Were Raised 'Mang the Heather* recall Culloden, Bonnie Prince Charlie, Bruce of Bannock and speak clearly for a Scottish nation.[54] Graeme Morton has argued that the Victorian state in the mid nineteenth century was sufficiently localised at the peripheries to allow more than one nation to identify with the state, while maintaining their distinct national identities. According to Morton this gave rise to the rather unique circumstance of 'unionist nationalism'.[55] A ballad entitled *Thistle and Shamrock* thus says:

> Old England is proud, but what would it have been,
> Were it not for the thistle and shamrock so green.[56]

Another set of ballads represents sexual attraction and love as motivation for enlistment. The numerous ballads in this category speak of young love-struck women, who, unwilling to be parted from their beloved soldier, dress as men and enlist in the army and fight against the rebels. These ballads may actually be coded references to homosexual lifestyles that may have attracted many to a life in the army. Some of the more prominent examples of this motif are to be found in the ballads called *The Paisley Officer*, *William and Mary Or The Indian War* and *The Undaunted Female*.[57] Barring the first of these, in which both the lovers are killed in battle, the others end happily.

Scholars such as Judith Butler have argued that gender is performative; that is, that gender identity is constructed socially, not through definite biological essences, but through the playing of culturally designated social roles.[58] Since the women in these ballads play out masculine roles, including that most manly of roles in Victorian society—soldiering—the love and attraction that is depicted between these characters can easily be seen as a representation of homoerotic love. The following lines from *The Paisley Officer*, for instance, are clearly suggestive of homoerotic attraction:

> He took her onto Paisley town, and much they wondered there,
> To see the new recruit that look'd so gentle, slight and fair.

In fact, Pauline Greenhill has argued that cross-dressing ballads can be read as both heterosexual and queer narratives. As parts of a performative oral repertoire, these texts are especially well suited to produce a range of different meanings while being performed or heard by diverse communities of audiences or performers.[59] To reject such queer readings as 'alternative', 'connotative', 'sub-textual', etc., is to remain trapped within what queer theorist Alexander Doty has dubbed the 'heterocentrist paradigm'.[60] Such a reading is also confirmed by another song that Reginald Wilberforce recounted in his memoirs of the events of the Indian War. Wilberforce mentioned the song as one that was popular amongst the soldiers in India. The song went thus:

> Away go those brave heroes
> The likes we never see more
> And with them goes the light bobbee
> And the lad that I adore[61]

Scholars such as Graham Dawson and Matt Houlbrook have recently suggested there may be a queer reading to the Victorian fascination with military heroes.[62] In ballads such as *William and Mary*, for instance,

> William then one morning, to Mary he did say
> I am going with Sir Colin Campbell to cross the raging sea

Just as Mary, on hearing it tells William a little later that,

> O William, lovely William, Oh! Do not leave me here,
> For I will join along with you, where the loud canons roar...

The structural homology between the two statements might well signal a similarity of the nature of the attraction in both cases. Following on Houlbrook's study of the fascination for Victorian heroes being a kind of homoerotic attraction,

we might notice here that William's desire to cross the raging sea 'with Sir Colin' is very similar to Mary's desire to 'join along with' William where the canons roar. Both undertake danger simply because they want to accompany someone particular.

Such a queer reading is further affirmed by a brief look at the visual depictions of soldiers at the time. Houlbrook has read scenes of soldierly homosociality depicted on cigarette cards and other Victorian ephemera as coded depictions of 'homosex' (to use his term); similar scenes are also seen in the artwork on some of the broadsheets. The print on top of the sheet titled *The Merry Little Soldier* (Figure 6.1) shows one such scene. Two soldiers in the foreground stand engrossed in each other, as a couple of black soldiers chase two ladies around the corner, while another sepoy plays a drum. The two in the foreground seem lost in each other's company and not the least concerned about the goings-on around the corner.[63] A commemorative Staffordshire ceramic figurine entitled *The Injured Soldier* made in 1860 (Figure 6.2) also bears strong sympathies with the woodcut. The postures of the soldiers depicted in both the figurine as well as the woodcut are very similar to those studied on the cigarette cards by Houlbrook.

Figure 6.1: The Merry Little Soldier

Source: P. Mukharji, Woodcut on Ballad entitled 'Merry Little Soldier', printed by T. Batchelar of Hackney, London, n.d.

