Past Knowing and Representational Practices:
Visual Culture and the Social Production of Peoplehood

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by Arijit Sen
Assistant Professor
School of Architecture and Urban Planning
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

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Abstract

Immigrant histories exemplify multiple ways of knowing, construing, and reproducing the past. The social construction of immigrant peoplehood is a politically negotiated process during which immigrants reinvent their history and cultural traditions. Immigrants change and alter physical space in order to accommodate cultural practices. Immigrants mark spatial boundaries in order to redefine cultural landscapes. This study examines how "past knowing" is deployed by South Asian immigrants in *everyday life*.

In 1920 the Gadar Party, an Indian immigrant nationalist organization based in San Francisco, published a world map for their working-class compatriots in the United States. The nationalists prominently marked the Indian homeland on this map and carefully embedded political messages of anti-colonial resistance in the legend. To the Gadarites, engaged in the struggle against British rule, the map of homeland coincided with the imagined borders of a future Indian nation. This map held different and often contradictory meanings for working-class immigrants. Their vision of homeland included a network of pre-existing diasporic settlements in locations across the British Empire. The United States and British state and the Anglo political allies of the Indian nationalists imagined the Indian nation differently. In this paper, these multiple readings of the world map become vehicles for analyzing how different social groups construct and construe national boundaries in different ways.

This paper points out that homeland often transcends national boundaries in ways that are contested. Using a series of interpretive maps, archival data, and oral histories, this paper argues that the extents of the immigrant cultural landscape depend on who is looking. This paper suggests an alternative model of relating culture and geography to the study of immigrants in the United States. It proposes a method of exploring how immigrants in the United States mediate geographical, cognitive, and social contexts while imagining their homeland.

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Arijit Sen

In 1912 a newsletter *The Voice of Freedom* published in San Francisco carried an "Ode to India" by Jogesh Misrow. Misrow was an Indian student enrolled in the University of Washington. He shared a nationalist fervor that was popular among the expatriate Indian immigrants of the time. Misrow's nationalism was not directed towards the United States, his adopted country. Rather his political allegiances lay with India, the country of his birth, which he wanted to free from British rule. It was a patriotic poem, in which the student described his homeland,

> My loving Ind, - thou a paradise a fair
> Where flow milk and honey; blows malayan air,
> Where, where Nature's bosom decks
> The gurgling Ganges or Kailash lakes?
> ………………………………
> Her temples, chants of Vedic lores
> Hail her children on far off shores!
> Holiest of lands - cradle of Aryan race
> Awake; ere dawn brighten thy face.[1]

Misrow chose his language carefully since he was addressing American and European readers of the publication.[2] He had to be sure that his readers could identify with his evocative imagery. Many of the readers, familiar with Henry David Thoreau's Transcendentalist thoughts, would find similarities between Misrow's poem and Thoreau's description of India, "I cannot read a sentence in the book of the Hindoos without being elevated as upon the tableland of the Ghauts. It has such a rhythm as the winds of the desert, such a tide as the Ganges, and seems as superior to criticism as the Himmaleh Mounts."[3] Like Misrow, Thoreau used geographical imagery to portray an alternative space, a haven where he could live a perfect life, a paradise of incomparable beauty, and a land of the "Aryan race." Thoreau's description, also popular among Unitarians and Theosophists during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, used these place-images to map India—her geography, culture, religion, and racial composition—in opposition to the United States. Thoreau's description of India as a paradise inhabited by an ideal race from the past exemplifies American Orientalism, a form of knowledge that maps India in opposition to the West.

Yet the geographical imagery of Misrow also emerges from his past knowledge and familiar historical context. His description of homeland is a confluence of different discourses of "past knowing" with the intention of accommodating present circumstances. For instance, Misrow's imagery of homeland resembled nineteenth- and early twentieth-century nationalist poetry in India. Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay's 1875 poem *Bande Mataram,* an anthem for twentieth century Indian nationalists in their struggle against the British Raj, described the geographical and agricultural bounty of Mother India:

"Mother, I bow to thee!
Rich with thy hurrying streams,
Bright with thy orchard gleams,
Cool with thy winds of delight,
Dark fields waving …
Glory of moonlight dreams
Over thy branches and lordly streams,
Clad in thy blossoming trees…[4]

Radhika Mohanram writes that the nation is closely tied to its landscape and the images of landscape are often used to describe a nation, "Though the features of hills, mountains, rivers, oceans and deserts are common to a number of countries, each nation prefers to consider its own geographical features as unique…. The emotion attached to the landscape related to its ability to release memory, allowing the past to exist simultaneously with the present. Thus there is a metonymic link between bodies, landscape and nation, in that they are all contiguous."[5]

We find a different interpretation of the same geographical metaphors described by Misrow, Thoreau, and Chattopadhyay reappearing among Indian immigrants in California who were employed as agricultural labor. During the first half of the twentieth century Puna Singh, an immigrant from the Indian state of Punjab, described his homeland as paradise. Unlike Misrow, the geographic location of Singh's paradise was California, where he lived and worked as an agricultural laborer. Puna Singh compared the California landscape to his native Punjab, "On arriving in the Sacramento Valley, one could not help but be reminded of the Punjab. Fertile fields stretched across the flat valley to the foothills lying far in the distance."[6] Karen Leonard's research on Punjabi immigrants in California shows that it was a common practice among immigrant Indian laborers in the California Valley to reinterpret the new landscape as part of India. This helped them to recreate collective identities and sustain communities in the new world.[7]

Immigrant histories exemplify multiple ways of knowing, construing, and reproducing the past. This paper argues, first, that the geographical imaginations of homeland shaped the way that Indian immigrants entering the United States during the first two decades of the twentieth century construed peoplehood and community. Misrow, Thoreau, Chattopadhyay, and Singh were separated by time, geography, and social context. Yet they use similar geographical imagery to describe a people, land, culture, and nation. The phrase, geographical imaginations, developed by geographers such as Doreen Massey and Derek Gregory,[8] can be used to describe how individuals construct mental images, spatial metaphors, and place narratives to represent homeland. Displaced from their place of birth, immigrants recreated, adapted, and reinvented their sense of belonging to places they lived, traveled, settled or remembered. Geographical imaginations of homeland were transcribed on cognitive and cartographic maps, figural imagery, and written texts.

Second, this paper examines how peoplehood is constructed outside the borders of the nation, in diaspora. It argues that a sense of common ancestral homeland imagined by the Indian immigrants was inflected by discourses of culture, race, nation, and gender, a process that Wallerstein calls the construction of peoplehood.[9] Reflecting on the social construction of peoplehood, Etienne Balibar suggests that individuals are socialized into this form of belonging and that such social constructions happen within a field of "collective symbols."[10] These collective symbols allowed Indian immigrants to negotiate a common identity and an imagined community.

The social construction of immigrant peoplehood is a politically negotiated process during which immigrants reinvent their history and cultural traditions. Immigrants change and alter physical space in order to accommodate cultural practices. They mark and control spatial boundaries in order to redefine their cultural landscape. This study examines how "past knowing" is deployed in *everyday life* by focusing on the unique role and relevance of material media in the social construction of homeland by Indian immigrants entering North America during the early twentieth century. It argues that the choice of representational media helped disparate groups come together as a single imagined community. Maps, figural imagery, and narratives/stories—material media over which collective symbols were communicated by Indian immigrants—could be read by individuals within the diaspora who spoke different languages, worshipped different gods, and shared different values. These symbols sustained multiple and alternative interpretations.

The early twentieth century diasporic *geographical imagination of homeland* was polyglot in nature. While Indian immigrants often spoke of India when they described their homeland, not all of them were referring to the Indian state or subcontinent. Rather, homeland was a spatial metaphor through which Indian immigrants in the United States mediated belonging and identity. This act of "place-making" was an interpretive and perspectival process, often inflected by the background and personality of the individual immigrant.

According to Benedict Anderson, writing about European nationalisms, two strangers in very different locations could pick up a newspaper in a common vernacular language and be part of an in-group "imagined community."[11] Arguing that Anderson's formulation of the nation as an imagined community derived from modular forms were set by (or derivative of processes in) Western Europe, Russia, and the Americas, Partha Chatterjee points out that the history of Indian nationalism (inside India) was different from the former. According to him, the nationalist "imagination in Asia and Africa are posited not on an identity but rather on a *difference* with the 'modular' forms of the national society propagated by the modern west. He argues that contrary to the western nationalisms the Indian nation was imagined in opposition to the state."[12] The Indian nationalists distinguished their world into two distinct domains: the outer and the inner. The material or outer domain was already ruled by the British colonial state. But institutions such as family, religion and cultural practice and traditions lay outside the jurisdiction of the colonial state. These institutions belonged to an inner domain, the spiritual realm, through which the nationalists imagined the Indian nation. Despite

differences the two domains were inextricable intertwined, their existence predicated on a continuing dialog *across* them. Indians had to engage the state and its discourses in order to delineate their in-group boundaries.

Like their compatriots, Indian immigrants in the United States also imagined their ethnic community in opposition to the mainstream American public domain. As they started a life in the United States they lacked political power and civic voice. They were not allowed to vote in America nor could they own property. Because of immigration restrictions many immigrants were unable to travel back home or reunite with their families. Responding to this predicament they imagined a social and political domain that they could call their own. The more the immigrants participated in the material domain/public realm of work and economy in the United States the more they felt the need to distinguish what was their own—a community domain. The putative homeland that they could call their own allowed them to imagine their own community-space and sustained them in the New World.

