

QUEEN VICTORIA'S MAHARAJAH DALEEP SINGH

BY

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INDIA, showing EXTENT OF
THE PUNJAB AT THE
TIME OF ANNEXATION 1846

CHAPTER I

The Punjab Annexed

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Honourable East India Company, by a combination of commercial acumen and military opportunism, was master of most of India. Among the remaining independent states, the Punjab was the most strategic of its territorial aspirations. India, it was feared, might be ins'aded through the arid wastes of the North-West Frontier: Alexander the Great had moved that way into the 'Land of the Five Rivers' two thousand years earlier; the Mughals had follow'ed to conquer the subcontinent. Afghans and Persians had plundered the fertile plains; there had been alarmist talk that Napoleon with Russian help, planned to follow in the footsteps of Alexander; and now Russia was again threatening to advance her empire step by step in that direction through the independent khanates of Central Asia. Both for commercial exploitation and the security of the subcontinent the company wanted control of the Punjab, Runjit Singh, the great Sikh warrior who had consolidated the kingdom from the disunited clans of his caste and made himself their maharajah, wanted his power

endorsed and his territory extended.

Runjit Singh, 'Lion of the Punjab', was wary enough to know that the British were unlikely to be beaten in battle, but he thought himself wise enough to outwit them politically. In 1831, on what was described as another Field of Cloth of Gold, he made a treaty of friendship with the company which he hoped would allow him to pursue his ambitions unopposed. To the British, this diminutive tyrant, pock-marked and blind in one eye, was a man to be admired and

QUEEN Victoria's maharajah he in his turn admired them, especially their military discipline which he sought to instil in his own army with the help of European officers. Runjit Singh stuck to his treaty of friendship - there was co-operation in an expedition to Afghanistan; there was resignation at British infiltration of his territory south of the Sutlej; there was tolerance at their occupation of the Sind he coveted himself. At least he acquired Jammu, Kashmir and Peshawar. Still trusting in the two-edged alliance, he seemed content to amass treasure and debauch his remaining days.

Duleep Singh,* the hero of this story, was the last of the four 'acknowledged' sons of Runjit Singh. He was born on 4 September 1838, at a time when the great man was unlikely to have been able to father a child for. Apart from a preference for the company of beautiful boys, he had had two strokes and was partially paralysed; in addition, an indulgence in laudanum, brandy fortified with powdered pearls, and fat quails stuffed with spices, had wrought havoc with his liver.

Duleep Singh's mother was Jindan Kaur, daughter of a palace doorkeeper, a woman of considerable character and influence in the royal household. Adopted by Runjit Singh at an early age, her ready wit and lack of sexual inhibitions had made her well qualified to organise the more outlandish entertainments of the court. It was said that the ageing Maharajah took perverse pleasure in her amours even to the extent of encouraging her lovemaking with his current favourite, formerly a favourite or water-carrier in the palace courtyards. On the birth of a boy, Runjit Singh was amused to accept the flattering pretence that the child was his; by officially recognising him as such he made more certain the continuance of his dynasty.

Runjit Singh died the following summer and was duly burned, along with a number of his self-sacrificing women-

•The incident of Duleep Singh's birth throughout the text The tradition has been told that the reason by which the Maharajah was convinced that the child was his was the fact that the child was born on the day of the Maharajah's birthday.

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palace generals. A test of strength came when the Rani Jindan's brother, Jewahir Singh, brought about the death of another brother who had the support of a powerful military group. It led to an occasion that must have been profoundly unsettling to the psyche of one small boy.

The troops had sworn to avenge the murder of their champion and summoned the suspect sirdar to appear before them. He had no choice but to face the large force of clamorous soldiery outside the gates of Lahore. To enhance his prestige and for a measure of protection he sat the young Duleep Singh beside him on his elephant and was followed by the Rani Jindan and her attendant women. The rani, who had considerable influence over the troops, being regarded by them as 'the mother of the people', pleaded her brother's cause and offered extra pay for their support. Encouraged by their apparently accommodating mood he prepared to deliver his conciliatory address. Bugles suddenly sounded and drums began to beat, upon which signal his elephant was seized and made to kneel. Duleep Singh was snatched from the howdah at the same moment as his uncle was bayoneted through the side and a bullet blew out his brains. The terrified child was held that night by the soldiers, who feared that his mother, mad with grief and rage, might do harm both to herself and their maharajah. The following morning, when he was returned to her, she took him to see the mangled body and threw herself and him upon it, screaming and tearing her hair. It was some time before she could be restrained.

Real power now lay with the military committees even if they continued to recognize the rani as regent and Duleep Singh as maharajah. Their insistent demands for more pay and privileges undermined the fabric of the state; with an emptying treasury and a threat to replace her son on the throne with the little Shahzadah, son of the murdered Maharajah Sher Singh and thus grandson to Runjic Singh, the Rani Jindan and her ministers could by no means consider themselves secure. The only hope, they decided, was to weaken the immediate grip of the army by encouraging it

THE PUNJAB ANNEXED

to make war on the British, who averc themselves piepaimg across the Sutlej for what they had long seen as an conflict with the Sikh nation. Inspired by evidence of the warlike intentions of the British and visions of the conquest of Delhi and even the entire subcontinent, the army insisted on going to war under the leadenhip of the very people svho

hoped to destroy its power by collision with a more powerful

"Sit not been for the double-dealing of the rani's generals, it is likely that the ambitions of the Sikh army would have been realized. They crossed the Sutlej >>> "^^ 8 ; ingly held back from attacking Ferozepore. "■c British base. Mudki. Ferozshah. Aliwal. and finally, Sobmon battles fought valiantly by both "Westants. each one of which might have been a L

traitorous commanders quit the field. Wil « ,

operation British troops crossed the Sutlq
on 20 February 1846 took possession of the "PTM";

On 9 March, the Treaty of Lahore was ratified by Gov

emor General Hatdinge, now a viscount, in his «

side the walls of the city. Duleep Singh sat onh" "ght and

a travelling notable. Prince Waldemar <>rP"«>'

Around his neck the Duleep Singh svore
of Queen Victoria, given to Runjit Singh «!>" Lo'd Auck
land was governor general. Hardinge h™ m the

queen as 'a very beautiful brave

without any fear and with all the good breeding pecuhar
the Eastern people.'^ the

Hardinge did not feel 5 ^' rpS^^^^
whole of the Punjab, but sizeable piem ol wer p

iutheBririshintiest-IUshmirandJammuweresoMm^^^^
traitorous sirdar, Gholab Singh, who un ^

watk against Afghan or Russian g°°Beas

north; a rich piece Raj- The rump of

and Sutlq was engorged . -Uore by the durbar

the Punjab was to be governed Lahore by the

in the name of the Maharajah unnl he came of age.

5

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So forceful was the character of Duiccp Singh's mother,
said by Herbert Edwardes, who knew her well, to have more
'wit and daring than any man of her nation',^ that she easily
established dominance over the durbar and, with her lover
asprimcministr.ctout to rule the country in her own way.
The ambitious rani was soon to find out, however, that under
the terms of the treaty it was the British 'Resident', installed
on her doorstep in Lahore and backed by the bayonets of
the British army that she herself had invited into the city to
maintain order, who was in effect dictator of the country.
As Lord Hardinge expressed the situation: 'In all our
measures taken during the minority {of Duleep Singh) we
must bear in mind that by thcTreaty . . .the Punjab was never
intended to become an independent sute ... in fict the native
prince is in fetters, and under our protection, and must do

our bidding.’* The Resident, lundiy Henry Lawrence, did his best to respect the sentiments of the durbar and the Sikh people, and for a time it seemed as if the rani was getting the better of him. But he tightened his grip when, fretting under the restrictions to her power, she began to intrigue against him. Her downfall was not long in coming.

At Lawrence’s instigation, the title of rajah was to be conferred on the commander-in-chief of the Lahore army, a man whom she regarded as the arch-collaborator with the British and responsible for the recent banishment of her lover and former prime minister. In no way anxious to endorse her enemy’s elevation she delayed her son’s arrival at the ceremony for over an hour, much to the annoyance of the Sikh sirdars and the British officials who were kept waiting. When he finally appeared, the young maharajah firmly refused to (Aey the Resident’s urgent order to mark the forehead of the commander-in-chief, Tej Singh, with the saffron sign of rajafehip. According to Hardinge. ‘When Tej Singh knelt at the htle pnnee’s feet, to have his forehead anointed by the Boy dipping hU finger in the perfumed oil, he refused, and when he was pressed to do so he tucked his litde hands and arms and resolutely resisted any entreaty ... It is knosvn 6

THE PUNJAB annexed

that the Rani had drilled the Boy to play his part 2 days before.’* The rani was clearly in a defiant mood, for despite admonishment from Lawrence, she further asserted her will by forbidding her son to attend the celebratory display of fireworks that evening. Her ungovernable behaviour was to have untoward consequences; the governor general, svho had earlier referred to ‘the Billingsgate in svhich she has indulged, the anti-English side she has taken, and the scandalous profligacy of her conduct’,* wtmt further on hearing the report of her performance at the investiture and wrote to Lawrence that he could see no reme y u •remove’ her from Lahore and that ’her general and habits of intrigue ate sufficient to justify her separation from her son .. . The British Government being the “

of the Maharajah have the right to sepatate him from the contagion of her evil practice.*’ ,1,-11 ani

Less than two sveeks after the investiture incident, the Rm Jindan was ’removed’ to an uncomfortable provincial fortress. She was said to have been involved in a murder plot but no charges were laid against her m ‘

there was little concrete evidence, other than a cepted letters and reports from spies. On the """"""S reLval Duleep Singh was packed off to the Shalimar Gardens with a new toy to occupy him. According to rente, when he asked ro be returned to the PJ’" *-0 attendant informed him he could not do so ""i“ ^

he replied loftily; ’Perhaps I am detained

I am not able to leave without permission. Later
was told that his mother had been taken away
have remarked that at least he had been allowed to keep his

q had entrusted my head to your care
Lawrence from her place of confinement.

•it under the feet of traitors. You have not "/j

You ought to have instituted " " 4 ,

me with what you found against ' ^ > wty Jq

possession of my kingdom by underhan

QUrUN VICTORIA** MAHARAJAH

you not do it openly? ... Do juito to me or '
io London hejdqu.tters." Wiithout her ton
without power and wrote paitionate lettett ■» '•awtcnc Kg
ging to he re-united with him: 'You have been
L me!- the wailed. •You have toatehed my ton f''™ ''
For ten montht I kept him m toy womb ... In the nam
of the God you worship and in the name of the Kmg
— . — , ,o I cannot bear

whose salt you eat. restore my s
the pain of thit separation. Initead you ihould pot me to

""t'wrence wrote a concialoty reply, atsurig her thar her
son was petfecUy happy and in good hands I am very glad
to hear fmm your letter that the Maharajah j. happy, she
answered. 'Wlutever you write may be true. But my nund
ZTnc, believe that the Maharajah ts happy. How can he.
whose mother has been separated from him. be happy. ...
Weeping, he was tom away from his mother and taken to
Shalimir Gardens. whUe the mother was dragged out by her
hair Well has the friendship been paid. You never thought
in your mind how the Maharajah who was very young,
could live happily without his mother.'"

The gentlemanly Lawrence was moved to pity, and poss-
ibly to shame, by such maternal pleas, but Hardinge, who
had motivated and taken full responsibility for her removal,
was little more than cynical. 'We must expect these letters
in various shapes, which a woman of her strong mind and
passions will assume as best suited either to gratify her ven-
geance or obtain her ends . .

Whether as a result of losing his mother or not. Lawrence
noticed that the boy looked 'downcast' and did his best to
cheer him up. He hoped to persuade him that the English
were not as bad as he had been led to believe, and to gain
influence over him by tact andcharm. The Resident arranged
visits to the racecourse where he could 'mix with the Euro-
pean ladies and officers';" he took him to a display of fire-
works. and a lecture illustrated by 'dissolving views' pro-

be anybody else than the Governor ^ , he

Hardinge had assured his successor that 'it would not be

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necessary to fire a gun in India for seven years to come
This wishful forecast was disproved within three months
when, towards the end of April 1848, Lieutenants Anderson
and Vans Agnew were murdered by the excited retainers of
Moolraj, governor of the outlying province of Mooltan. The
young officers had been sent to relieve him of a position he
no longer wished to retain under the exasperating conditions
of British fiscal supervision. Moolraj, who may not have insti-
gated the murder, was further compromised by his men
attacking the British escort and had no choice but to set up the
standard of revolt in his fortress headquarters.

In his proclamation calling on the Sikh army to support
him, Moolraj called for the release of the Rani Jindan - who
had been moved to an even less comfortable accommodation
following the discovery of a plot to murder the Resident -
and for power to lie in the hands of their Maharajah rather
than the usurping feringshees. Such was the aggravation
caused by the monitorial concern of the British for the wel-
fare of the common people that several of the important
sirdars, including two members of the Lahore durbar, joined
the rebellion along with substantial and revengeful remnants
of the Sikh army. Thus, what had started out as a local inci-
dent, which might have been rapidly suppressed if British
troops had been allowed to help the loyal forces immediately,
developed into a situation which only powerful reinforce-
ments could hope to contain. 'Unwarned by precedents, un-
influenced by example, the Sikh nation has called for war,'
Dalhousie announced at a Government House banquet,
adding, to the cheers of the assembled diners, 'And on my
word. Sirs, they shall have it with a vengeance! '**

On 18 November 1848, having held back until the hot
weather was over, Lord Gough proudly, if belatedly, entered
the Punjab with his grand army of fifteen thousand men. A
proclamation was addressed to 'all loyal subjects of the
Maharajah' to assure them that the British had come 'not as
an enemy to the constituted government, but to restore order
and obedience'."

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On 13 January 1849 Gough's army met twice their number
of Sikhs in a ferocious battle:

Chillianwallah. Chillianwallah!

Tis a wild and dreary plain
Strewn with plots of thickest jungle,

Matted with the gory stain.

There the murder-mouthed artillery.

In the deadly ambushade.

Wrought the thunder of its treachery
On the skeleton brigade.^

Thus sang George Meredith to

thousand British who were left dead wounded in the
ravines and underbrush. The old Duke of

anoracleon Indian affairs. called for Napier to take command^^

and threatened to lead the troop Luctit^

The army's reputation was happily raptured by
of Moolraj's fortress from a lucky hit on the po' .-my
zine and a notable victory at Gujrat ov« the m
of thirty-four thousand men which led to a ° Duleep
While all these great events were being enacted D^eep
Singh remained in Lahore and in almost comp c 8
of 4 at was being effected in his name. He only kn'iw that
a young companion, the son of a rebel sirdar, P

confinement, and he cannot have failed to observe
British regiment was put to guard the pa jJqj, of

treaty. Lord Dalhousie was committed to th --sien it

the Punjab. Despite Henry Lawrence's threats to resign, u

was decided to depose the young maharajah w ° ■

Treaty of Lahore, the government was committed to protect

and maintain. .i, tB.q theeov-

From his camp at Ferozepore, on 30 Mar •

emor general issued the manifesto that sonoro

drew rLg-doings of the Sikh nation and pr^cIa.^^^^^^^^

kingdom of the Punjab was at an end. miMtionable

and moral justification were interspersed wi q ^nry
charges and grim admonishment. B t
Eliot, secretary to the government of India,

QUEEN VICTORIA'S MAHARAJAH

Maharajah and his 'council of r^ency' in the precise terms to
which they were expected to submit*

1. His Highness the Maharajah Duleep Singh shall resign for
himself, his heirs, and successors all right, title and claim to the

sovereignty of the Punjab, or to any overruling power whatever.

2. All the property of the State, of whatever description and wheresoever found, shall be confiscated to the Honourable East India Company, in part payment of the debt due by the State of Lahore to the British Government and of the expenses of the war.

3. The gem called the Koh-i-noor, which was taken from Shah Sooja-ool-moolk by Maharajah Runjeer Singh, shall be surrendered by the Maharajah of Lahore to the Queen of England,

. His Highness Duleep Singh shall receive from the Honourable East India Company, for the support of himself and his relatives, and the servants of the State, a pension of not less than four, and not exceeding five, lakhs of the Company's rupees per annum.

5. His Highness shall be treated with respect and honour. He shall retain the title of Maharajah Duleep Singh Bahadur, and he shall continue to receive during his life such portion of the above-named pension as may be allotted to himself personally, provided he shall remain obedient to the British Government, and shall reside at such place as the Governor General of India may select.*

Waltham had little sympathy for the boy who was supposedly his protégé and who had now been relieved of throne and fortune. He did not see why a person he had earlier referred to as 'a child notoriously surreptitious, a brat begotten of a British, and no more the son of old Runjit Singh than Queen Victoria is' should be treated with more than cursory justice. He thought it necessary, however, to justify his action to his critics in London and wrote to Sir John Hobhouse, chairman of the East India Company, explaining the reasons for the confiscation of property that might be considered by some the rightful heritage of their juvenile charge: 'that the means of mischief hereafter might

*RU>=< 100,000 rupees per annum about Rs 100,000

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THE PUNJAB ANNEXED

not belong to the Maharajah; and that the great debt which

incurred by the Government for the expenses of the British

be diminished by the amount of the property. The letter continued:

It has now found its proper resting place.

The opinion of the Maharajah .., Jno Rr.

His own Hindustani, I mean, and always, 'but he is a

like the Rajah of Sattarah. He has a large income

The Maharajah was allowed to remain for this year, as the weather was on. Next year he must go. It was a super-

I am sorry for him. poor little fellow, himself

fluently compassionate. He does not care two pence (income tax)

he will have a good and regular income. (with a good income all his life, and will die in his bed like a good man)

other circumstances, he certainly would not have done.

The members of the regency council were just anxious to incur the odium of signing away to the British, but Eliot cunningly played on their fear of losing estates or salaries and persuaded the grounds that if they refused he would "whatever" When

that they would receive any consideration pre-

the document, known as the Treaty of Amritsar, was

presented to the Maharajah. Eliot reported that the

which he took the papers when offered to him by the

of the Maharajah, and he signed the deed, as he had

been instructed by the British to do so

might lead to the substitution of terms

those which had been offered. Eliot described

in a manner which the Maharajah was full of

Logan, described as "undignified exultation. The

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ceremony was conducted with grave decorum. No Sirdar was armed. The costly jewels and gaudy robes, so conspicuous in the Sikh Court on other public occasions, now were thrown aside. I did not observe the slightest sign of wonder, sorrow, anger, or even dissatisfaction, upon the countenance of any one present ... As I left the Palace, I had the proud satisfaction of seeing the British colours hoisted on the citadel under a royal salute from our own artillery, at once proclaiming the ascendancy of British rule, and sounding the knell of the Khalsa Raj!"

Thus the most important piece of real estate on the sub-continent became an integral part of the British Raj and the warlike Sikhs submitted gracefully to the well-interlined operations of the British civil servants. Their former Maharajah, son of the founder of the nation, was taken in hand by a Scottish doctor.

On 6 April 1849 Duleep Singh was formally introduced to

his new 'Superintendent', Dr John Login, a native of Orkney, who had started his career as a medical officer in the Bengal army. He had served the company both in a medical and lately in an administrative capacity with a dedication that earned him the respect of the civil establishment. Henry Lawrence had entrusted him with command of the Lahore citadel and its prisoners of state - Mooltaj and the recalcitrant sirdars — as well as giving him charge over the treasury of the lungs of Lahore. It may have been the doctor's moral rectitude that persuaded the Resident to offer him the permanent post of guardian to the Maharajah - a job which could hardly advance his career in the service - so that he would not have him looking over his shoulder in the new administration of the Punjab. His salary of £1,000 a year was to be paid from the Maharajah's stipend.

Login described his first meeting with the boy in a letter to his wife Lena, who had (for health reasons) returned to England some time earlier with their children; 'The little fellow seemed very well pleased with me, and we got on swim-

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ingly. I told him that now you had gone to take my little ones to England, I was left alone, and wanted someone to care for and be kind to ... He seems a very fine-tempered boy, intelligent, and handsome.'**

Login's other charge, the royal treasury, contained much of the riches accumulated by Runjit Singh - a profusion of gold and silver, religious relics, jewels of immense size, golden thrones, cashmere shawls, magnificent armour and weapons, embroidered tents, jewelled saddles, and a portrait of Queen Victoria. Among this magpie's hoard, which Login had to sort out and catalogue, was the object described in his inventory' as the diamond, the legendary Koh-i-noor referred to in the treaty, which Runjit Singh had 'persuaded' his old ally Shah Shuja of Afghanistan to part with. The Koh-i-noor, 'mountain of light', had passed from conqueror to conqueror as a symbol of power and glory and was regarded as the greatest treasure in India. The great uncut stone, the size of a pigeon egg, was at that time mounted with two other diamonds in an enamelled armlet. Dalhousie decided that it should be presented to Queen Victoria with the compliments of the East India Company and it was accordingly dispatched to England in a metal box guarded by two soldiers. It was agreed that the Maharajah could retain a small part of the treasure to be selected by his guardian, a concession that may have indicated a guilty awareness that the hoard could be considered 'family' rather than 'state' chattels claimable under the treaty.

'Now that I know what I can keep for him out of the accumulated property I must take care that his possessions are not diminished by pilfering,' the ever-conscientious doctor wrote to his wife. 'Poor dear little fellow,' he con-

tinued, 'so far he seems mightily pleased with me, and I do hope we shall continue to like each other; he is very lovable, I think . . . His studies at present are Persian and English. For amusement he is passionately fond of hawking, and thinks of nothing else. He is busy getting up a book on the subject ... this takes up his whole attention, and renders him

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indifferently to use for the time being, . . . He has painted continuously near him at this work and himself tries to draw and paint a little. I want you to send me out for him a nice paint-box and materials for his use, and a good book of instructions in the art of drawing and painting, till I can get him good lessons. Send also some mechanical toys to amuse him. also geographical puzzles or dissected maps, plates of animals etc. fit for a boy of his age to amuse and interest him.' Login added a positive idea for his charge's future: 'I think the Maharajah shows a great desire to hear about England. Sir H. Lawrence wished he could be educated there, and not left to grow idle and debauched in India, with nothing to do. He will surely have as much to live on as any of our nobles, considering what he has to live on. Why, then, should he not be brought up to the life of one (in the highest sense of the word) - he is young enough to mould.' Login decided that the Maharajah should have a party for his eleventh birthday, 'Don't you think it would be proper to make up a party from the Residency to offer him their good wishes? He asked Henry Lawrence, who was now back in the saddle. 'A little civility and attention shown on this, his first birthday since he lost his throne, would be kindly taken. It need not be in the least official, merely friendly: but as the natives will all do their best to do him honour, I think our party should not sport powder and shooting jackets on this occasion.'