Figure 6.2: The Injured Soldier

Source: 'The Wounded Soldier', Staffordshire Figurine c. 1860 (P.B. Mukharji).

Heroes and Heroines

Morton's work on 'Unionist Nationalism' rightly draws attention to the image repertoire of nations. While 'nations' are unquestionably modern inventions, they draw upon an older pool of images, myths and cultural memories. The national bourgeoisie selectively appropriates, reworks and positions these for the consumption of the masses. Partha Chatterjee's rhetorical question to Benedict Anderson—'Whose imagined community is the nation?'—also makes a similar point using the South Asian experience.[64] While it is, as we have seen, patently incorrect to suggest that everybody in Britain held similar views about the events of 1857, the success of these events from the point of view of British social cohesion lay in the ability to establish a set of iconic symbols which could be valid across social divides. The events of 1857 threw up a number of recognisable heroes and heroines who achieved wide popularity and became icons of the British experiences of 1857, though what those experiences were and how they were judged varied widely. In this final section we will try to locate how these icons were negotiated in the broadside ballads.

Among the military heroes, Sir Henry Havelock and Sir Colin Campbell were undoubtedly the two biggest icons of the war. Of the two, Havelock was by far the more popular, ending up with a statue in Nelson's shadow on Trafalgar Square, from whence he continues to preside over controversy, while Campbell's popularity seems to have waned in the years after the war.[65] What is curious is that it was actually Campbell who finally relieved Lucknow, while Havelock ended up being cornered by rebel forces and dying ingloriously of dysentery. Scholars such as John Mackenzie suggest that the Havelock cult was a result of the dominant Victorian ideology of the time and the consequent fascination for Christian soldiers.[66] Max Jones has faulted this approach dubbing it 'instrumentalist' and querying how the dominant ideology came to be imposed upon the rest of society.[67] I would suggest that one of the reasons for the difference between the public reception of the two men lay, in part, in the ability of the public image of Havelock to accommodate ambiguity and therefore to allow different sections of society to impute different meanings to it. Thus *Reynold's Newspaper* could participate in the Havelock mania, while opposing the events in India and maintaining that Havelock was a 'hero in an unjust cause'.[68] Similarly Dawson has pointed to contradictory framings of Havelock's life, hinting at both the figure of the *pater familiaris* and the adventure-hungry, wandering soldier hero.[69]

A similar ambiguity can be seen in the ballad portrayals of Havelock. In *Havelock to his Warrior Band*, he is shown as a merciful and peace-loving soldier who fights only in order to establish peace.

> No quarter we'll give to these tigers...
> But as heaven's soft voice is mercy to the helpless be clement and mild...
> When England again rules the Ganges let a tear for the fallen be shed
> And the widow and orphan be sheltered...

In stark contrast to this, another ballad which compared Havelock to Wellington, asserted that, to 'conquer he tried and he fought till he died'. It went on to state in no uncertain terms, that,

> He died like a true British soldier
> While fighting for vengeance on India's plains
> Where the butchering tyrants in thousands were slain.

Surprisingly perhaps, none of the Havelock ballads make any direct reference to his devout evangelical faith, which has often been suggested as being the main reason for his popularity at the time (by John Mackenzie, most recently). Mackenzie, among others, has claimed that the Havelock cult was the result of Victorian Britain's fascination for Christian soldiering. While 'muscular Christianity' as it has come to be called by academics, was an indubitable force in Victorian Britain, it may have been limited by its class origins. The ideology after all was propagated pre-eminently through the Public Schools, institutions notorious for their exclusive class affiliations. Instead the virtues that are praised in Havelock's character as represented in the broadsheets are boldness, courage, daring, etc.

