



Sikh Research Journal

Vol. 6 No. 1

This article is from *Sikh Research Journal*, the online peer-reviewed journal of Sikh and Punjabi Studies *

Sikh Research Journal *Vol. 6. No. 1. Published: Spring 2021

<http://sikhresearchjournal.org>

<http://sikhfoundation.org>

The Shadows of Empire: British Imperial and Sikh History on the Streets of Westminster, London

Ranveer (Rav) Singh

Founder, A Little History of the Sikhs

Abstract

This paper presents field and desk research to give a Sikh perspective on the memorials of British imperialists and Sikhs of the Indian Army found in the City of Westminster, a borough located in Central London, United Kingdom. Given the concentration of sites of national importance and heritage, the streets of Westminster contain a wealth of memorials, artefacts and events which also are connected to Sikh political and military history, the region of Punjab and the Sikh people. The individuals commemorated on the streets of Westminster represent a palpable history of the Sikhs and the Kingdom of Lahore, the East India Company in the Anglo-Sikh Wars and the Indian uprising of 1857, and soldiers and officers serving in the Indian Army in the two World Wars and conflicts in the first half of the 20th century.

Keywords: Sikh heritage, Westminster, East India Company, British empire, Indian army

Introduction

During the mid-1990s Sikh heritage in the UK began to emerge as an area of greater research for a small number of organizations, primarily, the Anglo-Sikh Heritage Trail (ASHT), Sikh Heritage Association Warwick & Leamington (SHAWL) and the UK Panjab Heritage Association (UKPHA, www.ukpha.org). These organizations grew in areas ranging from major exhibitions and book publications, in the case of UKPHA; a heritage trail and commemorative events, in the case of SHAWL and ASHT; and the establishment of the National Sikh Heritage Centre & Holocaust Museum in Derby (www.nationalsikhmuseum.com) by a group of individuals who mapped a range of artefacts in London that came from Ranjit Singh's Kingdom of Lahore.

The present research grows out of the author's community initiative called '*A Little History of the Sikhs*,' which formally began in November 2014 (Singh, 2020). This initiative includes walking tours of Sikh heritage sites throughout London. The author maintains a database of over 100 locations within the 32 boroughs of London, each of which can reveal an insight into Sikh history and heritage, and collectively are connected together to present a range of themed walking tours.

This paper focuses on sites and individuals associated with the annexation of the Kingdom of Lahore in 1849, the Indian uprising of 1857, and the two World Wars. These monuments, memorials and citations are ever-present in London but exist as shadows – they are seldom explicitly recognized or acknowledged. The paper provides visibility to tangible aspects of Sikh history in locations in London where many would not realize their presence.

The paper begins with a short overview of the City of Westminster, in which many of London's world-famous institutions and international tourist attractions are found. These include commemorative statues, memorials and dedications to a number of individuals, of which many in prominent locations are associated with the East India Company, the British Empire, and Sikhs who served in the Indian Army. Extracts and illustrations from *The Illustrated London News*, the world's first illustrated publication, printed from The Strand in Westminster, depict some of the individuals presented in this paper.

Next, the paper provides background on the East India Company, and the subsequent relationship between the British and the Sikhs when the Company was replaced by the British crown (the "Raj"). The relationships between the Sikhs, and the British were complex, going beyond initial conflict and subsequent service, to include aspects of nationalism, revolution and religious expression, though much of those aspects of history is beyond the current scope.

The manuscripts, artefacts and documents that can be found in London highlight the multiple facets of the traditions of the Sikhs – not only warriors in service of the British Empire, but also as a community of artists, and musicians, activists and leaders, with a rich history before the arrival of the British in Punjab. The paper proceeds by exploring the Sikh presence, direct and indirect, in a selection of sites in Westminster. The order of presentation is based on a combination of location and chronology. It ends with a summary conclusion.

The City of Westminster

The City of Westminster is a large London borough to the west of the ancient City of London and east of the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea (provided a complementary treatment in Singh, 2020). Within the borough are located the many tourist attractions that are associated with London, including Buckingham Palace, 10 Downing Street, the Houses of Parliament, Westminster Abbey and Trafalgar Square. The famous shopping districts of Oxford Street, Regent Street and Bond Street are also there, as well as a number of the Royal Parks – Hyde Park, St James's Park and Green Park.

Given the concentration of sites of national importance and heritage, the streets of Westminster contain a wealth of memorials, artefacts and other markers of

past events. This includes the more well-known locations such as Caxton Hall, Westminster, the site at which Sikh activist Udham Singh shot dead Sir Michael O'Dwyer in 1940, in retaliation for the Jallianwala Bagh massacre in Amritsar, 1919, and Buckingham Palace, which houses many artefacts from Punjab within The Royal Collection.

195-198, The Strand – *The Illustrated London News*

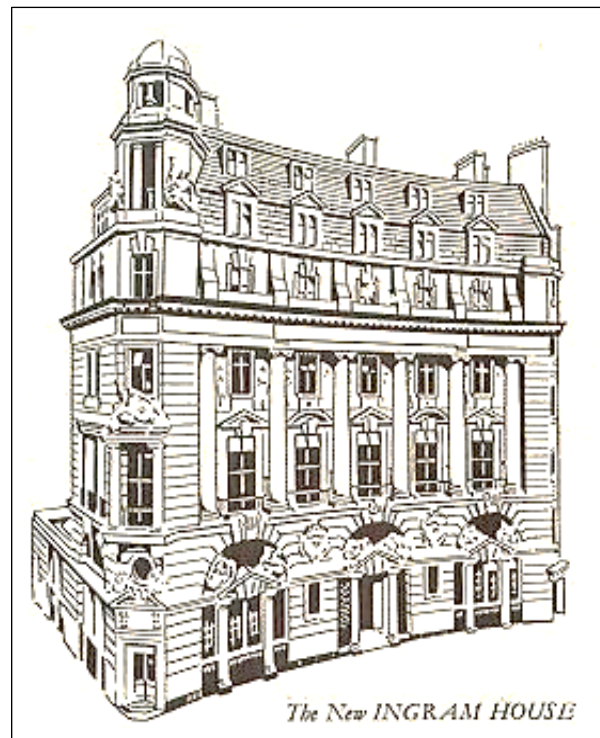


Figure 1 – Ingram House, 195 The Strand

The Illustrated London News was the world's first illustrated newspaper, founded at Ingram House on The Strand (Figure 1), by Herbert Ingram. The first issue of the Illustrated London News was published on 14 May 1842 (Orme, 1986). With the Kingdom of Lahore annexed by the British in the late 1840s, the newspaper articles in *The Illustrated London News* provided eye-witness accounts of the generals and governors of the East India Company and their accounts of the Punjab. Articles and illustrations in the newspaper featured not only the battles of the Anglo-Sikh Wars, Maharaja Duleep Singh (the ruler of the Punjab), and British views of the annexation of the Punjab, but also regularly presented accounts of the Sikh faith and the rich landscape of the Kingdom of Lahore and the Punjab region (the land of the five rivers), the Harmandir Sahib

in Amritsar (more commonly known as the Golden Temple) and the Akalis (the Sikh order of warriors, a subset of the Khalsa), as well as reports on the development of villages and infrastructure in Punjab in the second half of the 19th century.

The author's collection of mid-19th century newspapers includes articles and images from the Illustrated London News, which feature the historical figures presented in this paper, and are included as Figure 2 and 3.