'Solah' hats should have in any case been superfluous on that occasion as it poured with rain. The Maharajah himself was dressed 'most splendidly', wearing the diamond aigrette and star and various other jewels that Login had rescued from the treasury and handed over to him on that day as a 'birthday present'. 'When I congratulated him on his appearance,' he wrote to his wife. 'he innocently remarked that on his last birthday he had worn the Koh-i-noor on his arm.' The boy's observation on receiving his own possessions as a present might have been less 'innocent' than the doctor supposed. But the party was voted a success and Login had triumphantly

THE PUNJAB ANNEXED

Everything has been done!

and feel a great difference, poor little m ,i,h
 he thoroughly enjoyed be. LuckUy the
 the fireworks as any hoy | of rain in the morning
 evening was fine though the deluge ot ram m
 was drLdful and upset all my fine y""f”ws period was
 A colourful impression of Duleep Singh at to ^
 provided hy Helen (be Maharajah in the
 who was taken hy Dr Login ceilings
 Shish Mahal, or ?"" ^biu of coloured mirror: ‘Dalip
 covered in a mosaic of litUe hi . . ^^bful eyes and nose,
 Singh is about eleven years old. He met us at the
 but *e lower part of *e face » ^ ,, for the
 door and took Dr Login s , p Login. A box
 little prince, and a >.il«V”“ ~ ‘^^ti^and hofh the litUe
 MZa^hi“nd ZsTr^li.rwere anxiously waiting to see its
 “Malnaiemadeanumhe^of^^^^^^^^^^
 Lahore. Dulcep Singh asked h j silver, with
 depictedhim ‘richly dressed! m y niaenificent pearls
 a sLt of crimson tunic “”f^’.’trk isTlways in the hall,
 °^-Z::i:higpartyt<^a.m;^hy.^M— -S;
 commander-m-chicf of the * J* p ^housic described
 conqueror of of .8 ^
 his arrival at Lahore on t c .^^troopswercinconsider-
 The chiefs came out to mcet^ and * ^
 able strength - there was an abundance

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QUEEN VICTORIA** MAHARAJAH

and lowered colours, and toaing salutes: and as the camp was
 pitched just under the Walls of the citadel of Lahore, a fine mass
 of building, and as I knew that Chutter Singh, and Shcre Singh,
 and Moolraj, our prisenn, as well as the little Maharajah, were
 looking down on us, the sight was rather a fine one m sentiment

as well as gay externals . . . The little Maharajah is an engaging little fellow, and has quite won my heart. He appears to be happy, enjoying his hawks and his fun, and already very fond of Dr. Login who has had charge of him.

The governor general on his elephant was met by the Maharajah on his and taken for a conducted tour of the city. Afterwards there was a garden fete at the residency for the soldiers, where the Maharajah expressed great interest in the Highlanders in full dress - 'Login, tell him they are my countrymen,' said Dalhousie.

On a visit to the treasury, which Login had to admit had just been broken into by British soldiers, the governor general selected various additional jewels for the queen's collection and two sets of historic arms and armour. Added to the selection was an item that it must have been sad for its owner to part with, described by Dalhousie to the queen as 'a suit of his own little caparison, which he was accustomed to wear at the head of the boy-regiment which was formerly kept up for him at Lahore. The Maharajah begged that the Arms might be presented on his part, and with his respects, to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales ... It is a curious specimen of modern native workmanship.'[^]* Queen Victoria failed to acknowledge the Maharajah's charming gift. The queen might have been expected to disapprove of the fact that her statesmen in India had separated a sovereign prince not only from his country and possessions but also from his mother, and Dalhousie was anxious to assure her that all was for the best. In one of his regular reports to her he wrote; At Lahore, the Governor General had much communication with the little Maharajah. He is an intelligent and engaging child, most sensible of loudness, and apparently as happy as the day is long. He is old enough to be sensible of

THE PUNJAB ANNEXED

what he has lost, but old enough, too,

has gained. He recollects what he saw four .

mates that he knew the risks of his own fate -

to return to his mother, who "put discredit on "

"by beating him every day," and he wishes to r

"The Maharajah's mother had in fact escaped from her h<t

place of detention. The resourceful lady had ^

as one of her maidservants and, being always veiled had easily deceived the guards. In the role of

reached Nepal and taken sanctuary with the tul't. Ju 8 dur. -The Ranee Jindan is, even by her own upon as exceptionally bad, even among t es

people.' Login wrote. 'I trust she won't come herself [Dideep Singh] told me gravely that he won't return here among the Sikhs again and declines to go on drive unless I accompany him.^* might

There was indeed some danger that her party to abduct her son from British agent at hard-headed man as Colonel Hodson, Peshawar, could write: 'Punjabees recently asserted for below assert that a plan has been hatched to the Hills, carrying the little ex-Maharajah first and that should a favourable opportunity • tainly be attempted. This maybe " 'af in- the Ranee is alive and free, we may find "P.P., fin finitum.'^* It was clear that the Punjab was no place for a king. ^

I shall be truly glad when it is wife]- Sir Henry destination of Dulcep Singh ILO^ wr Copland at once; but and Lawrence both advise his being sent decision.

Lord D. is not fond of, tate. nught not^^

Lord D. IS not fond of suggesinm » «tate might nol

Sir Henry says that the Dhoon. with a arg a bad thing. Either of these plans, India, and to bring him decided to send him to some place in the ^ ^ mere pensioner, up with no other expenses than I find it is no debauched and worthless like so many

QUEEN victoria's MAHARAJAH

work for me, and I wash my hands of the charge, take my furlough and join you in England; but this is in wiser hands than mine, and I leave it there contentedly.^*

The wise men at Government House decided that the Maharajah should be removed to Fuiteghur, a small station on the Ganges, the other side of the country.

CHAPTER 2

Tea Witli Tommy Scott

w*

The removal of the ex-king of the Punjab from his ancestral lands was a minor military operation involving an escort of infantry, horse artillery and several squadrons of cavalry. The government's marching orders added a warning that the boy might be rescued or 'inveigled away at night' by partisans instigated by his mother, who was then under house arrest in Katmandu and not in fact in a strong position to intervene. Included in the convoy was Dulcyp Singh's six-year-old nephew, the Shahzadah, and his Rajput mother: as another rallying point, the little boy could not be allowed to remain at large in the Punjab. Instructions were given that the child should be treated as a companion to Duff Singh but 'as in all respects his inferior'.* Another companion had been promised when they reached Futteghur, an English boy, Tommy Scott, son of a company officer. En route, Dr Login recruited a young man called Walter Guise to act as ruro. Logji described him as: amiable, patient, and attentive,

of mild manners ... rather slow, perhaps, and not altogether the man who would suit later on.'

They reached Futteghur on 19 February 1850 and inspected the property that was to be their home for the next four years. The house, formerly occupied by an East India Company 'nabob', looked forlorn and neglected, having been empty for several years. 'I must do my best to get it soon to look bright and cheerful/ the worthy doctor wrote to his wife. I'm afraid, however, that we shall have to live among bricks and mortar for a long time, until I can get it to look what I wish it to be. and what I shall not feel is 21

QUEEN Victoria's maharajah
insulted to the Maharajah, who has lost his own splendid home through no fault of his own.'^ In its favour the house, though indeed no palace, was surrounded by an attractive park and lay on the banks of the Ganges. Scattered bungalows were put in order - British installed in some, Indians in others - and each household established their own routine.

Login took great pride and pleasure in organizing the little establishment on behalf of his landlord and paymaster. The only thing missing for his complete contentment was the presence of his wife, Lena, who had been away in England for eighteen months and was showing no great inclination to return to his side. 'I do so need you to assist me,' he wrote plaintively, though his reasons for requiring her cannot have

warmed her heart: 'I am anxious to give this young Maharajah (and Shahzadah) a favourable impression of us as Christians, in our domestic state, and to make him acquire respect for the character of an English lady. His opinion of them may afterwards have weight among his countrymen, and dispose them to think better of our ladies than they do ...Just think what their idea of ladies dancing the polka and drinking healths must be. if they had no opportunity of knowing them better and acquiring respect for them! '* Mrs Login, a Cambridge of Kinloch, obeyed the call of duty and arranged to return. In advance of her departure she entered into a motherly correspondence with the Maharajah and sent him pictures of herself and her children. Her first gift parcel contained a paint-box, as earlier requested, and a copy of 'The Boys' Own Book' which, according to Login, was 'seldom out of his hand' and 'the book above all others he prefers to study.'*

The 'companion'. Tommy Scott, duly arrived and he and the Maharajah soon became fast friends. Study did not seem to be Duleep Singh's strong point: 'I wish I could give the little fellow a taste for learning,' his governor complained, 'in fact for study of any sort; but you see he has not been trained to do anything of that kind, and it is so difficult to get him to apply his mind for even five minutes

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TEA WITH TOMMY SCOTT

at a time. Poor Guise has a lively time of it. and needs great

^^e^good doctor had to act as mother and father to Duleep Singh and. though he disapproved of the custom of child manages, set about finding a suitable bride matter which had been in abeyance since negotiation.

ated at Lahore for marriage to an infant cousin a

down. •! have been making enquiries and

little boy,' he wrote home. 'He says I am happy - P he trusts me to do what may be necessary for his •

He would have nothing to do. he says, with Shere to whom he was betrothed, so I am left quite at liberty to choose for him. I have heard of a little daughter of

of Coorg, at Benares. She is being educated .

child, and her father has asked, and has offered to

for her to visit England to have her education improved -

She is only eight, yet a good body

ing, and also intelligent, with decided mind

and lineage about her. - The Rajah of Coorg. had

deprived of his small and hilly territory and

bring in Benares in exile. As he had lost most of the

Gouramma could by no means be considered

Dalhousie. who was anxious only that he

not marry a Sikh, expressed his approval. He

been talk in the Indian household. The

marry his brother's widow, mother of the Shahid. It

put. who had broken caste by marrying a Sikh. M

interest in her. He expressed more interest

of the little princess from Coorg. but was told that she

would be quite unsuitable on the ground that

in the habit of drinking broken caste.

English ladies at Benares and had thereto

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QUEEN victoria's MAHARAJAH

Life at 'Futteghur Park', as Login called the place, continued on its leisurely way. There were lessons and games for the boys, hawking and hunting in the country and riding out in the hour of cool. In his passion for hawking, a favourite sport among the Sikhs, the Maharajah now took an absorbing interest not only in flying his birds after game but also in their training and feeding. All along Login had tried to discourage his dedication on the grounds that the cruelty inherent in the pursuit 'might develop the tendency to barbarity which is so inherent in the oriental character'.

Despite orders from Government House that he should not be given ideas of his own importance. Login encouraged the Maharajah to keep up considerable style. One of the more picturesque sights at Futteghur was the elegant cavalcade attending his daily rides - the prince on his high-stepping horse, hawk on outstretched wrist, accompanied by the Shahi and his English friends - Tommy Scott and Robbie Canbore, the padre's son - a retinue of fierce-looking Sikhs

jostling behind, followed by a detachment of the Body Guard in scarlet uniforms and troopers of the famous regiment Skinner's Horse, otherwise known as 'Canaries', in saffron. Sometimes he would go out on his elephant with its silver howdah, or ride in his smart carriage with its four grey arabs, driven by his English coachman, Thornton.

It was still thought necessary that he should be protected against his mother, several of whose emissaries from Nepal had been caught at the frontier. 'Honour thy father and mother' was one Christian precept that Login had made no effort to instil: 'As far as I can judge, not the least desire exists on the part of the Maharajah to communicate with his mother,' he reported to Government House. 'Having lately, in the course of reading history with him, met v. 'ith an allusion to his being the acknowledged, though not the reputed son of Runjeet Stn^ I told him that the conduct of the Maharanee, and the character she had acquired, exposed him to this imputation; he said, "Ah. yes; it was

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TTA WITH TOMMY SCOTT

al) too (ntc!" And hf had frequent])' made up his mind, while at Lahore, that he would have his mother killed, that she might not disgrace him.*** Such summary execution was not altogether unorthodox in the Punjab - IVunjit Singh had killed his mother when, at a boy, he had found her in bed with a lover.

In November 1850 Dr Login took a month's leave so as to be in Calcutta to meet his wife and children on their arrival from England. While he was away an event took place that must have gratified him but at the same time given him some feeling of shame, that though he was the young Maharajah's mentor he had not fully appreciated what was going on in his mind. The twelve-year-old Sikh suddenly announced that he was going to become a Christian! Login might have taken some hint from a casually-dropped request in a letter from his distant charge: 'My dear good friend > We are all well here. Captain Campbell presided at our examination, and I got twenty marks; but Shazada got only ten. Will you kindly send me a nice bible, because Bhajun Lai was reading to me; and also to send me a chest of tools for carpenter's work.*** The Maharajah's next letter contained the unexpected affirmation; 'You will be surprised to learn of my determination to embrace the Christian religion. I have long doubted the truth of the one I was brought up in, and convinced of the truth of the religion of the Bible, which I have made Bhajun Lai read portions of it to me.'*^

It was a delicate political matter, at a time when the vernacular press was free to present even the most controversial arguments, that the juvenile ex-beard of a warlike and sternly religious nation, educated under British protection, should embrace an alien faith. Such an event would require the auth-

orties to establish to the people of India, and to some people of England, that 'improper influence' had not been brought to bear. Religious tolerance was a cardinal principle of British rule and, though Christian missionaries were active throughout the country, the charge of proselytizing a prince would

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QUEEN victoria's MAHARAJAH

have convincingly to be rebutted. Login was called upon to provide an explanation:

The Governor-General desires to be informed whether you have had any reason to suppose, at any time since the Maharajah has been under your charge, that His Highness gave his attention to matters connected with the Christian faith. Whether you or Mr. Guise, or any European person who have had charge of him, or may have had access to him, have introduced the subject of our religion to his notice; have talked to him upon it. or engaged him in any question regarding it? Whether the young gentlemen who have been allowed to reside with him as his playfellows have talked to him. or have been talked to by him thereupon . . . and where the bible was procured, which His Highness says has been read to him by an attendant, and who that attendant is?*

Dr Login would have been proud enough to consider himself the true progenitor of the Maharajah's conversion.

'Though he was quite aware that it was against the rules to evangelise, he had done his best to set a Christian example - I trust that God helping us. we shall be enabled as "written epistles" to manifest the spirituality and benevolence of a Christian life, if we cannot otherwise preach to him,' he had written to his wife soon after he was appointed guardian.** His frequent homilies on 'frankness', designed to correct what he regarded as an inborn deceitfulness in the Indian character, and the setting out for copying and translation of such precepts as 'Do unto others as you would they should do unto you' was intended as a disavowal of the Christian ethic.

What may have influenced the Maharajah more than anything was the behaviour of the English boys on the station who were his friends; his exclusion from their intriguing religious observances, their hints that in his eyes he was no more than a heathen, and irritation that the rigidity of his caste forbade him taking food in their company, must have undermined his confidence in his own faith. In fact he had confided his intention to Tommy Scott some time earlier and sworn his best friend to secrecy. That Tommy Scott might have

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TEA WITH TOMMY SCOTT

had something to do with it did not go unconsidered by Dr Login. In his report to the governor general he observed:

'Considering the relative character and disposition of His Highness, as compared with Master Scott, to whom he first made known his intention of becoming a Christian, I cannot consider the latter altogether passive in the matter; or if he did exert any influence over the Maharajah's mind, in leading him to adopt the same faith, it could only have arisen from His Highness's friendly regard for the boy, and the admiration of the honesty and truthfulness of his character, which he has frequently expressed/*^

Knowing Login's Christian real, the governor general might have held him totally responsible. Lengthy statements of innocence were taken from all concerned, and there was some relief when the Indian 'attendant' referred to offered himself as a convenient scapegoat. The gentleman in question, Bhajun Lai, was a young Brahmin; he had been educated at the American Presbyterian Mission where, though still observing the rules of Hinduism, he had acquired more than a toleration of Christianity. Bhajun Lai was ordered by Logan to write a full report of the matter. He described such steps towards apostasy as might be held to put no one at fault:

At you want to know the circumstances of His Highness Maharajah's breaking his case since you left, I have the honour to explain before your honour, what all I have known from the time when I was employed in His Highness's service.

When the Maharaj began to learn out of an English book, by name of English instructor, there were some lines at the back end of the book with a few words about Christian religion. You once said to Maharaj, 'These are records of our religion; if you want to read them, then read, and if you don't want, you can leave them,' but His Highness said to me, 'Never mind, I will read them, because I want to know everything'; then they were read. As I was with him at all the times, he used to ask me questions about our religion (Sudras): What is the benefit of bathing in Gunga Dec? Would it take us into heaven if we still do other wicked works and bathe in Gunga? I replied, and said, 'Maharaj, it's written in our Shastras,

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but I do not know whether we would go to heaven or hell.' Then he said, 'Yet, but it depends on our works.' And so on he would speak.

In the month of Barsakh, Maharaj began to have some of our religious books read, and in one book there was written a paragraph about a Rajah who used to make charity of ten thousand cows every morning before taking his breakfast! This way the said Maharajah used alms of ten thousand cows during the time of his life. But it came to pass, that if any one of these cows came again or was bought by his servant* without knowing it, and the Rajah made his alms of that cow again, by then he was cast into hell. Now when the Katha was over the Pundit gone. His Highness's servant

Jewindah said to the Maharaj, 'See, H U not impossible that now the Rajah could get so much new cow every day?' Maharaj answered and said, 'Yes! itii quite nonseme: and that's why I doubt many things what the Pundit do say.*'

Such convemiions had been many times, but I always found him very conscios, and of high opinion, and not superstitious, and of a reasonable mind.

Now, Sahib, after some rime you went to Calcutta, Maharaj saw one copy of Holy Bible intomyhand. and asked of me, 'WiU you sen this over to me?' I replied, and said. 'Maharaj, I don't want to sell it to you, but I can present you, if you can read a chapter out of it without any assisance.' So be did read, and I presented him my Bible. After some time, he asked me to read to him. and let him hear it, and according to hb orders I did read. First day I read 6th chapter St. Matthcw.and afew others during the whole week. Sometimes Bible, sometimes a few tricb, then sometimes outofBtfy'sO«^ff«k:but lamsurcinever heard any Englhbman, talking or reading him any of their religious things.

After thb week, then Maharaj disclosed hb designs to Captain Campbell and to Mr. Giuse, that he approves the Chrunan religion is true, and that of hb own is not true. Then the gentlemen said. 'Well, Maharaj, if you understand it with your conscience, it i* far better, and we would be only very happy if you would understand it.' But I well know and can cemfy that whatever Maharaj did say or do, he did it by hb pleasure and opinion, but not by any man's beguiling.

When I did ask Maharaj, 'Do you really believe, or merely jok-ing?' he then answered, and said, 'I really do believe, and I will

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TEA WtTIf TOMMY SCOTT

embrace thcChrhiian religion, because long before mine designa-tion was to do this.'

After two or three dap. on Sundap J came back from my city house at twelve (because I often go to city on Saturday evening, and comeback on Sunday at midday). Maharaj told to me.'Dhajun Lai, I have become a Christian.' I then say, 'What did you eat?' He answered and said, has'c not eaten anything, but my hcan is changed. See now, I have not gone lo play, nor like to play, on this day.* Dut when the cool of es'cning came, he went out hawking with his favourite hawk. When he came back into the house (asked him, 'Maharaj. how (s it that you told me that you would rto more play this day, but you went and plajrd with your hawks?' He answered, and said. 'I forgot, and am very sorry for that.* After two dap he began to say that he would like to take tea with Tommy Scott and Robbie Canhore. I said 'Very well, do whatever you like, but do only that thing which jou well know will do good for you at the end.' On Wednesday J had some work in the city, and I took leave of him at twelve and went; and when I came back at evening. I found Maharaj. T. Scott, and R. Car-

shore. in Maharaj's room, sitting at a table, and he (the Maharaj) was boiling the water. As soon as he saw me, he came out of the room and told me. 'See now, I am going to make tea with mine own hands, and then we all three take together.' I answered, and said. 'Very good. Maharaj, do whatever you like; but I tell you one thing, that you must not rake tea, or do anything, until Dr. Login Sahib comes back.' He replied, 'That you do not know if Dr. Login will allow me to do it, and then I will be very sorry!*' After this he went and made the tea with his own hands, and took with T. Scott and R. Carshore; but all whatever he did, he did with his pleasure, and was very anxious if Dr. Login will like him to do his wilful work. He will be very much pleased and glad, to hear if you will allow him to break his caste, and he will be very happy in breaking his caste.

Sir, at far as I know, I have acted with justice. Your most obedient, humble servant,

nahjun Lal.*

The Brahmin's simple statement of events effectively reassured Dalhousie that no overt influence had been applied by the Maharajah's guardians and he was inspired to write

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QUEEN Victoria's maharajah
a journal account of the convention to his friend and confidant in England, Sir George Couper:

My little friend Duleep has taken us all aback lately by declaring his resolution to become a Christian. The pundits, he says, tell him humbug — he has had the Bible read to him, and he believes the Sahib's religion. The household, of course, are in a grand state. Politically we could desire nothing better, for it destroys his possible influence forever. But I should have been glad if it had been deferred, since at present it may be represented to have been brought about by tampering with the mind of a child. This is not the case — it is his own free will, and apparently his firm resolution. He will be a Christian, he says, 'and he will take tea with Tommy Scott', which his caste had hitherto prevented! This last cause is a comical point in his profession of faith. I have thought it right to report the thing to the Court for their orders. But, as you may suppose, I have intimated that if the lapse of time shall show that this is not a fantasy of the boy, that he knows the effect of what he is doing and still persists in his desire to be instructed in Christian truths, I can be no party to discouraging, still less to opposing it. He is a remarkable boy in many ways.*

The governor general's assertion that the Maharajah's political influence would be 'destroyed forever' now that he had ceased to be a Sikh was to some extent counteracted by the mother of the Shahzadah, who began to encourage her son to feel that it would now one day be he who would be restored to the throne of the Punjab. The little boy began to put on airs and affected to avoid his uncle's company. Login was sternly instructed by Dalhousie to bring the mother

to account: 'You will inform the Ranee that the Raj of the Punjab is at an end for ever, and that any contemplation of the restoration of her son, or anybody else, to sovereignty there is a crime against the State. It is her duty to instruct her son accordingly. If on any future occasion, either she or her son is detected in expressing or entertaining expectations of restoration to power, or to any other position than that which he now occupies, the consequences will be immediate and disastrous to his interests.'

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Mrs Login, newly arrived from England, described a domestic confrontation with the lady which showed that even if power was no longer a matter for discussion, was. The rani wanted personal proof that the Maharajah had in fact broken caste and thrown in his lot with the Jenit. Mrs Login had taken the boy, who for some time had been 'keeping away', on a visit to his neighbouring relations.