Examining the construction of peoplehood in diaspora complicates Anderson's and Chatterjee's descriptions of imagined communities. It blurs the distinction between the boundaries of various social groups and their social domains. The diasporic process involves more than one social group, nation state, and individual. Multiple positionings and interpretations frame the social construction of peoplehood among immigrants. Actions of individuals and governments of host states discursively influence the behavior, identity, and discourses of immigrants. Therefore, it is important to distinguish between peoplehood imagined in the diaspora and nationhood imagined *inside* India.

A big difference between national imaginings in India and homeland imagined by immigrants lies in their social and physical contexts. Although the geography of homeland as described within the Indian diaspora during the twentieth century often shared the same language and imagery employed by the nationalists in India, immigrants understood, interpreted, and reproduced these symbols in ways that were very different from the way their compatriots in India interpreted them. In *The Politics of Home,* Rosemary Marangoly George argues that home is a negotiated term because it is defined in contrast to the site from which they are defined, namely, "not-home." For someone who moves from one location to another the definition of home is constantly in flux.[13] She distinguishes between the concept of homeland among immigrants and nation as conceived inside a country, "immigration, one could argue, *unwrites* nation and national projects because it flagrantly displays a rejection of one national space for another more desirable location…."[14]

Challenging the taken-for-granted relationship between the national community and the diasporic community, Sandhya Shukla argues that "studies of disapora have taken nation to mean homeland, there has been a great deal of emphasis on how Indian migrants develop relationships with the Indian nation state." However, peoplehood among Indian immigrants is more than mere long-distance nationalism and "[S]ince work on immigrants has needed to overcome the fixation on lands of settlement as

defining its object, and studies of diaspora have taken nation to mean homeland, there has been a great deal of emphasis on how Indian migrants develop relationships with the Indian nation-state."[15] The following analysis of the representations of India in the diaspora shows that homeland was a fragmented idea, neither quintessentially indigenous to any place or culture, nor singular and homogeneous.

Narrative descriptions of homeland by immigrants presented above were idealized. Each of them erased certain grounded realities. Although he worked for the white farmers and often dealt with white agriculturists, Puna Singh's description of California failed to mention the Anglo residents of California, as if the latter did not exist. Leonard argues that by ignoring the presence of Anglo-Americans in their recollections and descriptions immigrants like Puna Singh were not in denial of the political and social reality around them. Instead she sees their behavior as subversion, "thinking of themselves as the rulers on the land, they were subverting the imposition of the racial and ethnic stereotypes that portrayed them as powerless laborers in California agriculture."[16]

Misrow was located in the United States, far from India. His nostalgic poetry hailing Indians "on far off shores" was in response to his subjugated condition abroad. Misrow deliberately erased the conflicts, economic depression, famines, nationalist struggles, and state brutality that were commonplace in British India during his time. The poet referred to antiquity and invented traditions from Vedic times as symbols of Indian culture. Yet the Indian nation state was a modern construct that emerged from the administrative decisions of the British. Although he referred to Indians as Aryans he was not considered belonging to the "white race" in the United States. Misrow's deliberate erasure of the present circumstances and its substitution with the past were a deliberate attempt to construct a geography and place that was universal, beyond history, and independent of the specificity of time and space. He overlooked the contemporary conditions in India and America where he was rendered politically-marginal and where he could effect no change.

By their erasures and silences, the narratives of immigrants emphasized their unequal power relations in the United States. The geographical images of homeland were metaphors that immigrants (as part of an imagined peoplehood) carried with them, and in doing so simultaneously freed themselves from the necessity of belonging to a singular land, nation, state, time, or geography. Their contradictory reinterpretation of geography made space a fluid concept.

European travelers and explorers also used images and names to understand and appropriate new landscapes. Paul Carter argues "the historical space of the white settlers emerged through the medium of language." This "language of naming," allowed the travelers to take control of a place, "[n]aming words were forms of spatial punctuation, transforming space into an object of knowledge, something that could be explored and read."[17] Carter's analysis is true of the white settlers who often operated from a position of power. This process is not different from the system of colonization and acquisition set in motion by British expatriates who traveled to their colonies. As

Amitav Ghosh, writing about the Indian diaspora in the Caribbean, argues, when a British man claimed a foreign landscape for himself he continued to refer to England as his homeland even while he colonized the new land. The British renamed new places and transformed the landscape physically, socially, and politically to resemble England. For example the British developed Indian hill stations such as Simla to physically resemble towns in England. In contrast, when Indian immigrants colonized distant lands they did so with words in their imagination. While some dreamt of an independent nation others reconfigured the geography of homeland to incorporate far flung diasporic settlements. According to Ghosh, "eventually the place and the realities that accompany it vanish from memory and only the words and the geometric diagram remain. The place, India, becomes in fact an empty space, mapped purely by words."[18]

The next section will describe the demographic, social, political, and historical dimensions of the immigration of Indians into the United States. It will be followed by a discussion of how the dissonance between various interpretations of homeland made by social constituencies within the immigrant community was revealed in a map of the world used by Indians traveling to North America. Following the analysis of cognitive maps and cartographic representations, the final section compares two illustrations of Mother India as it explores the role of figural imagery in the social construction of homeland.

Historical Background of Immigration into the United States

Three major factors influenced the imagining of homeland in diaspora. First, actions and discourses of external influences such as the British and American states and social constituencies outside the immigrant in-group influenced the actions and identity of the immigrants. Second, the lifestyle and culture of individuals belonging to the various sub-groups within the immigrant community impacted how community and homeland were construed. Finally the nature of material culture such as maps, textual narratives, and figural imagery affected the way by which individuals and groups represented and communicated collective symbols.

The Indian immigrants' ability to travel to the West was influenced by the geographical imaginations of states like the United States, Canada, and Great Britain. For instance, in 1917, with the passage of the Barred-Zone Act, United States government divided the world up into geographical zones to regulate immigration into the United States and to prevent non-white immigrants from entering the country. British India fell within a zone of exclusion. The rationale was that the residents of these exclusion zones were culturally unassimilable. These zones were also racially determined since the residents of those countries that fell within the zones of exclusion were exclusively non-white. Race, culture, and geography were inextricably connected in this process.

The discourse of India as a nation had its roots in the rise and consolidation of the British Indian colonial state during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. During this period, India was an important British colony within the vast British Empire. Prior to 1857 (when Britain took over the government of India from the East

India Company), the Indian subcontinent was made up of smaller conglomerations of kingdoms and states ruled by kings, nawabs, the East India Company, and European powers.[19] British imperialism united the multiple and diverse states, religions, linguistic groups, and classes for administrative purposes. Sandhya Shukla correctly points out that although the British united India as an administrative unit, they did not attempt to unite the people of India.[20] For the Indian nationalists, the task was to nurture a nascent form of peoplehood engendered by the colonial experience and simultaneously challenge the legitimacy of the British State.

The British Empire also resulted in the dispersal of Indians all over the Empire. During the second half of the eighteenth century Indians went as slaves to Mauritius. By the end of eighteenth century Indian laborers had reached South East Asia, Malay Peninsula, Singapore, and Ceylon. By 1800 there were about 6,000 slaves in Mauritius.[21] Following the 1833 Abolition of Slavery Act, Indians left India as indentured laborers in order to work in plantations and extractive economies in Fiji and Caribbean sugar plantations. By the middle of the nineteenth century Indians had established colonies in Fiji, Surinam, and Trinidad. By the end of nineteenth century Indians were spread out across the Caribbean, Africa and South East Asia.[22] During the turn of the twentieth century, a chain migration that began with the arrival of Indian soldiers of the British Army into Canada brought a wave of immigrants into North America.

These multiple migrations created Indian immigrant communities in distant locations and resulted in different patterns of movement within the diaspora. Some of these immigrants traveled back and forth across the world but the majority never came back to India. Views of homeland for members of these groups were divergent. Some saw India as their homeland while others recreated homeland in the places where they settled. Or, as Rosemary Marangoly George points out, immigrants who moved from one country to another imagined homeland in various Indian settlements along the path of their migration and developed a globally networked perception.[23]

In the last decade of the nineteenth century Sikh farmers in the Doab region of Punjab were facing severe economic hardships. As conditions became worse, younger sons of families emigrated to places within the British Empire to look for jobs. The immigrants sent money home to maintain the extended households and their properties. Although the majority practiced the Sikh religion, there were Hindus, Muslims, and Christian immigrants too. Once in Canada, the immigrants traveled further south into the United States and found employment in lumber yards in Washington, railroad construction companies in Oregon and California, and farmlands in the California central valley. San Francisco was another major port of entry for these immigrants. These agricultural labor and unskilled industrial labor constituted the working class within the immigrant community.[24]

Students and intellectuals constituted a smaller but distinctly different group within this wave of immigration. These urban elites (often from upper caste and class backgrounds) were numerically fewer than the unskilled laborers but were nevertheless a politically

powerful constituency. The immigrant intellectual elite were diverse in their cultural (linguistic and religious) backgrounds. The majority of them originated from urban centers of British India such as Calcutta, Delhi, Madras, and Bombay. While some lived on the east coast and the Midwest, the majority were attached to agricultural colleges in Oregon, the University of Washington at Seattle, and the University of California at Berkeley. In 1910 there were more than thirty Indian students enrolled in the University of California, Berkeley. By 1911, there were at least one hundred, mostly male, students and academics from India in the United States.[25] Because of their education and fluent English-language skills, the students and academics easily found jobs. Although a few came through Canada, many entered the United States via Europe and Japan.