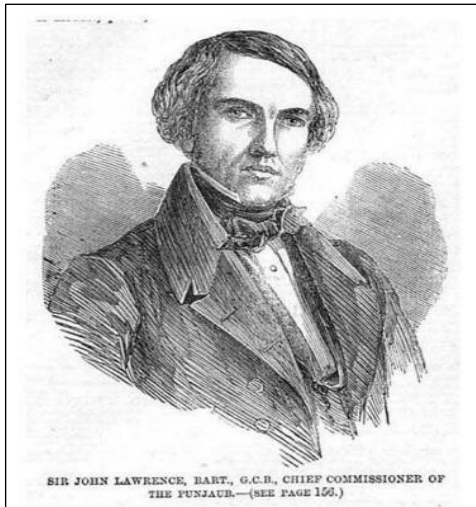


Figure 2 – Sir John Lawrence

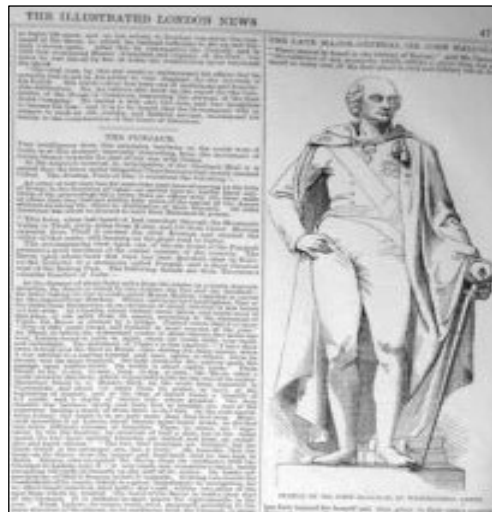


Figure 3 – Sir John Malcolm

Figure 4 shows the front-page report in the Illustrated London News, titled “Victories in the Punjab”, featuring Lord Gough and details of the Battle of Chillianwallah.

THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS



No. 368.—Vol. XIV.] FOR THE WEEK ENDING SATURDAY, APRIL 28, 1849. [SIXPENCE.

THE VICTORIES IN THE PUNJAB.



HILLJANWALLAH has been avenged. Both Houses of Parliament, and the Court of Directors of the East India Company, have voted their unanimous thanks to Lord Gough and his brave companions in arms for their victories in the Punjab, of which that at Gojraul is only the most splendid because it is the completion of the series. There was at one time, and that not very far distant, a disposition in a portion of the press and of the public to take an unfavourable view of the talents of Lord Gough. His bravery was considered rashness, or that kind of courage admirable in a man who has to obey, but mischievous in him who has to give orders. If praised at all, it only received homage at the expense of his skill. It must be confessed, even now, in the hour of victory, that there was some occasion for this mistrust. The slightest real defeat of our arms, or even a victory which had the appearance of defeat, was a diminution of our moral power over the population of India. In the faith of our invincibility, almost as much as in the physical force at our command, lay the source of our power. Lord Gough, we are certain, has generosity enough to forgive his countrymen for their temporary alarm, and for the severe criticism of his operations with which it was accompanied, and good sense enough to know that, under all the circumstances, it was not unnatural. The tide has now turned; to unwilling dispraise has succeeded the willing and enthusiastic applause of the nation. His crowning success at Gojraul has been splendid enough to wipe out the recollection of that, under all the circumstances, it was not unnatural. The tide has now turned; to unwilling dispraise has succeeded the willing and enthusiastic applause of the nation. His crowning success at Gojraul has been splendid enough to wipe out the recollection of that, under all the circumstances, it was not unnatural. The tide has now turned; to unwilling dispraise has succeeded the willing and enthusiastic applause of the nation. His crowning success at Gojraul has been splendid enough to wipe out the recollection of that, under all the circumstances, it was not unnatural.

Sobraon, was guardian of the infant Maharajah of the Punjab, and, in that character, was bound to control the acts of the Government, and to assist in carrying on its operations. He showed that all the servants of that Government betrayed their trust; that the first open ally was Dewan Mohlun, the Governor of Multan, who not only refused to obey an order by which he was superseded in command, but caused the murder of Mr. Vans Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson, the two gentlemen sent by the British resident to superintend the delivery of the fortresses to the officers appointed by the Maharajah to succeed him. The consequences of this act of rebellion were the revolt of the whole country in the neighbourhood of Multan, and of three fortresses in succession, and the desertion of Chere Singh, an ally always supported by the British, with whom he served, and who ultimately proved to be the very soul of the attempted revolution. With great clearness and precision, the noble Duke traced one event to another, and bestowed the high reward of his approval upon the whole of the operations. There can be no doubt that approbation so complete and so cordial, from such an authority as the Duke of Wellington, will more than make amends to Lord Gough for the adverse criticism to which he was once subjected, and that on the parts of Generals Thackeray, Whish, Gilbert, and the other leaders, as well as on that of Major Edwards, and the other young officers who shared the glory and the dangers of the war, it will long be treasured as a reward only second in value to the unanimous thanks of Parliament, and enhancing even that by its spontaneity and completeness.

On occasions when all have deserved well it is commonly considered invidious to make selections; but, though the selection was not made in Parliament, the country cannot help remembering how much is due to Major Edwards and to General Whish. The first-mentioned, alone, and without authority, made head against Mohlun, and the real character of the revolt was known at Lahore and at Calcutta, and until the arrival of reinforcements. General Whish, after the capture of Mohlun—of itself an achievement quite brilliant enough to make him famous—marched from that fortress to the Jhelum, a distance of 233 miles, in 17 days. The march was generally considered a 21 days' business, but it was accomplished in the shorter period, without a day's halt, over a country



GENERAL THE RIGHT HON. LORD GOUGH, K.G.C.B., COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE FORCES IN INDIA.

This veteran soldier (who has just been honoured with the thanks of both Houses of Parliament for his recent brilliant services in India), was born the 2nd of June, 1768, and is the fourth son of George (deceased), Esq., of Woodborough, county Lincoln, and Letitia, daughter of the late Thomas Bunsbury, Esq., of Emswold and Mowle county Rutland. Lord Gough entered the army on Easter Sunday, August 7, 1784, the same year with Sir Charles Napier, and his Lordship is sixty-two years in commission.

Lord Gough's other commissions bear date as follows:—Lieutenant, 11th October, 1791; Captain, 25th June, 1802; Major, 28th August, 1805; Lieutenant-Colonel, 22d July, 1809; Colonel, 18th August, 1813; Major-General, 22d July, 1819; Lieutenant-General, 22d November, 1841.

Lord Gough served at the capture of the Cape of Good Hope and the Dutch Settlements in Surinam, 1795. He served afterwards in the West Indies, including the attack on Porto Rico, the brigand war in St. Lucia, and capture of St. Pierre. He proceeded to the Peninsula in 1808, and commanded the 5th at the battle of Talavera, Barossa, Vittoria, and Nivelle, for which engagements he has received a Cross. He also commanded the regiment at the siege of Cadix and Tarifa, where he was wounded in the head. At the battle of Albuera, his horse was shot under him, and he himself was severely wounded afterwards by the side of a shell; for his conduct in the action, the Duke of Wellington subsequently recommended that his Lieutenant-Colonelcy should be attached to his rank of Major-General, the making him the first officer who ever received a second rank for services performed in the field as the head of a regiment. At Barossa, his regiment captured the eagle of the 6th French Regiment, and at Vittoria they captured the eagle of the 10th French Regiment, which he was made a Knight, and during nearly the whole of the operations in which he served he was made a Baronet. On the 18th December, 1815, with the 10th Regiment of the army of Wellington, he defeated the army of Alexander, and captured six guns, &c. In 1816 and 1818, the army force at Malabar, and captured six guns, &c. In 1818 and 1819, he served under his present command, defeated the Sikh army at Mooltan, Barossa, and captured the 8th and 9th Regiments, for which services he received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, and was made a Knight. Lord Gough is Colonel of his old and famous regiment, the 8th Royal Irish Fusiliers. His Lordship has held the office of Commander-in-Chief in India for six years, having been appointed the 10th March, 1844.

Lord Gough married, in 1807, Frances Maria, daughter of the late General Edward Stephen, Governor of Plymouth, and has issue one son and four daughters.

The accompanying Portrait is copied (by permission) from a print published by Messrs. Groom and Co., 41, Abchurch Lane, and bearing the following inscription:—“A Portrait taken of the Duke of Wellington by the artist, Sir Martin Sheppard, in 1807, and engraved by the artist, Sir Martin Sheppard, in 1807.”