There was the usual constraint observable during the the little Shahzadah seemed not at ease, and as if

something about to happen. The Ranee offered a silver

tray for fruit sherbet, for which she was famous. The tray only held a glass upon it. This the Ranee filled for

me. I took the glass and drank of it. The Maharaja

drank part of the

sherbet. To my horror, it was immediately

permitted by the Maharanee to the

touch it. In English I said 'Don't touch it. Ma'am',

and turning toward, me with a courteous salute, he

drank of it. contents. and abruptly

left the house, giving the slightest possible

glance. His sister-in-law, who followed after him

was alarmed at the result of her experiment ... I

was sure, directly after this insult to my husband

was much touched to find the Maharajah was

order that I might not return without haste, that

he took the glass, and thus permitted himself to be

asked - 'What?' he replied, his eyes flashing. 'You would have me

insul, y,,, leuT They shaU see tha, I honour you! And I am not ashamed to show thus that I have broken caste.

The Maharajah, who soon came to regard kindly Mn Login as a mother, performed a further ^

inv her with the tress of hair, long and abundant as a wLan's. which, in accordance svith the S^h 'ehg.om cm-tom, he had worn twisted into a knob under hts turW He had wanted to shear his locks as soon as h' ^

would be a Chrisrian. in order to look more I ke tl^e Engl h boys, who had probably teased him as looking like gi

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but Login had dissuaded him {n>m taking so drastic a step until he had been at least a year 'on probation*.

On Christmas Day 1851 Eird Dalhousie visited Futteghur with the primary purpose of meeting the Maharajah whom he had not seen since he had dethroned him at Lahore. The governor general and the boy were to be seen walking together round the little estate, inspecting improvements and chatting away like father and son. Dalhousie was said to have shown himself so thoroughly kind-hearted and genial that it was hard to realizeit was the same man whom his detractors portrayed as uncompromisingly frigid and autocratic.

Lord Dalhousie asked the Maharajah for a portrait to remember him by. and George Becchey, who lived in Calcutta. was commissioned to paint tt. Beechey, whose foUowing in England had declined disastrously after the death of hb more distinguished father, had married an Indian lady and become court painter and comptroller of the household to the King of Oudh. His picture shows a big-eyed, strong-nosed boy with a sensual mouth. He is decked out m jewels and wears Runjit Singh's miniature of Queen Victoria around his neck. He does not look as if he was in the habit of taking too much exercise and an over-indulgence in sweetmeats may have been one of hu failings. 'If only you could keep down hb fat!' Dalhousie wrote Login. 'But there you aren't the best of examples!' 2* To the Maharajah he ss'rote: 'At last after a long delay upon the river. Your Highness's poruait has arrived. It is in cxcUent condition, not at all injured by the weather. It h really very like you and does great credit to Mr. Becchey as an artist. Your Highness has really done me a great favour in offering me the likeness of yourself- If it pleases God that I shall live till I am old. I shall look upon it with strong feelings long after my connection with this country shall have been dissolved and always with a renewal of the interest which I feel tn yourself and in everything belonging to your fate and fortunes.'**

The Maharajah's future had been the mam subject of dis-

cussion between Login and Dalhousie during his visit. What

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TEA WITH TOMMY SCOTT

was to be done with him? Certainly he and his entourage could not rot away forever at Futleghut. Perhaps he might be given a really large estate in another part of India which he could consider a substate principality. Login put forward the old plan that the boy should go to England, but there had been an excess of Indian visitors to London around that time and Dalhousie did not approve of the attention they had been receiving, especially when they had some grudge against his government. The governor became almost enthusiastic about that idea when it came to the question of the Maharajah's marriage. How ever find a suitable Indian girl for a Christian Them

was even then in London little Princess Gouramma, youngest

daughter of the deposed Rajah of Coorg had gone to plead his case for compensation - that same child had been rejected earlier on the grounds of her being a Hindu. While marrying off one daughter to Jung

of Nepal, the rajah had turned the other into a Christian. The Maharajah had read an account of "e..

English newspaper and after thinking the matter over for several days had himself suggested that a

might be negotiated. What to do with Victoria Gouramma after the queen had 8

mother, was a question already

East India Company pandits in London had advised that I am an advocate for his going to England, Da -

housie to Login, having thought the matter over,

should help a marriage between him and the princess. I shall be very glad for it which would be a considerable perplexity both in her mind and his. The governor general, who did not have much to do with the 'rascally' Rajah of Coorg, went on to "P", "j" about the daughter's christening with a certain degree of cynicism:

provided agreement here and had warned them on the subject.

QUEEN Victoria's maharajah

had been calculated to turn the girl's head, and he too, for he will now be more convinced than ever of his accomplishing his object of matrimony to an English nobleman. Whether he would prefer a Maharajah's daughter to a nobleman in prospect, I don't know! nor do I feel that the Maharajah would do well to arrange any marriage until he has seen the young lady; for as a Christian, he can't get Ranee's name in duplicate, he may as well see how he likes her first . . . The little heathen sister whom Jung Bahadoor took away with him to Nepal was really very pretty. The orthodox one is not nearly so good looking.

Consider these points, and let me know what you think. You are aware that I have been most anxious that there should be no fuss or display connected with Duleep's profession of Christianity, in order that I might feel satisfied in my conscience that the boy had not been, unintentionally by us, or unconsciously for himself, led into the act by any other motive than that of conviction of the truth. To that end your management of the matter has been most judicious and highly satisfactory to me, I should wish that course steadily pursued. I consider that the Coorg christening in St. James's Chapel, with royal godfathers and godmothers, and the name Victoria given her, has been a great mistake, calculated to make the child regard a sacrament as a Court pageant, and to lead all the world to believe (as I very believe myself) that the father's motive was not so much that his child should be an 'heir of salvation', as that she should be a goddaughter of Queen Victoria: I do not think I am uncharitable in concluding that the man could have no higher motive who, while he was leading with one hand his elder child to Christianity, gave over the younger with the other to Hinduism and Jung Bahadoor! Let us avoid all such reproach. If Duleep be to go to England, let him be quietly baptized before he goes, and by his own name of Duleep Singh. Indeed I am prepared to advise his being baptized now, as soon as his minister can declare that he is sufficiently instructed, and a willing to be baptized at all, he is quite old enough to take the obligations directly upon himself, and to be baptized without the intervention of godfathers and godmothers. **

Though the governor general was prepared to encourage the immediate baptism of the Maharajah. Mr Carshore, the padre in charge of his religious education, would under no

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circumstances admit that his pupil was yet 'sufficiently instructed' . . .

Early in the spring of 1852 the Logans set out with the Maharajah on a short tour, as much for their own pleasure as their employer's education, before moving up to the cool of the hill station at Mussoorie where they were to spend the

hot season. It must have been a stimulation to all concerned to leave the limited confines of Futehghat and proceed on a princely match complete with elephants, a herd of goats and a pack of greyhounds, and set up the red and white striped tents with their silver tent poles in delectable spots only ten miles' march apart. Their progress took them to Delhi, where the Maharajah was unable to resist adding to his already considerable collection of Jewellery by purchases in the bazaar. At Agra, a breakfast was given in honour by the English community who took over the Taj Mahal for the occasion. Login laid on other more educational expenses for his pupil - a visit to a printing house, an office of the electric telegraph station, and the headquarters of the Ganges Canal Works. The Maharajah wanted to take a look at the Hindu religious ceremony then in progress on the Ganges, which was attended by a large number of "nobles" from the Punjab. The authorities feared that the Maharajah might be sent in a decoy, while the boy made a hurried visit to his elephant. He was recognized when he came in contact with his former subjects, who hailed him with an enthusiasm that may have given him food for future thought.

The main object of the Maharajah's move to the country

was to enable him to pursue his studies more effectively,

and to forbid attendance at the more amusing entertainments of a hill station such as balls, theatres, and

meetings. The Maharajah's moral principles were

and music were permitted. The Maharajah, who had a taste for music, developed by his music master, an

formed a band and would play the flute or clarinet in concerts on the Mall. Login also encouraged his change

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QUEEN Victoria's waimrajai to 'finance', the fees going to local good causes, a series of 'improving' lectures by local experts on such varied subjects as astronomy, the habits of bees, zoology of the Himalayas, and the peculiarities of the English language.

He made a number of new friends among the 'sons of gentlemen' on the station who would come every Saturday from Mr Maddock's school to join him at play. As well as Tommy Scott and Robbie Catshere his particular companions were the sons of Major Boileau of the Artillery, Frank and Charles; together they would go riding, hawking or coursing attended by Thomson, his English servant, and with an escort of troops within easy hail. 'The [O'Leary] boys' have just arrived from England,* Login informed Dalhousie, 'and as they are very intelligent lads of fifteen and sixteen, who appear to have been carefully educated, and are very

diligent and attentive to their Urdu studies. I have little doubt that their example will be in every way beneficial to His Highness.' That some sort of an 'example' was desirable was indicated in Login's following paragraph:

From all I have seen of the Maharajah's disposition, I am the more satisfied as to the great advantage and tumulus of example in his case. His disposition is naturally good and nothing but his strong good sense, and his desire to be on an equality in knowledge and accomplishments with those of his own age, enables him to overcome the natural slothfulness of his character. It is on this account that I am so anxious that he should be permitted to visit England, as he so earnestly desires it. While he is young, and while he can have an opportunity of mixing with those of his own age, and with less risk of being spoiled by too great attention.**

The season at Mussoorie was voted a great success. So much so that it was decided the Boilcau boys should come back to Futtoghur and continue to share their studies. Mr Htmter, the music master, who had made himself popular with the boys, also accompanied them back 'by request*.

After two years of probation and instruction in the mysteries of the Christian religion, the Maharajah, at the instigation

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TEA WITH TOMMY SCOTT

of Login, wrote to the governor general saying that he had a 'strong desire' to be baptised and hoped that he might now be considered fit. Lord Dalhousie replied:

My dear Maharajah. I have received with the most lively satisfaction the letter in which you express your desire to be

baptised, and to be admitted a member of the Church of Christ. What you at first showed an inclination to receive, which you found declared in the word of God, to be a help, to continue in your study of the Bible, and to be

by time the strength and sincerity of your belief.

You have followed my advice, and I have much

pleasure from the statement of the Archdeacon that

they have found you quite fit to receive the sacrament. I, on my part, most readily assent to thank God and Saviour of us all, who had put it in your

mind a knowledge of, and a belief in, the truth of that you may show to your countrymen that you are a pure and blameless life, each at best a Christian; ,

I beg you to highness to believe in the strength and sincerity of the faith which I shall ever feel

remain, and always. Your Highness's ardent and affectionate

as man's eye can see could have been better. For the last ten weeks I have been reading very carefully with him the Gospels, and it is astonishing to remark his great improvement. Three months ago I said I should rather resign my Chaplaincy than baptize a person so unprepared as I thought the lad then was. Many and many a time have I felt shame to the very bone's core that I could have uttered so rash, hasty and empty a speech. For I believe that few people have ever received the sacrament of baptism in greater sincerity or inner faith than the boy who has this day been admitted into the Christian Church. Much of his future life will humanly speaking depend on Dr. Login, who has managed his interests with much wisdom, although with him too I must very foolishly now and then be vexed, because he does not see everything in the same way that I do, about parties and engagements etc. May God grant that the young Maharajah indeed be a child of Grace.*'

Now that the Maharajah had become a complete Christian, Login began to press the point of the visit to England and made the boy put his request in writing for onward trans-
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To Mr TOMMY SCOTT

mission to Government House: 'I wish to say that I am very anxious to go, and quite ready to start whenever your Lordship gives me permission. I do not want to go to make a show of myself, but to study and complete my education, and I wish to live in England as quietly as possible.' Such a contrived text was probably formulated by Dr Login to satisfy the Court of Directors in London, whose permission it would be necessary to obtain.

To Login's covering letter Dalhousie replied:

We are at one in thinking he should go to England. It is my opinion, as it is yours, that he should go while he is yet what we should consider a boy. I shall therefore ask permission from the Court to let him go next Spring, if you consider him ready and desirous, as before, to go. I will not disguise from you that the Court may not give a very gracious answer; the visit of Jung Bahadur, whom they spoiled, and still more, the present visit of the Maharajah of Coorg, whom, in spite of all my precautions and warnings, they have lifted wholly out of his place, making a fool both of him and of themselves thereby, has disgusted the Court and the board of Control with natives, and especially with princely visitors. Still I hope they will agree, and still more, I hope that the Maharajah will not expect pompous receptions, and will rather seek quiet and privacy while he shall remain in England.*'

To Couper he wrote: 'He is dying to see Europe and all its wonders. He told me he used to dream every night he was visiting the Duke of Wellington.*'

At the beginning of 1851 the Court of Directors of the East India Company in London duly agreed that on the governor general's recommendation they approved a visit to England by the deposed Maharajah of Lahore. Dalhousie personally informed him; 'I am very happy to tell you that I

have this moment received the permission of the Court of Directors that you should visit England. In the belief that this intelligence will give you pleasure, I hasten to convey it to you with my own hand. I have not time to write another word beyond the assurance of the pleasure it will give me to see your Highness again.*** In his covering letter to Login.

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he added: 'I hope he will do me credit, for they have had a sickener of native grandees at home lately.'"

Duleep Singh was anxious not to be separated from his younger nephew, the Shahzadah, with whom he was again good friends. The government, who were glad enough to see a possible claimant out of the way, gave permission for him to accompany the Maharajah to England. His mother did not wish him to go, and he tried to entice her with pictures of England from the Illustrated Times. He was to get only as far as Calcutta before the outraged rani petitioned the government to prevent his sailing. A mother's plea could hardly be gainsaid and he was hauled back, protesting, by her emissary. 'I have sent you a huge memorial from the mother of the brat,' Dalhousie wrote to Login, 'accusing you of many enormities, of which child-stealing is the least!'"* The Maharajah was filled with excitement at the idea of crossing oceans, seeing new lands, and visiting the country of his guardian and favourite playmates. Inspired by stories in *The Boys' Own Book*, he talked of entering a public school and taking his place among boys of his own age. This suggestion did not commend itself to the governor general: 'The proposal to go to a public school won't do at all' he wrote to Login. 'He is much too old, and would be thrashed without a doubt periodically. Even a university would not do.'"

In April 1854 the Maharajah's party set off for Calcutta, the port of departure for Europe. He was provided with a mounted escort, and orders had been given that he should be greeted with the full honours of a twenty-one-gun salute. 'Pray impress upon His Highness,' Dalhousie instructed Login, 'that while in India he receives all the honours of his rank — in England he will be entitled only to courtesy.'"

At Lucknow they stayed with the famous Colonel Sleeman, scourge of the murderous Marauders. An ardent ethnologist, he had studied the settling of northern India by distant peoples. He did his best to explain how the Maharajah was descended from the Jutes, and as many old families in Kent were also of Jute descent, he would find they were all

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TEA WITH TOMMY SCOTT

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ring, -vv-hich. unlike Queen Victoni. she vs'as unable lo accept because of company rules forbidding their rmplojees to accept gifts from natives. The old colonel suggested to Log n that the Maharajah offer it To the fitst pretty Kentish gitl he sees, and claim brotherhood with her, on the of an old Indian officer, his friend. Colonel 'J'

1, of pure Kentish descent, he may feel assured that they

members of the same great family. s<,i,,,iahT

M Benares a new member was attached to the Maharajah s suue th^ twenty-year-old Pundit Nilakanth (Chnsnanized ^ NehemUh) Go?ch. one of the first D tahmins to be co,,_ verted to Christianity. He had been " among hi. own people and was a candidate for He expressed an earnest wish to go to England ^ ^ of the mission to which he was attached ^ . .p ^

allow him. A term of three years was agreed upon svith fot^ and raiment' a. his only remuneration,

tutor in oriental languages to the Mahamjah. Dhaju^W ^

persuaded by his family to stay behind m India where n

became a prosperous tentmaker. Mn *°B"

though he had 'very strong' Christian . v

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"dZ'Z",, then in Calcu^tn.-d Govem^men. Hou« was full, so the party was installed in t e w .-.L-jy^jhara-

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jah was invited to dinner and Dalhousie

favourably to hi, friend George Couper, rr om^B th

boy to his care, and asking him to see that he was

exploited by the missionary socieucs: n

L is a. an asvkwatd age. and ha. dark eallosv his face, but his manners are appals y ni attended by

and he now speaks English exceedingly well. He is

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QUEEN VICTORIA'S MAHARAJAH

Dr. Login, an excellent wan for the oHice, whom I should ask leave to introduce to you ... I earnestly desire this boy should make a

good impression in England, and equally so that he should not be spoiled and made a fool of... I look upon him as in some sort, my son, and am really solicitous for his success and well-being . . . I hope you will discourage any idea you may detect of taking the boy to public meetings, especially Exeter Hall ones-therc to be paraded as a Christianised prince. I have warned him against it but Tam a little afraid of the temptation when it comes close; and vAsh to guard against it. for it would be very bad for the boy

On ig April 1854, (he Maharajah and his party sailed for England. Lord Dalhousie's letter of farewell to his ward was delivered before departure along with a beautifully bound bible:

My dear Maharajah, before you quit India, I have been desirous of elTenng you a parting gift which in future years might some-times remind you of me.

Since that day when the course of public events placed you a litde boy in my hands, t have regarded you in tome sort as my son. I therefore ask you. before we part, to accept from me the volume which I should ofler to my own child, as the best of all gifts, since in it alone is to be found the secret of real happiness etcher in this world or that which is to come

I bid you farewell, ray dear Maharajah, and beg you to believe me always, with sincere regard, your Highness's faithful friend,

Dalhousie.^®

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CltAPTHR 3

Visits to Queen Victoria

T tiEMahirajah Duiccp Singh arrived in England in midium-mcr 1834. He had been gratified on the journey with the use of the khcdi%'e's carriages in Egypt and by twenty-one-gun salutes from Malta and Gibraltar. As Dalhousie had made clear, such official tokens of respect would stop as soon as he reached England; certainly Mrs Clartdgc, proprietress of Mivart's Hotel in Drook Street, organired no special reception when the Login party moved in. But there svas soon to be recognition in the form of a summons to meet the queen at Buckingham Palace and on the afternoon of i July the first encounter took place between the fifteen-year-old boy and the ihirty-fivc-year-old woman who was to be the greatest influence in hts life. In her journal. Queen Victoria made the first of many entries concerning her exotic subject whose background sbe had studied in a memorandum from his sponsor. Sir Charles Wood, secretary to the India Board: 'After luncheon, to which Mama came, we received the young Maharajah Duleep Singh, the son of Runject Singh, who was deposed by us after the annexation of the Punjaub. He has been carefully brought up, chiefly in the hills, and

was baptised last year, so that he is a Christian. He is extremely handsome and speaks English perfectly, and has a perfectly graceful and dignified manner. He was beautifully dressed and covered with diamonds. The "Koh-i-noor" belonged to, and was once worn by him. I always feel so much for these poor deposed Indian Princes. '

The queen was so impressed by the handsome young man in his dashing Sikh costume that she at once decided that he

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QUEEN victoria's MAHARAJAH

must be painted by her favourite artist, Winterhalter, who was then in London working on portraits of members of her family. Meanwhile, within a week of the first presentation, there was an invitation to a big dinner party at the palace, and it was perhaps to show off her latest find that she asked some of her closest friends and sat the Maharajah at her right hand. The entry for 6 July in the journal describes the occasion:

... Mama, &c, the Maharajah Dulcep Singh, the Abercrombies, & Etta, the Van de Weyers, the Duke of Sutherland, M&L's Churchill, Sir C. & L^{td} M. Wood, Sir G. Bonham &c dined. The Maharajah sat next to me & is extremely pleasing, sensible & refined in his manners. His young face is indeed beautiful & one regrets that his peculiar expression hides so much of it. He speaks English remarkably well & seems to prefer doing so more than his own language, which he thinks he will forget. So far he does not feel the cold, like the natives & is pleased with everything. He regrets India not being nearer, to enable more Indians to come here, 'as it would open their eyes'. The Maharajah seems to be very fond of music. Sir C. Wood told me that the young man had been horrified by the iniquities and cruelties he had witnessed that it gave him quite a horror of returning to the Sikh country. L^{td} Hattinge said that the Maharajah had been in the arms of Jwahir Singh, on an elephant, when the latter had been shot; his mother, the Ranees, was a very violent woman, who now lived in Nepal.

Of course she must write and tell Lord Dalhousie about her meeting with the young man who was so in some extent his responsibility; 'The Queen wishes to tell Lord Dalhousie how much interested and pleased we have been in making the acquaintance of the young Maharajah Dulcep Singh. It is not without feelings of pain and sympathy that the Queen sees this young Prince once destined to so high and powerful a position and now reduced to so dependent a one by our arms; his youth, amiable character, and striking good looks; as well as his being a Christian, the first of his high Rank who has embraced our faith, must incline every one favourably towards him. and it will be a pleasure to us

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VISITS TO QUEEN VICTORIA

It) do all v,e can to help him and to befriend and protect

“Tord Dalhousie. in his reply, wa, to take some credit for the creation of such a paragon: The Governor General read with grateful pleasure the sentnrents exoressed lecarding Maharajah Dulcep Singh. J

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Room at Buckingham Palace. The qu . progress, artist herself, would often drop in to see =p® rnal

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Maharajah. He was very aimiable 8t panent standmg and giving a silting of up to 2 houn. rovalty of

Winter^lter, who had painted the

Europe and was used to problems o pre easily elon-

Maharajah stand on a dais so t^ explained that he

gate his rather stocky figure. P . /s he was never

wanted his sitter to ‘grow into th P . factual.

to grow taller the effect is more ‘’J” ^ ^ whom she At the next sitting the queen met Mrs Logm.

QUEEN VICTORIA*S MAHARAJAH

described as 'a pretty, pleasing person, quite like a mother

to the Maharajah'. *We were present for a while at the Maharajah's sitting, which went very well,' the queen entered in her journal for it July. 'He was again in full dress. The portrait of me, set in diamonds, which he generally wean, was the gift of Ld Auckland to his father, as well as the ring with my miniature, which he had on today . . . We showed him a drawing of himself & a view of Lahore done by young Hardinge, which seemed to interest and please him; Dr. and Mrs. Login told me many curious & interesting things about the Maharajah, his family, & Indta generally.'* Two days later Pundit Nehcmiah Goreh, the Maharajah's convert attendant, was brought along for her to meet. 'Albert talked with him for an hour about the Brahmin and Christian religions,' noted the queen. TTicre was further informative ulk about India - 'Dr. Login says that the Sikhs are a fat superior race to the other Indians . . . that the women kept up superstiUon. as we both observed they did in many countries. They were very ill educated and schools for girls were much needed. If they could be started it would be an immense change.'* The queen drew a lively miniature sketch of the pundit and another of the Maharajah which she pasted in her journal for the appropriate day. She tintrf the Maharajah's turban {lus 'pec^ar headdress') gold and the Pundit's monkish robes a sombre brown.