The intellectual nationalist elite had taken part in nationalist activities in India. The British Indian state found their activities seditious and they were wanted in India for various crimes against the state. Individuals such as Taraknath Das, Ram Chandra, Lala Hardayal were students and teachers in American universities but they also continued their nationalist activities against the British Indian state from the United States. Nationalists sought legal help when faced with deportation and discrimination by the United States government (usually at the behest of the British authorities). In such cases the United States courts granted them political protection.[26]

The difference between the two groups (elite and laborers) can be seen in the way they dressed and the lives they led in the United States. For instance, figures 1 and 2 show Indian laborers posing in front of a British Columbia lumber mill in 1905 and Indian students from the University of California at Berkeley in 1919. The laborers stood in front of a dilapidated mill, dressed in turbans and soiled overalls. The suited gentry stood relaxed in front of an upscale, residence club in Berkeley. Despite similar national, ethnic, and racial characteristics, individuals belonging to the two groups displayed their class, occupational, and economic differences. Not only do we see different dresses and posture but we also find that the architectural setting for each photograph was quite distinct.

The laborers and agricultural workers did not share the educated middle-class nationalists' dream of an independent Indian republic. The immigrants' construction of the Indian nation was based on their privileged social position and their ambition to reconstitute the Indian state as their own. The expatriate nationalist elite dreamt of returning to India someday. Since many of them were refugees and fugitives, they saw their stay in the United States as temporary. In contrast, once in the United States the working class immigrants rarely returned to their native village since immigration regulations were designed to disallow these immigrants to reenter the United States and Canada once they left the country.

Regardless of their diverse backgrounds, a common experience of racial prejudice bound these two immigrant groups together in the United States. During the course of their travels Indian immigrants found that they were always racially marked and even though they were British citizens they were not accorded the same respect and privileges that Anglo citizens of the Empire were accorded in the West (figure 3).[27]

How they looked became conflated with who they were and where they belonged—that is, their race and culture became irrevocably linked to the geography of their origin. The American media saw Indians as unfit for assimilation into the United States.[28] For instance, *Collier's Weekly* published stereotypical pictures of turbaned Indian immigrants with an article entitled "The Hindu Invasion." The article, fueled by racist ideologies, cited public fears of the evils of disease, improper dress, and foreign customs as hindrances to the ability to assimilate the new immigrants into the United States society.[29] In 1906 Taraknath Das, a member of the immigrant elite, complained about the rejection of his citizenship application in California in the New York *Outlook*, with a headline "British Indians and Citizenship in White Men's Countries."[30] He complained that despite being British citizens, Indians were barred from immigration and citizenship by United States laws.

Prejudice encouraged a Pan-Indian solidarity. Immigrants disregarded previous social hierarchies in their recognition of their common origins. Indeed, this change is significant because many of the laborers had experienced exploitation in the form of class and caste inequalities within their communities in India prior to emigration. Immigrants—Sikhs, Hindus, Muslims from varying class, caste, occupational, and cultural backgrounds—formed political, religious, and social organizations that brought them together on a common platform. One finds many such occasions. In California and Oregon, Indian students worked in the fields with the Indian field workers during summer to earn some extra money. Academics formed political organizations such as Friends for the Freedom of India and Gadar Party whose rank and file membership came from the immigrant agricultural and industrial labor.[31] These organizations published newsletters and held political meetings in places of worship. Religious centers became places where Indians from various backgrounds, with prior religious, class, linguistic, and caste differences, came together.

Although class, occupational, educational, linguistic, and religious differences amongthe working-class laborers in California's Imperial Valley, and the students and academics, and among Sikhs, Hindus, Muslims, Punjabis, Bengalis, and Tamils, ruled out the basis of a horizontal comradeship, their common geographical imagery allowed them to find common grounds. They interpreted and deployed these images in different ways and employed their geographical imagination in ways that were relevant to the context and needs of the time. The difference between the representations of homeland by the laborers and academics was not just influenced by their movement pattern and geographical context, but also by the nature of their audience. They *mapped* the geography of homeland in different ways. This cartographic inconsonance, the topic of the following section, is important in understanding how homeland was mediated in the diaspora.

Cognitive and Cartographic Maps

In the 1920s a political map of the world circulated among immigrants from British India. Entitled the "Map of the World in Punjabi," this political map delineated countries and empires of the world (figure 4).[32] The map was available to immigrants

journeying across the Pacific Ocean to North America. It was used as a travel guide with annotations of major travel routes, embarkation and disembarkation ports, and other travel advisories. This map was re-published in an immigrant magazine called *Sikh Sansar* in 1972. The original map is not available. However a similar map appeared in the Newberry Library Map Archives that showed the steamer routes of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company during the first half of the twentieth century. This map was similar to the "Map of the World in Punjabi" and was published around the same time. Hence it is possible that the map-makers used this map to develop their document.[33]

The boxed title printed in the lower right-hand corner of the map refers to the Hindustan Gadar Party as the author and publisher. The Hindustan Gadar Party was an expatriate Indian nationalist organization based in San Francisco.[34] Although the leaders of this organization came from the immigrant intelligentsia, the majority of the members were immigrants working as agricultural or industrial labor. The word *Gadar* means mutiny in Punjabi and Hindi and the founding members of this group used this organization to encourage the large number of Hindi- and Punjabi-speaking Indian immigrant workers in North America to participate in an armed revolution against British rule in India. The language of the map was Punjabi (Gurumukhi script), a vernacular language spoken by the majority of the immigrants from India working in industrial and agricultural jobs during that time.

The map contained a series of annotations that were added by the map-makers as messages to the readers (figure 5). Some of these annotations contained political messages. For instance, the legend at the bottom left of the map described the size of the various colonial empires of the time: England, France, Belgium, Japan, Italy, Portugal, and Holland. It stated that it was an irony that a country such as Britain despite its small size enslaved a large number of the world's population. The actual power of this document was in the way the image accompanied the text. The readers could compare in physical terms the tiny size of the colonial powers, relate it to the vast size of their colonies, and understand that colonial servitude would collapse if the millions of colonized citizens across the world rose in simultaneous revolt, their sheer size and demographics making them a force with which to reckon.

This map was therefore a political document; a cartography of colonization that delineated the political extents of the British Empire (figure 6). The nationalists carefully chose the extent of the borders of the Indian nation, they went past Afghanistan, included Nepal and Burma, and carefully went past Sri Lanka (then Ceylon) to delineate India, the land they wanted to free from British rule (figure 7).

It is important to note that the immigrants did not construe the Indian nation as an isolated geo-political entity. Indian nationalists depended on their allies abroad. States such as Japan, Germany, and the USSR were sympathetic to their nationalist cause. Some gave the nationalists refuge from the British police, others officially supported the anti-colonial and anti-imperial struggle. Indian nationalists maintained political alliances with individuals and groups in western nations.[35] In 1914, a forty-one-page

pamphlet, titled Deutschland-- Indiens Hoffnung (Germany—India's Hope), was published in Gottingen, Germany. The British took serious note of the "German-Hindu nexus" and followed meetings held between the German intellectuals and Indian nationalists during World War I. Gadar leaders made political alliances with socialists, Russian communists, Irish nationalists, French socialists and German nationalists.[36] For example Jensen describes communication between immigrant Indian leaders and Eamon DeValera, leader of the Irish Republicans, Leon Trotsky of the Workingmens' and Soldiers' Council of Russia, and liberal activists in the United States during the 1920s. Articles in a Gadar newspaper by editor-in-chief Ram Chandra calling the Indian nationalists "Hindu Sinn-Feiners" caught the British government's attention.[37] "The World Map in Punjabi" was more than a map of separate nations; in reality this political geography, as the nationalists understood it, was sustained by political alliances *across* nations (figure 8).

In stark contrast to the view of the nationalists, the Indian laborers saw the grayed-out geography of the British Empire as the geography of the Indian diaspora and a map of potential jobs. As British citizens, they could travel across the British Empire without a passport. The dotted lines on the "Map of the World in Punjabi" show various maritime routes available to emigrants traveling to various places within the British Commonwealth. Steamship routes, destination points, layover points, ports and cities marked on this map along with land transportation information (for instance, the legend on the top right indicated the railroads and weather conditions for travelers in the USSR) sustained an alternative transnational mapping of homeland that included multiple locations of expatriate immigrant Indian communities across the world. The interpretation of the map of homeland as a network of a worldwide locations was a counterpoint to the interpretation of homeland as a singular geo-political location (India).

Strung along these dotted lines were Pacific Rim cities such as Vancouver, Hong Kong, Singapore, Malacca, Rangoon, and Calcutta (figure 9). These cities became part of the transnational, transpacific diaspora. The trip from India to North America was long and daunting. Emigrating villagers from Punjab formed a group (*jatha*) and took the train to the port city of Calcutta. From Calcutta, they continued by sea to Hong Kong and found shelter in the Hong Kong Sikh Gurdwara (Sikh place of worship) for as long as a month while they booked a passage to Canada.