Figure 4: The Illustrated London News, No. 368, week ending Sat. April 28, 1849

The East India Company

“The East India Company grew from being a loose association of British Elizabethan tradesmen in the early 1600s into *the Grandest Society of Merchants in the Universe*” (Keay, 1991) within two centuries. The Company first established a British presence in the spice trade in 1608, which until then had been monopolized by Spain and Portugal.

The company’s management was remarkably efficient and economical, reflected through the growth in its staff. In 1608, the East India Company had a workforce of only six staff, and operated from the residence of the first governor, Sir Thomas Smythe. By 1700 the workforce had increased to 35 employees and moved to a small office in London and by 1785, it had grown to become a huge commercial entity, with a workforce of 159 staff, controlling a vast empire of millions of people, from London (Moosa, 2019).

In 1833, the Government of India Act 1833 (Saint Helena Act) created the title of Governor-General of India. Lord William Bentinck was first to be designated as the Governor General of India. The company eventually became a powerful agent of British imperialism in South Asia and effectively the colonial ruler of large parts of India.

The company’s army played a notorious role in the unsuccessful uprising (also called the Indian Mutiny) of 1857–58, in which Indian soldiers in the company’s employ led an armed revolt against their British officers. During more than a year of fighting, both sides committed atrocities, including massacres of civilians. The Company’s reprisals however far outweighed the violence of the rebels.

The Company’s army commanders included Colonel James Neill, Major-General Sir Henry Havelock and Lieutenant-General Sir James Outram. Neil and Havelock “saw themselves as agents of a stern Providence, chosen by God to chastise, avenge and pacify. Neither flinched from the use of terror in a cause which they believed had Divine approval and against an enemy who were, in Havelock’s words, ‘devil’s incarnate’. Lucifer was loose in India and he had to be checked with fire and sword.” (James, 1997). The officers and generals of the East India Company have been described by historian William Dalrymple as “the first great multinational corporation, and the first to run amok – was the ultimate model for many of today’s joint-stock corporations.”

Some of the generals and officers described in this chapter and memorialized in Westminster offer an insight into the workings of the East India Company, which has been described as “history’s most terrifying warning about the

potential for the abuse of corporate power – and the insidious means by which the interests of shareholders become those of the state” (Dalrymple, 2015).

The uprising effectively bought about the abolishment of the East India Company in 1858, and British India and the princely states came under the direct rule of the British Crown. The Government of India Act 1858 created the office of Secretary of State for India to oversee the affairs, and the Governor-General representing the Crown became known as the Viceroy.

During the East India Company period, the Bengal, Madras and Bombay army units of the East India Company had recruited Sikhs in to their native forces. After the annexation of Punjab in 1849, and during the British Raj period after 1857, Sikh regiments were raised to protect the North West Frontier border with Afghanistan, as part of the Punjab Frontier Force. Sikhs were later classified as a ‘martial race’ with Sikhs being recognized for being stalwart soldiers, and were a part of the Indian army in World War I, World War II and fought in many theatres of war across the globe.

Westminster Abbey - East India Company Officers

Westminster Abbey is a Gothic abbey next to the Palace of Westminster, more commonly known as the Houses of Parliament. Construction of the church began in 1245, but it now holds the status of being a Church of England "Royal Peculiar" - a church that is directly responsible to the sovereign.

All coronations of English and British monarchs have been in Westminster Abbey since 1066, and there have been 16 royal weddings since 1100. The abbey is the burial site of more than 3,300 prominent people in British history, including at least sixteen monarchs, eight Prime Ministers, poet laureates, actors, scientists, military leaders, and the Unknown Warrior.

Sir John Malcolm



Figure 5: Sir John Malcolm

The abbey is where Major-General Sir John Malcolm is buried and memorialized with a statue. John Malcolm (2 May 1769 – 30 May 1833) was a Scottish soldier and also a diplomat, East India Company administrator, statesman, and historian. His memorial, located in the North chapel, states that he was:

“Employed confidentially in those important wars and negotiations which established British supremacy in India by the indefatigable and well-directed exertion of those extraordinary mental and physical powers with which Providence had endowed him, he became alike distinguished as a statesman, a warrior, and a man of letters.”

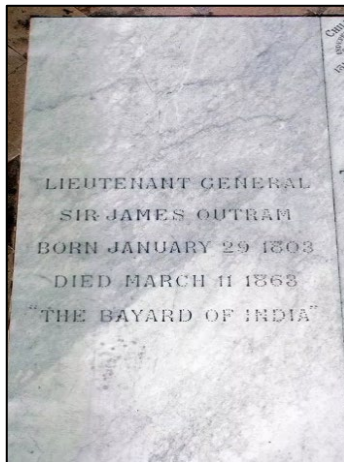
John Malcolm became acquainted with the Sikhs whilst employed as an interpreter during the Treaty of Amritsar (1806) negotiations between Maharajah Ranjit Singh of Lahore and the East India Company. He published his eye witness accounts in the journal *Asiatick Researches* (Madra, 2004) and then published

his book titled *Sketch of the Sikhs: a singular Nation who inhabit the Provinces of the Penjab, between the Rivers Jumna and Indus*. Published in 1810, when the Sikh Kingdom of Punjab was in the ascendancy under the rule of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Malcolm stated that:

“although the information I may convey in such a sketch may be very defective, it will be useful at a moment when every information regarding the Sikhs is of importance.”

Sir James Outram

James Outram was an East India Company Army officer who became a national hero after his successful campaign at Lucknow during the Indian uprising of 1857. In 1842, Sir Charles Napier succeeded Outram as the senior military and political officer in Sindh and declared “Gentlemen, I give you the “Bayard of India”, *sans peur et sans reproche*’ (David, 2002), *a perfect person destined for greatness and riches, without fear and without approach*. The epithet stuck. He spent most of his career in India and Afghanistan, was involved in numerous



armed conflicts, and worked as a political agent who had much success negotiating on behalf of the British with the Princely States. In 1857 he was made a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath. He died in France and his body was returned to Westminster Abbey for burial. The gravestone inscription at the Abbey, as shown in Figure 6, reads:

*Lieutenant General Sir James Outram.
Born January 29 1803. Died March 11 1863.
The Bayard of India*

Figure 6: Gravestone of Sir James Outram

On the window ledge nearby the grave is a memorial to the General by sculptor Matthew Noble. It consists of a bust with the name OUTRAM below it, and a bas-relief showing the scene at the Residency when Lord Clyde (who is buried near him) relieved Lucknow after a siege. General Havelock (described later in this paper) is shown standing between Outram and Clyde. On either side are



Figure 7: Bust of Sir James Outram at Westminster Abbey

figures of a seated Scindian chief and a seated Bheel chief. The inscription reads:

"To the memory of Lieut.Gen. Sir James Outram Bart. G.C.B. K.S.I. etc. A soldier of the East India Company, who during a service of forty years in war, and in council, by deeds of bravery and devotion, by an unselfish life, by benevolence never weary of well doing, sustained the honor of the British nation, won the love of his comrades, and promoted the happiness of the people of India. Born January 29th

1803. Died March 11th 1863. Erected in this Abbey at the public cost March 25th 1863. This monument is erected by the Secretary of State for India in Council."



Figure 8: Statue of General Sir James Outram at Whitehall Gardens

Close by to Westminster Abbey, in Whitehall Gardens, is a statue of General Sir James Outram, wearing the Order of the Star of India, an honour that was instituted in 1861 and was awarded to Indian princes loyal to the British Crown and to distinguished Britons in India.

Documents, memoirs and extracts from his life provide perspectives on the part played by Sikh regiments in the mutiny of 1857: It was Sir James Outram who recorded the war-cry of Major General Sir Henry Havelock at Lucknow, and is now memorialized in Trafalgar Square and described in the next section of this paper, in his memoirs. He addressed the Ferozepore Regiment of Sikhs: “Soldiers Your Labours Your Privations Your Sufferings and Your Valour

will not be forgotten by a Grateful Country.” (Military Star Press, 1944).

Outram also recorded; 'It was Lieutenant Brasyer and his Sikhs, the Regiment of Ferozepore who alone saved the lives of all the Europeans including 250 women and children at Allahabad. Had the Fort fallen into the hands of the rebels at this moment the result would have been calamitous' (Military Star Press, 1944).