While Havelock was definitely the bigger of our two heroes in Victorian Britain, even eventually ending up as something of an industry in himself with his face appearing on matchboxes, cigarette cards, cheap wall hangings, etc., Sir Colin Campbell was undoubtedly the more popular broadside character. There are a whopping twenty-four different ballads that mention Campbell, to Havelock's eleven. Yet strikingly Sir Colin is persistently depicted as a Scottish hero, while Havelock is a British hero. While Havelock is compared to Nelson and Wellington, Campbell is compared to Wallace and Bruce. Campbell was not called a 'true British soldier' like Havelock; instead he was referred to as a 'noble Scot' and 'Hibernia's gallant son'. He was said to have been called upon by England for help and to have 'made himself a peer'. *The Bravest Fellows Out* hence said,

> Our noble Campbell he was sent, his name we long revere,
> He brought the Queen an empire back and made himself a peer,
> He was a noble Scot his memory long we'll cherish,
> Our fear defying citizen his name will never perish,
> Always foremost in the fray, and is beyond a doubt,
> What history will immortalise as the noblest Scotsman out.[70]

Yet ironically, while Havelock's fame kept increasing after the war, Campbell's did not. Havelock's name and memory lived on in a host of Victorian advertising ephemera, not to mention the bronze statue in Trafalgar Square erected by a public subscription. There were Havelock trading cards such as the ones distributed by John Player's Cigarettes, there were Havelock Cigars (whose advertising campaigns bore the legend 'Defenders of Britain'), there were Havelock matches, there was even a coat for young men marketed by HJ & D Nicolls & Co. called the Havelock.[71] Most importantly, he lived on through future Britons being named after him. The censuses of 1861 and 1871 together returned over a hundred boys born after 1857 with the Christian name 'Havelock', or 'Henry Havelock', among which was the eminent sexologist, Henry Havelock Ellis. By 1859 we even hear of prominent, old pubs being renamed after Havelock, such as the Fox's Head on Gray's Inn Road in London.[72] Havelock even had towns named after him in far away Australia, America and Canada, not to mention the numerous streets in Britain. Sir Colin, on the other hand, lived on with his doting and much younger wife as Baron Clyde until his death of old age, without even having a single trading card with his name on it. His statue, too, was significantly put up in Glasgow and not London. What was it that led to Havelock's elevation as the pre-eminent icon of the events of 1857?

Since the historical facts of his life were significantly over-written, his popularity does not seem to depend upon the accidents of his biography. Incidents such as his inglorious death by dysentery had, for instance, been simply erased from the popular memory. The trade cards distributed by Price's Candles for instance said, 'Heroic Havelock died, worn out with the anxieties and exertions of the siege.'[73] The *Massacre in India* similarly exhorted:

> Mourn, England, Mourn!
> For the death of General Havelock,
> He nobly fought and conquered,
> And died upon the field.

Historical time and space are both collapsed in the popular psyche. The infinite complexities and particularities of specific battles are replaced by a simple contest between 'us' and 'them' in a far away, but non-specific set of geographic signifiers. The simplified popular reality of the events can be seen in a re-enactment in a Christmas mummer in south-west Hampshire in 1862,

> ...the dramatis personae wore white trousers, and coats like tunics of printed calico, with scarves, wooden swords, and hats covered with ribbons and artificial flowers. They represent[ed] Sir Henry Havelock (who kills) Nana Sahib, and Sir Colin Campbell (who kills) Tanty Tobes (Tantia Tope) and the physician who was distinguished by a horse-haired plume in a pointed cap.[74]

This narrative compression is witnessed in the ballads as well. The ballad *Fall of Delhi*, for instance, mentions Campbell and Havelock urging their men on to arrest the Mughal princes as they escaped Delhi after its fall, despite the fact that neither of the two generals saw any action in Delhi during the campaign. Campbell arrived in India after the fall of Delhi, and Havelock was already besieged in Lucknow by then. *Lament for Gen. Havelock* similarly represents the general gaining victories at Kanpur, Lucknow and Delhi.[75] The question then is, if the names functioned largely as hollow signifiers, why was it that Havelock emerged as the bigger of the two heroes?