By 1912 there were six gurdwaras in Canada including a center in Vancouver. In the same decade, Indian immigrants formed similar organizations in Portland. In 1912, a gurdwara was built in Stockton where there was a large concentration of Indian labor. During the first four decades of the twentieth century, Sikh immigrants throughout the Pacific Rim made plans for building gurdwaras in major cities or regions with a concentration of expatriate Indians. Travelers from India (irrespective of their caste, class, religion, linguistic background, and occupation) found free food and boarding in these places. Bruce La Brack shows that Sikh gurdwaras such as the Stockton Gurdwara were religious and social centers for Indians. Immigrants from different religious backgrounds—Sikhs, Hindus, Mexicans, Catholics and Muslims—met, worshipped and

socialized in these places.[38] The gurdwaras also facilitated the social life of the Indian immigrants living in the vicinity and sustained the local Indian community. Like the ancient caravan posts, these gurdwaras became information hubs for local and traveling Indians. Here one could converse in one's native language, learn of potential jobs, immigration regulations, and ways to circumvent them, and find out more about compatriots who lived in distant lands. Marked as dots on "The World Map in Punjabi," gurdwaras represented a "home away from home" for the travelers.[39]

In addition to being religious spaces, gurdwaras became secularized as sites of nationalist activism. The governing officials in charge of these places were subordinate to the Khalsa Diwan. The Khalsa Diwan, located in India, was the central political and religious body for Sikhs anywhere in the world and its members were the spiritual leaders of the entire religious sect. In 1907 Indians organized the Khalsa Diwan Society in Vancouver, Canada. They set up branches of this society in Victoria, Abbotsford, New Westminster, Fraser Hill, Duncan Coombs and Ocean falls. Although the local heads of the gurdwaras in the United States and Canada were subordinate to the central Sikh leadership in India (Khalsa Diwan), the local leaders operated with considerable freedom within their jurisdictions. They responded to the nationalist politics and allowed the gurdwaras to become sites of political activism – especially Gadar Party activism. For example, Indian immigrants associated with the local gurdwara in Vancouver, Canada, organized the nationalist Hindustan Association with Bhai Bhag Singh Bhikkivind as their leader in 1909. Soon St. John and Seattle became centers of nationalist activities. In 1912, the Hindustani Association of the Pacific Coast was formed in Portland. Religious leaders such as Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna, Harnam Singh Tundilat, Udham Singh Kasel, Rakha Ram, and Ishar Singh Marhana met regularly in the St. John and Seattle gurdwaras to plan their political activities.[40]

The nationalists along with the gurdwara leaders published journals such as *Pardesi Khalsa* in Punjabi and *Svedesh Sevak* in Urdu. Hindus and Sikhs from the state of Punjab read the Punjabi language newspaper while the Urdu language newspaper became popular among Muslims who did not speak Punjabi. The message of the nationalists reached the rank and file members in the form of such Punjabi- and Urdu-language publications and more informally through lectures and information available in the local gurdwaras.

The British Indian administration, United Kingdom, Canadian, and American governments were worried about the political implications of the gurdwaras encouraging discontent among Indians abroad. In 1908 Britain sent intelligence agents to Hong Kong, Canada, United States, Japan, and Singapore to monitor the activities in the Gurdwaras. Sir Albert Grey, the British Governor General who represented the British Empire in Canada, sent his military intelligence agent Rowland Brittain to report on the activities of Indians in the various gurdwaras along the West Coast of North America. In December 1908, Britain reported that Sikh temple were "hotbed[s] of sedition" that required careful surveillance.[41] Just as home is seen as the safe, private domain of the family, the network of gurdwaras across the world became the home of the immigrant community and a safe haven from the institutions of the colonial state.

But for the officials of the British State (and in some instances their United States State Department sympathizers), this same network was a topography of lawlessness and sedition hidden behind the inscrutable front of religion over which the state institutions had very little control.

This reading of the *Map of the World* reveals alternative formulations of homeland and invisible geographies that incorporated places and locations outside the borders of the Indian nation (figures 6-9). It shows how homeland was re-territorialized by immigrants in order to sustain a community outside the borders of the Indian subcontinent.

Images of Mother India

Maps were not the only democratic and interpretive representational media. Immigrants used pictures and figural imagery as collective symbols to represent homeland. We have little documentary evidence that shows us how the immigrant working classes imagined their homeland and how they fitted the image of India in their image of homeland. Karen Leonard's oral histories, discussed above, give us a glimpse of the ways the working classes pictured homeland. By contrast, the immigrant elite left a large body of writing, illustrations, and poems about their imagined homeland. In this section we will examine figural imagery to see how the representational language used in the nationalist discourse was not homogeneous. When the elite spoke to their western allies they used a different language to describe the Indian nation as compared to when they were communicating with the immigrant working classes. In the former case, they used western ideas and symbols to define India while in the latter, they used indigenous imagery that only their compatriots could understand.

The immigrant discourse of homeland was directed towards both an in-group and an out-group audience. Contrary to Partha Chatterjee's formulation of Indian nationalism in India, formation of peoplehood in the diaspora was Janus-faced—a discourse that was simultaneously directed towards other expatriates and to non-Indians.[42] The latter group consisted of western political allies, media, government agents allied to the British, American, and other non-Indian states. Such a discourse allowed immigrants to negotiate a political position of in-betweeness and to engage a diverse audience. For instance, the immigrant elite deployed two very different images of Mother India on the cover of their publications in the United States to engage two very different social constituencies (figures 11, 12).[43]

The first picture of Mother India appeared on the cover of *Independent Hindustan,* published in 1920 by the Gadar Party. *Independent Hindustan* was published in English in San Francisco and was read by students, academics, and western friends of the nationalists (Figure 11). A second version of Mother India appeared in a publication called *Yugantar,* dated June 1917 (figure 12). The journal, printed in Gurumukhi, catered exclusively to the large working-class Indian population who read that script.[44]

Matthew Plowman writes that *Independent Hindustan* was the brainchild of Gadar activists Muhammad Barkatullah and Taraknath Das.[45] Barkatullah worked with George

Freeman, editor of the *Gaelic American,* the nationalist paper published by Irish nationalists in the United States. They produced a newspaper called *Free Hindustan,* later renamed *Independent Hindustan* during the War for Irish independence (1919-21). *Independent Hindustan* was published in the *Gaelic American*'s press. Copies of this publication also reached revolutionaries, liberal activists, political leaders, socialists, writers, and members of the political and social elite in North America, Europe, and Asia who were responsive to the Indian nationalists' cause. It is no coincidence that Mother India on the cover of *Independent Hindustan* had an uncanny resemblance to the popular Irish nationalist imagery of Erin.[46] Drawn in the Art Nouveau style, this picture resembled figures from Western classical antiquity. However, when the Gadar nationalists used this image on their newsletter they must have been aware that this image of Mother India was a rather foreign symbol to the Indians themselves. Granted, Erin symbolized freedom and revolution; but Mother India's resemblance to a western Anglo woman made it a rather ironic representation of independent India. Indeed the Gadar nationalist deliberately borrowed this image to reframe Indian nationalism and national discourse using images of western nationalism so that their western allies would understand them.[47]

While in both images the artist showed Mother India wearing a sari, the way it was worn was different. On the figure in *Independent Hindustan*, the artist draped the sari with the folds collected in the front, and the rest of the garment thrown over the shoulder. The sari shown here is a six-yard piece of unstitched cloth. In India, this way of wearing a sari was common among the new urban elite and middle-classes of the nineteenth and twentieth century and the style was popularly associated with modernity, high culture, respectability, and elite taste.[48] On the cover of *Yugantar* Mother India wore a sari tucked around the legs and then tightly wrapped around the shoulder. The latter sari, called a *navsari*, is a vernacular nine-yard sari popular among rural women from the Konkan coast and Maratha territories in western and central India.

Mother India on *Independent Hindustan*, shaped like the map of India, was an asymmetrical, open form. She held lotus flowers in her right hand resembling the nurturing Lakshmi, goddess of wealth, industriousness, fertility, and femininity. Goddess Lakshmi is revered by the Hindu business community in India. The flower buds and grains she holds in her hand stand for elements of fertility and reproduction. Lakshmi also represents femininity and symbolizes motherhood, home, and family. On the one hand, Indians refer to newly wed Hindu women in India as Lakshmi. On the other hand, traders refer to wealth and money as Lakshmi. The idea of Lakshmi therefore crosses multiple public and private domains, represents multiple gender roles and ideals, and signifies differently to individuals belonging to different regional and occupational groups (figure 13).