Trafalgar Square - Major General Sir Henry Havelock

The site of Trafalgar Square had been a landmark since the 13th century and originally contained the mews and stables of the monarchy, and was known as the King's Mews. After George IV moved the mews to Buckingham Palace in 1825, the redevelopment of the area commenced. The original square was not built to commemorate a battle, but later acquired the name in 1835 following an announcement on 8th October 1832, in a court circular that stated “His Majesty has signified his desire that the new square at Charing-cross shall be designated after this great naval victory, which has hitherto been passed over in the choice of names for public places” (Mansfield, 2018).

The word ‘Trafalgar’ is a Spanish word of Arabic origin, derived from Taraf al-Gharb, *direction of the west*, (Burton, 1885). The Square commemorates the Battle of Trafalgar, which took place on 21 October 1805, where the British secured a naval victory over Spain and France, during the Napoleonic Wars. At

the centre of the square stands Nelson's Column - commemorating Admiral Horatio Nelson who died at the battle. It opened to the public on 1st May 1844, and the four lion statues guarding Nelson's Column were added in 1867.



Figures 9 ,10, 11: The statue of Major General Sir Henry Havelock at Trafalgar Square

In Trafalgar Square, at the corner facing Northumberland Avenue, stands a statue of Major-General Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B. Havelock was a British general who is associated with India and was noted for his recapture of Kanpur from rebels during the Indian uprising of 1857.

The Indian uprising of 1857

The Indian uprising of 1857 began as a mutiny of sepoys of the East India Company's army on 10 May 1857, in the cantonment of the town of Meerut, and soon escalated into other mutinies and civilian rebellions. The events posed a considerable threat to Company power in that region, and was contained only with the fall of Gwalior on 20 June 1858.

The Punjab was recently conquered by the British and was considered a security risk in the region, and therefore included a higher proportion of European to natives in the armies. However, the British officials feared that when news of the uprising in Delhi reached Punjab, tribesman in the North-West Frontier Region and former members of Lahore's Sikh Army may join the mutinous sepoys in the Bengal army and oust their colonial rulers (David, 2002). In Punjab, the Sikh princes of the princely states including the Maharaja of Patiala and the rajas of Nabha and Jhind, backed the Company by providing soldiers and support. The large princely states of Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore, and Kashmir, as well as the smaller ones of Rajputana, did not join the rebellion. In some regions, such as Oudh, the rebellion took on the attributes of a patriotic revolt against European presence.

The rebellion led to the dissolution of the East India Company in 1858. It also led the British to reorganize the army, the financial system and the administration in India, which was thereafter directly governed by the crown as the new British Raj.

The 1st Battalion King George V's Own, Ferozepore Sikhs 11th Sikh Regiment

The Regiment of Ferozepore was raised at the close of the First Sikh war in 1846. The Regiment was raised from ex-soldiers of the Khalsa Army, mainly recruited from the cis-Sutlej area of the Punjab. Recruits were gradually collected at Ferozepore where Captain G. Tebbs became the first commandant on 1st August 1846.

At the start of the Rebellion, the Regiment of Ferozepore was at Mirzapore and received orders to proceed to a strong point at Allahabad. The infantry mutinied and disturbances started in Allahabad on June 5th. Lieutenant Brayser, the commander quickly controlled the situation by paraded his men and disarmed all the guards of the mutinous regiment. General Neil said of the Regiment: "I must be obliged to Brasyer and his Sikhs who deserve the greatest credit for defending the Fort at Allahabad' (Military Star Press, 1944). After Allahabad the Regiment of Ferozepore joined General Havelock's Relief of Lucknow. The Sikhs took a large part in this campaign, commemorated by the unique dual Battle-Honour "Lucknow, Defence and Capture." As a special distinction for its conduct during the mutiny the Ferozepore Regiment was granted the privilege of securing a "red pagri" as its headdress which is still in use today (Military Star Press, 1944).

Trafalgar Square - Major-General Sir Charles Napier

In 1843, two wars were waged by Governor General Lord Ellenborough and Gwalior and Sindh were eventually annexed. It was Major-General Sir Charles Napier, who commanded the Bombay Army of the East India Army at the Battle of Miani, and made the Sindh a British province. But the Sindh affair had political reverberations in England, where Napier was accused of "having deliberately engineered the war through intransigence and underhand manoeuvres when it was clear that the amirs wanted a peaceful accommodation with the Company" (James L, 1997). Sir Robert Peel, the Prime Minister of England, was obliged to defend Ellenborough and in the end both Ellenborough and Napier were vindicated.

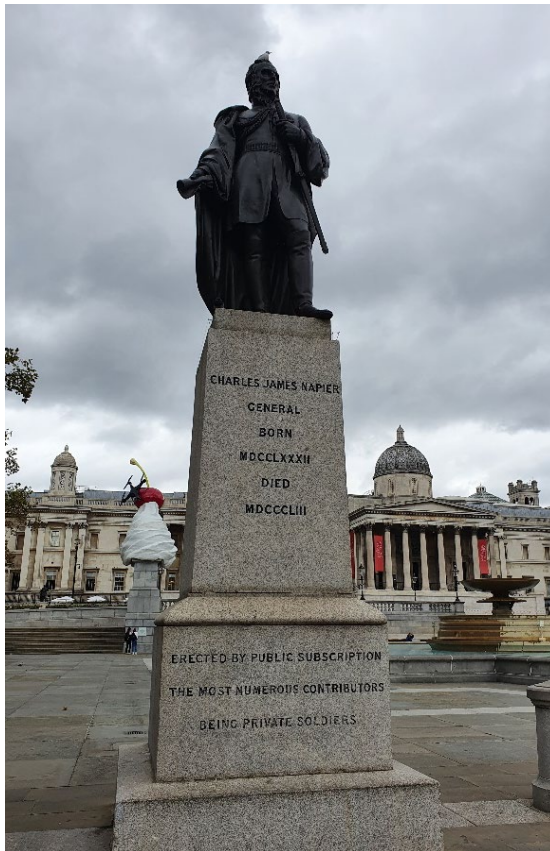


Figure 12 - Sir Charles Hames Napier by George Cannon Adams in the south-west corner of Trafalgar Square in 1855

In November 1845, two villages in Ludhiana, within the Kingdom of Lahore were seized by Major George Broadfoot for the British, on the premise that there were criminals in the villages which who should have been handed to the British authorities. Sir Charles Napier provided a frank view of the intentions of the British in relation to Punjab mentioning a war with Lahore in the Delhi Gazette, stating “If they [the robber tribes of Sind] were allowed to remain undisturbed while Schinde was quiet, they would become turbulent and troublesome when the British Army was called on to move into the Punjab” (Singh A, 2014). The first Sikh war broke out with the Battle of Mudki in December 1845. On 24 December, Charles Napier received orders to assemble at Rohri in Sindh. By 6

February 1846, Napier had assembled his forces at Rohri “with fifteen thousand men, many of whom had been brought from Bombay, eighty-six pieces of cannon, and three hundred yards of bridge” (Bloy, 2016). However, the battle of Ferozeshah was fought during this time, and Sir Henry Hardinge, the recently appointed Governor-General of India, ordered Napier to direct his forces north-east to Bhawalpur, and meet the Governor-General at headquarters in Lahore. Leaving his army on 10 February, he reached Lahore on 3 March, to find Sobraon had been fought and the war was over.

On 9 November 1846 he was promoted from Major-General to Lieutenant-General, but resigned from the government of Sindh in July 1847. He left India for Europe on 1 October. After a short visit to Ireland, he settled down at Cheltenham.

Early in 1849 the Sikh Wars produced a general demand in England for a change in the command. The court of directors applied to the Duke of Wellington to recommend to them a General for the crisis, and he named Napier. The suggestion however, was not well received, and eventually, Sir William

Maynard Glom was selected. Late in February came the news of events at the Battle of Chillianwallah¹, and an outcry arose against Lord Gough, and a popular call for Charles Napier. After the usual banquet at India House in London, Napier left England on 24 March, reached Calcutta on 6 May, and assumed the command; the war was, however, over, and Napier generously praised Lord Gough's conduct of it (Bloy, 2016).