During one silting the queen drew Mrs Login aside and asked her in a low voice if the Maharajah ever referred to the Koh-i-noor and if so did he seem to regret it. Mrs Login replied that he had often spoken of it in Indta but not since he had been in England. TTie queen then said that she felt a certain delicacy about mentioning it to him and, now that it had been re-cut, even of letting him see it. She asked Mrs Login to find out his feelings on the subject. While riding in Richmond Park, Mrs Login casually asked if he would like to see the Koh-i-noor again? The Maharajah's response was encouraging enough for her to make a favourable report toihequccn. In her fiefal/cfrienr, Mrs Login described them-

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VISITS TO QUEEN VICTORIA

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present, when a slight bustle neat -otgeous uniforms
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ing a small casket, which he which, still hold-
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ing, she showed to the Prince. Vvi"" fomething to
the dais, the Queen cried out. ttepperhurri?^^^
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him with sympathy not j,tily uncomfortable
say, it was to me one of the most seued
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me, lest I had unwittingly deceived her j ,,one about in his
seeing him stand there turning md . u jj once more
hands, as if unable to part with it again, n

QUEEN Victoria's maharajah

in his possession! At last, as if summing up his resolution after a profound struggle, and with a deep sigh, he raised his eyes from the jewel, and —just as the tension on my side was near breaking point, so that I was prepared for almost anything - escaped to seeing him, in a sudden fit of madness, fling the precious talisman out of the open window by which he stood! and the other spectators' nerves were equally on edge - he moved deliberately to where Her Majesty was standing, and, with a deferential reverence, placed in her hand the famous diamond, saying the words; 'It is to me, Ma'am, the greatest pleasure thus to have the opportunity, as a loyal subject, of myself tending to my Sovereign the Koh-i-noori!'

Dalhousie was not amused when he heard the story. 'Logan's talk to you about the Koh-i-noor being a present from Duleep to the Queen is arrant humbug,' he grumbled to Sir George Couper. 'He knew as well as I did it was nothing of the sort; and if I had been within a thousand miles of him he would not have dared to utter such a piece of trickery. Those "beautiful eyes", with which Duleep has taken captive of the court, are a modicum of eyes - those with which she captivated and controlled the old Lion of the Punjab. The officer who had charge of her from Lahore to Benares told me that hers were splendid orbs.'*

There was no reference by the Maharajah then, or at any other time, to the other magnificent jewels from Runjit Singh's treasury deviously ruined by the East India Company and presented to the queen after the Great Exhibition of 1851 as a reward for her interest in their exhibit: 'The jewels are truly magnificent,' she had then noted. . . The very large pearls, 22 in number, strung in 4 rows, are quite splendid and a very beautiful ornament. The girdle of 19 emeralds is wonderful and also of immense value. The emeralds, square in shape and very large, are alternatively engraved, and unfortunately all are cut flat. They are set round with diamonds and fringed with pearls. The rubies are even more wonderful, they are cabochons, unset but pierced. The one is the largest in the world, therefore even more remarkable than the Koh-i-noor. I am very happy the British

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Crown will possess these jewels, for I shall 'most joyfully mate them Crown Jewels.' In her graphic account of her confrontation with his Majesty the Queen, I have no hint that behind the

might lie a touch of irony. He was later to refer to the queen as 'Mrs Pagan', a receiver of stolen goods.

'Winterhalter has got the whole figure beautiful indeed a magnificent picture - the prince in his blue and gold striped Mouse

L decked with Jewels, her portrait in

row of pearls around his neck. and the a

of the conventional column and curtain, the number of plants of
the Punjab stretching to the pearls
handsome was her prince that the Madia.

must do a bust of him. which she had by Madia. just

as Mr Gibson in Rome had done his Jenm. She ordered
an engraving of the painting to be done.

to Winterhalter that he do the development-

princess of Coorg. for whose future she was already developed-

When the queen moved down to the

palazzo on the Isle of Wight, the Maharaja's family had

been asked to visit, inspect and be misused by her.

day of arrival - 21 August. The Queen
moment in the Crimean War and that a dispatch

had been discussing Lord Raglan's of

from Sebastopol with her. That afternoon

Newcastle- But she seemed in Paris, on the

as she went out driving with the Maharajah and her

In her journal she noted: back

We took a drive out toward the farm. who

Cowes & over the Ferry. We took the (Newcastle) &

had arrived early in the afternoon, also handsomely

the two Udies ... The Maharajah Singh (the older

dressed & with his jewels on. Speaking of the Maharajah
brother of Gholab. who was murdered), whom

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remembered well saying 'My uncle murdered him'. I observed that

he must have seen many terrible things. He answered sorrowfully,
with a very expressive look 'Oh, Your Majesty. I've seen dreadful
things; when I think of it it makes me shiver. I am certain they
would have murdered me too. had I remained.' The thought re-

ciles me to having had to despoil him of his Kingdom, & he is convinced of the wisdom of this himself. We were struck by his anxiety to improve himself, his intelligence & at the same time gaiety.

The following day she wrote:

We breakfasted in the Alcove, with the truly amiable Maharajah, who is so kind to the children, playing so nicely with them. We then walked him to the Barton & showed him all over the farm. the cattle, the machinery &c, the Utter interesting Km particularly. The Duke of Newcastle. & Dr. Login joined us- At J to j started with the 4 eldest cKldrcss. the Maharajah to all the Ladies and Gentlemen joined us to go on board the 'Victoria fir Albett where Sir j. Cnham joined us . . . We steamed out to the Needles, inside of wKch we lay 4e watched the gun practice on the 'Arrow', a new gun boat, just built for the purpose. Coming home I had a most interesting convenadon with the Maharajah, about his motives for becoming a Christian, encuely at Ks own wish. Ct with what determinadon, Ac in the 6ce of the great oppondon, he carried it through. I was much touched and impressed by his fervent & strongly religious turn of mtud. His nuer-in-Uw would hardly speak to him rince Ks converaon. They used to bss each other but now she only kissed his hand '& then bathed afterwards*. He stfl tKnks & hopes Ks nephew uHH become a Christian.

The queen was so 'touched and impressed' by the conversation she had with the Maharajah about religion that she committed her thoughts to paper in the form of a long memorandum:

I asked the Maharajah yesterday . . . wket had made Km think of becoming a Chnsdan. at «W,' was his answer, no one

whatever had urged him, qntnc die contrary - but when the Brahmin (who has since not had die courage to euti hu £uth and has become a shopkeeper at Benares) began reading to Km the diiferent stories in their rcligicsiaboisCows— & eating in the fingers

SO

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“ES:S£££?S|§|§

not granted 'thouph Dr. Lopm Y ..^hcn the act of

hiving portion! of the icnpnitc rei

the stoning of St. Stephm wji . 5 |,o,,iy jfter he wii

my eye,, &• I Slid this tehg.oo mm, Ik ttne ,,r hi,

determined to tike this ""P he sviz s^ fri'M 'h"

osvn people sviz i very bold one. Ho*m rr

he svd. not be illowcd to do it. thi . prevent

mycistes without skin for permission, them in mV room
 mi. Accordingly I proceeded ; "r" ; *TM; he oAe^A
 & sent my plying fellow. I said "Mind
 one of my irvinueime & stood mthed A ,
 whit you are trying to do d< w<t till ur. n t, ^
 iiii Go. I im yt. mister & you have ""*""5 , h,d done
 just whit I like. So I took th' hev wd. not allow him
 thit I grew bolder & bolder. Then at (i T hut allowed
 to embrace Christiinity-asthey wd. jy Carshorc both
 him to have instruction for 1 yt, from Mr Jay A Dr
 clergymen A at the end of thit he was rSh.
 Inn but prefers the Presbyterian 1^ tgi ii-ion The Presby-
 he belongs a, long a, it is a 'Sels^an'. I
 terian Religion the Indians call Tire Eng i jimple
 bim,ha,d.^,e,,,u,h,A.he,eell,,uKnl.elpom.,w
 and that to be a Christian A' to do cire ad y fervent, sincere. A
 wh. he entirely believed in A seem, A defects of
 religion, in hi, feeling,. He is aware "f ■""ft"" he Brahmins,
 the Catholic Religion, wh. resemble, he . he had
 Already at Lahore - when no l .up ^ows - tying
 the idea A laughed at their ""mbv tto tails He
 a string atound their tads, he m^ to pull "y """, of the
 eaptessed himself thoroughly for the stn ^
 Sunday-thinksthatirighi& wd. not u., nor yet ult"*
 but to sing hymns A play on the ^ ,,,,d] am weU pte-
 sacrament, & said 'I should not wtsh to fervent &
 pared.* Altogether I was much struck by the y

5 *

QUEEN VICTOSIA'S MAHARAJAH

Strongly religious turn of mind of the poor young Prince—
 When I told him how many people wd. wish to make a show of
 him as a Convert — & that t warned him against it & said I had
 spoken strongly to Dr. Login & Sit Osarles Wood cm the subject,
 he replied that was the very last thing he wished for — or had ever

thought of A: that I might be sure he shd, never allow himself to be used in that way; that Ms wish had been to come here quietly -that he did not know where he shd. ultimately settle & here his voice faltered, & his countenance became sad. & he seemed quite overcome as he proceeded & said 'Wherever I am I shall always pray for your Majesty's & that his feelings would ever be those of gratitude & attachment'. Poor Boy he touched me deeply. I said I always would take the greatest interest in him -as I always have done.

He is most anxious that missionaries shd. go out to India particularly to the Punjab - for that now was the time; that the idea of those Indians who were not converted from conviction was that by becoming Christians they obtained every earthly advantage, and eternal happiness hereafter, that there were hardly any Indians (of rank inferior) of respectability in India (he alluded to the Rajah of Coorg) who might behave very well here- but became the blackguards in India.'

It is dear from entries in the queen's journal that when that visit she thoroughly enjoyed the Maharajah's company and did her best to make him feel at home in her family circle:

August 23. Our amiable young visitor again at breakfast with IB. then the Boy took him to the Swiss Cottage, whilst I read in the Alcove . . . We rowed out to the 'Arrow' & examined the great gun & (the immense shells which are fired from it. But somehow we were not struck by the practicality of the whole thing. The gun boat draws so much water that the whole advantage to be gained by it, would seem to be lost ... At a little before 3 we all went to see the people marching to their tent before the Fete, & we walked through the tents to the dinner, Arthur taking the Maharajah's hand ... The gentlemen, Capt. du Plat, Mr. Gibbs, Mr. Saumaraz & Mr. Talbot (both of the yacht) took part in running races, playing leap frog &c. There was Blindman's Buff, foot-races, football with the legs tied, water-bailow races &c & dancing. At the last it was dipping for oranges, bobbing for gingerbread &c no one enjoyed it more than our young guest, who laugh*

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to which when he earned his Utopia, he

fond of him, in his arms.

August 14. After breakfast we walked with the Maharajah, taking him round the pleasure ground, showing him a flower, in the garden all of which he was pleased. He planted a fine dendara which was at hand. He took the earth with a spade. When we came in we took leave of the Maharajah, his warm reply to her, and his many happy returns of his approaching birthday, '1'

A would have eaten of age and taken the reward, "f own hands, had we not been obliged to take the Punjab.

Osborne they did sleep of him and he Phob's Phf d 'h

with the help of Prince Albert, an early camera enthusiast,
in clothes that had been sent for more
Prince Albert's photographs of the Maharaja, he

. professional and clearly show his every single-

period - the Sikh cashmere tunic

breasted velvet coat richly embroidered in British embroidery
pean-style trousers with a thick stripe of British invari-

down the seams. As well as other
ably wore several rows of pearls around his neck,

of long emerald and pearl earrings. r-h-f-milv 'I was

The Maharajah had almost been " " in her journal,
quite sorry to see him go, the " " j j, e may be
'I take quite a maternal interest in him P
protected, guided A kept as good A innocent

" " Dalhousie, who received an ,,

Osborne from Sir George Couper, ,, ct with the

the queen's mother, seemed to think that contact

QUEEN VICTORIA'S MAHARAJAH

great might indeed affect the Maharajah's 'innocence' and
give him ideas above his, or even the governor general's
station:

It is very good for the Maharajah to have seen the Royal Family
under such an aspect as you describe at Osborne (he wrote in reply).
But I am a little afraid that (his exceeding distinction will not be
for his future comfort. If he is to live and die in England, well and
good, but if he is to return to India, he is not likely to be rendered
more contented with his position there by being so highly treated
in England: and, after breakfasting with queens and princesses, I
doubt his much liking the necessity of leaving his shoes at the door
of the Governor General's room, when he is admitted to visit him,
which he will certainly be again required to do. The 'nightcapp' appearance
of his turban is his strongest national feature. Do away
with that and he has no longer any outward and visible sign of
a Sikh about him.**

Dalhousie would almost certainly have been among those
who disagreed with the queen on the matter of protocol
regarding their protegee, a question which she had been con- sidering
since his first visit to Buckingham Palace. Where exactly should a
deposed maharajah, allowed certain honours under treaty, stand in the
complicated hierarchy of European society? Charles Phipps, who had
become responsible at the palace for matters relating to the Maharajah,
projected the Queen's view that it would hardly be right and proper in
feeling, that he should be treated as any foreign nobleman as that
would mean his placement after all foreign ministers and charges
d'affaires. Her prime minister, Lord Aberdeen,

regarded his position as 'anomalous and exceptional' and recommended that it 'was expedient for the Queen to shew him such special marks of regard as would be due to a Foreign Prince in whose welfare Her Majesty felt an interest'.* Other weighty opinions were sought and given and in the end it was agreed what the queen had already decided -that the Maharajah should take the rank of Prince, equal to those European princes bearing the title of Serene High-

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That an Indian prince should take precedence over an English prince caused some raising of eyebrows and the queen's indulgence brought disparaging hands at the East India Company, who may have been expected to follow up his first letter with the oblique suggestion that she was spoiling him:

Lord Aberdeen is rejoiced to learn that Your Majesty

reason to be pleased with the Maharajah's

Majesty's gracious condescension is a great

Majesty, as well as of deep gratitude on the part of

Prussia. But while indulging the feelings of the

begs to remind Your Majesty that too great a leniency may eventually prove disadvantageous to the Maharajah himself. Any such

honour as would forbid the possibility of a similar

your Majesty's subjects might very

Majesty will perfectly be able to request Your

be carried; and Lord Aberdeen ought to be

Majesty's pardon for presuming to advert to the subject.

In this instance the Queen was not prepared to tolerate

this most delicate corrective and expressed her sentiments in the

With regard to the young Maharajah. The Queen wishes to

observe to Lord Aberdeen we have not treated him in extraordinary distinctions to him but have Aberdeen's

strict accordance with the principles of the British Government whom

message in which he stated that treated him as

the Queen took an interest & we accordingly to Royal we do not intend (not speaking here of the P. of Nassau

Hr's-l. kcPce. Ed. of S-Weimar. the Pcc. of Wttsc

who mixed very freely with his free intercourse

apprehend this would in any way intend paying

with Society. He has been on a visit which

some more in the country generally, he did visit the small ones." is perhaps as well for his own sake - though he likes

The visit to Lord Hardinge, referred to by the Maharajah the start of a tour organized by Login to give

some idea of country life and to inspire him with

QUEEN victoria's MAHARAJAH

to settle down in England on an estate of his own. Hardinge, who had been governor general when the Sikhs were first subdued and had succeeded the Duke of Wellington as commander-in-chief of the army, lived at South Park in Kent. The queen had given the Maharajah a hunter for his birthday. Which had been sent down in advance, and he went for pleasant rides through the local byways. Some puzzlement was caused when he propounded Colonel Sleeman's eccentric views about the common ethnic origin of the Sikhs and the Kentish Jutes. Highlights of the Maharajah's progress were a visit to Scotland, where he stayed with Lord Dalhousie's daughters near Edinburgh, and with Lord and Lady Morton at Dalmahoy; there was a week with Sir Charles Wood at Hickleton Hall in Yorkshire; Earl Fitzwilliam demonstrated the latest in agricultural machinery at Wentworth and Lord Hatherton showed off his new system of irrigation in Staffordshire. He made a number of new friends and impressed everybody with his candour and simple good manners. Sir Charles Wood, who was keeping an eye on him, reported to the queen that the Maharajah was 'one of the most charming young men he knew'.

Lord Dalhousie. when he had an account of the trip from Login, was less than sanguine about the idea of the Maharajah becoming an English landlord in his own right. 'I am altogether incredulous as to the probability of the Maharajah ever entertaining such a wish. The habits and idea of his whole life, from his cradle until now. have been little calculated to inspire him with a desire for incurring the trouble of managing a landed estate, and I do not believe that all his visits to Lord Hatherton's irrigation, or to the great cattle show, or to the tile drains and deep ploughing of East Lothian, are likely to create this taste in his mind.'

On his return there was a visit to Windsor, duly recorded by the queen in the journal:

November 13 1834; Albert went to see the Maharajah Duleep Singh, who had arrived. Mama Arc. the Maharajah (as well as Dr Login) came for a night. Sir H. & Ly. Seymour. Sir Hugh Ross.

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Mr, Murray &c dined. The Maharajah sat next to me at dinner, dressed in his beautiful clothes with wonderful pearls & emeralds. He liked his trip to Edinburgh very much & also visited Sir C. Wood

Ld Hatherton. His studies are proceeding well ...

November 14 : The Maharajah breakfasted with us & afterwards talked with Albert about his studies. He is very anxious to team, which he had not been until he realised how much he was going to associate with Europeans. He had learnt nothing from books, till he left Lahore, it being unusual for the Sovereigns of the Punjab to learn . . . We took the Maharajah over the State Rooms, Library & Armoury. He seemed particularly pleased with some very valuable Indian illuminated works in the Library, one of which Dr. Login had brought over with great difficulty in & even at great personal risk from the Khan of Herat. We took care to avoid showing the Sikh cannon sent by Ld Cough.

Dr Login's tutorial role was, however, not to go unappreciated or unrewarded. He was soon to be knighted, though he modestly disclaimed that he deserved it. 'It has been as much a spontaneous act of Her Majesty's favour,' he wrote Dalhousie, 'as it is possible to be, and can only be considered in the light of a compliment to the Maharajah and a token of Her Majesty's high approval and encouragement.'

The next visit to Windsor was early in the New Year.

Jan 26 1855; Mama A.C. the Maharajah D-S (having over Sunday) dined, A the latter sat next to me. He does not seem to mind the cold, A has been trying to skate. He is getting on well with his studies : has got a new tutor, bright, A young enough to be a companion for him.

Jan 27: Our young guest was at breakfast, looking extremely well, talking away with our Doyi, anxious to hear about their lessons. He is very fond of carpentering & turning, also of fencing, which is not known in India . . . Albert went out shooting A took the Maharajah with him, A in the afternoon he walked with me, Bessie W. & Eleanor P. He was in his beautiful golden coat, lined with fur. We walked through the Slopes, by Adelaide Cottage, to the gardens, where we went into some of the Greenhouses. The

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Maharajah was very talkative. He said he was learning to dance, & meant to do so while he was in England - though not in India. He will not be going out into Society this year, but next year before he returns to India, which he will do, visiting France, Germany, and Italy on the way ... Dinner as yesterday, the Maharajah leading

me in, & I sitting between him & the Duke of Argyll. The former was gay and talkative, talking about his own country, its peculiarities & customs. His anxiety to learn & improve himself is very great
Jan 28: A sharp frost. After our breakfast we walked out with all the children & our amiable young Indian friend, who is most popular with them. A few flakes of snow fell when we went out - service at 11, Maharajah being in our pew with us, which seemed like a dream ... The poor boy is evidently nervous, and the early experiences of cruelty, murder & violence have made a deep impression upon that young, gentle and timid mind.

Jan 29: It had again frozen hard in the night & was rather dull. The Maharajah took leave of us at 10. He certainly has a very beautiful face, & such a charming expression.

The queen was concerned about the Maharajah's reaction to the cold weather and cried to insist that he wear woollen underclothes. 'Indeed, Ma'am I cannot bear the feel of Banne! next to my skin!' Lady Login quotes him as replying. 'It makes me long to scratch and you would not like to see me scratching myself in your presence!'^

The Maharajah was next to see the queen at a levee at St James's Palace, one of many royal occasions he was to attend in the future. The queen observed, in her journal for 29 March 1841, how he was 'sparkling with jewels'. At dinner that week, when as usual he was seated next to her, she noted he looked 'very well', adding 'but he is timid in society & retiring though always pleasant'. Count Bismarck, the Prussian ambassador, complained about the Maharajah's placement, invariably next to the queen, and was sharply rebuked for his impertinence. 'She is astonished,' the queen wrote to Clarendon, 'at any Ambassador pretending to dictate who is to be at the Queen's table. . . . She trusts to Lord Clarendon kindly & civilly but firmly pointing this out to Count Bismarck.'
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and showing him the inutility of making himself disagreeable, always finding fault with everything, which the Queen knows he does, for he constantly writes home every sort of things which produce ill blood at Berlin.

The Logins, after moving from Wimbledon to Richmond, established themselves in Kew at Church House - a 'grace and favour' house acquired through the influence of Lord Dalhousie's friend Sir George Couper. This information caused the ailing governor general to write to Login; 'You have done a tidy bit of business in getting a house out of the Court, and I advise you to rest content with that, and not seek for more "marks of consideration", or they may be anxious for his return to Fettes.'^*
Fettes

Meanwhile, it having been agreed that a public school or university 'would not do at all', the Maharajah's educational programme proceeded under Login's direction and a report of progress was sent to Colonel Phipps at the palace, for onward transmission to the queen; 'I am happy to say that

the Maharajah continues to go on very well. He has fairly settled to his studies and takes greater interest in them than he did. Besides giving a couple of hours daily to classical and mathematical masters on four days a week I have arranged to give him object lessons very frequently ... I propose to make the Crystal Palace his special school of instruction.'**
Practical demonstrations in botany, lessons on the harmonium, and visits to places of educational interest rounded off the curriculum.