I would argue that it was precisely the name that was important for Havelock's greater fame. Campbell was a common Scottish name and its association with Scottish identity was only accentuated further by Campbell's own Scottish chauvinism. In Havelock's case, the name was not one commonly met with in Britain. As early as on 24 October 1857, a certain C.W. Bingham wrote to the *Notes and Queries* on the subject.[76] Bingham mentioned that 'many have of late' recalled the ancient legend of Havelock the Dane due to the general's name. He then proceeded to vehemently deny any possibility of Henry Havelock actually being of Danish descent, but enquired if anybody knew the name's origins. On 7 November 1857, another letter appeared in the same journal from one F.L. who mentioned that the local history of Lincolnshire mentioned a certain *Havelock Stone*, placed between the villages of Grimsby and Wellow and said to have been brought over by Danes in the ancient past.[77] The author did not make a direct connection with the general's name, but said he published the note as it might be of 'interest to the General's friends'. By 22 May 1858 Havelock's name was being debated not only by the occasional enthusiast, but also by those of more scholarly inclinations. George Sexton, M.D., wrote in response to the query of one Mr Charnock that he had discovered in an MS of a minor poet, Alfred Johnstone Hollingsworth, a short note on the derivation of the name Havelock. In the purported note Hollingsworth criticised the tendency of Britons to seek all etymological origins in the classical languages. Instead he proposed that the name Havelock (in which he was interested by virtue of having a school fellow of that name) may have three different roots in old Danish and may have come over to England along with the ancient Vikings before being corrupted by modern English. Of the three, the one Hollingsworth thought the most probable meant in Old Danish 'to have luck'. Sexton, the author, felt that if this indeed were true it might be a source of further confidence in Havelock's troops.[78] By January 1861 a certain Tomlin Smith, a barrister who was seen to be something of an authority on Havelock, claimed to have discovered conclusive proof that Havelock's ancestors were indeed from Grimsby in Lincolnshire. He claimed that definitive evidence of this was to be found in the ancient seals in possession of the town council that mentioned the name Havelock. Unfortunately though the seals were no longer in use and had disappeared somewhere. Soon after this

a certain Mr Carritt, a solicitor and a friend of Mr Smith, told the latter, after attending a lecture by him on Havelock at the Islington Literary Society, that the seals were in Mr Carritt's possession through an inheritance, and he was willing to return them to the town council. Soon the seals were returned and the council, after thanking both Carritt and Smith profusely, deposited the seals with the ancient charters of the corporation.[79] Havelock's ancestry was established as authentically British and, in fact, it was even asserted that his ancestors had lived in Grimsby since before the Norman invasion and were therefore true Saxons. Having thus successfully severed all possibility of Danish or even later Norman/ French inheritance, Havelock was now represented as the authentic British hero. A subsequent attempt also sought to project him as a British answer to the French Napoleonic cult. In 1860 it was suggested that Havelock's pet name was 'Napoleon'. One Rona wrote to say that he had seen one of Havelock's books published from Baptist Mission of Serampore, with the word 'Napoleon' pencilled just beneath the author's name. Rona felt either Sir Archibald or his son James Campbell, who were Havelock's superior officers in early years, gave him the name.[80]

Unlike Campbell then, Havelock had a name that did not evoke historic rivalries and yet was sufficiently uncommon to strike British ears as being worthy of comment and reflection. Thus Havelock's name was sufficiently hollow of historical associations with any particular British nation or Scottish clan to be able to appeal to all quarters. That ethnicity and family names were instrumental in the construction of mutiny icons can be seen in the case of the pre-eminent non-military icon as well. The figure of 'Jessie', said to be the wife of one of the besieged private soldiers at Lucknow, was unquestionably the most significant non-military icon of the mutiny. She was the theme of a number of reports and eventually also became the eponymous heroine of an immensely popular play by Dion Boucicault, which was performed to full houses in New York and Melbourne, as well as in London.[81] She is usually depicted as a pious woman, whose piety and faith become a source of strength for the rest. Eventually, just as even her faith is about to break, she dreams of Campbell entering Lucknow with his highlanders playing bagpipes and wakes up to find her dream a reality.[82]

Jessie surfaces in at least three ballads. Two of these, *Jessie's Dream at Lucknow* and *Dinna ye Hear it?* portray Jessie as a Scot, while the other, *Jessie Brown The Heroine of Lucknow,* speaks of her as being British.[83] In the first of these Jessie recalls the McGregor slogan at her wedding and says, ''Tis the grandest o' them a'.' She later hears the same slogan at the moment of her deliverance. A certain R.S.F. wrote in the *Notes and Queries* of 20 February 1858 to protest against this element of the popular story. 'I am quite certain that war-cry of the Clan Gregor is not the grandest of all Highland slogans.' Instead R.S.F. tends to believe that the narrative confuses a 'slogan' with a 'pibrach' [sic]. A pibroch is