Pall Mall and Westminster Abbey - John Lawrence

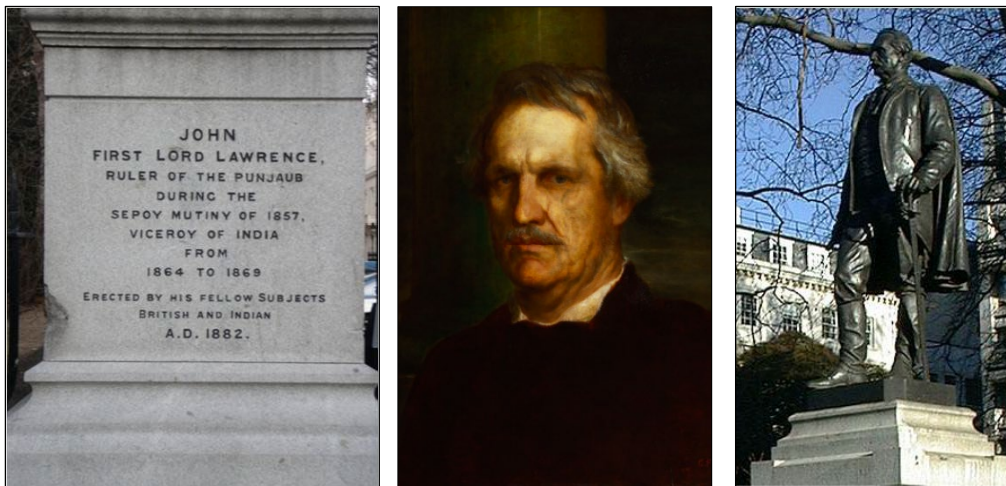


Figure 13, 14, 15: The statue of Lord Lawrence at Waterloo Place, Pall Mall

At the junction of Pall Mall with Waterloo Place, close to the Buckingham Palace, stands a statue of John Laird Mair Lawrence (1st Baron Lawrence), an Englishman who became a prominent British Imperial statesman who served as Viceroy of India from 1864 to 1869.

During the First Sikh War of 1845 to 1846, Lawrence organized the supplying of the British army in the Punjab and became Commissioner of the Jullundur district, serving under his brother, the Governor of the province. In that role he was known for his administrative reforms, for subduing the hill tribes, and for his attempts to end the custom of suttee.

In 1849, following the Second Sikh War, he became a member of the Punjab Board of Administration under his brother, and was responsible for numerous reforms of the province, including the abolition of internal duties, establishment of a common currency and postal system, and encouraged the development of Punjabi infrastructure, earning him the sobriquet of "the Saviour of the Punjab". In this work his efforts to limit the power of local elites brought him into conflict

¹ Further details on the Battle of Chillianwallah can be found in A. Singh (2017).

with his brother, and ultimately led to the abolition of the Administrative Board, instead becoming Chief Commissioner in the executive branch of the province.

In that role, Lawrence was partly responsible for "preventing the spread" of the Indian Rebellion of 1857 to Punjab, and negotiated a treaty with the Afghan ruler Dost Mohammed Khan, and later led the troops which recaptured Delhi from the rebellious sepoys. On 8 July 1859 a 'State of Peace' was officially declared throughout India, and the Viceroy, John Charles Canning proclaimed: 'War is at an end. Rebellion is put down. The Noise of Arms is no longer heard where the enemies of the State have persisted in their last struggle. The Presence of large Forces in the Field has ceased to be necessary. Order is re-established; and peaceful pursuits everywhere have resumed (David, 2002).'

For his part, John Lawrence received a promotion and his post was upgraded from Chief Commissioner to Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. He soon returned home to England to take up a seat on the new Council of India. Before he left the Punjab, he sent the Viceroy a list of Indian princes who deserved recognition for their support during the mutiny. Among them were three Sikh rulers of the Cis-Sutlej States – the Maharaja of Patiala and the Rajas of Jhind and Nabha. These states had safeguarded the lines of communication to the Punjab and made the re-conquest of Delhi possible. The Maharaja of Patiala was the most influential of the three, and was given land with a rental value of 2 lakh rupees a year, a mansion in Delhi that had belonged to a rebel and the dubious honour of calling himself "Choicest son of the British Government" (David, 2002)

Following the death of Lord Canning in June 1862 and then Lord Elgin within a year, Sir John Lawrence was sent back to India in 1863 to become Viceroy. Lawrence sought to centralize authority by keeping financial control, and blocking the executive councils for his lieutenant-governors. He set in motion an ambitious programme of railway and canal building, and promoting public health, prison reform and primary education. He became increasingly convinced that British rule in India was part of God's purpose. He wrote "We have not been elected or placed in power by the people, but we are here through our moral superiority, by the force of circumstances and by the will of Providence.". Lawrence's view was representative of the shift in the British perception of Empire from trading opportunity to civilizing mission (or 'white man's burden'). (David, 2002)

He was raised to the peerage as Baron Lawrence, of the Punjab and of Grateley in the county of Southampton, on his return to England in 1869, and died ten years later. The grave of John Lawrence, is found in the nave of Westminster Abbey where, the inscription reads:

“Here rests from his labours John Laird Mair, 1st Baron Lawrence of the Punjaub. Born 4 March 1811 Died 27 June 1879. Be Ready. His Works Do Follow Him.”



Figure 16: Grave of John Lawrence Figure 17: Bust of John Lawrence

Nearby is a white marble bust by the sculptor Thomas Woolner showing Lord Lawrence wearing a mantle of the Order of the Star of India. The inscription reads:

“John Laird Mair, First Lord Lawrence of the Punjab; who, from the Civil Service of the East India Company, rose to be Viceroy. His public life began among the races of upper India, whose hearts he won and whose lives he inspired. In the Mutiny of 1857 he maintained peace in the Punjab, and enabled our armies to re-conquer Delhi. His Viceroyalty promoted the welfare of the Indian people and confirmed the loyalty of the chiefs and princes. His devotion to public duty was ennobled by the simplicity and purity of his private life. “He feared Man so little, because he feared God so much”.

Constitution Hill, Park Lane - Memorial Gates and the Memorial Pavilion

The Memorial Gates are a war memorial located at the Hyde Park Corner junction with Park Lane of Constitution Hill. Also known as the Commonwealth Memorial Gates, they commemorate the armed forces of the British Empire who served in the First and Second World Wars, who came from

five regions of the Indian subcontinent (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka), as well as Africa and the Caribbean.

The inaugural patron of the Trust was Charles, Prince of Wales and funding was secured from the UK National Lottery via the Millennium Commission and construction of the Memorial Gates began on 1 August 2001. An inscription on the first stone commemorating the construction was laid by the Queen Mother. The Memorial Gates were inaugurated on 6 November 2002 by Queen Elizabeth II, in the Golden Jubilee year of her reign.

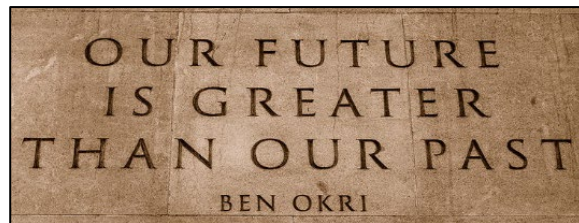


Figure 18 and 19 – the Memorial Gates

Memorial Pavilion

The Memorial Pavilion is located next to the Memorial Gates and has a list of those from the named regions who were awarded the George Cross or Victoria Cross (VC) in the years between and including the two World Wars.

The Victoria Cross is awarded to members of the British Armed Forces (British Army, Royal Air Force, Royal Navy and Royal Marines) of various Commonwealth countries, and previously the territories and dominions of the British Empire. It was instituted on 29 January 1856 by Royal Warrant following the Crimean War (1854-56). The award was unlike any previous military award as it was open to all ranks for acts of supreme gallantry in the face of the enemy. It is the joint highest award for bravery in the United Kingdom with the George Cross, which is the equivalent honour for valour not in the face of the enemy. Dating back to the start of the Crimean campaign in the autumn of 1854, the first 85 awards were made retrospectively and

announced in 'The London Gazette' (one of the official journals of record of the British government) of 24 February 1857.