We strongly dissuaded Dr. Login from engaging any English Tutor for the Maharajah {the queen, who had experience of such matters In her own family, entered in the journal], but only Masters, which Dr. Login being himself the Tutor, he said he could do. His task had been a very pleasant one, owing to the very amiable disposition of the Doy & his extreme truthfulness - an exception to Orientals in general-that his own good sense & the principle of the Queen's command should overcome the natural indolence of disposition, inherent in all Easterners. I observed how important it would be that he should not fall into bad hands, which

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Dr. Login hopes to be able to prevent; but it would depend a great deal on who was with him. He was very resolute & determined & had shown a great deal of determination in coming here, many of his people having tried to persuade him not to do so.*

Login's further report to Lord Dathousie indicated that Prince Albert, also, was concerning himself in the problem of educating an 'indolent Easterner*:

The Maharajah continues to apply himself to his studies, and has made much more progress than formerly, because he now puts some heart in his work. At present he devotes his attention to the German language, which, from its affinity to the Sanskrit and Hindu, is, he thinks, more likely to be useful to him than French. Perhaps his intercourse with the Prince Consort has been a spur to his application in this particular branch. He has great facility in acquiring languages, however, and this is likely to be very useful to him if he travels. Among his other accomplishments, he is learning photography, with much success, and has been greatly encouraged by the Prince Consort, who has taken great interest in his progress.*

Dulcqi Singh, in fact, became an ardent photographer and was apt to present his friends with their often unrecognizable 'likenesses'.

Since boyhood the Maharajah had shown a keen interest in field sports and he was enthusiastic when Login suggested renting a sporting estate in Scotland, as was becoming fashionable in those days for gentlemen of means from the South. Casde Menzies, in Perthshire, the property of Sir John Menzies, was decided on. As the dusky laird of the fortress-like retreat, the kilted Maharajah was to become something of a local legend, as were his retainers, who included six wounded veterans of the Crimean War. His valet, Thornton, formerly coachman at Fettesburgh, and Russell, the

buder, also donned the kilt, the latter sporting the royal dress tartan Complete with silver embellishments. Another servant, a handsome young dragoon who had been in the charge of

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the Light Brigade at Balaclava, was one of the sights of Perthshire as he strode through the village with all his medals jangling on the Maharajah's blue and green livery.

Guests at the house were mostly friends of the Logins and included senior officials from the India Board who might one day come in useful. Though the Maharajah was to meet in neighbouring houses older men such as Lord Drcadalbanc, who asked him to stay at Taymouth, and such notable figures as Archbishop Tait, William Wilberforce, Delancey of Tlie Timms, and the great Quaker John Bright, the only person of his own generation he made a friend of was Ronald Leslie-Melville, heir to Lord Leven and Melville.

In Scotland. Login was distressed to find that his ward's interest in falconry showed no signs of lessening and he would exercise his birds by flying them at grouse. Login considered the sport involved unnecessary exertion and tried to keep him concentrating on his shooting. It was some time said of the Maharajah that he showed indifference to suffering, so the Logins, as well as other peripheral advisers, were on the look-out for what they called 'signs of an Eastern nature'; the story of 'the poor woman's cat' became a celebrated contribution to the myth. Lady Login's version told how at dinner at the castle there was a 'good deal of chaff about a cat which 'someone', presumably the Maharajah, had shot while returning from the day's sport. Login said that he hoped it was not some poor woman's cat, to which the Maharajah had replied that he did not care if it was as it had no business there. Afterwards, in the drawing room, some of the ladies were saying how cruel the Maharajah was, but Lady Hatherton's intense admiration for him prompted her to try to prove everyone wrong. She disguised herself as the village woman whose cat had been killed and was 'discovered' in the billiard room bewailing her loss and demanding compensation. Alec Lawrence, Sir Henry's son, was moved to tears, but the Maharajah stood unmoved, his eyes blazing with anger. Finally, shaking a billiard cue at the importunate woman, he burst out; 'Yes, cry! Cry and you

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are tired. Don't let your brutes cross my path. Not a penny shall you get from me!' Then he roughly showed her the door, at which point Lady Hatherton dropped her disguise. The Maharajah's look of consternation and embarrassment was quickly brushed on one side. Waiving his profuse

apologies for discourtesy. Lady Hatherton declared that she had 'only admired his princely air of command', and felt him to be 'every inch a king'.**

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CHAPTER 4

The Rejection of Princess Gouramma

Not long after the Maharajah arrived in England, the queen tried to forward one of her special little projects - the making of a match between the Maharajah Duleep Singh and her thirteen-year-old goddaughter, Victoria Gouramma of Coorg. Charles Phipps, who was perforce beginning to take a personal interest in the fortunes of the queen's young proteges, wrote to Login from Osborne concerning the possibility of an alliance:

The more I think upon the subject, the more it appears to me that these two young people are pointed out for each other. The only two Christians of high rank of their own countries, both having the advantage of early European influences, there seem to be many points of sympathy between them. They are both religious, both fond of music, both gentle in their natures. I know that the Queen thinks that this would be the best arrangement for their

union

this no happiness could exist. Of course the Queen takes a great interest in the little Princess, as Her Majesty considers herself as more than a Godmother to her.*

Gouramma was at the time living in the care of Mrs Drummond, the wife of an Indian army major who had ingratiated himself with the Coorgs at Benares. The rajah was regarded by India House as an 'old reprobate' and his influence over his daughter as 'dangerously Hindoo'.* He was really quite a well-meaning man and liked to see his daughter as often as he could. Mrs Drummond, however, kept her away from him as much as possible, even taking a house in

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Edinburgh. The two young Indians had already met on several occasions, at Kew and at Castle Menzies, and anxious accounts had been exchanged between their elders on the development of the relationship. The queen wrote to Lord Dalhousie: 'The young people have met and were pleased with each other, so that the Queen hopes that their union will in the course of time come to pass. Her little God-daughter

has been here lately and though still childish for her age (she is nearly fourteen) is pretty, lively, intelligent, and going on satisfactorily in her education. Of the young Maharajah . . . we can only speak in terms of praise. He promises to be a bright example to all Indian Princes - for he is thoroughly good and amiable and most anxious to improve himself. ^ Probably because he felt he was being pressed into what he regarded as an arranged marriage, such as he had been led to believe was not the European way. the Maharajah swore to Login that he was determined to remain a bachelor. When the queen learned of the reluctant suitor, she consulted Lord Dalhousie, whose reply from Ceylon, where he was resting on his way back to England dying of cancer, earned undertones of disapproval of an interest he regarded as undue:

Lord Dalhousie will be most willing to give you his best advice and aid to the young Maharajah Duleep Singh, in whom your Majesty is pleased to take so much interest. The boy has the qualities .ah^disposiions of Eastern blood and if he can be formed and can be kept a well-bred and Well-conducted gentleman, it is the utmost that the ihosj sanguine could expect to make of such material.

The Maharajah^ frow of celibacy will not prove irrevocable, and Lord Dalhousie is to ex^reir respectfully his entire concurrence in the view which Your "M^iTOy has always taken of the alliance which would be best for him. Very early in life he showed that he could be obstinate beyond all beUcf when he pleased; and if he does not himself acknowledge the advantage of an alliance with the Pnness, no power on earth will make him form it *

It was not until the end of 1856 that the queen came to realize that her little plan was unlikely to succeed. She had the matter out at Osborne:

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THE BEJECTIOK Of fRISCCSS COURAMMA

TheMahjrjj»bbr«kf»«cd and lunched with u».J After Church] Albert had a long convenaion with the Maharajah, who poured out all hit fcclipt Ac withet to him. which Albert seemed pleased with &r thought very sensible. I have not the time to enter into all the details, but wilt Just allude to the principal ones, some of which ire embodied in a Mmdum. which hat been sent in to the East India Company. Hit principal wish « to become of ape, A to have more money allowed to insure his life for his eventual children. should he marry, A to purchase land in England as well as in India, to be able to move about, without hiving to get the permiiiton of the E.I. Company. Thi*. civilised n be now ii. he feels much the need of. He wants to spend his timein India A England. or rather more Srotland, as be feels be could no longer live exclusively in India - his health even not being able to stand it. He also spoke ofrequiing company. Sir J.Lopm being too old for him. mentioning a very nice young man, nephew to Ld Leven, who is now going to travel with him. Albert pointed out to the Maharajah the dangers of falling into bad hands, which he is quite alive to, & dreads more than anyone. Albert said that a good wife

would be the best companion for him. to which he replied that he did not wish to be hurried or pressed about that, as he did not wish to marry till he was 24. It was such a difficulty. He could not marry a Heathen, An Indian who would become a Christian only to please him, would be very objectionable. Were he to marry a European, his children would be half-caste, which would not do. Albert then spoke of our idea regarding Gouramma, to which he replied that he could not marry her. -that he liked her very much, thought her a very nice little girl, whom he would like as a friend but not as his wife. She did not at all come up to his idea of a person he could marry. He must have time. & he wished to see the world. Albert told him he must beware of designing mothers, who might try to catch him, Aifhelmthcarr. it might be 100 late. He replied that he was also quite aware of this. Poor boy, I feel so much for him, for he is so good & so well principled. But I am sorry about Gouramma, who I know would wish to marry him.... The Maharajah is so civilised & like other people that one forgets what he was.*

It had been agreed that the Maharajah should 'come of age' at eighteen, instead of sixteen as was the practice in the 6\$

QUEEN Victoria's maharajah

Sikhs. He therefore attained his majority on 4 September 1856. From the beginning the East India Company had shown no great zeal in granting the allowance to which their ward was entitled under the terms of the treaty. They had not yet submitted an account and had been withholding sums of money, made available after the death of family pensioners, to which he thought himself entitled. Now that he had reached his majority, he became more assertive and began to press the men of Leadenhall Street for an immediate and more generous settlement. At the same time, chafing perhaps under the earnest supervision of Sir John Login, he wanted freedom to travel without permission and to live where he liked instead of having his residence directed or approved.

Sir Charles Wood, to whom he sent his application for a review and an accounting of his affairs, was slow to reply, and there was a suggestion that he wait until he was twenty-one, like everyone else in Britain. On the other hand there was the question of whether he was a British citizen at all. The Maharajah became restive. The queen, who had a copy of his petition, was keeping an eye on the situation, and could see that her young friend was becoming nervous and depressed by the uncertainty over his future. She took matters into her own hands by putting her own views in a memorandum to the president of the Board of Control:

Osborne. Oct 11th. 1856.

Upon the Maharajah Duleep Singh.

The Queen has seen the Memorandum which the Maharajah Duleep Singh has sent to the East India Company. She thinks all he asks very fair and reasonable, and she trusts that the E.I. Company will be able to comply with them. As we are not complete

possession since '49 of the Maharajah's enormous and splendid kingdom, the Queen thinks we ought to do everything (which does not interfere with the safety of her Indian dominions) to render the position of the interesting and peculiarly good and amiable Prince as agreeable as possible, and not to let him have the feeling that he is a prisoner.

His being a Christian and completely European, (or rather more
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English) in his habit and finally render them much more agreeable and at the same time more easy.

The Queen has a very strong feeling that «every Hindu should be done to the welfare and improvement of the poor fallen Indian Prince. When the kingdom was taken from them, and who are naturally very lenient to the traitor and kindred.

Amongst all these however the Maharajah stands to a certain degree alone, from his aversion and dislike from his having lost his kingdom when he was a child, entirely by the fault and deceit of his father.*

Lord Stanley replied that any claim by the Maharajah on the British government would be contradicted 'with a disposition to deal with it in a spirit of liberality and fairness'. He ended: 'The question now at issue must be reported on by the local authorities previous to decision here.'^ Which was his way of saying that he was getting a difficult matter off his hands by passing it on to the government of India.

To further the Maharajah's education, and perhaps to take his mind off problems about his future, the English decided that a long holiday on the Continent would be to everyone's advantage. His friend Ronald Leslie-Melville, now an Oxford undergraduate, was persuaded to come along, and John Bright and his daughter Helen would join them at Genoa. The travellers set out with a few servants in attendance, including Thornton and Mr Cawood, the Maharajah's secretary. They went by train to Marseilles, which was then the end of the line, and on by carriage to Cannes.

The Maharajah was in top form. At Nice he was entertained by Lady Ely, and met the young Lord Dufferin, who as viceroy of India, was to feature in his life thirty years later. In Rome he caught a glimpse of Pope Pius IX, who made a special benediction as he passed in his carriage, but was thought by the Maharajah to have 'made snooks'* at him. Joining the penitents ascending the Santa Scala at St John Latтан on their knees, he bet he could race them all to the top. At Tivoli he sat in a fountain and told everyone he was Neptune. He followed hounds along the Appian Way and
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at a ball at Prince Dona's court King of Bavaria and Queen Christina of Spain. He flirted with the ladies and twice deceived himself in love. The fashionable Mr Gibson, who had already sculpted the queen, was prevailed upon to start a bust of him.

Venice proved to be a failure. Both the Maharajah and Ronald Leslie-McLville went down with malaria. Ronald became so ill that his parents were summoned from London. It was mid-May before the Maharajah arrived back from Switzerland, where the doctor had sent the two of them to recuperate.

Whilst the two young men were resting at Geneva, news came of a mutiny by native troops at Meerut, forty miles north-east of Delhi. On Sunday, 10 May 1857, sepoys of the Third Cavalry ran amok through the town. Delhi fell within twenty-four hours. The rebellion spread along the valley of the Ganges to Bareilly, Benares, Allahabad and Cawnpore. It was not until the end of September that an assault force of Sikhs, Gurkhas and Afghans subdued Delhi, by which time three thousand British and Indian soldiers had been killed. The Sikhs had proved to be a vital element in the suppression of the mutiny, though their inspiration was said to be more a desire to get at the throats of the Muslims in Delhi than a sense of loyalty to the British Raj. A number of people known to the Maharajah were involved in the affair - Frank Boileau, his boyhood friend, was wounded at the siege of Delhi; Sir Henry Lawrence, whom he remembered from Lahore days, died of wounds in the Lucknow Residency; Tommy Scott, who came to Lucknow to take up a commission in the Indian army, found that his mother, brother and sister had been killed there. At Futteghur, also in the Lucknow district, the Maharajah's house, which had been left in the charge of Sergeant Elbott, formerly Login's assistant at the Lahore treasury, was ransacked and badly damaged. Elliott, his wife and children, and Walter Guise, the Maharajah's former tutor, had tried to escape, along with two hundred others to the imagined safety of Cawnpore. They had piled

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into boats. but by the time they arrived, the Ruler, Nana Sahib, had changed his allegiance and ordered his men to massacre everyone on the river. Bhajun Lai, the Maharajah's first religious instructor, remained loyal and did his best to save what was left of the property at Futteghur.

With many of his friends among the victims, people thought it odd that Dulcipp Singh was never heard to express any outright condemnation of the rising, and the queen's friend, the Earl of Clarendon, went so far as to complain to her that the Maharajah had shown 'little or no regret for the atrocities of the Mutiny ... or sympathy for the sufferers.' Lord Clarendon may not have appreciated that by this time the sufferers were Indians, against whom the British were

taking savage reprisals, despite the instructions of the governor general, Lord Canning, who was given by his compatriot what was meant to be the pejorative cognomen of 'Clemency',

The queen was quick to defend the Maharajah from the charge:

Though we might have perhaps wished the Maharajah to express his feelings on the subject of the late atrocities in India - it was hardly to be expected that he, naturally of a negative, though gentle and very amiable disposition, should pronounce an opinion on so painful a subject attached to his country with all his amiability and goodness - and that he can also hardly, a

deposed Indian Sovereign, yet very fond of the British rule as represented by the East India Company, and above all, impatient of Sir John Login's tutelage, be expected to sit to hear his Country people called /ends and means, and to see them brought in hundreds, if not thousands, to be executed. His best course is to say nothing - and he must thank God. It is a great mercy he, poor boy, is not there.'®

Clarendon, who had probably heard the famous cat story, wrote again saying the Maharajah was rumoured to have a cruel nature. It looked as if he was trying to influence the queen against him. She once more rose to his defence:

The Queen is much surprised at Lord Clarendon's observing that
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■ from wh. he .he M.h.r.i.h »» riA^r from

edmission cruel'. He must have been very suddenly furious ^ true, for if there was a thing for which he was remarkable, it was his extreme gentleness, and kindness. We have known him for three years (our two boys intimately) and he would have shuddered at hurting anything ... His valet, who is a capable Englishman and has been with him ever since his twelfth birthday. That he never knew a kinder or more amiable gentleman. The Queen felt that people who do not know him well have been misled away by their pre-conceived very natural feeling, and distrust of an Indian, to slander him.*'

However, even Login was not above ^

Maharajah's constant lack of concern about the fate of his friend! in India, and Clarendon had quoted him ■■'. "PP" of his contention. Login, when challenged, explained his

position to Phipps:

I have been a little disappointed that he has shown so much indifference on the subject of the treacheries and cruelties in India by the mutineers - and that he has carelessly admitted me

propriety of abieaining from mme of the usual gaieties at this season, in conjcquenee of the ud imclhgenee we received from In u of many whom he knew there, and to whom - like hw late turn . Mr Guik. and other*-hc had often exprewed goodwill; and I haw endeavoured to find excuse, foe this want of sympathy m t c natural tendency of young men of hi* age. in hi. allow nothing tointerfere with their sports and amuwment. ^

Lord Clarendon therefore asked me what the Maharajah moug t of the« oecuiTence* in India. (could only say candidly that he i not show very great interest in ihem, and that at thi. season t* whole attention was taken up with shootmg and other field sporo- but nothing I said to his Lordship could I think lead him to consi er

the Maharajah to be of a cruel disposition.

He may sometimes, when he see* that any of the senommes which he expresses cause surprise ot wonder, exaggerate them a little for amusement, but always with a tendency rather to deprecate than exalt himself in the estimation of those he converses

It is very likely that this impression may have ansen Maharajah's own convenation or remarks he may have made to

TO

THE TIEJECTION OF PRINCESS COURAMMA

the Ladin whom he met at Taymouth who are at thw time more than utually obiervant of any mitt in character which they consider to be peculiarly oriental. ... Hit habit of talking (about training falcom). and a certain expresiion about hit mouth, which a lady at Taymouth pointed out to me at very indicative of Oriental character, have no doubt Jed them to attach an idea of cruelty to his disposition, which may, i feat, be injurioui to him ... The Maharajah certainly had no sympathy for the Hindoo and Mahomedan sepoys in India, nor any other with than that we should effectively put them down. He does not contidcr them to be his countrymen, nor refrain from expressing abhorrence of their condua whenever it is mentioned, but although he cs'cn goes so far as to suggest modes of punishment for them ~ perhaps at effectual at ridiculous ('High caste Brahmins to be employed as tumspio to taau beef for English soldien!") hit feelings are not to strong as to overcome hit natural indolmcr . . .*

It was not until 39 December 1857 that the Court of Directors of the Ease India Company offiriaJly agreed that the Maharajah might manage btsown affairs. Login's representations in favour ofhh ward had not endeared him to that establishment; in addition, he had expressed disapproval of many of their actorjs in India, and given the palace information and advice that contributed to the decision taken to end the company's rule the following year.

Now that be Was free from restraint, the Maharajah imme-

diately decided he would go off on a trip on his own account. He selected Sardinia, which he had heard offered good sport for his hawks and the chance of bagging a wild boar. The queen, like an anxious mother, watched over this trying of his wings; 'The Queen and Prince would hope to see the Maharajah before he goes abroad,* Phipps wrote to Login. 'Would Sunday next be too late a day to name for that purpose? The Queen desires me to say, that she hopes the Maharajah will not think of going abroad without somebody as a sort of A.D.C. as companion. Her Majesty thinks that to go quite alone would hardly be compatible with his rank and station .

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Queen Victoria's Maharajah

Their meeting took place on 14 February 1858 at Buckingham Palace. 'After luncheon saw the poor M. about his journey to Sardinia and Corsica, & taking a gentleman with him. He suffers from our trying winter & will have to remain abroad until the beginning of the summer.' *he entered in her journal. There was another meeting the following week. At meal, the Maharajah sat next to her at dinner; The M . . . talked very tentatively and nicely about India. As though the climate of India were really governed by me. It would be very great; as things were before, it was not understood. He is looking for someone to travel with him.'**

The Maharajah agreed to take a Dr Parton, and on 1 March, with a small entourage and a load of equipment. He set off. He fitted his wife to Lady Login; ' . . . Dr Parton, I think. It is a very nice man; he seems to know something about everything, and enters into all my amusements. I fear I shall not enjoy this trip as I had hoped, as they try to please me too much, and I fear very much that if I do not take care I shall be spoiled for ever afterwards. They act towards me as I daresay Sir John remembers. As Dr Drummond used to do to the Duke of Argyll. He used to call him "Hit Gacc" at every word, and if the Duke happened to drop anything, he used to rush forward to pick it up . . . '**

The shooting in Sardinia, which the Maharajah thought looked 'very like India*', was not much good. He came to the conclusion that 'there is no place in the world for sport like England'.* On his return he was happy to find that Login had finally negotiated the lease of Mulgrave, a fine estate in Yorkshire, with a considerable acreage of grouse moor.

Mulgrave Castle, a handsome battlemented building in grounds laid out by Capability Brown, belonged to the Normanbys. As Lord Normanby was ambassador to Florence, and his son in Nova Scotia, he was happy to rent his place to the Maharajah while he was serving abroad. He was related to Charles Phipps, and it is likely that the introduction came through him. An earlier Phipps, Constantine, had received another dusky visitor at Mulgrave in the previous century.

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Omai, the 'noble savage' brought back from Tahiti in a ship of Captain Cook's fleet. The estate lay above the cliffs, near Whitby, and apart from the grouse moor, had some excellent mixed shooting.

Early in September, the Maharajah wrote to Lady Login from Mulgrave. She had lately been persuaded by the queen to take charge of Victoria Gouramma from her previous guardians, the Drummonds, under whose jurisdiction she had been caught out in a romantic 'scrape' with a stableboy, which had caused a local scandal and come to the ears of the queen. 'I wish you would arrange to pay me a visit soon, before you get tied down with the Princess ; for I do not think it would do any good to bring her here. Any time will suit me, and please invite any of your friends you would like to meet you. What do you say to the Cunninghames, Alxanden. Pollocks and any others you like?'^

Colonel [now Sir Charles] Phipps was one of the first visitors, and must have enjoyed himself, for his report enabled the queen to write in her journal; 'Nov. J2 1858: Sir C.Phipps has been staying with the M. for a week at Mulgrave which he has taken for some years, & said nothing could have been better managed nor anyone do the honours with greater tact or (with) presumption, than did the M. He was extremely high principled & truthful with most gentlemanlike & chivalrous feelings, but rather indolent, & not caring to learn or read, this due probably to his Indian nature.'

Not content with his Yorkshire moor, the Maharajah, now that the lease of Castle Menries had expired, was renting a lodge from Lord Bteadalbane, Auchlyne, on Loch Tay. It was probably while he was up at Auchlyne that summer that he met a visitor to nearby Loch Garry House, Loch Tummel : the flamboyant sportsman and traveller, Samuel Baker. Baker, later to be dubbed 'Baker of the Nile', was twenty years older than Duleep Singh; the two of them, however, got on so well that they planned a shooting expedition that would take them through Hungary and down the Danube. They would go that very winter.