a type of Highland music that is not specific to any of the clans and therefore more acceptable. The ethnicity of names clearly influenced their acceptability.[84] The Jessie figure is also interesting since no corresponding historical personage has ever been identified. In fact, one contemporary correspondent from Calcutta wrote to the *Nonconformist* to protest against the wide circulation of the story, pointing out that there were grave factual inaccuracies; crowned by the facts that there was no one called 'Jessie' among the besieged and that Campbell's troops did not play bagpipes when they first entered the city as a rebel counteroffensive was expected at anytime.[85] Since the story reworked certain common folk themes found in old ballads such as the *Soldier's Wife*, it is highly likely that the story was originally created by a balladeer, from whence it entered more polite registers.[86]

Conclusion

While our understanding of Indian participation in the 'Indian War' of 1857, like so much else in Indian history, has been immensely enriched by subaltern historiography, it is perhaps a marker of the lasting imperialism of 'western' intellectual traditions that the analytical tools developed by the subaltern studies project have so seldom been used to understand any aspect whatsoever of British history. Using subaltern techniques I have sought to develop in this chapter a set of interruptions and interventions in the received wisdom that marks the moment when empire became a matter of universal enthusiasm. By marshalling hitherto ignored archives, as well as by focusing on the consumption/reception of narratives side by side with their production, we have sought to highlight that while the mutiny narratives did indubitably popularise a set of common icons, the sentiments and solidarities these icons evoked remained widely varied. It is not our intention to once again weave these interruptions into another homogenised and uniform counter-narrative. Indeed that may well be intellectually impossible as well as politically undesirable.

Dipesh Chakrabarty has suggested that two kinds of histories exist. The first, History 1, is both a project as well as a tool of the 'rule of capital', and therefore seeks to promote an increasingly abstracted, general, homogenous and non-local view of the past; whereas the other, History 2, is often appropriated by the former, yet retains its quality of interrupting homogenisations.[87] If we accommodate reading praxes as a component of this definition it allows us to further explore how History 1 and History 2 might remain dialectically implicated with each other. As narrative elaboration constantly seeks to transform History 2 into History 1, the latter in turn is also constantly re-imagined into new, localised registers of meaning. Chakrabarty recognises this flux when he explains that the

two types coexist. Yet, while one, by its sheer nature and resources, is capable of longevity, the other—momentary and fleeting by its very nature—has largely been erased from the historical record. It is impossible to retrieve History 2 as an alternative narrative to History 1, for the subaltern, by definition, lacks the independence to constitute his own narrative identity, but it is possible to invoke it as a series of interruptions to the dominant and uniform narrative of History 1. This is precisely what I have been seeking to do in this paper: to invoke a non-linear set of interruptions to the dominant narratives of the history of the mutiny.

Notes and References

1. I have chosen to use the phrase 'Indian War' as this is indeed the term used most often in the sources consulted here. The term 'mutiny' has only been used when referring to the polite/elite writings on the subject, once again following the actual sources.
2. For a good discussion of this point see Sumit Sarkar, 'Post-Modernism and the Writing of History'. *Studies in History*, vol. 15, no. 2, (1999), pp. 293–322.
3. Gautam Chakravarty, *The Indian Mutiny and the British Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
4. For a discussion and critique of this tendency see Projit Bihari Mukharji, 'Jessie's Dream at Lucknow: Popular Memorializations of Dissent, Ambiguities and Class in the Heart of Empire', *Studies in History*, vol. 23, no. 2, Forthcoming.
5. Rudrangshu Mukherjee comments on this issue in Rudrangshu Mukherjee, '"Satan Let Loose Upon Earth": Kanpur Massacres in India in the Revolt of 1857', *Past and Present*, vol. 128, (Aug. 1990), pp. 92–116.
6. Lilian Nayder, 'Class Consciousness and the Indian Mutiny in Dickens's "The Perils of Certain English Prisoners"', *Studies in English Literature 1500–1900*, vol. 32, no. 4, (Autumn 1992), pp. 689–705.
7. Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside and Its Music* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1966).
8. On the politics of inventing a ballad tradition, see David Atkinson, 'The English Revival Canon: Child Ballads and the Invention of Tradition', *The Journal of American Folklore*, vol. 114, (2001), pp. 370–380.
9. *Banbury Guardian*, 22nd October 1857, p. 1, quoted in Roly Brown, 'Nena Sahib', *Enthusiasms*, 50, (2005).
10. Leslie Shepard, *The Broadside Ballad: The Development of Street Literature from Traditional Song to Popular Newspaper* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1962).
11. Henry Mayhew, *London Labour London Poor* (London: Griffin, Bohn & Co., 1861), p. 220. Louis James, 'Catnach, James (1792–1841)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004). Available online at www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4897 (accessed 11 March 2008).
12. Walter S. Collins, 'Review of Claude M. Simpson's The British Broadside Ballad and its Music', *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 20, no. 3, (1967), pp. 387–388.
13. This was an oft-repeated aphorism in the mid nineteenth century, attributed to various people including William Wallace, C.U.B.E.R., 'Let Me Make A Nation's Ballads, Who Will May Make Their Laws!', *Notes and Queries*, 22 December 1849, p. 124. Later scholars have attributed