Indian troops became eligible for the award in 1911, and 74 names from the Indian Army are listed on the ceiling of the small domed pavilion, detailing a total of 62 Victoria Cross recipients and 12 George Cross recipients. In this section of the paper, the author has documented the official announcements in The London Gazette with sourced and verified images, with the aim of providing a reliable source for the Sikh VC recipients. Through researching and presenting guided tours, it was evident that there was often confusion of the number of Indian VC recipients who were Sikh. Recipients such as Gobind Singh, Badlu Singh, Chatta Singh, Gabbar Singh Negi, Ram Sarup Singh are often included as being of Sikh origin, but a brief desktop search confirms that they were not Sikh or from the Punjab region.



Figures 20 and 21: Memorial Pavilion

Five Sikh recipients of the VC are honoured at the Memorial Pavilion. The acts of supreme gallantry in the face of the enemy, as recorded in the London Gazette and are presented for each of the awardees:

Subadar Major Ishar Singh, Bahadur, V.C. O.B.I, 15th Punjab Regiment



Figure 22 - Subadar Major Ishar Singh VC

Sepoy Ishar Singh was the first Sikh awarded the Victoria Cross. He was born on 13 December 1895 at Nenwan, Hoshiarpur, Punjab, and his citation in the London Gazette on 25 November 1921 reads:

“On 10th April, 1921 near Haidari Kach, North West Frontier, India, Sepoy Ishar Singh was No. 1 of a Lewis gun section. Early in the fighting he was severely wounded, all the officers and Havildars of his company became casualties and his Lewis gun was seized. He recovered the gun and went into action again although his wound was bleeding profusely, but when ordered to have it dressed, he went instead to help the medical officer, carrying water to the wounded, taking a

rifle and helping to keep down enemy fire and acting as a shield while the medical officer was dressing a wound. It was nearly three hours before he submitted to being evacuated”

Major Parkash Singh, 8th Punjab Regiment

Parkash Singh was born in the Jammu and Kashmir region of the former British India, on 1 April 1913. He was 27 years old, and a Jemadar in the 4 /13th Frontier Force Rifles during World War II. The citation in the London Gazette of 13 May 1943 described the deeds that took place:



Figure 23: Havildar Parkash Singh

“On the 6th January 1943 at Donbaik Mayo Peninsula Burma when two Gamers had been put out of action. Havildar Parkash Singh drove forward in his own Garner and rescued the two -crews under very heavy fire. At the time of the crews of the disabled Carriers had expended their ammunition and 'the enemy' were rushing the two disabled carriers on foot. This NCO's timely and courageous action entirely on his own initiative saved the lives of the crews and their weapons.

On the 19th January, 1943, in the same area, three carriers were put out of action by an enemy anti-tank gun and lay on the open beach covered by enemy anti-tank and machine-gun fire. One of these Carriers was carrying the survivors of another carrier in addition to its own crew. Havildar Parkash Singh, on seeing what had happened, went out from a safe position in his own Carrier, and with complete disregard for his own personal safety, rescued the combined crews from one disabled Carrier, together with the weapons from the Carrier. Having brought the crews to safety, he again went out on the open beach in his Carrier, still under very heavy anti-tank and machine-gun fire and with the utmost disregard to his personal safety, dismounted and connected a towing chain on to a disabled Carrier containing two wounded men. Still under fire, he directed the towing of the disabled Carrier from under enemy fire to a place of safety.

Havildar Parkash Singh's very gallant actions, entirely on his own initiative, were an inspiration to all ranks both British and Indian.”

He was awarded the Victoria Cross for these widely separated, repeated acts of sterling and selfless courage under murderous fire; a second award (a rare honour indeed), having been considered a distinct possibility by his CO. He rose to the rank of Major, being seconded to 16 Sikh on Partition (8th Punjab Regiment was allotted to Pakistan, later becoming its Baluch Regiment).

Nand Singh, 11th Sikh Regiment

Sepoy (Acting Naik) Nand Singh was born on 24 September 1914 in Patiala, India. As part of the 1/11th Sikh Regiment he was awarded the Victoria Cross in March 1945 His citation in the London Gazette on 6th June 1944 reads:



Figure 24: Nand Singh

“In Burma on the night of the 11th/12th March, 1944, a Japanese platoon about 40 strong with Medium and Light Machine-Guns and a Grenade Discharger infiltrated into the Battalion position covering the main Maungdaw-Buthidaung road”

“Naik Nand Singh commanded the leading section of the platoon which was ordered to recapture the position at all costs. He led his section up a very steep knife-edged ridge under heavy machine-gun and rifle fire. Although wounded in the thigh he rushed ahead of his section and took the first enemy trench with the bayonet by himself. He then crawled forward alone under heavy fire and though wounded again in the face and shoulder by a grenade which burst one yard in front of him, took the second trench”.

A short time later when all his section had been either killed or wounded, Naik Nand Singh dragged himself out of the trench and captured a third trench, killing all the occupants”.

Naik Gian Singh VC, 15th Punjab Regiment

Naik Gian Singh was born on 5 October 1915 in Shahpur, Jullundur. As part of the 15th Punjab Regiment he was awarded the VC in March 1945. His citation in the London Gazette on 18 May 1945 reads:



Figure 25 - Naik Gian Singh VC

“In Burma, on 2nd March, 1945, the Japanese were holding a strong position astride- the road Kamyemyingyan. Two Companies of the 15th Punjab Regiment carried out successfully a wide encircling movement and established themselves on some high ground about one and a half miles in the rear of this enemy position”

“The enemy were well-concealed in fox-holes along cactus hedges and Naik Gian Singh soon observed enemy some twenty yards ahead. Ordering his Light Machine Gunner to cover him, he, alone, rushed the enemy fox-holes, firing his Tommy Gun. He was met by a hail of fire and wounded in the arm. In spite of this he continued his advance alone, hurling grenades.

He killed several Japanese including four in one of the enemy main weapon pits.”

Naik Gian Singh quickly saw the danger to the tanks and, ignoring the danger to himself and in spite of his wounds, again rushed forward, killed the crew and captured the gun single-handed. His section followed him and he then led them down a lane of cactus hedges, clearing all enemy positions which were being firmly held. Some twenty enemy bodies were found in this area, the majority of which fell to Naik Gian Singh and his- section. After this action, the Company reformed to take the enemy positions to the rear. Naik Gian Singh was ordered to the Regimental Aid Post but, in spite of his wounds, requested permission to lead his section until the whole action had been completed. This was granted.”

Lieutenant Karamjeet Singh Judge, 15th Punjab Regiment

Lieutenant Karamjeet Singh was born on 25 May 1923 in Kapurthala, India. His father was a Chief of Police, and he became a member of the Indian National



Figure 26: Karamjeet Singh Judge VC

Congress Party. Instead of completing his studies in politics at Lahore College, Punjab, he seems to have been persuaded to join the army. The status of his family is part of the reason he is one of the few Sikhs in the Indian Army who retained his family name, Judge, in addition to the surname of Singh. As part of the 4th Battalion 15 Punjab Regiment, he was awarded the Victoria Cross in March 1945. Killed in action on 18th March, 1945, near Meiktila, Burma, the citation of his posthumous award in the London Gazette on 3 July 1945 reads:

“In Burma, on 8th March, 1945, a Company of the 15th Punjab Regiment, in which Lieutenant Karamjeet Singh Judge was a Platoon 'Commander, was ordered to capture the Cotton Mill area on the outskirts of Myingyan. In addition to numerous

bunkers 'and stiff enemy resistance a total of almost 200 enemy shells fell around the tanks and infantry during the attack. The ground over which the operation took place was very (broken and in parts was unsuitable for tanks). Except for the first two hours of this operation, Lieutenant Karamjeet Singh Judge's platoon was leading in the attack, and up to the last moment Lieutenant Karamjeet Singh Judge dominated the entire battlefield by his numerous and successive acts of superb gallantry.”