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of large game in mid-winter in a wild country'^

time they reached Bucharest, where they

Florence Finnian, the Maharajah had had enough both of the climate and of Baker. Lacking Baker to hit own device^* the Maharajah pushed on as quickly as possible to Comtan^^^ where he felt too ill even to accept an invitation to dinner from the British ambassador. He moved on by the next day to Italy and so to Rome, where he knew the Logis were just then due to arrive.

The Logins were surprised to find the Maharajah already waiting for them. They had come with two of their children, but above all their trip was envisaged as an education for Princess Victoria Gouramma, who had settled down well in their care. The Maharajah told them, according to Lady Login, that 'his expedition had been rather fine, his guide - an old fakir of oriental cities - had not a wise counsellor to a young and inexperienced •

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in that corrupt oriental city of Bucharest, Samuel Baher had led the innocent Maharajah astray.

The Logins hoped that he had come in such a hurry to Rome in order to see Victoria Gouramma. But perhaps his experiences with Baker had made him more wary of gossip, for he told Lady Login that he was afraid of visiting them too often 'in case of false reports being circulated'. He said so far as to say that it was very unfortunate that the princess was there at all.

I have avoided throwing the Princess in his way [Lady Login reported to the queen], and quite agreed with the determination he at first expressed, of not getting their names mixed up together. But by degrees he has come back to us on the same footing, and

consundly spends his evenings with his familiar intercourse, without any invitation, and the circumstance of our boy and being

with us brings him more into contact with the Princess. He has been talking to me more than once about his future prospects, marriage etc. and seems fully alive to the difficulties of marrying an Englishwoman of the birth and rank to which he is

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The Countess Your Majesty in the Prince it not Sout itf effee. upon him, and create the kind her end in by the Prince of Wales, » remarked upon to him. et proof of Your Majesty's favour."

If not exactly a beauty. Victoria Gouramma, a lively young girl, and something of a flirt, attracted the young men. even the fifteen-year-old who was, then in Rome with the governor.

The Maharajah seemed to disapprove of her

nest, but, for whatever reason, it was soon

domestic situation had developed in

Lady Login regarded as 'a bewildering and

Zumriff. in fact, a bombshell. She explained it all in a

long letter to the queen:

Madam. When I had the honour to
lately. I did not anticipate the necessity of, to

frareSrhTwKtrSIIA.UmSes^ousoflosingnottme

ago. at a small party, and I

some time. The next day he arrived for JL-cn, much improved in
and, after saying that he was very well, in

manner and appearance, and that he felt it only right and

at his countrywoman, he said that he was not at all

honourable on his part to tell you of her lately,

her to be his wife; that, from my making him

he had made up his mind that he would in an

happy, as he did not feel the confidence in her he would

be distressed as I am, for I had

ducting himself so as to make me feel more than

repented I could never marry her. ^

pity for her! She would not be a safe wife for me

to trust her! and I dread so "unhappy about himself.

He then went on to say that he felt very unhappy
that he saw the necessity of changing as became his profession
duct, and of endeavouring to do so

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of Christianity, and his position in society: but that his temptations
were so great, and he felt himself so weak to withstand them, that
unless he could have some definite object in view, and some reward
to strive after, he feared for the future; that up to this time his life
had been aimless, that he felt he had no desire to bind him, no home
or kindred that he could claim as his own, but that if this could
be altered - if a hope could be held out to him that he might, at
some future period, be permitted to try to win the love of one
he had loved and known since childhood, he would undergo any
probation it was thought fit to impose on him. and strive, with
God's help, to make himself worthy of her (Here he named
a young relative of my husband, who had her in his care and
charge.)

On observing the effect this utterly unexpected announce-
ment had upon me, he became so confused and nervously excited
that he could not express his meaning clearly, and therefore begged

I would give him no reply at present, but allow him to come next day and talk it over calmly, and, in the meantime, if we should feel inclined to reject his idea (as he feared might be) that we would reflect deeply on the effect such a decision would have on him.

I hope I need not assure Your Majesty that neither my husband, nor myself, had the slightest suspicion of the Maharajah's sentiments, and that we were quite unprepared for his request, which caused us the greatest anxiety and pain on her account, even more than on the Maharajah's; and though we felt ourselves in a very peculiar position towards him, as his only Christiana's parents, and in a great degree bound to give him every aid we could, still, at the same time, this young girl's happiness and welfare must be paramount with us.

When he came the next morning, he said much of the great difficulty he should always find in becoming acquainted with the real disposition and character of any young lady he might meet in society; that in no other family could he be domiciled as he was with us; that he had known her temper and disposition thoroughly, and watched her closely, and had long felt that she was in every respect what he wished for in his wife; her truthfulness and purity he could rely on, and her religious (feelings he revered. But if we, whom he revered and regarded as parents, could not accept him into the family; if we, who had taken turn from his own country and people, and got him off (though at his own request)

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from all prospect of marrying with his own race, should refuse to regard him as one of ourselves, to whom could he look?

I earnestly hope that in the reply we have given we have been rightly directed, and that, with God's blessing, the event may result in good. We have told the Maharajah that in our peculiar situation, and as Christians, we cannot altogether refuse his request, though we must adopt such measures as shall, as far as possible, render our present concession as harmless as possible to the other person involved, as she must be our first consideration; that in the earnest hope that this may lead him to a higher view of the duties of his position, and of his Christian profession, if it was found that for the next three years his conduct gave us confidence in his sincerity, and in the depth of his present feelings, and in the event of his obtaining Your Majesty's gracious approval, we would allow him to plead his own cause with the young girl, who would then be obliged to make the decision for herself. In the meantime, he bound himself, on his honour, not in any way to make her aware of his sentiments - we, on our part, being careful that they shall be as little as possible of each other in the meantime.

We have told him that we hold out this inducement to him, solely in the hope that, before this period expires, he will see his true position more clearly, and meet with someone more suitable in every respect as well as in no wise connect such a destiny for our charge. We felt that to deprive him of all hope, considering the position we have held towards him, would have been both unchristian and

injudicious, and might have led to him becoming utterly careless.

There were many circumstances which I cannot detail by letter, which have strengthened us in resolving on this reply. My first impulse was to return straight to England, instead of going on to Naples, in the hope of being permitted to lay everything personally before Your Majesty. On second thoughts, knowing that Your Majesty desired that the Princess should be as long abroad as possible, and that her health would be benefited by a stay at the seaside.

I have decided to adhere to our first intention. Need I express to Your Majesty with what deep anxiety I shall await at Naples the expression of Your Majesty's opinion on the course we have thought it our duty to pursue with respect to the Maharajah?

I have the honour to be, Madam, with most dutiful and grateful respect. Your Majesty's most humble and most devoted servant.

Lena Login.^^

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Lady Login then proceeded to take it out on poor Gouramma, giving her a lecture on the 'unfortunate impression' that her freedom of manner^* had conveyed to the Maharajah. According to Lady Login, 'she was so abashed to find what a gentleman's impression of her really was, that I had every hope the lesson might prove an effectual cure ... I was extraordinarily pleased and touched, by the humility with which she received my lecture.'^^ As the queen had once hinted that a foreign nobleman might make a suitable match for Gouramma, Lady Login suggested that she 'could arrange

to make the acquaintance' * of members of the Prussian court.

in attendance on the mad King Frederick William iv. then staying in Rome. Efforts in this direction came to nothing.

The awaited reply from the queen, voiced through Sir Charles Phipps, reached Lady Login at Sorrento and must have reassured her that she had taken the proper course of action:

Her Majesty fully comprehends, and sympathises with the confidential feelings with which you must have received the unexpected declaration of the Maharajah, and Her Majesty thinks that, considering all the circumstances, the decision at which you arrived was not only the soundest and the most prudent, but also the kindest and the most likely to be beneficial towards the Maharajah. If his attachment to this young lady is deeply testified and really sincere, it may afford him a sufficient object to strengthen and render permanent his good resolutions, and thus establish a strong motive for good, so much wanting in an indolent and self-indulgent, though generous, honourable, and upright nature, such as his. The Queen has therefore no doubt that you answered him both

wisely, and in accordance with that affectionate regard which you and Sir John have ever shown him. Her Majesty hopes that the conversation you have had with the Princess may have a good effect, and that a marriage with some other eligible person may be effected. It would be desirable that any such prospect, with a person whom you would approve should in every way be encouraged. It is most probable that union with a sensible and kind husband, whom she could respect and look up to, might have the most desirable effect upon her character. ^*

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The Queen had always had her eye on the Maharajah, the Prince of Wales

sent her word that he was showing an interest

in the Catholic religion. She replied, I do not mind

I would like him to send me a card. Mahara-

When the king inquired for her. ^^^

C., T., 'sooemo' to his tone ^lyh|e-^

one who cares for me'. 'A. there is a

bracelet for, he continued, please. whose

pair of earrings and bracelet, 'd'that to

name, I fear, I dare not mention. He thought

Widdon girl to stay with him at Mulgrave, promising Udy

one's hair, adding: 'I ask them to give

it'. He did not, and Lady Logan was to see that

sent her friend she told Phipps, 'lamenting

his proneness to yield to temptation and his

weakness and folly'. 'H', 'TM* 'u^o, <hU tn-y
diately,' she ended, in the hope, Council, and I
settled for his future guidance by the travel through

believe he means to apply for permission to travel to

India for a short time.' ^

The Maharajah returned to England ^ response

1859. On the twentieth he ""'j''

from Lord Stanley concerning his financial affairs.

I have the satisfaction of your letter, and I am glad to receive

your letter of the 10th inst. in relation to the

date Jan. 1859 respecting the petition, recommendations
allowances, and that in accordance with

QUEEN Victoria's maharajah

therein contained, I propose on behalf of H.M.'s Govt, to fix these
allowances, at an annual rate of Company's Rupees - (C.R.
250,000) to commence from the date of your majority
according to the Laws of England. Adverting however to the letter
addressed to your highness by the Court of Directors on 29th. Dec.
1857 acceding to your request to be allowed to take upon yourself
the management of your own affairs. Her Majesty's Govt, are will-
ing. from that date to fix your allowance at Company's Rupees
(C.R. 150,000) instead of the 120,000 heretofore drawn by your
Highness. It will be understood that the permanent allowance of
Company's Rupees (C.R. 150,000) (which will be paid in India)
is to include the sum formerly paid on account of the Fetteghur
Establishment and is to be in satisfaction of all claims.*

'In satisfaction of all claims* was a phrase the Maharajah was
to subscribe to a number of times in future negotiations with
his master. He was by no means happy to have his annual
allowance fixed at a mere £25,000 a year and asked that it
should be raised to £75,000. His request was regarded as 'un-
reasonable'. As Sir Charles Wood remarked; 'With £25,000
he is far above the average of peers and noblemen in this
country and indeed I believe that the overall income of the
House of Lords is under £10,000.* So, £25,000 it had to
be, with £200,000 to be settled on the Maharajah's heirs, if
any.

Now that the Maharajah was a man of property, with
Auchlyne and Mulgrave to keep him busy with shooting and
fishing and entertaining his friends, the queen again suggested
he should appoint an equerry to look after his affairs. The
sort of man he wanted, Phipps advised, should be 'a gentle-
man by birth, education and position, agreeable in his man-
ners and knowing something of English Society.*' The
Maharajah who had had enough of supervision from Login,
continued to resist the idea, but when his former governor
proposed that Colonel Oliphant, described by the queen as
an 'agreeable, sensible, straightforward man',* should come
and visit him at Auchlyne and they could see how they got
on together, he did not object. Oliphant, formerly chair-

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mjn of tht Coun of Dirccion of ihc Ea.i Indii Company,
had lately met 'heavy looes' and vv^ . willing lo
Maharajah's affain for a salary of £800 a year '
glad I have follosved Sir John's advice and ^

Oliphant here,' the Maharajah svtote to '-""'1™

seeL quite happy fishing, though he m«ls

snort the water being to low. I have been av.a>. at Susie,

In' orde' to get a shot'tl the deer, and I have been s.uing up
at night watching for them, svhen they come ^

Colonel Oliphant does no. give any trouble ^

.hinkinBofdolngasSirJohnadsdsedandathtnshj.oeome

.0 me when I require an equerry, but .. r“ " "
and then, no. .0 live with me always. I tbinlc this would meet

""D^lll^vllrl^a^lti^qiahhadstillno.had^ns^^
from the India Board. 'My patience ts ,5

to Login. 'Do. for Mbe. get the Cos

with me and pay my arrears as soon « P-"";" * ;o;

they will take meihrr year to settle my '

to stir them up for I dread getting into c •

The same letter, written Eaton Hal . where he w«
staying with the Grosvenors. indicated nHextwci

aga'in fancy-free. 'I am goingtoaball ttaTv^mg.^and expect
(tell Lady Login) to meet the lov-ely Lady

The Maharajah spent most of the winter ‘ ^ ^

grave, where Lady Normanby was allowed .0 return when
ever she liked. She wrote to her son m Canada.

Wetayed a'fotmigh. a. dear old 'to

ircmcly. Nothing could be more courtco jccmed very

the Prince. He left us very much to

anxious that we should comidCT oursc ves what I was

place beautifully. The only thing to comp j think

Lay. complaining of ro you. to ^quantity of

he sees himself he has too many. Th ,,,_wth of the under-

Hares and Rabbits at he trees did not shoot

wood. I always wondered why the shoots of the trees am

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QUEEN victoria's MAMARA/AIf

up again a» in other pJaeo. and I found our thii year that they get eaten dowTi at fast at they appear

ConsequentlytheCovergeobadforPhratantJ-Hchashad wonderful tpoti with Partridges, killing 7JO brace in the first six days iw'th two guns, and he «>•* he could kill IfO any day be bleed. He had a Pic Niconeday at the Grotto and another at the Hermitage. He is going to build a grembouse at the South Slope, and already made a very good Hot House behind the House. In short I think he teems anxtout to Improve and leave a good reputati<>i behind him. He was very anxious we should prolong our stay, but I thought ft woulnorberighttofixourselresonhimanylouger — The Prince has put a very good Billiard Table into the Library. Itstandsvery well there, tho* it is not exactly the thing for a Library, but I suppose it is the only use he could make of it; at any rate I do not suppose he is a reading man.^'

In another letter Lady Normanby wrote:

The Maharajah b very well inclined, and a very good Chnsdan if they w3l not ride him loo hard. The only thing is he is very like you. and says he cannot find anything in the Bible thatoblign him to juve enfy cne wif. He don't like that. 'Suppose.' he uid •when I have bem married to her I find I don't like her. what must I do?' He u half Indian st3l. He used to make the most extraordinary mixture for his dinner every day, which was cooked by his Indian cook ... fint he had a large plate of ncc, which bye the bye I advise you to try as it is excellent. It was first slightly fied as for curry, and then thrown into a Pan with a little Nutmeg. Coriander Seed and Black Pepper, writ pounded and only about a pinch ofi t, but well mixed with melted butter, very hot, into which the rice must be thrown and stirred untO each gram is separate . . . then put the curry upon it, but he used to add curds and a sort of mixture that looked like soft spinach, but was sage or some other herb. AH this he used to eat with Cbuppity — I chink he called it — and a sort of Indian girdle-cake, s'ery heavy and made with fat instead of butter ... So you may cry your hand at it and see how you like it.**

Nowthat there was Kttlelifelihood of a mamage between the Maharajah and Gouranuxu, Lady Logm had asked the queen totelievehcrofhet dotiesas a chaperon, smee to bring

*4

Tilt RtJtCTION or PHINCFSS COURAMMA

■hem toBCther lud been her leaion for lakinR the job. The young pVincot had accordingly been placed m ■"C Colonel and Lady Catherine Hateoutt. who

Park in Su«ex. Lonely and miietable with her ttnet
 cujrdiam. poor Gouramma lud lunied for comfort to the
 fiafl-and ha^d fallen in love with the

man named George Chtiitmat. Gouramma wat caught by
 the H.tcoutti in the middle of the

heritayi,butwithadtettinggownoverherpe..coatnWhm
 ehallenged the had pretended ahe wa. planning
 and wai about to leave foe tbe .ration. An
 toher lover .tating 'My own darling and ^
 dear .weet angel' had given the P'''''''';- rr "f
 a volume of Longfellow', poem, and told he maid tha if
 they .ent her anywhere elw. and "'-J'
 George, the would deattoy henelf Lady C«b« ,
 outraged and 'declined to take any furt e p , j
 The eonten.u. of opinion wa.
 and a p,yehiattic doetor wa. called m ^
 more sensibly, thought she was ovcr*cx i ' . « 44 -rhe
 mended a trip abroad to avoid tbe growing .caudal me
 Prince Con.ott took the view that 'he
 to European civilized .oeiety may have depteated and ma
 'Gtrr: "future teemed .otaHy compromiwd until
 the Maharajah made a dccWvccontnbut.on to It by a mccin
 ful pieee of matchmaking. He introduced 1>"

John Campbell. Lady Login's than
 with several children. He was about thi y y
 Gouramma but they were sufficiently ^ ^ j ^n.
 to get engaged. The Login, teceived >>■' 'd.
 thu.iaim and complained that they bad n
 Tlie queen, howxver, wa. delighted to hear that
 eult goddaughter wa. at laat wttled and a qu
 ablerthough not brilliant home wa. .ecured for her .
 marriage took place in July i860. August i860.

The Maharajah was up a. Auchlyne for 12 ftug

QUEEN victoria's MAHARAJAH

On the thirteenth he killed ninety-three brace to his own gun. With two friends they bagged nearly three hundred brace in three days. Colonel Oliphant, who was now officially appointed to the household, went up to Caithness to look over another property the Maharajah had his eye on, belonging to Sir George Sinclair, with fishing on the Thurso river. Sir John and Lady Login came up for a visit, but they had left before the arrival of the newly-weds, Victoria Gouramma and John Campbell. The Logins brought with them the Maharajah's boyhood friend Frank BoUeau who, as second-in-command of the 2nd Sikh Cavalry, had been severely wounded in the siege of Delhi, three years earlier.

The Maharajah, especially in moments of loneliness, had given much thought to what remained of his family in India. He had managed to get a small pension allocated to the Shahzadah, and he had sent the Pundit Nehemiah Goreh to Katmandu to find out what sort of life his mother was now living. The pundit, instead of going himself, sent a letter which was intercepted by government agents, and he was forbidden to communicate with her, except through the British Resident. Report had it that the Rani Jindan was half-blind but still belligerent, and surrounded by unsuitable friends. Spurred on by a new sense of filial duty and the growing realization that his mother's role in the rape of the Punjab had been inspired by patriotism, he decided that the time had come to concern himself with her well-being.

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CHIAPTIK 5

Mother and Son

Tow A»DS .he end of 1859. Duleep S;"ek

wriUCTi to Logm:

The Governmen. wiU be " » f,,T' sS
Miharanee of Lahore, un!e« they o province*. Jung Daha-

toillowheraperminent iuhmnee in p ,,ion>. and

door long! ro get nd of her. for P ,hiU

declaro that if .he ever f"" " " ,,f" ,,rive a .liver from hi.
never be allowed to re-enter Nep • rupees per annum,

govermmeni. He jj,, her man.ion, .which

which he grudge. quarrelling, and .he eon-

re, trun=u^7o.rUpVhi.vanirp..

The Maharajah-, P'-

Neither the queen nor Colonel P j j Maharajah
someeifor., were "fXfore l^in^hn m -h'

was not to be .nBuenccd. ju j ^ f q her WndnCis

queen saying he mm. go. He. hanked net

and ended with .hi, q^^ lrl eful and happy

fu.u.e destiny I shall ever re.a.n he

tecolledon of every j it shall be my most

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QUEEN VICTORIA'S MAHARAJAH

Apart from organizing his mother, he wanted to find out how he felt about India, its people and customs, from all of which he had been cut off* for almost seven years. He was now thoroughly English, and he found on arrival that at first he could hardly understand a word of his native tongue.

There was also sport to be looked forward to: he brought three gamckcepen with him and his baggage included a rubber boat with a swivel duck-gun as well as the latest in rifles for tiger shooting.

He was accorded the regulation salute of twenty-one guns, and an ADC to Canning, now designated sneeroy. went on board ship to welcome him and take him to Spence's Hotel. The authorities evidently wanted to keep him happy and retain his goodwill: there were dinners at Government House and rcepiiom organized by the Anglo-Saxon establishment of the great commercial city. 'He has an escort.' Lord Canning wrote to Sir Charles Wood, who had asked him to do his best for the Maharajah. 'In short, I believe he is altogether satisfied as far as the dignities are concerned.'^ Although the poltrical implications of the Maharajah's return were played down as much as possible, there was some apprehension that he might, perhaps with the encouragement of his mother, attempt to return to the Punjab and make trouble with the Sikhs. To someone on the boat, who had asked him ifhe intended to visit bis birthplace, he bad replied : 'The English Government does not trust me.' At their first meeting, Canning, who had already met the Maharajah in England, asked what he meant by the remark. The Maharah.embarrassed at finding that his words had been reported, replied hotly: 'If you do trust me. why do you not let me go where I like?' Canning explained with sweet reason that it was not that they distrusted him, but that the nsk of his presence in the Punjab was too great as it would certainly stir up old memories in the volatile Sikh community possibly causing unwelcome demorutrations; and he did not wish to have forced on him 'the necessity of restraining and perhaps punishing persons for showing a feeling which, in itself, u

mother and son

natural and creditable, *'5'' '^'jcc\ '^That the

according to Canning, wi foundation waa in-

viceroys apprehension had Calcutta on its svay

licated when a Sihh "STM" formed part of an allied force
back from China where it had Canning

against Peking. The ten numbers of them

wrote, 'and on isvo or thr« "I@ , sight of him.

went to the hotel and sat *1 , . - <,i jjnt\$ and went

Upon his showing himself they ma

away. On one "" toermined to see their

orderly and not m uniform, but very

ex -Chief. * -.ui.;, mother was soon to take

The Maharajah's meeting wuh his noihc

place. It was ten years since their

likely that the extracted the . fo^ Maharajah was

front the reunion. . ouchingly;

paying great respect she-ievil nevertheless, and

but, Canning mantamed. Shelias jp cun-

will make her impt«siOT the was soon filling

tinue together in India. As fo , machine him to chew

his head with ideas of his destiny waf there to meet

betel nut and paam The ^

him and hear of life m ^*'6^ ' his uncle on

to visit the country: perhaps request for a

his disillusion with the "B-" "tagLed'key to an
Christian bible was no more than b

invitation to leave India. ..nbaodV in Calcutta, and

The Maharajah was except at snipe

not clinging at all well. He had had another m

outside the city. He wanted one ^{Un}alter [^]
quick succession; he would a . . . would install

"expedition and afterwards, » spurting head-

her in Eastern Bengal and make it p,,,i,ct's move-

quartets. but the B"""""]™, Calcutta and go

ments. Or again, he had he planned to

off to Mussoone to shoot. „Use the government.

visit Delhi, too close to the Punjab to please g

QUEEN victoria's MAHARAJAH

and make his way across India to Bombay. On the other hand
he felt he disliked India so much that he was half-inclined
to leave immediately, in time to reach England for Derby
Day. He also spoke of becoming a member of White \$ Club.