its origins to Fletcher of Saltoun. Collins, 'Review'. Yet it is not clear if Fletcher himself had merely quoted Sir Christopher Musgrave. See G.L.C., 'Ballad Makers and Legislators', *Notes and Queries*, 5th January, 1850, p. 153.

14. Anthony Bennett, 'Sources of Popular Song in Nineteenth Century Britain: Problems and Methods of Research', *Popular Music*, 2, (1982), p. 71.
15. James, 'Catnach'.
16. John W. Ashton, 'Folklore in the Literature of Elizabethan England', *Journal of American Folklore*, vol. 70, (1957), pp. 10–15; Robert A. Schwegler, 'Oral Tradition and Print: Domestic Performance in Renaissance England', vol. 93, (1980), pp. 435–441.
17. William Cameron (John Strathesk ed.), *Hawkie: The Autobiography of a Gangrel* (Glasgow: David Robertson & Co., 1888), Chapter IV.
18. Cameron, *Hawkie*, Chapter VI.
19. Edwin Roffe, 'Songs', *Notes and Queries*, 3 September 1864, p. 192.
20. The other printers and publishers mentioned by Mayhew are: Mrs Ryle, Mr Birt and Mr Paul, all of whom had worked with Catnach at Seven Dials; Mr Powell, formerly of Lloyds and then Brick Lane, Whitechapel; Mr Good, Aylesbury Street, Clerkenwell; Mr Phiars of Westminster; Mr Taylor of Waterloo Road; Mr Sharp of Kent Street, Borough, Mayhew, *London Labour*, p. 220.
21. Mayhew uses the term 'patterer', but it is not clear if all 'patterers' wrote their songs as well. They definitely did not sell solely their own works. Mayhew, *London Labour*, pp. 220–221.
22. There seems to be some confusion regarding Anne Ryle's exact relationship to the Catnachs. Bennett calls her a sister while Mayhew claims she was a 'niece and successor'. Bennett, 'Sources of Popular Song', p. 72; Mayhew, *London Labour*, p. 220.
23. Harding B 20(221), Bodelian Library, Oxford (hereafter Bod.) and Harding B 11(178), Bod. The first of these bears a double imprint of both Ryle and J. Catnach and is decorated with a woodcut that borrows from Indian textile print-blocks. The latter is imprinted to Moss of Doncaster.
24. Firth c.14 (174), Bod.
25. Johnson Ballads 302, Bod.
26. Harding B 28(87) & Harding B 36(2), Bod.
27. Harding B 26(348), Bod.
28. Mayhew, *London Labour*, p. 43 and p. 321.
29. John Camden Hotten, 'Jack the Giant Killer', *NQ*, 7 November 1863, pp. 377–378.
30. 'The Company's Raj', *Edinburgh Blackwood Magazine*, November 1857, p. 618.
31. C.A.W., 'Class', *NQ*, 2 November 1867.
32. RB.m.143(040), National Library of Scotland (hereafter NLS).
33. The earliest versions of this ballad pertain to the Sikh War and were printed by Ryle and Co. Harding B 20(221) Bod. These were later re-printed during and after 1857 possibly by someone else since the name 'Ryle' has been scratched out from the block while retaining all else including the address. Harding B 15(169a), Harding B 11(2083) and Johnson Ballads 1099, Bod.
34. Harding B 15(153b), Bod. Imprint: Taylor's Song Mart, 93, Brick Lane, Bethnal Green.
35. Firth c.14(90).
36. Mayhew, *London Labour*, p. 107.
37. J.O., 'The Blind Lascar', *NQ*, 31st March 1855, p. 241.
38. The Proceedings of the Old Bailey Ref. (heareafter 'Bailey') t17460226–1 & t17650227–5.
39. Bailey t 17671021–23 & t17700912–85.
40. Bailey t 17851214–44.
41. 2806 c.18(255), Bod. Imprint: C. Croshaw, Coppergate, York, but other ballads on the same sheet have different imprints. Another variant Harding B 25(1521), Bod. is printed by T. Weightman, York; Harding B11(304), Bod. Imprint: W. Dixon. The latter is the only ballad