Lieutenant John George Smyth 15th Ludhiana Sikhs, Richebourg L'Avoué, France - 18 May 1915, Battle of Festubert, World War I

The Memorial Pavilion at Constitution Hill, Hyde Park also includes the name of Lieutenant John George Smyth of the 15th Ludhiana Sikhs. John Smyth was awarded the Victoria Cross for an episode that took place during the Battle of Festubert on 18 May 1915.



Figure 27, 28: Lieutenant John Smyth VC, 15th Ludhiana Sikhs

On the 17th May 1915, a company of the 15th Sikhs under Captain Hyde-Cates had relieved part of the 2nd Battalion, Highland Light Infantry in a section of a trench known as the "Glory Hole", near the Ferme du Bois. Here, fierce fighting had been in progress, and the Sikhs had replaced the Highlanders and occupied a section of a German trench.

During the early hours of the 18th May, Captain Hyde-Cates observed that the Germans were attempting to reinforce their comrades in the trench. When morning broke it was seen that the German trench was packed with men who were evidently preparing an attack. A hail of bombs started to fall upon the Sikhs, who replied vigorously. By noon, the supply of bombs for the Sikhs began to fall, and the situation became critical. Only the timely arrival of a bombing party from the reserve trenches would enable them to hold out, and the reserve trenches were approximately 250 yards away, with the ground between the trenches exposed to fire of the Germans.

Lieutenant John Smyth, 15th Sikhs, was ordered to attempt to take bombs from the support trench to Captain Hyde-Cates. Lieutenant Smyth took with him ten

bombers from No. 4 Company, selected from the crowd of volunteers who immediately responded to the call. The names of volunteers were Lance-Naik Mangal Singh, Sepoys Lal Singh, Sucha Singh and Sapuram Singh of the 15th Sikhs; Sarain Singh, Sundur Singh, Harnam Singh and Ganda Singh of the 19th Punjabis; and Fateh Singh and Ujagar Singh of the 45th Sikhs.

At two o'clock in the afternoon Smyth and his band set out on a dangerous journey, taking with them two boxes containing ninety-six bombs. Aspects of the mission were recorded, and stated that:

“By means of pagris [turban material] attached to the boxes, the men in front pulled them along over and through the dead bodies that encumbered the trench, while those behind pushed with all their might. The danger was enough to have appalled the stoutest heart. Rifle and machine-gun bullets ripped up the ground all round them, while the air above was white with the puff of shrapnel. If a single bullet, a single fragment of shell, penetrated one of the boxes of explosives, the men propelling it would infallibly be blown to pieces.

Before they had advanced a score of yards on their terrible journey Fattedh Singh fell, severely wounded; in another hundred, Sucha Singh, Ujagar Singh and Sunder Singh were down, leaving only Lieut. Smyth and six men to get the boxes along. However, spurred on by the thought of the dire necessity of their comrades ahead, they, by superhuman efforts, succeeded in dragging them nearly to the end of the trench when, in quick succession, Sarain Singh, Harnam Singh and Sapuram Singh were wounded. The second box of bombs had therefore to be abandoned, and for the two remaining men to haul even one box along in the face of such difficulties appeared an impossible task. But nothing was impossible to the young lieutenant and the heroic Lal Singh, and presently the anxious watchers in the trench ahead saw them wriggling their way yard by yard into the open, dragging with them the box upon the safe arrival of which so much depended.

As they emerged from the comparative shelter of the trench a veritable hail of lead burst upon them; but escaping it as though by a miracle, they crawled on until they found themselves confronted by a small stream which at this point was too deep to wade. They had, therefore, to turn aside and crawl along the bank of the stream until they came to a place which was just fordable. Across this they struggled with their precious burden, the water all about them churned into foam by the storm of bullets clambered by the further tank, and in a minute more they were amongst their cheering comrades. Both were unhurt, though their clothes were perforated by bullet holes; but it is sad to relate that scarcely had they reached the trench than the gallant Lal Singh was struck by a bullet and killed instantly.” (Bagdatopulos W.S, 2015)

So ended one of the most gallant episodes of the Great War. For his bravery Lieutenant Smyth was awarded the Victoria Cross, and later the Order of St. George, 4th Class (Russia). Lance-Naik Mangal Singh received the Second-Class Indian Order of Merit, while the Indian Distinguished Service Medal was awarded to all the sepoy of the party.

Green Park –Bomber Command Memorial

During the course of World War II, countries from across the globe sent pilots to fly for the Royal Air Force and the RAF Bomber Command. The RAF bomber Command controlled the bomber forces of the Air Force, and undertook the bombing of strategic targets in Germany during World War II, and aircraft included the Manchester, the Halifax, Stirling and Lancaster aircraft bombers, as well as the more popularly known Hurricane and Spitfire. The Bomber Command suffered high casualties, more so than Infantry, and the contributions of Indian airmen in the Bomber Command has often been overlooked.



Figure 29: Bomber Command Memorial

The Bomber Command Memorial was unveiled by The Queen on 28 June 2012, and is located in Green Park, opposite the RAF Club on Piccadilly. The tribute on the memorial reads:

“This memorial is dedicated to the 55, 573 Airmen from the United Kingdom, British Commonwealth & Allied Nations who served in RAF Bomber Command & lost their lives over the course of the Second World War”

The Godmanchester Air Crash, 11 April 1942

On the night of the 10th/11th April 1942, a bombing raid by 18 RAF Stirling bombers took place over the city of Essen in Germany. The aircraft in the raid were damaged by anti-aircraft fire, and one aircraft, a short Stirling N3703, was returning to RAF Alconbury, near Huntingdon in Cambridgeshire. The aircraft was captained by Squadron Leader Drummond Wilson and his co-pilot 19yr old Sgt David Southey who were attempting to land the aircraft. Upon final approach, they were ordered to ‘go around’ and await an aircraft to clear the runway. As they flew over Godmanchester, the engine cut out following a damaged oil pipe breaking, and the bomber aircraft crashed in an area near the A14. Of the crew of eight, the captain, Drummond, and the Mid Upper Gunner, Sgt Edgar Gould, were killed.

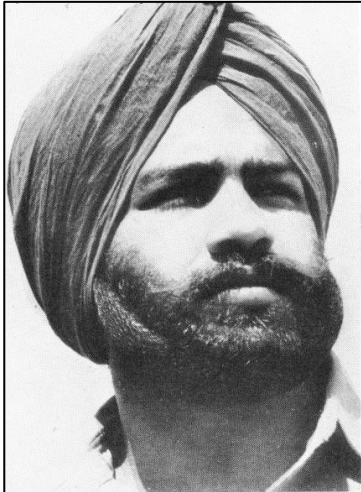


Figure 30 – Flt Lt Drummond Wilson with his first crew, including Shivdev Singh

The story of the Godmanchester crash and the story of Squadron Leader Drummond Wilson, known simply as Drummond, has been told in a recent book by Roger Leivers. The book also details the lives of Drummond’s crews, including Pilot Officer Shivdev Singh. Singh was Drummond’s co-pilot, who Leivers described as being the most conspicuous of Drummond’s original crew.

Shivdev Singh

Shiv Dev Singh was one of 24 Indian pilots who served with the RAF in the Bomber Command. His service records show he served as Drummond's co-pilot on one raid, and then transferred to RAF HQ Middle East in March 1942.



From there he was then stationed in Egypt and then to Burma. After 18 months in Burma delivering low-level fighter and ground-attack support, he moved to New Guinea. By 1945, Shivdev Singh was promoted to the senior officer rank of Squadron Leader, and was a highly respected pilot. He then led No.3 Squadron in Burma against the Japanese, leading to the capture of Rangoon in May 1945. Following the end of the second World War, Shivdev Singh returned to England, working as a liaison staff member of the Royal Indian Air Force based at the High Commission of India in Aldwych.