In contrast, the artist drew Mother India in *Yugantar* in martial readiness, wearing a serpent crown as she drew a sword out of a scabbard. The menacing recoiled snake, traditional in warrior headgears in India, made the image foreboding and pugnacious. Her right foot forward as she stepped out of the Indian map, her pose was reminiscent of Lakshmibai, the nineteenth-century Maratha warrior queen from the kingdom of

Jhansi in central India who led an indigenous struggle against the British during the First War of Independence in 1857 (figure 14). An Indian version of Amazonia the female warrior, the second image was not that of a nurturer. Instead, Mother India in this image was the defender of India, the patron saint of revolutionaries. She was the maternal leader, who in the words of a popular Gadar poem urged,

> My darling sons, come to the battlefield;
> Carrying the power of knowledge in one hand and a sword in the other. …[49]

The differences between the two Mother India images reflect the way that Gadar nationalists accommodated not only the various audience constituencies but also the way they responded to their (expatriate elite and working class) political and social disenfranchisement in the United States. The Mother Indian image on the cover of *Independent Hindustan* reflected the elite gentleman's portrayal of the struggle for Indian independence in the form of Western liberal democratic nationhood. The portrayal of Indians by the American press and nativist media feminized the predominantly working class male population.[50] The martial image of Mother India in *Yugantar* aroused the national pride of the male Indian laborers and prompted a revolutionary struggle as a way to respond to their disenfranchised political situation in North America. Within this context a Gadar poem lamented the condition of Indian workers,

> "We are called coolies in countries abroad
> We do not have a flag of our own
> Will we always live the life of slaves?"[51]

Mark Juergensmeyer describes Gadar nationalism and Gadar nationalist identity as "a form of escape, or an attempt at accommodation" emerging out of the immigrants' condition in United States.[52] Hence freeing the motherland was going to ultimately help them maintain their status in their diasporic homeland. In other words, the image of Mother India on the cover of *Yugantar* was not just about India but also about America. The symbolism embedded in the two images revealed how the nation was imagined differently in each instance. As a result, Mother India could be simultaneously portrayed as Lakshmi and Lakshmibai: simultaneously freeing India, nurturing her people, heralding a peoplehood, and resolving problems in the United States.

Past Knowledge and Present Pictures

As discussed so far, Indian diasporic groups in America reproduced geographical imagery of India discursively, in order to envision homeland and imagine a peoplehood. While the expatriate nationalists, an elite group of educated refugees, used the notion of homeland to describe an independent Indian nation state, the working class used the image of homeland to reconfigure the landscape in America. However, despite the differences, the description of homeland in diaspora was different from that in India because of the unique political, social, and economic conditions of immigration. It is in

their common experience of life outside India that the elite and working class found common cause.

Even while it colonized them, the British Empire had a great influence on how the Indian immigrants mapped their homeland and nation. It influenced the dispersal of Indians all over the Empire and engendered multiple migrations that created different patterns of movement and different histories. Hence the conception of peoplehood within the diaspora was centered on a common experience of displacement unlike the rootedness that exemplified the construction of nationhood inside a country. Its fragmented nature affected its material dissemination, making the historic record of collective diasporic national imaginings difficult.

In order to substantiate this history we need to explore ways to uncover what Dell Upton calls the "ephemeral nature of human consciousness and social action" that are not apparent or visible while studying the culture of the Indian diaspora.[53] The discourse of peoplehood in the diaspora varied with the subject and the audience. However, there were some common collective images that were shared. For instance, the landscape imagery in Misrow's poem and the descriptive reminiscences of Puna Singh, or the pictorial depictions of Mother India in the two magazine covers were infinitely reproducible within multiple contexts, giving the immigrants immense flexibility to use them like a template. These images were so universal and commonplace that from the outside they seemed identical descriptions. The imagery could easily render invisible the heteroglossia engendered by the geographical imaginations of the individual immigrants.

Representing a territory, state, and culture using cartography, cognitive imagery, and pictures of places had the same effect in creating an imagined community as newspapers. This representational process framed by geographical imaginations was sometimes controlled by the state intent at maintaining the sanctity of its political boundaries, sometimes influenced by powerful social groups and at other times serviced the interest of the capitalist economic system. Picturing homeland was therefore an act of spatial control—it ordered the otherwise complex physical and cognitive aspects of the cultural landscape. Visual representations and geographical imaginations also helped create knowledge that challenged the state's attempt to limit mobility of individuals across social, economic, and geographical borders. Political maps were redrawn and reconceived in ways that allowed individuals to display multiple/alternative allegiances. Whether it was the immigrants defining India while residing in America or the expatriate nationalists planning for an armed struggle in India, in each case, immigrants maintained transnational allegiances and subjectivities in order to change circumstances in America and India. This analysis also exhibited that despite being racially and economically differentiated from the larger American polity, Indian immigrants exercised a certain degree of flexibility and freedom in choosing their identity.

Visual artifacts drawn by diasporic Indians for their compatriots ultimately fused a sense of national identity across class, caste and ethnicity and achieved an artificial

unity –which is the objective of peoplehood. This was possible because of their materiality and ease of replication and dissemination, which like the newspaper in Benedict Anderson's argument, had a democratizing effect. Yet unlike the newspaper, a pictorial image was a sign that different language groups could respond to—a necessary medium for bringing together the vastly diverse ethnic and language groups that emigrated from India. But at a more intimate level visual images negotiated immigrant relationships with their new geography, in terms which were meaningful and resonated with their life experiences in that other geography giving them the emotional stability of the familiar in the unfamiliar. While images can be interpreted as an expression of freedom, they may equally be read as a form of escape from the insecurity and psychological displacement of the migrant condition.