cited here available in Child's collection and race of 'Susan' is not as clearly defined as in the former, leaving it open to less subversive meanings.
42. Harding B 45(22) 2/3, Bod.
43. William McGonagall's Complete Writings can be accessed at McGonagall Online: http://www.mcgonagall-online.org.uk/ (accessed 1 July 2007).
44. William Donaldson, 'McGonagall, William (c.1825–1902)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/40706, accessed 11 March 2008] and McGonagall Online.
45. E.P. Thompson, *Witness Against the Beast: William Blake and the Moral Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
46. Partha Chatterjee, 'Bhumika: Nimnoborger Itihaash Chorcha-r Itihaash' in Gautam Bhadra and Partha Chatterjee ed., *Nimnoborger Itihaash* (Ananda Publishers: Kolkata, 2004), p. 8.
47. Carolyn Marvin and David W. Ingle, 'Blood Sacrifice and the Nation: Revisiting Civil Religion', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, vol. 64, no. 4, (1996), 767–780.
48. Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging a Nation, 1707–1837* (London: Yale University Press, 2005) and *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World* (London: Anchor, 2004).
49. Firth c.14(95), Bod. Imprint: W. Pratt, Birmingham, Performed by Michael Hart.
50. Firth c.14(81), Bod.
51. Harding B 26(423), Bod. Imprint: J. Moore, Belfast.
52. Firth c.14(82).
53. For Zizek 'others' include the presumed all-seeing divinity for whose benefit ritual enactment of faith is seen to be positioned. Slavoj Zizek, *Mapping Ideology* (London: Verso, 1995).
54. Harding B26(423); Firth c.14(82); Harding B26(348), Bod. & L.C. Fol.70(22a) and L.C.Fol.178.A.2(107), NLS.
55. Graeme Morton, *Unionist Nationalism: Governing Urban Scotland, 1830–1860* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1999).
56. L.C.Fol.178.A.2(107), NLS.
57. L.C.Fol.178.A.2(198), NLS; Firth c.14(174); 2806 c.15(196), Bod. The last was published by W. Birmingham, Dublin.
58. Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990).
59. Pauline Greenhill, '"Neither A Man Nor A Maid": Sexualities and Gendered Meanings in Cross-Dressing Ballads', *The Journal of American Folklore*, vol. 108, no. 428, (Spring, 1995), pp. 156–177.
60. Alexander Doty, *Making Things Perfectly Queer: Interpreting Mass Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).
61. Reginald G. Wilberforce, *An Unrecorded Chapter*, p. 82.
62. Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London: Taylor & Francis/Routledge, 1994); Matt Houlbrook, 'Soldier Heroes and Rent Boys: Homosex, Masculinities, and Britishness in the Brigade of Guards, circa 1900–1960', *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 42, (2003), pp. 351–388.
63. Firth c.14(240) Bod., Imprint: T. Bachelar, Hackney Road, London. The imprint also informs that Bachelar sells it opposite to the 'Refuge for the Destitute'. Other prints such as the one printed by W. Armstrong, Banastre Street, Liverpool do not have the wood-cut. 2806 c.17(277), Bod.
64. Partha Chatterjee, *Nation and Its Fragments* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).
65. For recent controversies over Havelock memorials in the UK see 'Rage Over Road Name', BBC News, 22 May 2005, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/2003119.stm accessed on 11th March 2008.
66. JM Mackenzie, 'Heroic Myths of Empire', in J.M. Mackenzie, ed., *Popular Imperialism and the Military, 1850–1950* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992).