Figure 31: Shivdev Singh

Conclusion

In this paper, the author has cast light on 'The Shadows of Empire', detailing sites that memorialize often-unacknowledged events and individuals associated with different phases of British India, including the East India Company and the Raj, and the role of Sikhs in those events, as opponents of the invaders, as servants of Empire, and as individuals from a rich and independent tradition of the Punjab. The author has highlighted the stories of Bomber Command co-pilot Shivdev Singh, the story of Lieutenant John Smyth and his Sikh volunteers, and the roles of Company officer's Sir James Outram and Sir Charles Napier alongside the other individuals that are a little more known and associated with Sikh and Anglo-Sikh history such as Sir Henry Havelock, Sir John Lawrence and the Sikh VC winners. An important contribution of this paper is to make the Sikhs who received British gallantry awards more visible as individuals, providing information about their backgrounds as well as their acts of courage.

This area of UK Sikh heritage and history of the Sikhs, Punjab and India has been a focus for organisations such as UKPHA, ASHT, SHAWL and the National Sikh Heritage Centre and Sikh Holocaust Museum in the United Kingdom. Since 2010, the author's own contribution to this field has been to build on the prior collection of information and develop a detailed database of

knowledge of Sikh history and heritage located in memorials, collections and artefacts within museums, buildings and churches in Central and Greater London. This work has brought attention to numerous locations that were previously not presented by heritage organizations in the UK. These include the memorials to the Punjab Frontier Force in St. Luke's Church and at St. Paul's Cathedral, the links of the Pembroke College Mission in Southwark to Charles Free Andrews and his eye-witness accounts of events in the early 1920s in Amritsar and Punjab, the location of art pieces from the mid-late 1800s of Maharaja Duleep Singh and Captain Colin McKenzie at the National Liberal Club in Whitehall.

The City of Westminster also includes a number of other institutions, buildings, law institutions and churches, which also reveal Sikh and Anglo-Sikh histories within the artefacts, paintings and individuals associated with them. The author plans to continue this research, including Sikh and Anglo-Sikh histories associated with Caxton Hall, The Royal Collection, The National Liberal Club, The Royal Courts of Justice, the Wallace Collection, and Westminster Palace (Houses of Parliament).

References

- Bagdatopulos W.S., Burgess A., Bryan, J.De G (2015, replication of a book originally published before 1918), *Wonderful stories. Winning the V. C. in the Great War*, Book On Demand Ltd
- Bloy Dr M., (2016), A Web of English History: General Sir Charles James Napier (1782-1853), <http://www.historyhome.co.uk/people/napier.htm> accessed 28 December 2020
- Brief History of the 11th Sikh Regiment,(1944), Military Star Press, <https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/1500009823>
- Burton R F (1885), The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night — Volume 09, Footnote 82 <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/3443/3443-h/3443-h.htm> accessed 2 April 2021
- Dalrymple W (2015), The Long Read, The East India Company: The original corporate raiders <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/04/east-india-company-original-corporate-raiders>, accessed 22 January 2021
- Garreau. J.E (2002), The Languages of Europe: A Cultural Introduction, Chapter 7, <http://faculty.uml.edu/jgarreau/50.315/Europ1.htm> accessed 4 August 2019

- James L, (1997) *Raj, The Making of British India*, Abacus Books
- Keay J, (1991) *The Honourable Company – A History of the English East India Company*, Harper Collins
- Levi, R (2020), *Stirling to Essen, The Godmanchester Stirling: A Bomber Command Story of Courage and Tragedy*, Gomer Press, chapter 10
- Madra A & Singh P, (2004), *Sicques Tigers or Thieves*, Palgrave MacMillan,
- Malcolm J, (1810), *Sketch of the Sikhs*, 1810
- Mansfield I. (2018), IanVisits, Trafalgar Square: Everything you ever wanted to know about it <https://www.ianvisits.co.uk/blog/2018/04/18/everything-you-always-wanted-to-know-about-traffic-square-but-were-afraid-to-ask/> accessed 3 April 2021
- Moosa I.A. (2019), *The Economics of War: Profiteering, Militarism and Imperialism*, Edward Elgar Publishing
- Orme E.B., 1986, *A History of The Illustrated London News*
https://www.iln.org.uk/iln_years/historyofiln.htm accessed 22 January 2021
- David S, (2002) *The Indian Mutiny*, Viking
- Singh A, (2014) *The First Anglo-Sikh War*, Amberley
- Singh A, (2017) *The Second Anglo-Sikh War*, Amberley
- Singh, Ranveer (2020), *Sikh History on the Streets of London: The Royal Borough of Kensington & Chelsea*, Sikh Research Journal, Vol.5, No.1 pg.2
<https://sikhresearchjournal.org/sikh-history-on-the-streets-of-london-the-royal-borough-of-kensington-chelsea-by-ranveer-rav-singh/> accessed January 29, 2021
- The London Gazette, 25 November 1921
<https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/32530/supplement/9609/data.pdf> accessed 2 January 2021
- The London Gazette, 6 June 1944,
<https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/36548/supplement/2683/data.pdf> accessed 2 January 2021
- The London Gazette, 18 May 1945
<https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/36013/supplement/2141/data.pdf>,
<https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/36013/supplement/2142/data.pdf> accessed 3 April 2021

The London Gazette, 22 May 1945

<https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/37086/supplement/2607/data.pdf>
accessed 3 April 2021

The London Gazette, 3 July 1945

<https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/37086/supplement/3340/data.pdf>
accessed 3 April 2021

The New Monthly Magazine (1832), Incidents and Ecclesiastical Preferments

Image Credits

Figure 1 The Illustrated London

News https://www.iln.org.uk/iln_years/ilnhist1951.htm, accessed 28 January 2021

Figure 2 The Illustrated London News, 1858, **Figure 3** The Illustrated London News, 1857, **Figure 4** The Illustrated London News, No. 368, 'A little History of the Sikhs' Collection, Rav Singh

Figure 5 Image © 2021 Dean and Chapter of Westminster

<https://www.westminster-abbey.org/abbey-commemorations/commemorations/sir-john-malcolm>

Figure 6 and 7 <https://www.westminster-abbey.org/abbey-commemorations/commemorations/sir-james-outram> accessed 4 April 2021

Figure 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 20, 21, 29: A little History of the Sikhs, Ranveer (Rav) Singh

Figure 15: Image © National Portrait Gallery

<https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/use-this-image/?mkey=mw03791>

Figure 16 and 17: Image © 2021 Dean and Chapter of Westminster

<https://www.westminster-abbey.org/abbey-commemorations/commemorations/john-laird-mair-lawrence> accessed 4 April 2021

Figure 18 and 19: Carcharoth (Commons) English: Part of a series of photos of the Memorial Gates, at the point where Constitution Hill meets Hyde Park Corner and the Wellington Arch, London, UK.

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Memorial_Gates,_Constitution_Hill_\(February_2010\)_16.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Memorial_Gates,_Constitution_Hill_(February_2010)_16.jpg)

Figure 22: Online Collection of the National Army Museum

<https://collection.nam.ac.uk/detail.php?acc=1953-07-10-1> accessed 2 January 2021

Figure 23: Major Parkash Singh VC Imperial War Museums (iwm.org.uk)

<https://www.iwm.org.uk/history/major-parkash-singh-vc> accessed 4 April 2021

Figure 24: Online Collection of the National Army Museum

<https://collection.nam.ac.uk/detail.php?acc=1974-09-79-161> accessed 4 April 2021

Figure 25: Image Credit: The Comprehensive Guide to the Victoria & George Cross <http://www.vconline.org.uk/gian-singh-vc/4586770389> accessed 2 January 2021

Figure 26: Image Credit: The Comprehensive Guide to the Victoria & George Cross <http://www.vconline.org.uk/karamjeet-singh-judge-vc/4587265366> accessed 3 January 2021

Figure 27: Lieutenant John Smyth,

<http://www.victoriacross.org.uk/mmsmyt03.htm> accessed 28 January 2021

Figure 28: Drawing of Lieutenant Smyth's VC action, from *The War Illustrated*, August 1915

Figure 30, 31: The Godmanchester Stirling,

<http://thegodmanchesterstirling.co.uk/> accessed 4 April 2021