We have seen that despite their similarity the images were used for different purposes. Further work needs to be done to understand the ways different social constituencies within the immigrant community interpreted the maps, pictures, and narratives. The academics and educated elite left written records, produced maps and pamphlets, published poems and journals, and maintained transnational social and political networks. Their description of nation and homeland became the more visible form of discourse. What remained less-known were the ways in which the uneducated agricultural and industrial workers imagined their community and homeland. Fresh perspectives on these maps may also be gained from a more extensive study of the internal economy of migrant groups and the social relationships and tensions between elite and non-elite immigrants. Newspaper reports, legal documents and cases brought before the local courts may contribute significantly to this initial analysis. In this respect a study of maps and images can only inaugurate an exploration of a much larger topic. It is however a necessary step for conceptualizing the wider framework of the diasporic condition.
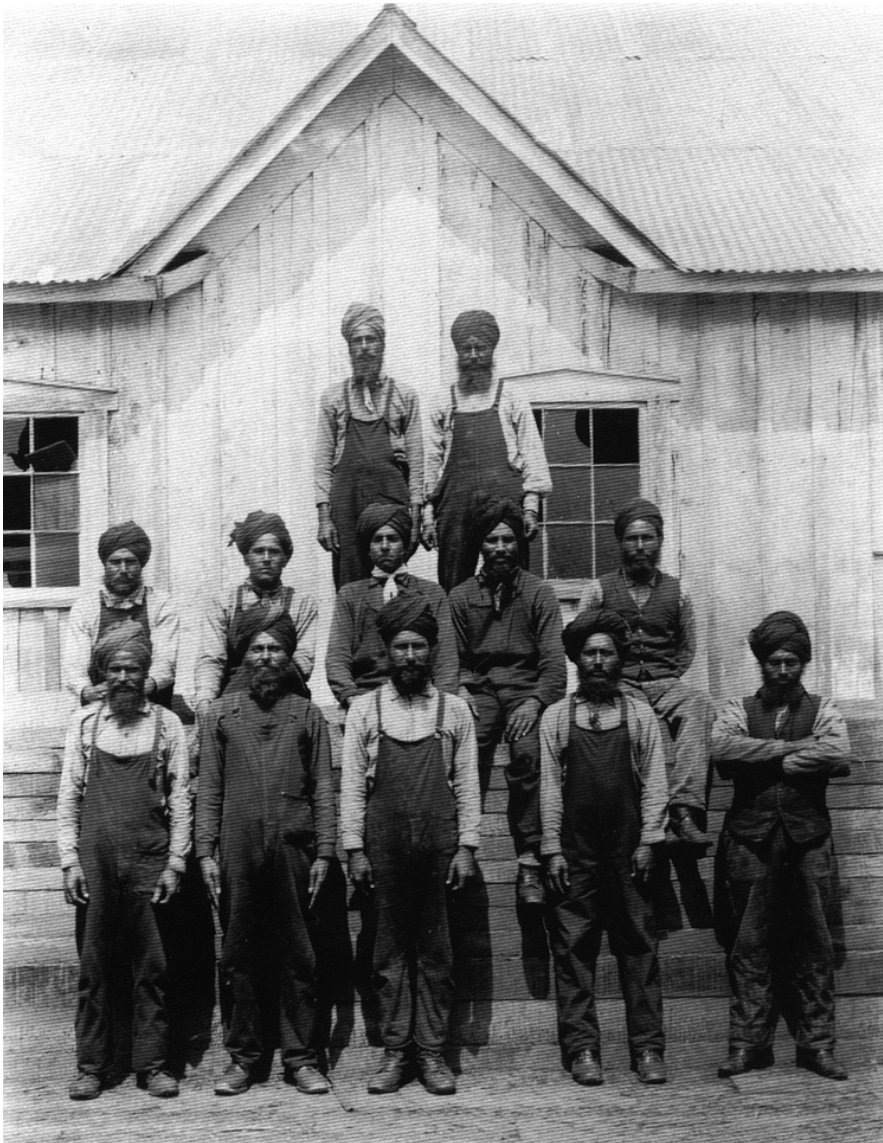
Figure 1. Sikh Mill Workers at the Northern Pacific Lumber Company, Barnet, British Columbia, 1905, Vancouver Public Library, VPL#7641
Compare this picture to Figure 2 showing Indian students. The posture and dress of the working-class Indians were different from the Indian students. Even the physical backdrop against which the laborers and the students stood shows us the different social worlds in which the two groups circulated.
Source: 'Sikh Mill Workers at the Northern Pacific Lumber Company, Barnet, British Columbia, 1905' in Echoes of Freedom: South Asian Pioneers in California, 1899-1965, *A Catalog for an Exhibition in the Bernice Layne Brown Gallery in the Doe Library, July 1 - September 30, 2001 (Berkeley: Centre for South Asia Studies), p. 18, Figure 1.*
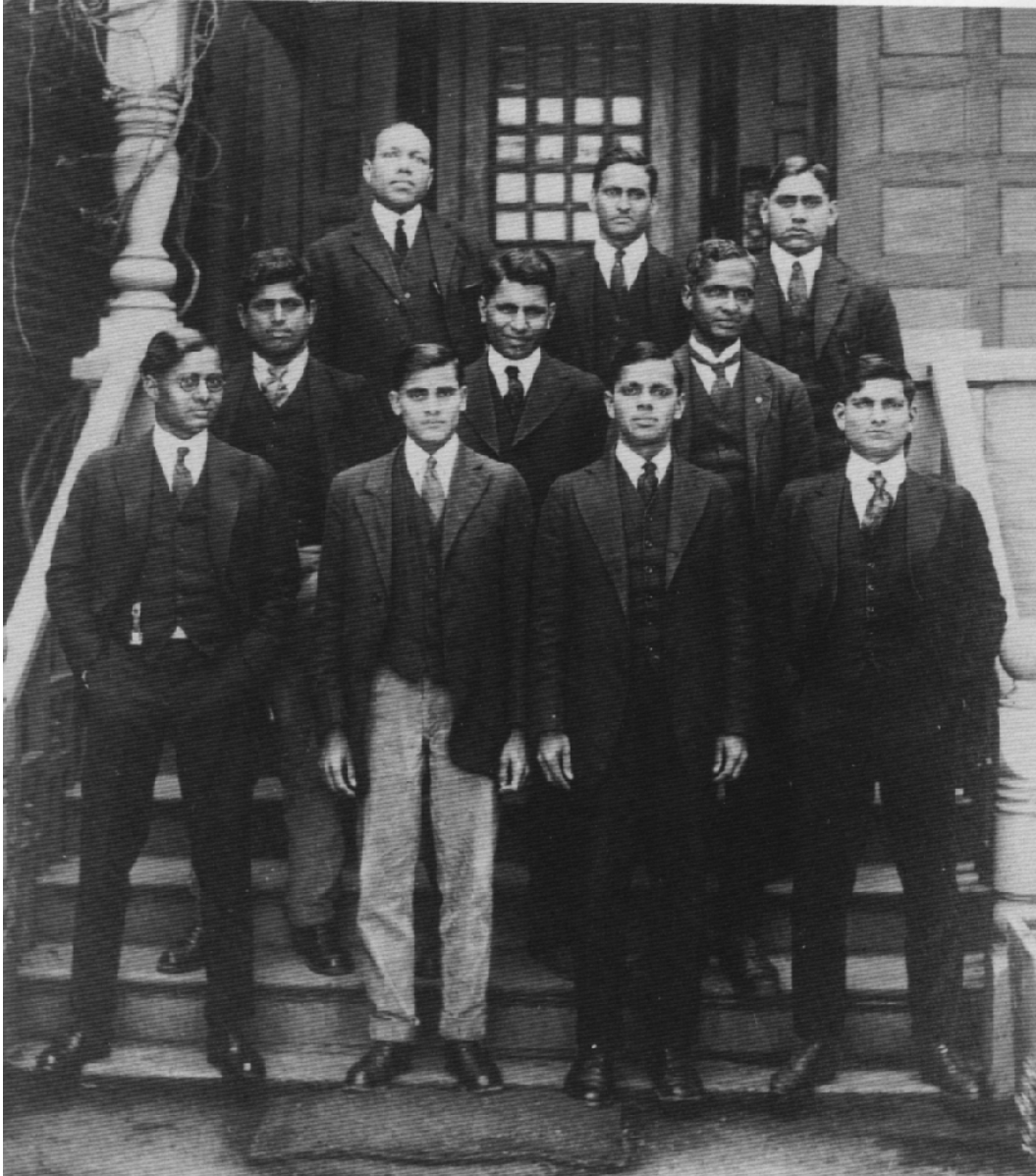
Figure 2. Indian Students in Berkeley, Berkeley, CA
Indian students at University of California, Berkeley often lived in residence clubs. At the Pacific Coast Khalsa Diwan, the local Sikh gurdwara board paid for their rent. *Source:* Echoes of Freedom: South Asian Pioneers in California*, 1899-1965, A Catalog for an Exhibition in the Bernice Layne Brown Gallery in the Doe Library, July 1 - September 30, 2001 (Berkeley: Centre for South Asia Studies), p 28, Figure 1.*

Figure 1
"A New Problem for Uncle Sam"

Figure 3. A Cartoon from the San Francisco *Call* Showing a Indian Immigrant, 1910

Cartoon such as this appeared in newspapers and magazines perpetuating stereotypes and misconceptions about Indians and their habits.

Source: 'A New Problem for Uncle Sam,' San Francisco Call, 13 August 1910.
Courtesy of Centre for South Asia Studies, University of California, Berkeley

Figure 4. World Map in Punjabi (original), Gadar Party, San Francisco, 1920 approx.
The *World Map in Punjabi* was published by the Gadar Party, San Francisco for the working-class Indians migrating from Punjab to the United States during the first half of the twentieth century.
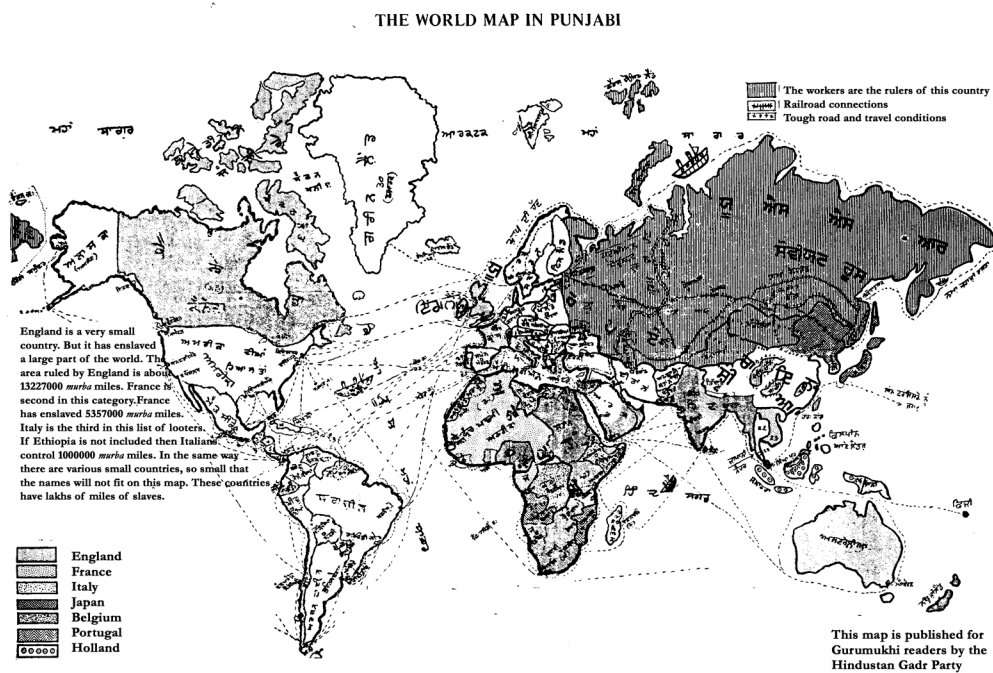*Source: Gadar Party, 'World Map in Punjabi,' n.d. reprinted in* Sikh Sansar *2 (June 1972): 19.*

The workers are the rulers of this country
Railroad connections
Tough road and travel conditions

England is a very small country. But it has enslaved a large part of the world. The area ruled by England is about 13227000 *murba* miles. France is second in this category. France has enslaved 5357000 *murba* miles. Italy is the third in this list of looters. If Ethiopia is not included then Italians control 1000000 *murba* miles. In the same way there are various small countries, so small that the names will not fit on this map. These countries have lakhs of miles of slaves.