67. Max Jones, 'What Should Historians Do With Heroes? Reflections on Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Britain', *History Compass*, vol. 5, no. 2, (2007), pp. 439–454.
68. Quoted in Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, p. 110.
69. Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, p. 141.
70. Firth c.14(281), Bod. Imprint: Poet's Box, Glasgow. Dated: Saturday Morning, July 9, 1864.
71. The coat was advertised in the classified advertisements section in The *Times*, 16th November 1858, p. 14.
72. Gray's Inn, 'Richard Savage', *NQ*, 1st January 1859, p. 7.
73. The Trade Cards distributed by the company bore a reproduction of an oil painting of the charge on Lucknow in the front along with Havelock's picture in an inset. Personal Collection.
74. Mackenzie E.C. Walcott, 'Hampshire Mummers', *NQ*, 25th January 1862, p. 66.
75. Firth c.14(83), Imprint: Rial, Seven Dials, Monmouth Court (possibly the same as Ryle); Firth c.14(87), Imprint: W. Dever, Bloomsbury, Bod.
76. C.W. Bingham, 'Havelock', *NQ*, 24th October 1857, p. 327.
77. F.L. 'Havelock Stone', *NQ*, 7th November 1857, p. 365.
78. George Sexton, 'General Havelock', 22nd May 1858, p. 422.
79. Grime, 'Singular Restoration of the Ancient Seals of Grimsby', *NQ*, 19th January 1861, pp. 46–47.
80. Rona, 'Sir Henry Havelock', *NQ*, 27th October 1860, p. 327.
81. Dion Boucicault, *Jessie Brown or the Relief of Lucknow*, New York: Samuel French, 1858. For the part this play played in imperial politics see, J.S. Bratton, *Acts of Supremacy: The British Empire and the Stage, 1790–1930* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), Introduction.
82. Mukharji, 'Jessie's Dream'.
83. L.C.Fol.70(120b); Firth c. 14 (88); Harding B 15(147b), Imprint: T. Taylor, Taylor's Song Mart, Brick Lane, Spitalfields, NLS.
84. RSF, 'Dinna Ye Hear It?', *NQ*, 20th February 1858, p. 147.
85. The report from *The Nonconformist* was forwarded to *Notes and Queries* by RSF as further proof that the 'story b[ore] upon the face of it the stamp of fiction.' RSF, 'Dinna Ye Hear It?', *NQ*, 22nd May 1858, p. 425.
86. Harding B11(3584), Bod. Imprint: C. Neesom, Neesom's Song Mart, 93 Brick Lane, London.
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7

BEING INDIAN IN BRITAIN DURING 1857

Michael H. Fisher

AS the sudden and shocking news of the bloody events of 1857 in north India reached Britain, the thousands of Indian men and women of all classes living there faced new challenges in their ongoing negotiations with the surrounding society. Lurid rumours and reports poured into the British media and popular discourse, about mutinous sepoys and treacherous oriental princes, who were both suddenly notorious for betraying, assaulting and assassinating British women, children and men. In this heated atmosphere, Britons expected Indians living among them in the metropole to proclaim and demonstrate their submission to Britain and to distinguish themselves in word and deed from their disloyal countrymen in the colony. Most of the diverse Indians in Britain, whatever their personal feelings towards the anti-British fighting back in India, felt compelled to protest their loyalties to the British crown, but nonetheless endured considerable hostility from the host society, with long-term repercussions. Thus, 1857 marked a key moment in the history of Indians in Britain.

Certainly, the tens of thousands of people from India living in Britain over the preceeding 250 years had experienced—and partially shaped—many shifts in attitudes toward them. While some Britons had regarded all Indians as collectively 'Black', like people from Africa and the Caribbean, many other Britons had differentiated among them. In particular, the social class, religious community, gender, individual circumstances and historical era of each Indian in Britain shaped his or her possible roles there. European fantasies about the exotic 'Oriental woman', especially the members of the regal harem, as sensually desirable but enticingly inaccessible, added a gendered aura to these images. Overall during the early nineteenth century, British attitudes towards Indian women and men had hardened as the British Empire asserted authority and gained cultural confidence over colonised Indians collectively. The events of 1857 accelerated and altered these patterns, catalysing new British formulations that combined all Indians together based on hereditary race. In particular, the Indian man became perceived as threatening to the putative purity of white women.