He was encouraged by a letter from Sir John Login, who
was handling his claims in his absence, which implied that
the India Office might be won over.

Sir Charles Phipps told me that now was the time to push the
Government (Login wrote), as I should come in for all their blame
in having the matter agitated, and that you could suffer no damage
by my proceedings ; and as he knew that I did not much care for
their annoyance, so long as I had a good cause, he thought it b>
far the best opportunity for you to get the question advanced. ^
you see how coolly I am recommended to fight your battles well,
be it so: it will be a great happiness to me if I can get our people
to do what is liberal and right, to enable me to hold up my head
before you, and to say that I am not ashamed of them. My dear
Maharajah, it requires some knowledge of our national character
to understand us; Because the Council of India do not benefit a
single pie themselves, and they stand up for the interests of *oo
million of subjects, they will fight until they have not a leg to stand
on, while all the time they have the most perfect good will to you
and would like to see you happy. However, it still all come right
yet; I have every confidence.*

As the most tempting lure he could think of to encourage a
return to England. Login included in his letter a description
of a sporting estate with a good record for stalking then
up for sale - Applecross. in the north-west Highlands. The
Maharajah replied;

Oh! It is too cruel of you to write to me, so soon after coming
out here, about an estate in Scotland; for now I cannot make up
my mind to stay a day longer than is necessary to see my mother
Your letter has almost driven me wild; so you may expect me back
sooner than I thought when I left. I have got the Shahaadah here

on a visit . . . He is a very quick, intelligent lad, but a thorough naive in his manners, I regret to say. He wishes to marry another wife already He tells me he has no belief in his own religion.

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MOTIER AND SON

and would like to go to England, if he could, without his mother knowing! Now, I must tell you that India is a beastly place: I heartily repent having come out. For I cannot get a moment's peace with people following me, and all my old servants bother the life out of me with questions. The heat is something dreadful, and what will it be in another month? I hate the natives, they are such liars, flatterers, and extremely deceitful. I would give anything to be back in dear England, among my friends: I cannot think or write about anything else but this property. Oh! buy it for me, if possible . . . They gave me a salute of twenty-one guns, and you will be amused to hear, an escort of two howatt!

Even the attraction of Applecross, an almost inaccessible deer forest in Ross-shire, had not entirely made up the Maharajah's mind. A few days later he wrote to Login: I am trying to get a house outside Calcutta for my mother.

I have not yet settled whether I remain over the hot weather here, going up to the hill, and then returning to England. I am to have elephants from the Government for tiger shooting. It is already very hot. Shaheadah is very anxious to come with me to England, but does not expect to manage it.' In a post-script he added: 'Since I wrote this, my mother has declared she will not separate from me, and as she is refused permission to go to the hills, I must give up that intention; and I suppose, we shall return to England as soon as I can get a passage.'*

The Indian government readily gave permission to the rani to accompany her son to England. So pleased were they to be rid of her that, fearing she might change her mind, they offered to return her jewels and awarded her a pension of a year conditional on her departure.

Mother and son arrived in England in early summer 1861. Sir John Login, with indefatigable energy, had found a suitable house for her two doors down from his own in Lancaster Gate. He used his influence to clear her jewels through customs without the payment of duty, and helped in every way possible. She told him, to his amusement, that had she known what he was really like, and how extremely kind and useful he would prove to be, she would never have arranged

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QUEEN VICTORIA'S MAHARAJAH

to have him poisoned, as she had at one time contemplated.

The rani's household proved a source of wonder to the local urchins, who would peer through the railings doubt into the basement area, watching the Indian cooks at work over their pots, and sniffing the pungent smells of curry. Lady Login was soon to pay a visit. She found herself ushered into a large, heavily curtained room, in semi-darkness, to be confronted by an ancient half-blind woman huddled up on a heap of cushions on the floor. It did not seem possible to her that this could be the famous 'Messalina of the Punjab' she had heard so much about from her husband. Yet sometimes in conversation, when interest was aroused, there would be signs of a once shrewd and lively mind.

Within a few days she returned the call and Lady Login, in her habitually lively style, described the occasion in her Recollections ;

My drawing-room ... was on the first floor, and I shall never forget the sight, as I viewed it from the landing, of the Maharanee being hoisted by main force up the long flight of stairs by several servants! In her case this piece of Oriental etiquette was perhaps not unnecessary, not only on account of her infirmities, but because, in addition to being a heavy woman, she had wished to pay me a special compliment by appearing in European dress, and as she could not entirely abandon her native garments for English under-clothing, she had donned an enormous bonnet with feather, mantle and wide skirt over immense crinoline, on the top of all her Indian costume! No wonder she was utterly unable to move hand or foot, and found it impossible to take a seat, encumbered with the crinoline, and two of her servants lifted her bodily up out to the settee, where she could sit comfortably cross-legged, her crinoline spreading all round her like a Cheese!*

The final touches to her toilette were added by the timely arrival of the rani's jewels from the Customs House, which delighted her so much that she had lavishly decorated herself and her attendants with an assortment of necklaces and earrings, strings of pearls and emeralds, which she had arranged as a sort of fringe inside the band of her bonnet.

Naturally the queen wanted to know all about the Maha-

MOTHER AND SON

My husband's trip to India and on July invited him to dinner at Duckingham Palace.

TV., Major Col. Oliphant. Dined in Wellington
She wrote in the journal Sat. Eng. Und

was very ill at Calcutta, and she said "I felt as if"

she had been deceived, and she had been deceived

have compromised him. revolted. I asked - asking

i.,pri.one5. He had found hi, ar;^^ r in h^
 for a bible - wnhing to learn. & not Micvms
 own religion. He has brought his rn being seen. &: fre-
 free from ptejudiec, not ,o Chutchl The
 qucntly wear, European drc,, ^ thought were much
 Sikh, generally dr many of the Hindoos. ” ,e
 len ,rL than they ured ro be. .hour rhe.r observance,.
 That autumn .he Maharajah, now
 mother, took her up to stay at Mulgrave, ,r6i* T have
 to tent. He wrote to Lady login f,,y
 been having capital ,pott thtw ^ Uke-
 braec daily ... I want your adwe f » "6
 nns of my mother (in *^5,^, Mnn^anby saw very
 begtosendtheirkind regards. a y
 little of the tani - 'She keep he«e f very
 house with her attendants, shew .tockings, some-
 dressed in a dirty sheet and * ® ^ , rovercd with jewels
 time, decked out in Cloth of ^ an^
 ... It rather seem, to me svhen I q
 flitting about that "The Heathen are come
 inheritance." . Maharajah
 Login did not think tt app P . .vcn when
 should spend so much time vvit into neigh-
 she was al Mulgravc advsscd him
 bouring Lylhc Hall which she " “ l.hefs in-
 the Maharajah is getting thoroug y , pp
 fluence,' Login wrote to Phhttp. urapart from
 saving him from dtsercdil. K' com-
 het, as had been arranged, and to tine
 panion, of his own age to lesidc with him.

QUEEN VICTORIA'S MAHARAJAH

It was clearly the rani's influence that caused her son to introduce an explosive new element into the dialogue with the India Office. . . I very much wish to have a conversation with you about my private property in the Punjab and the Koh-i-noor diamond,* he wrote to Login the day before leaving Mulgrave for Aulic. ** This was the first mention of 'private property' and an indication that the rani, who would have been fully informed on the matter of Runjit Singh's ancestral acres in the Punjab, was suggesting he lay claim to them as of right. Nor was that her only suggestion — she put into his mind that one day, according to an old Sikh prophecy, he would return in glory to rule the Punjab .

The rani's 'undue influence' over her son also encompassed the vexed subject of marriage. Lady Login, who may have felt that she was the one who should have been consulted first, commented waspishly on a letter from the Maharajah to her husband, which read: 'You will be glad to hear that my mother has given me leave to marry an English lady, and I think I have found one who will make me a good wife' 'Mark how the man of twenty-two has resumed the native custom of asking his mother's leave' was Lady Login's response. Unfortunately the Maharajah failed to propose to the lady promptly, and lost her to another, but he consoled himself with an invitation to shoot over her husband's moon.

Having invested him with her new order, the Star of India, the queen 'talked to the Maharajah about his not going back to India, and the advisability of his buying a property in England and getting a good wife, whom we thought we might be able to find for him . . . After dinner,' she continued in the journal, 'a long talk with Col. Oliphant about the Maharajah, whom he praised highly, but was most anxious he should not return to India . . . Col. Oliphant spoke of his affection for his mother, but it being important she should not live in the same house with him. He hoped he might marry.' **

Only the deepest feelings of grief after the death of Prince Albert prevented Queen Victoria from offering some

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comment on the Maharajah's ditto new tendency. Sir Chitlei Phipps answered Login's report on her behalf.

I am very sorry to hear what you say about the Maharajah - nothing so destructive to him as that he should mistrust his mother's, or any other native influence. He « Boole " he lost; and, if I were in your place, I should be

a moment, forsake any position which gave me " "V ° "

him. It could possibly tend to prevent him doing anything foolish

I do not think, if it were pointed out to him, he would

wrong. I should have answered you some days ago,

conceive what this house is a torment! For every time when he

has an atmosphere of sorrow, and that is a bad medium in which
to transact business.*

Everybody was relieved when in June 1862 Duleep Singh

wrote to Sir John Login: 'I charmed Wood on

mother's return to India, and will send Sir C
the subject at once, to have a place <of f',/°, ,,,d
I must see you soon, and will go up before I have to attend
the marriage of Princess Alice at Osborne, to which I am in-

It however some difficulty in his life

to approve her return: Sir John Wrennebro* of
Henry, and now a member of the Indian Council, wrote to
Login: 'There can be no doubt whatever that it is better
is better out of India than living in that country, and

is sure to do mischief; here. I admit she will be equally me
evil genius of the Maharajah. It is for the sake of the

for India to decide whether to return to Phipps

Login, on receiving this 'e' Phipps' '8 PI ?^.' i., ui, c agree with

for support. Phipps stepped from Win

you that it is most important for the return to

that his mother should not be prevented under this

India. I feel very much that, as long as her charac-

influence. He will be a good man. I am glad to

ter, instead of advancing to become an Englishman
as I thought he was doing.* @ . ^-.jdine

On 10 March 1863, the Maharajah went to the wedding

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QUEEN VICTORIA'S MAHARAJAH

of the Prince of Wales to Princess Alexandra of Denmark
at St George's Chapel, Windsor. On the stroke of noon, the
great West door was flung open, and Duleep Singh entered
at the head of a procession of foreign princes. His view of
the ceremony was almost as good as the widowed queen's,

watching in seclusion from her specially built 'box'. The Maharajah's tuibaned figure can be clearly seen in William Frith's ten-foot painting of the event, but Frith, who liked to sketch each figure from life, had to pursue him for over a year before even the first sitting could take place. While he was attending Frith's studio, the Maharajah insisted that his jewels be deposited each night at Coutts Bank.

The Maharajah, Frith thought, 'had a face of a handsome type, but somewhat expressionless*. He found it strange, he wrote in his autobiography, to be painting 'one who was a bom ruler of a bigger country than England, who bad been dragged aass the sea. jewels and all. to assist at the wcdtng ofa barbarian on a little Western island, and - what he may have considered an additional punishment — he was made to sit for his likeness, and compelled to lend his treasured jewels to be copied by an infidel whose neck it might have been his delight to wring if it had been in his power.' There was no cause, it seemed, for Frith to worry: "He is a thoroughly good young man", the Maharajah's servant told him, "b^ reads no book but the Bible, which he knows from cover to covet."

Pending a decision from India House, the contentious rani was installed in her own establishment at Abingdon House, Kensington, with an English lady companion. The Maharajah, who it was agreed would be more easily kept happy as the proud owner of an English estate, was encouraged to buy Hatherop Casdc, a Tudoresque manor in Gloucestershire, at a cost of X^rSj.000 advanced by the India Office. It was not long, however, before he discovered that the fenced-in grassland of the Cotswolds, though excellent for chasing foxes, did not lend itself so wcU to the conservation of game. Mote appropriate, he thought, would

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be El%'cdcn Hall, newly on the market, where the open jtubble of Eajt Anglia could be relied upon to harbour a multitude of partridges.

On t August 1863 the Ranijindan died, the Indian govemenfj decision still unfortbconimg. The Maharajah hurried dossTs from Loch Kennard Lodge, in Perthshire, and Sirjohn Login was urgently summoned from hi* place of retlrem«it in Felixstowe to advise on what to do. It waihc who arranged that her temaim should be temporarily held in an unconse- crated vault at Kensal Green Cemeterj' until such time at her son might take them to India for the prescribed funeral rites. As well as the weeping servants of the rani, a number of Indian notabilities then in London attended the funeral; a Methodist minister read the funeral service before the cortege left Abingdon House, and the Maharajah overcame his natural nervousness to make a moving speech comparing the Christian religion to the Hindu, and giving reasons for his

own beliefs.

Two months later, on Sunday, 18 October, Sir John Login went upstairs after family prayers quietly humming 'lover of my soul'. Minutes later he was dead. According to Lady Login: 'Dulce Singh's grief at my husband's death was indeed most sincere and unaffected, and many at the graveside spoke afterwards of the touching eloquence of his sudden outburst there, when he gave vent to the words, "Oh, I have lost my father* for he was indeed that - and more - to me!" And I remember the sort of tense expression on his face when, on his arrival, having come immediately when he got the sad news, he asserted solemnly: "If that man is not in heaven, then there's not a word of truth in the Bible!" '22

The Maharajah, who had just bought Elvedon, and had not even had a chance to show it to Login, suggested he should be buried in a fine family mausoleum he planned to build there. But Lady Login wanted her husband at Felixstowe, and the Maharajah offered to pay for the erection in the churchyard thereof a granite and marble monument, the

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designs of which were sent to the queen, at her suggestion, for approval. The Maharajah visited Lady Login at Felixstowe before leaving for India, combining his trip with some duck shooting on the Deben, for which he brought his own punt-and-duck-gun. He arranged that Login's pension should be continued in her name.

It had been a sad year for the Maharajah. He had lost his mother and his 'father'; his faithful valet Thornton had died as well as his secretary Cawood. In addition, Gouramma, who had lately given birth to a daughter, his goddaughter, was dying of consumption. His love affairs with English ladies had all gone wrong, and in his present sanctimonious mood, he had come to the conclusion that even if he found a lady of society to marry he would only be led into a life of idleness. He told Lady Login that what he wanted was a very young Eastern girl, 'a good Christian wife', he could train up to be what he called 'an help-mate'.

In a sudden spirit of enthusiasm he made a bet with Lady Login, committing its bizarre terms to paper: 'I promise to pay Lady Login £50 (fifty pounds) if I am not married by 1st June 1864, provided my health keeps good. N.B. That is, if I am not confined three months to my house, or ordered by my doctor (of course showing a "Doc" certificate) to go abroad.'* It may have been to increase his chances of winning that he went so far as to write to the principal of the American Presbyterian Mission School in Cairo, where on a visit during his first journey from India he had observed some charming pupils, to ask if they had any suitable girl to recommend. According to the records of the mission the

Maharajah put it to them.

that from his position he was liable to many temptations as a young unmarried man, and he had determined, therefore, to marry, and had been making for some time past a matter of special prayer that the Lord would raise him up a suitable wife, for he had determined to marry in the Lord. Her Majesty Queen Victoria had advised him to marry an Indian princess, who had been educated in England, but he wished one who was less

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MOTHER AND SON

acquainted with the gaiety and frivolities of fashionable aristocratic life. His preference was decidedly for an Oriental, and as he knew of no lady of rank in India who had been conscripted to the truth he had concluded to inquire in Egypt if haply there might be one found here whom the Lord had been preparing for him in special answer to his prayer. Rank and position in fact were nothing to him; what he desired was a young girl who loved the Lord in sincerity and truth.*

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CHAPTER 6

Tlic Mission School Bride

The Maharajah left England on 16 February 1864 with his mother's corpse, and several other servants. While his ship was delayed at Suez, he hurried to Cairo and went straight to the mission school. He observed a small fifteen-year-old student teacher giving lessons to a large, but disciplined, class and decided she was just the girl for him. Her name was Bamba Muller, and she was the daughter of an Abyssinian lady - a Copt and therefore Christian - and Ludwig Müller, a well-known and respected figure in the cosmopolitan society of Alexandria, and partner in the German firm of merchant Watts-Todd Muller and Co. The missionaries, having received his application, had also seen Bamba as the ideal choice, especially as she was the only fully practising Christian in their care at that time. The Maharajah saw her again when he presented the school prizes; speaking to her through an interpreter, for she spoke only Arabic, he persuaded her to accept his proposal and to await his return from India. Even if the missionaries felt, as they phrased it, 'very heavily the responsibility of being in any way instrumental in transplanting a young, tender flower from its native soil, in which it was growing in vigour and beauty every day, to a region and climate where it might pine away and die from withering blasts.'* they were prepared to give their blessing to the match.

Until he came back from India, « was agreed that the missionaries should train Bamba to be a suitable bride to a wealthy and well-meaiung maharajah. T think it is desirable that she should leam English and music, and to give her own

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THE MISSION SCHOOL BRIDt

orders,' the Maharajah wrote from Suez. 'Do you not think it would be rather a good thing that she could go out driving a little, so that she may be accustomed to going unveiled? But her own feelings should be consulted as to this. I am having a pair of earrings made for Bamba, which I hope she will be able to wear.'^ In addition to the carritigs, there was anoilicr token, finished just before the Maharajah sailed: he sent it to the head of the mission with a covering letter that appropriately balanced the sacred with the secular:

I send you with this note a ring for Bamba, svhich kindly make over to her for me, and tell her « will give me very much pleamre if she will always wear boih the presents I have sent her, whether we should be married together or not. Kindly tell her that she must pray to God for guidance and entirely commit herself to Him. believing that 'all things work together for good to them that love God,' and He who loved her. and gave Himself a ransom for her, will guide her in the right path. She does not know how much more anxious I am to possess her now since I heard yesterday of her determination to be entirely led by Him. and to live for His glory only, I pray God that it be His will her father may give his consent. I think (should everything go on all right) that Damba should have one or two maid servants, in order that she may learn to give her own orders about diflercni things about herself, for should she become my wife, she will not very well know how to get on at first, as I keep a large number of servants, and she must behave herself like a proper mistress before ehem.a

Tltc missionaries saw to it that Bamba underwent an intensive course of domestic training. 'She, of course, had a great deal to learn,' one of them observed; 'how to sit, how to cat, how to handle her knife and fork etc. and many an awkward thing happened before she got accustomed to Frank (European] ways.'"*

Then, having secured a firm option on a wife who seemed to be in every way what he had been looking for, the Maharajah continued on his journey to India. At Bombay his mother was cremated and her ashes scattered on the sacred waters of the river Godavari. On almost the same day

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Vicioria Goutamma Campbell di«l in London at the age of twenty-three, leaving behind her a baby daughter. The text

on her tomb, selected by Queen Victoria, read, 'Other sheep I have which are not of this fold.' Her husband too was soon to meet an unhappy end. He was seen leaving his lodgings in Jermyn Street carrying a small bag supposedly containing her jewels and was never seen again. Murder was suspected.*

■ The Maharajah kept his stay in Bombay as short as possible, finding time, however, to hand over his mother's favourite slave, Soortoo, to the care of the Bombay mission; she had been a childhood playmate and was about his own age. He returned to Egypt by the next available boat to claim his bride and hopefully to meet the deadline of his bet with Lady Login.

Bamba had developed jaundice and had gone to stay with her father in Alexandria. The Maharajah called on arrival. 'It is marvellous how everything connected with the affair has gone on,' he wrote to the head of the mission in Cairo, 'and how Bamba's father has been led to fulfil his duties towards his child. May the Lord give him grace to take the Lord Jesus as his daughter does.**'

On 28 April the Maharajah called on the British consul, Robert Colquhoun, to inform him of his intention to marry, and request permission to publish the banns. It was from Colquhoun's notification to Lord Palmerston at the Foreign Office that the first news of the remarkable suit reached London;

The Maharajah Dulcyp Singh has this day returned from Bombay — he waited on me this evening and informs me he is about to marry a young girl the daughter of a merchant here, she has been educated by the American Protestant Mission here - she is an illegitimate child, now recognised by her father, her mother an Abyssinian. The *Annals* shortly to be published at the Alexandrian Consulate.

His Highness tells me it is his intention to inform Colonel Phipps of the circumstance requesting him to inform Her Majesty to whom he is bound by the strongest ties of gratitude and respect, he seems to have well reflected on what he is about to do and I

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For myself hardly at liberty to use any remonstrance where evidently his feelings are so deeply interested - your Lordship will pardon my troubling you on the subject - but perhaps you may think it right to inform the Queen of what I have written.^

It was not the queen who was the first friend to hear of the impending marriage, but Ronald Leslie-Melville, to whom the Maharajah had immediately written the great news. Melville told Colonel Oliphant, who had already had a report on the preliminary courtship in Cairo, and Oliphant passed the gossip on to the palace.

I know not if you have heard from the Maharajah, or if any

report has reached you from any other quarter that he is engaged to be married. He has not written to me; but to Ronald Melville, authorising him to tell me of it, so although he may not have announced it in due form, there seems no doubt that it is a fact.

I hope the M.R. may have written to you on the subject, for consideration CO the Queen: if not I must leave it in your hands to do what you think best. A month ago Mrs Oliphant had a letter from an excellent clergyman of Hi[^]. Mr Deck, who had heard from a dear friend of his at Cairo that the Maharajah had been accepted by a young lady whom he thus describes : 'The Beautiful Girl who is soon likely to be the wife of the Prince is a very sweet girl with a face full of intelligence, a Decided Christian, between 17 and 16 years of age.' He added that unless we heard it from others we were to consider it strictly confidential which we have accordingly done. Mr Deck does not give her name, and no doubt she is a Copt. The Maharajah tells Melville she is the daughter of a Banker at Cairo, and that he would leave Bombay on the 14 April for Cairo, where I understood he was to be married. Both Mrs Oliphant and I have implicit trust in the account we have received of the Bride Elect, and there is good hope that his union with her will be all that his best friends can desire.

On the 13th of this month we flit from this to Hatherop, but whether to remain long or not, will depend on His Highness's choice betw[^] the 2 places, Hatherop or Elveden. At present his heart is in the latter, owing to its being such a place for sporting.