England
France
Italy
Japan
Belgium
Portugal
Holland

This map is published for Gurumukhi readers by the Hindustan Gadr Party

Figure 5. *World Map in Punjabi* **Translated in English (translated by Arijit Sen)**
This is the translated version of the original *World Map in Punjabi* published by the Gadar Party.
Adapted from Gadar Party, 'World Map in Punjabi,' n.d. reprinted in Sikh Sansar *2 (June 1972): 19.*
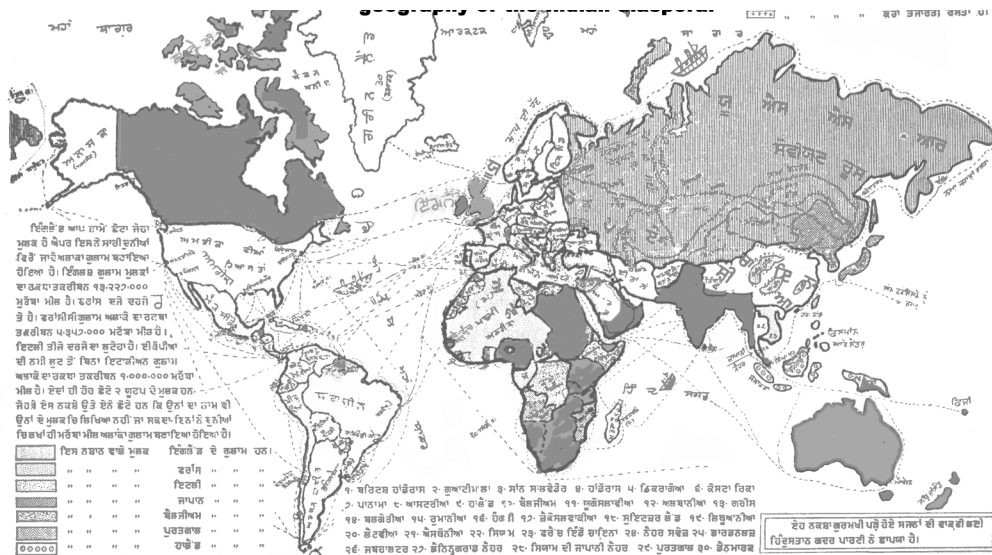
Figure 6. Extents of the British Empire Marked in the World Map in Punjabi (overlay by Arijit Sen)

The geography of the British Empire is also the geography of the Indian diaspora since Indian labourers could travel to any place in the British Empire in search of job without requiring a passport.

Adapted from Gadar Party, 'World Map in Punjabi,' n.d. reprinted in Sikh Sansar *2 (June 1972): 19.*

Figure 7. The Indian Nation Demarcated on the World Map in Punjabi (overlay by Arijit Sen)

The Indian nation marked on the world map was a construction since it included parts of the British Empire such as Burma and left out Ceylon and parts of Afghanistan. *Adapted from Gadar Party, 'World Map in Punjabi,' n.d. reprinted in* Sikh Sansar *2 (June 1972): 19.*

Figure 8. Map of the Political Allies of the Indian Nationalists (overlay by Arijit Sen)
Among the various countries where the Indian nationalists made political allies were United Kingdom and United States. This map shows a global geography of political alliances.
Adapted from Gadar Party, 'World Map in Punjabi,' n.d. reprinted in Sikh Sansar *2 (June 1972): 19.*

Figure 9. Travel Routes and Gurdwaras (overlay by Arijit Sen)
The *World Map in Punjabi* showed Indian travellers the various travel routes available to them and the cities they would cross. It also marked places where they could find gurdwaras for boarding and lodging.

Source: Gadar Party, 'World Map in Punjabi,' n.d. reprinted in Sikh Sansar *2 (June 1972): 19.*
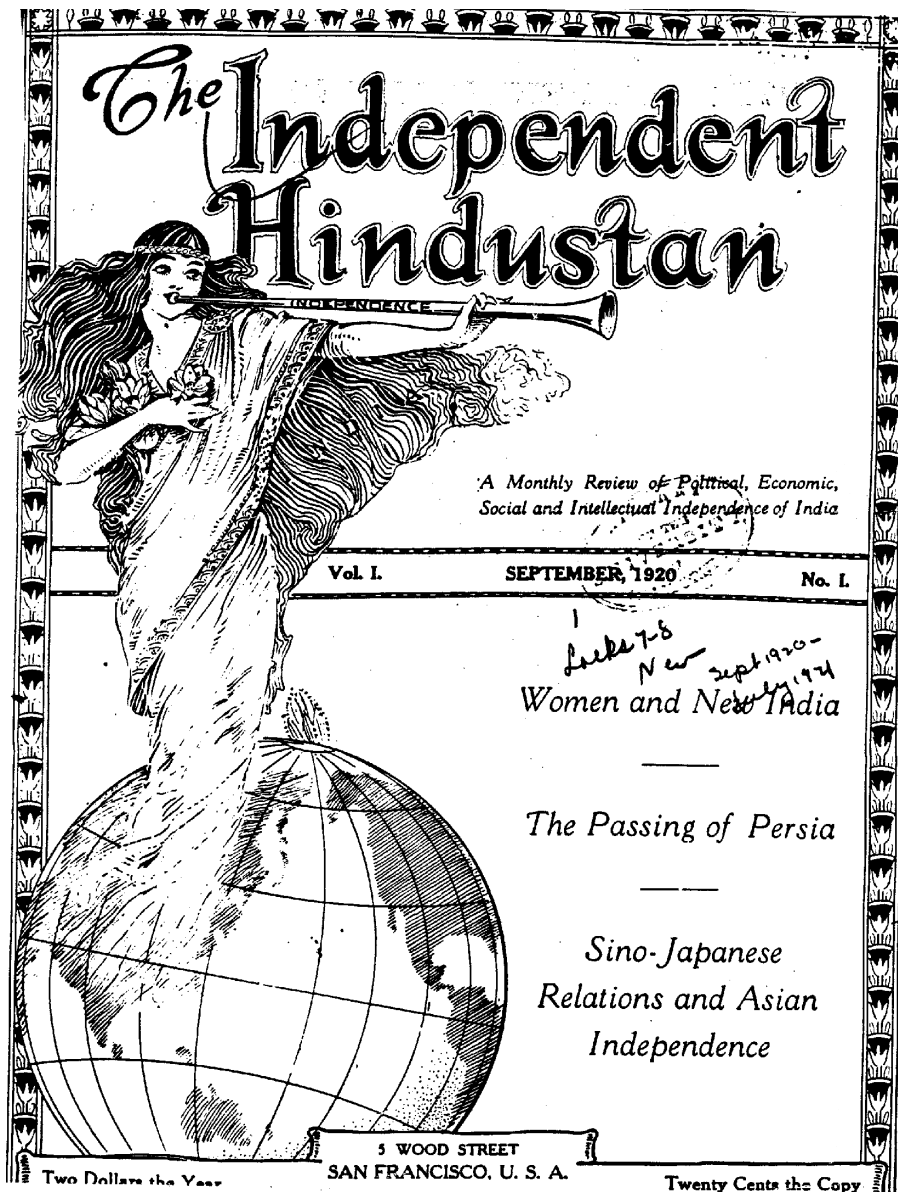
Figure 11. Picture of Mother India, *Independent Hindustan*, **San Francisco, CA, 1920.**
This illustration of Mother India appeared in the official magazine of the Gadar Party of San
Francisco. This magazine, published in English, had a readership that included American and
European political allies of the Indian nationalists.
Source: Independent Hindustan *1 (September 1920), cover.*

Figure 12. Picture of Mother India, *Yugantar*, San Francisco, CA, 1917.
A more martial image of Mother India appeared in the Gadar Party of San Francisco
newsletter published in the Gurumukhi script of Punjabi. The Sikh and Punjabi working-class
immigrants who formed the bulk of the Gadar Party membership read this magazine.
Source: Yugantar*, June 1917, cover.*

Figure 13. Hindu Goddess Lakshmi
Goddess Lakshmi signifies wealth and prosperity. She is also the goddess of domesticity and feminine virtues. Here she is shown holding lotus flowers as a sign of purity, while gold coins fall out of her right palm.
Source: 'Lakshmi,' n.d., http://www.mantraonnet.com/Lakshmi04.jpg, accessed 26 January 2002.

Figure 14. Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi
Rani Lakshmi Bai was a significant figure in the First War of Independence of 1857. During this war, Indian soldiers in the British Indian Army rose in rebellion. With the support of petty rulers and local warlords these soldiers stormed British garrisons and took control of parts of the country. Lakshmi Bai is shown riding a horse in a martial pose, her sword drawn in readiness. This image resembles image of Mother India on the cover of *Yugantar.*
Source: 'Lakshmibai, Rani of Jhansi - Introduction,'
http://www.innotts.co.uk/~allenc/lakshmibai/rani.jpeg, accessed 27 June 2002.

[1] Jogesh Misrow, "Ode to India," *Voice of Freedom* 3 (March 1912): 235.

[2] *The Voice of Freedom* was a journal published by a Hindu religious organization called the Vedanta Society of California. The head of this organization was an Indian monk associated with a monastic association in India. The majority of the organization's members were Anglo Americans. The main goal of this journal was to let Americans know about Indian culture, religion, and civilization. At a time when nativist anti-Indian rhetoric was strident the Vedanta Society members feared that Americans would see their organization as foreign or parochial, or that Americans would be suspicious of their religion because of the negative stereotypes associated with Oriental religions. The Society members stressed that the Vedanta way of life was universal in its application and hence suitable for Americans. For more on the Vedanta Society see Carl T. Jackson, *Vedanta for the West: The Ramakrishna Movement in the United States* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994).

[3] Bradford Torrey and Francis H. Allen, eds., *The Writings of Henry David Thoreau*, 20 vols. (New York: AMS Press, 1968), 7: 266.

[4] Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay (1838-94) wrote his famous song "Bande Mataram" in 1875. Bankim C. Chattopadhyay, "Bande Mataram," in Sri Aurobindo, *Translations*, Birth Centenary Library Volume 8, (Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Birth Centenary Library, Sri Aurobindo Ashram , 1972) as cited in "Sri Aurobindo: Bande Mataram (1909) and a Lecture on the Hidden Meaning of that Song,"1908-1909, http://intyoga.online.fr/bande.htm, accessed June 3, 2005.

[5] Radhika Mohanram, *Black Body: Women, Colonialism, and Space*, Public Worlds, vol. 6 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), p. 5-6.
We also find the same geographical description in nationalist poems by expatriate Indian nationalists in the United States, as documented in Ved P. Vatuk and Sylvia Vatuk. "Protest Songs of East Indians on the West Coast, USA." *Folklore* 7 (October 1966): 376 and Jane Singh, "Echoes of Revolution: The Role of Literature in the Gadar Movement" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1990),147-58.

[6] Sardar Puna Singh, "My Early Years in America," adapted by Jane P. Singh, *Sikh Sansar* 1 (March 1972): 109-110.

[7] Karen Leonard, "Finding One's Own Place: Asian Landscapes Re-visioned in Rural California," in *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology*, Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, eds. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 125.

[8] See Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994) Derek Gregory, *Geographical Imaginatons,* (New York: Blackwell, 1994).

[9] Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Construction of Peoplehood: Racism, Nationalism, Ethnicity," In *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities,* Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, eds. (New York: Verso, 1991): 71-85.

[10] Etienne Balibar, "The Nation Form: History and Ideology," In *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities,* Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, eds. (New York: Verso, 1991): 94.

[11] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).), 39-40, 47-49.

[12] Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 7-10.

[13] Rosemary Marangoly George, *The Politics of Home: Postcolonial Relocations and Twentieth-Century Fiction* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999): 2.

[14] George, *Politics of Home* 186.

[15] See, Sandhya Shukla, *India Abroad: Diasporic Cultures of Post-War America and England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 3; see also 25-77.

[16] Leonard, "Finding One's Own Place," 134.

[17] Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: An Essay in Spatial History* (London: Faber, 1987), 67.

[18] Amitav Ghosh, "The Diaspora in Indian Culture," In *The Imam and the Indian: Prose Pieces by Amitav Ghosh* (Delhi: Ravi Dayal Publisher, 2002), 243-250.

[19] Before 1857 portions of the Indian subcontinent were governed by the British East India Company with the permission of the British Crown. The Indian soldiers in the East India Company Army revolted against their British officers in 1857. This event is known as the First War of Independence in India. The British government crushed the rebellion in 1857. The British crown took over the governance of India. In August 1858, with the Act for the Better Government of India, political authority was entrusted to a secretary of state. In 1877 Queen Victoria was crowned empress of India and Indians became citizens of the British Empire.

[20] Shukla, *India Abroad*, 6.

[21] Data taken from,
Hugh Tinker, *A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas* (London, Oxford University Press, 1974), 39-60.

[22] Tinker, *Slavery*, 1-19, 41-42.

[23] George, *The Politics of Home*, 2, 171-197.

[24] Joan M. Jensen, *Passage from India: Asian Indian Immigrants in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 280.

[25] "Indian Students Going to America" *Indian Review* 11 (June 1910): 466.

[26] For details of legal cases see Jensen, *Passage*, 246-69.

[27] Ronald Takaki, *India in the West: South Asians in America.* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1995). Scholars such as Arjun Appadurai and Radhika Mohanram argue that the indigene was always rooted to her place of origin so that even when she was traveling and living abroad she was still marked/perceived as racially different and connected to her roots.
Arjun Appadurai, "Putting Hierarchy in its Place," *Cultural Anthropology* 3 (February 1988): 37.
Radhika Mohanram, *Black Body: Women, Colonialism, and Space*, Public Worlds, vol. 6 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 10.

[28] "The Hindu, the Newest Immigration Problem," *Survey* 25 (1 October 1910), 3.

[29] "The Hindu Invasion," *Collier's Weekly* 45(26 March 1910): 15

[30] "British Indians and Citizenship in White Men's Countries," *Outlook* 87 (7 September 1907): 7-8.

[31] "Friends for the Freedom of India" (FFI) was a political organization in the United States dedicated to the cause of Indian independence. The organization also defended Indians in the United States from deportation. The FFI had the support of left wing American reformers who had been previously active in civil liberties causes. The FFI had close relations with the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and despite their opposition to Asian immigration AFL allied with FFI to protest the deportation of Indian laborers from the United States. This is because of the socialist roots of the two organizations. This is a good example of cross-alliances across and along political, racial, and ideological lines.

[32] Gadar Party, World Map in Punjabi, n.d. reprinted in *Sikh Sansar* 2 (June 1972): 19. This magazine re-published the map in an issue commemorating the Gadar Party.

[33] Poole Brothers, "Canadian Pacific Railway Company, Alaska and the routes of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company's British Columbia coast steamers." Chicago: Poole Brothers, 1917. Located in Newberry Library Special Collections, map4F G4371.P5 1923 .C3, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

[34] Harish K. Puri, *Ghadar Movement: Ideology, Organisation & Strategy* (Amritsar: Guru Nanak Dev University Press, 1983). Kalyan K. Banerjee, *Indian Freedom Movement Revolutionaries in America* (Calcutta: Jijnasa Press, 1969).

[35] Arun Bose, *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad, 1905-1922, in the Background of International Developments* (Patna: Bharati Bhawan, 1971).

[36] Janice R. MacKinnon and Stephen R. MacKinnon, *Agnes Smedley: The Life and Times of an American Radical* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 34-68. Jensen, *Passage* 194, 229, 233, 236-238, 240-245.

[37] Matthew Plowman, "Irish Republicans and the Indo-German Conspiracy of World War I" In *New Hibernia Review* 7(Autumn 2003): 81-105. Footnote 11 in Plowman mentions, Ram Chandra, *India Against Britain: A Reply to Austin Chamberlain, Lord Hardinge, Lord Islington and Others* (San Francisco: Hindustan Gadar Party, December 1916), 19-20, Serial E, War Collection, Hoover War Library, Stanford University.

[38] Bruce La Brack, *The Sikhs of Northern California, 1904-1975* (New York: AMS Press, 1988).

[39] Gurinder Singh Mann, "Sikhism in the United States of America," in *The South Asian Religious Diaspora in Britain, Canada, and the United States*, Harold Coward, John R. Hinnells, and Raymond Brady Williams, eds., (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), 267.

[40] Swarn Singh Dhaliwal, "Ghadr Movement," *History of Sikhs: Birth of Khalsa, Sikh, Sikhs, Khalsa, Baisakhi, Human Rights, Genocide of Sikhs*, http://khalsa.com/history/menu/history.htm, accessed 25 June 2002.

[41] From Britain to Assistant Director of Intelligence, 12 December 1908. Governor General's Correspondence, vol. 200, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario. Quoted in Jensen, *Passage*, 125-26.

[42] Chatterjee, *Nation and Its Fragments*, 7-10.

[43] Gendered imagery is common among nationalist renditions of the nation state and, as Joan Landes points out for France, the nurturing feminine imagery in "visualizing the nation" has a long historical precedent across the world. Joan B. Landes, *Visualizing the Nation: Gender, Representation, and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001).

[44] Gurumukhi is the name of the Punjabi language script. Sikhs and others from the state of Punjab in India speak this language.

[45] Footnote 10 in Plowman's article refers to connections between the *Gaelic American* and the *Free Hindustan*. Matthew Plowman, "Irish Republicans and the Indo-German Conspiracy of World War I," *New Hibernia Review* 7(Autumn 2003), 81-105.

[46] Erin is an anthropomorphized representation of Ireland. Mary Ryan has argued that during the nineteenth century men used symbolic image of women for their own purposes. Ethnic brotherhoods used symbols like Liberty and maids of Erin on their banners to show that ethnic identity was based on kinship bonds. From Mary P. Ryan, "Gender and Public Access," in *Feminism: The Public & the Private*, Joan B. Landes, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 206.

[47] In another instance the Gadar Party newspaper compared their nationalism to American republicanism, "It was in America that the spirit of liberty of the Indian patriot exiles grew most. America is a republic. She had herself a war with Britain before what she became what she is now – the most powerful republic on earth. The Indian Nationalist in America thus full of the American ideas of republicanism founded a republican party for India. This is our Gadar Party. The history of America proves that the only way to obtain liberty from the British is the way the Americans obtain their liberty from the British: by way of a revolution." Bishan Singh, "The Story of the Hindustan Gadar Party" *Independent Hindustan* 9 (May 1921): 6

[48] For more on the styles of wearing saris and references to modernity and fashion see
See Linda Lynton, *The Sari: Styles, Patterns, History, Techniques* (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1995). Chantal Boulanger, "How to Drape a Modern Sari," http://www.shakti.clara.net/drape.html, accessed 19 June 2002. Also, Kamala S. K. Dongerkery, *The Indian Sari* (New Delhi: All India Handicrafts Board, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Government of India, 1961).

[49] Ved P. Vatuk and Sylvia Vatuk, "Protest Songs of East Indians on the West Coast, USA." *Folklore* 7 (October 1966): 376.

[50] Jensen, *Passage,* 101-120, 44-56.Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (New York: Penguin Books, 1989), 298.

[51] "Indian Freedom Struggle, Important Documents, Ghadar Movement, Party," Poetry from the Pages of Ghadar di Gunj, http://members.tripod.com/~INDIA_RESOURCE/ghadar.html, accessed June 04, 2005.

[52] Mark Juergensmeyer, "The Ghadar Syndrome: Nationalism in an Immigrant Community," *Punjab Journal of Politics* 1 (October 1977): 15-22.

[53] Dell Upton, "Seen, Unseen, and Scene," in *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes*, eds. Paul Groth and Todd W. Bressi (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 176.