/ trust the quiet of Osborne is restoring peace and health to our Dear Queen.®

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That was all the queen knew about the matter. Why had the Maharajah not written to her, she wondered. She was so worried that she sent Phipps & Windsor to London, preceded by a liveried rider out of deference to the widowed Lady Login, to see if she had any more information. But for once Lady Login had to admit that she knew no more than anyone else. A fortnight was to pass before the queen had news direct: it came in the form of a letter from the Maharajah to Phipps.

I have hitherto hesitated not knowing whether I ought to write but fearing lest I should be considered negligent by the Queen who has been so gracious and kind to me that I take this opportunity of writing privately to you and of explaining what has prevented me from acquainting Her Majesty of my approaching marriage. The young lady is an illegitimate daughter (though adopted by her father) . . . and it is her birth that has prevented me from telling you of this sooner knowing that there is such an objection to it in England. Therefore should the Queen hear of my marriage and be offended with me for not having told her of it be so good as to explain why I did not do so . . . Finding out that she was a good girl and a true Christian and who only wished to serve God alone I asked her Father for her being convinced that a woman native to the East like myself would make me a better wife than a European.*

Though the fact of the fiancé's illegitimacy in no way disturbed the queen, there was outright disapproval in many quarters when the news got around of the Maharajah's proposed marriage. Lady Login, who had the information at second hand from her son that the wedding was set for 7 June, wrote to Phipps that there was just time to write 'to stop him and make him consider before he makes it impossible to go back'. Colonel Oliphant had to have his say and wrote a letter to Phipps that can only be described as priggish:

There is indeed much cause for anxiety respecting the Maharajah's future, yet I am not without hope that things may turn out better than might reasonably be expected from the undesirable

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connection he has made and the haste with which he has entered into it. He seems to have acted with his usual impulsiveness probably without giving a thought about her Parents, who or what they were, but attracted by the personal appearance of the young lady and by the good account he heard of her. I take this to be the history of the engagement for I suppose they know little of each other's language and therefore could have interchanged but few ideas. Her youth is perhaps a good thing. She will more readily acquire good English manners and habits and ideas, and perhaps some things in H.H. that an English wife might not have liked, will in all probability be unobjectionable to the young German-Abyssinian (if she be so) whose tastes and habits are still unformed. What we all desired for him was that he might find a nice English wife: yet this was no easy matter. Often and often have he and I talked on the subject and it was, I may say, continually in his thoughts, but poor fellow, I have reason to think that he had come to the conclusion that (as he termed it) a 'foreigner like himself was distasteful to our Country women, and it is not impossible that some such feeling urged him on so hastily to the step he has taken. "

The Maharajah was to lose his bet by a week owing to the necessity of posting the banns, the ceremony did not take place until June 1 1864. The first report appeared in The Times of India:

The Marriage of the Maharajah Duleep Singh took place at the British Consulate, Alexandria, on the 7th June, in the presence of very few witnesses. The young lady who has now become the Maharani is the daughter of an European merchant here. Her mother is an Abyssinian. She is between fifteen and sixteen years of age. of a slight but graceful figure, interesting rather than handsome, not tall, and in complexion lighter than her husband. She is a Christian, and was educated in the American Presbyterian Mission School at Cairo; and it was during a chance visit there, while on his way out to India, that the Prince first saw his future bride, who was engaged as mistress at the

school. Duleep Singh wore at the wedding European costume, excepting a red tarboosh. The bride's dress was also European, of white moire antique, a fichu point d'Alen^on — short lace sleeves, orange blossoms in her dark hair, with, of course, the usual gauze

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veil. She wore but few jewels; a necklace of fine pearls, and a bracelet set with diamonds, were her only ornaments. The formula of the civil marriage at Her Dntannic Majesty's consulates in the Levant is very brief. Both parties declare that they know no lawful impediment to their union; then they declare that they mutually accept each other as husband and wife, and the civil ceremony is over. This formula was pronounced by the Prince in English; the bride, in a low but musical voice, read it in Arabic (that being the only language with which she is acquainted.) and thus 'Bamba Muller' became the 'Maharanee*'. She showed much self-possession throughout it all. A religious ceremony was performed by one of the American ministers at the house of the bride's father; and the newly married pair retired to the Prince's house at Ramleh. a few miles from Alexandria.**

Perhaps because his new wife had caught jaundice and he did not want to show her off to his friends at a disadvantage, the Maharajah spent a month in Egypt among the missionaries having what cannot have been a stimulating honeymoon.

The queen was among the first to hear of the Maharajah's arrival in England and gave a positive description of his bride from someone whose opinion she knew would not be exaggerated. It came from Colonel Oliphant, the elderly equerry, and was written from Claridge's where the couple had just been installed:

• On Friday night I received a telegram from Paris from the Maharajah saying he would be in London the next day. so Mrs Oliphant and I started the next morning and found that he and his bride had travelled all night, and had reached here two hours before us. I did not write to you sooner, because I thought you would like to know what we thought of her after a few days' acquaintance rather than the mere first day's impression.) am truly happy to say that I can send you a very favorable report In person she is small and delicately made. has a sweet smile, winning expression, a soft black eye, and her complexion is like the late Princess Gouiamma. She is unable to speak English as yet beyond a very little which of course prevents her from appearing to such advantage as she would otherwise do, but she is quite self-possessed and has an natural dignity of manner which has struck all who have been

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in London to her. Ledy Leven has just come in. and ' ^ W

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a iwM gentle gill. Lady L. ha.jmt lalcn her oul m her earn g
Lady Login had not been able to visit the couple before
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QUEEN Victoria's maharajah

The M H. u'iU interfere with everything concerning his wife's
attire, and has the most absurd norionf about the matter. I tried
to convince him that the crinoline was not at all suitable for her
and it would be better for her to dress in a modification of the
Egyptian costume, which is infinitely more becoming.

You can fancy how it is now. with two dressmakers in the house,

and he finding fault if she docs not look like other people, and yet insisting on her dresses being cut short, and no trimmings of any kind, and choosing colours irrespective of the becoming! It is all from intense anxiety that she should look well, but I mean to try and persuade him to give up dress and medicine to professionals, and devote himself to her mind instead!

Mmc. Goldschmidt* saw her here, and thought her very nice-

looking, and all our girls were charmed with her And I hope

she will make as good an impression on others as she did on us. I scarcely know why. but I feel as if I cared almost as much about his wife as ! should about R's.'*

Lady Login came up from Felixstowe as soon as she could to hear all about it direct from the Maharajah. He came to call on her fn her lodgings in Hanover Square, nor. however, to present his wife. He was aiutious to claim the bet, which on the evidence, he seemed to have lost by a week. In her Rfcollerfioni she paints a vivid picture of the meeting:

It was in the dusk of the late afternoon of a foggy day, and the remembrance often comes back to me of him, sitting there by the fire with the daylight slowly fading, while he told the tale of his wooing and mairiage of this shy young child - for she was little more - who had no desire for the position he could offer her. and in her heart wished to be left to devote herself to the life of a missionary. for which she was being educated. He thoroughly enjoyed telling his story, and was in the highest of spinrs, and mumphant over having just managed to 'win his bet' with me by speeding upthelega! formalities and hu own movements, to and from India, within the specified date!

To all my remonstrances as to the indecent haste with which he cut short his mother's 'cremation', so as to permit of his return quickly to Egypt, and to his having allowed pressure to be pot on * The stogei, Jenny Laid

THE MISSION SCIIOOI, BRIDE

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anyone who cared to listen.

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CHAPTER 7

The Squire of Elveden

Elveden Hall lies about four miles from Thetford on the borders of Suffolk and Norfolk. It was originally owned by Admiral Keppel, the first Earl of Albemarle, but for the last fifty years had been the home of a sporting squire, William Newton. The cost to the Maharajah was £100,000, raised by a loan from the India Office at 4 per cent. By the time the adjoining estate of Eriswell, split with the rich Mr Angerstein, had been added, the property comprised some seventeen thousand acres.

It could not be said that the house was prepossessing; soon after he took possession, the Maharajah decided that it would virtually have to be rebuilt. The architect, John Norton, was commissioned to design a mansion in the Italian Renaissance style, and Cubitt & Co. were employed as contractors. The finished house was of red brick with Ancaster stone dressings; with its pillared portico, projecting wings and double bay windows, it had a solid look, though the ornamental urns at roof level and the four great chimney stacks gave it a certain air of fantasy. But the interior was even more fanciful: Norton's brief was to make the main rooms reminiscent of an Indian palace, and to give him some idea of what he had in mind, the Maharajah showed him a set of watercolours brought from Lahore and photographs obtained from the India Museum. The Shish Mahal, the Glass Palace, was the inspiration for the drawing room, with convex slivers of mercurized glass that sparkled in the light embedded in the plasterwork. The main rooms were embellished with elaborate pilasters and arches in the Mughal style; the grand

THE SQUIRE OF ELVEDEN

marble staircase, built at a cost of £50,000, was set

With splendid cast-iron banisters painted in sealing-wax red.*

The neighbours must have gazed in wonder when they turned up at the first reception and observed the extraordinary interior; with the 'Black Prince', as he was known locally, in full Indian outfit, his tiny wife by his side, holding court in the twinkling drawing room, its walls hung with cashmere shawls, and strange pieces of oriental furniture disposed among the familiar silk-covered ottomans, chesterfields and whatnots.

The Maharajah's predecessor, Newton, had been a keen shooting man and had improved the estate for that purpose during his tenure. His tradition was 'walking op*', but the Maharajah, who had plenty of beaters at his disposal, proposed to lay out the property for the specific purpose of big drives, a system that had been developed in East Anglia in the previous decade but which he was conscientiously to advance by carefully planned plantations. Farming could be left to the tenant farmers: if agriculturally underdeveloped Elveden was soon to become one of the finest sporting places in the country, rivalling nearby Sandringham, purchased at about the same time by the Prince of Wales.

The Maharajah had chosen to live in an area that had the greatest concentration of sporting estates in the world. As well as Sandringham, there was Lord Walsingham's Merton, Lord Henniker's Thomham. Lord Albermale's Quidenham, the Duke of Grafton's Euston, and grandest of all. Lord Leicester's Holkham; not to mention numerous other lesser, but well-stocked, establishments. All the great shots came to Elveden, including the Prince of Wales, and the Maharajah's shooting guests included half the grandees in the land, among them Leicester, Kimberley, Dacre, Rendlesham, Abinger, Skelmersdale, Ripon, Bristol, Henniker. Walsingham, Westbury, Xovat, just four of Burleigh, Manchester, Lonsborough, Atholl and Grafton. If the Maharajah was not quite so good a shot as Walsingham, Ripon or Harrington, he was

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rated the fourth best in Britain, even if his style of shooting pheasants was hardly elegant -he would sometimes sit on the ground and swivel himself around 'like a whirling dervish'. He held two records - 440 grouse to his own gun in a day at Grandtully, the estate he rented in Perthshire, and 780 partridge for a thousand cartridges at Elveden. or the Grandtully feat he had three pairs of dogs working an rode from point to point on a pony. In an average season at Elveden the bag might be ten thousand pheasants, partridges, three thousand hares and seventy thousand rabbits. For bagging the latter he took a ninety-nine-acre lease on a sandy area known as Warren Lodge, where they could be shot from platforms erected in the trees. From those platforms the Maharajah liked to shoot them driven at him down wind and many hundreds were killed on such occasions, the skins ending up at the local factory where they were turned into fur hats. ,

An impression of the Maharajah out shooting is provided by T.W. Tumcr, who was to become head keeper at Elveden: 'I well remember seeing the Maharajah out partridge shooting ... It was in 1875 and I was a small boy of seven. These were the days of muuJe-loaders. and the Maharajah had three double-barrelled guns, and two loaders, who with their blue and green coats and waistcoats, powder flasks and leather shoibags. made a great impression on my mind. They were walking in seed clover, which was ideal for partridges to settle in. and to ensure this the gamekeeper was walking along the road flying a kite over the field, the kite being shaped like 2 peregrine hawk ... to make them lie close. I was so much impressed by it all that I thought, "When I get to be a man I will be a gamekeeper if I can.

Following the lead of Lord Rendlesham, the Maharajah tried to introduce the ted grouse to the hcathland. but like other neighbours who attempted it he found it did not work. He was more successful with the golden pheasant, and the sight of these elegant exotics strutting on the lawns beneath the cedars must have added to the magic of the scene. The

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THE SQUIRE OF CIVEOCN

Maharajah trained several Icelandic gerfalcons to take the big browTi ham on the open heath, but the quarry proved difficult to capture, being quick to take cover in hit plantations. Wallabies and jungle fowl proved less able to compete with the chill Eatt Anglian winters.

At Elveden the Maharajah had come into his own.

They had been at Elveden for over a year when an invitation arrived from the queen to 'dine and sleep' at Windsor; she was keen to see Hamba for the first time. The Maharajah hoped his wife had by now learned enough to do him credit. Lady Les'en. who introduced Damba, described the dress she wore for the occasion, and in which she w-as photographed: *It had a full skirt, and Turkish jacket with W'ide sleeves; on her head was a jaunty cap, like a fra. made of large pearls, worn on one side with a long tassel of pearls hanging down 10 her shoulder. Her hair ss-as plained into several Jong, light plaits, hanging straight down all round. This odd tfiffure was apparently only for state occasions, normally it was coiled on top of her head in one immense plait.' Lady Leven described hosv the I'rincas Royal and Princess Helena, who ss'cre staying at the time, 'u'oufjttsyin the Maharanee's room to see her hair plaited'.^ Tbc queen kissed her. ai an acknowledgement of her rank, and flattered the Maharajah with compliments about her. The two princesses made her sit between them all cs'ening. cross-questioning her about Egypt and her life there. In her journal for 30 November 1865. the queen svrote; 'The good Maharajah (in his Indian dress) & his lovely little svife, beautifully dressed in Indian stuffs,

covered with splendid jewels to pearls, like a Princess in a fairy tale, dined. Heii so amiable Aagrceable, but gets too fat.'

Indeed it could no longer be said that the Maharajah was the same slim youth that the queen had admired and Winterhalter had delineated. An anonymous writer, who called himself 'one of the Old Brigade' as author of London in the Sixties, described him as follows: *It was only when His Highness assumed evening dress that visions of Mooltan, ChillianvvalJah, and Goojerat faded from one's brain, and a

QUEEN victoria's MAHARAJAH

podgy little Hindoo seemed to sund before one, divested of th2t physique and martial bearing one associates with other wattiois or Sikhs, and only lequiting, as it were, a chutnee-pot peeping out of his pocket to complete the illusion.

Bamba's first child, a son, was born in June 1866. A sm^ christening ceremony was held at Elveden, but eight montlu later the queen commanded them to Windsor for a scot christening, at which she would be the godmother. Her journal entry for the occasion reads:

Directly after breakfast the Maharajah's baby was brought in by the nunc for me to see. I never beheld a lovelier child, a little darling with the most splendid dark eyes, but not very dar skin.

At 1, the Christening of the dear little 'Shahradah* took pb* in the chapel. He is already months old and sits up. As he had already b«n baptised, the service was a different one. and the nu^ held him all the time. I named him Victor Albert, the name* Maharajah wished to have. He and a Mr Jay, a Clergyman, who had christened the Maharajah Umself. many years ago, were th@ sponsors with me. Lord and Lady Leven and Lady Sophy Melvilw. great fnends of the Maharajah's, alt my Ladies and Gentlemen, and Louise, Leopold and Baby were present. The dear little Maharanee sat with the Utter, and the Dean of Windsor performed the service. Took leave of the dear young couple and my little godchild, to whom I gave some gifts . . .*•

Poor Bamba did not take too easily to social life, and the heavy, mascuUnc shooting patties must have both awed and bored her. But she was kept busy enough with her children, and in the first twelve years of her marriage produced three boys and three girls - Victor Albert Jay (bom 1866); Frederick Victor (bom i868);Bamba Sofia Jmdan (bom 1869); Catherine Hilda (bom 1 S71) ; Sophia Alexandra (bom 1 876) ; and Edward Albert Alexander (bom 1879).

As his family responsibilities grew, the Maharajah began to worry again about his financial affairs. Elveden was mortgaged to the India Office and he would be unable to leave it to his son. Besides, there was some adjoining land he wanted to buy. In March 1868 he sought an interview with IU

Tjir SQUiBr or rtvEorN

the queen, who hid told him to cill on her if he hid iny
prohlemi. 'After luncheon law the good Mihirajih. the
queen noted in the jcnmil, 'who came ,n plim morning
clothei. not neatly lo becoming ai hit native
wanted toipeah to me about hit ow-n affairt A '>«
on hit childtcn't account to get hit

Tlie queen acted without delay. 'Saw S" S'
about the Maharajah-, affairt.- the entered

toldhimthatlwatveryanxiout. fpottjble.tha tomefurthe

allowance be made for the children, though J ^
knew he had no claim whatever.- Thi, wa. the
in a long campaign to help, that the queen ^

wa, no claim. If the in fact thought he had no legal claim,
the wa, never in doubt about hi, moral one.

Sir Stafford Notthcote, then teeretary of ttate
ateertalned that there wa, £. 3 . 5 »S not "^n np unJ'r h
mortgage agreement, and tin. wa,
reduKd interett rate. The next teeretary of tate the
of Argyll, at the behett of the queen, J

that, e,™ if he had accepted prevtou, arrangement, a, finaK

/It 5 000 a year would be availabletohi, family after hit de
in addition to hi, own acumulation, ,,,,ia,,,,io,,

A, well a, a qualified 'thank you for hi, "onllder^io ,
Argyll wattoon to receive a puarling "q""- J

s'k^e;,"va"rSw^^^^

y.-rGra'^ethatdiou.dc^^^^^^^^

non to P'oevni 'O Ind" ho y^ .

100,000 acre, of watte ™ ,

North-Wettem P'ov'ne« « " „p

further P'ovB'on fo' f g,,eful to the

Go*:^:rntOT,e°bov.r,tatedextentof,and^

QUEEN victoria's MAHARAJAH

over to me in a ring fence and I be permitted to pay off the
purchase money only on that portion of it which is brought
under tillage annually, instead of being required to pay dovsu
the whole amount at one time.'*

There must have been some questioning looks at the Indu
Office when the Duke of Argyll brought up the unexpectro
request with his council. In this instance his reply conceded
nothing at all: *... whilst Her Majesty's Government have

every disposition, as your Highness is aware, to comply with such reasonable requests as you may make for the advancement of the true interests of yourself and family, they cannot,

I regret to say, recommend his Excellency the Viceroy to assent to the proposal which you have now submitted to me. **®

If the India Office rejected the Maharajah's continuing requests for cash, it was to some extent because he was seen to be living beyond his means, and a section of the public—especially that which voted Liberal, did not approve of conspicuous consumption by deposed, and presumably unworthy, maharajahs at the expense of India's innumerable poor. He was becoming known as something of a 'punter' and was often to be found in the clubs playing whist for up to £10 a rubber. His moral stance, also, was open to criticism—he was a popular patron of the Alhambra, and would turn up in the green room to display some minor piece of jewellery and inquire of the assembled houris 'What nice little girl is going to have this?' He soon concentrated his attentions on a member of the chorus called Polly Ash, whom he set up in a flat in Covent Garden complete with an annuity. ** Like the Prince of Wales, he enjoyed his visits to Paris. He was often seen at the tables there, and is said to have introduced to London the *ehemin defer*, which he preferred to *baccarat*. One of the attractions in Paris was the courtesan Leonide le Blanc, whom he shared for a time with an unlikely pair, the Duke d'Aumale and the young Clémence. The lady, it was said, had two sorts of writing paper appropriately designed for an 'aman de cour' or an 'amant à poche'. It is not known

THE SQUIRE OF ELVEDEN

for which category the Maharajah qualified. Another London lady who took his fancy was known as 'Manni', fair and aristocratic in appearance, who in fact had been a maid in a Knightsbridge hotel. If her manners were patrician, her voice was unmistakably East End, and she liked a brandy and soda for breakfast. The Maharajah's attentions were ardent—he had her send him a telegram twice a day, just to let me know you are alright'.[^] . i.

There may have been some conflict in the Maharajah's mind between the Christian code of conduct by Logan and the more liberated of some of his friends. Though rejected by White's, he had joined the Marlborough clubs and the followers of the Wales who were members of the latter, set an example that may have been nearer to his basic nature.

wanted to make a more serious Lj”

it was to indulge him in this direction that Melville suggested he have a go at politics. As a start, had the duke of Richmond put him up for the Carbon and, supported by Lord Walsingham and Lord FitzMaurice, he was elected on 17 March 1871. He may have been in the

stalwart Conservatives who composed ■>" ^ub that V °
testing Whitby, in an area in which he had been P P ^
dnrini his long association with Mulgrave,
might have a faint chance of twinning a 1 eta '

if he did not. might embarrass the

happened to be Gladstone's son Herbert, and thereby aggra-
vate the 'Grand Old Man' himself. ...us of a

When the Maharajah received the v. , jgnot

European prince, it was taciUy understood •>>< ha *ovild
involve himself in politics, though Indian po 11
ably what was meant. But the id« was faa" E
in the changing political and social clima e >

the educated natives of that country wanted
to have a say in their affair, an Indian in Parl.amen|m.Bh^
Stand for a symbol of thdr emanapauon.

Mia commuted: 'It should be worth a good deal for tn

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Indian people to obtain a representative so eminently quali-
fied to give a valuable and sound opinion on questions affect-
ing their religion, laws, feelings and prejudices, more especi-
ally a fine gentleman like the Maharajah - and according to
all we hear,' the editorial continued, 'no English gentleman
or nobleman plays that role with greater success, whether be
be regarded as a landlord, a patron or a host.'^

The queen did not think it at all a good idea that the
Maharajah should dabble in English politics, and she had been
advised that it would raise certain constitutional problems
connected with his legal right to British nationality. But why
should he not have a scat in the House of Lords and perhaps
some social gratification In being made a peer of the realm-
She put the question to the prime minister, who was visiting
her at Balmoral: 'Saw Mr Gladstone ... after luncheon 5-'
talked to him about the idea of making the Maharajah a P^t
which he thought was a very good one, whereas his standing
for Hse. of C.. which he had hinted at. was quite inadmis-
sible.'*^

Gladstone was in an embarrassing position. He pointed out
to the queen 'the difficulty which would arise if it could be
said that lhad advised the grant of a Peerage to the Maharajah
in order to get rid oftheoppositionat Whitby*. Nevertheless,
the great rsonconformwi conscience finally accepted what
was in faa that very ^tiid pro tjuo. At Gladstone's suggestion,
the proposition was put to Colonel Oliphant, acting as the
Maharajah's adviser, by Sir Thomas Biddulph, Keeper of the
Privy Purse. 'If. . . the Maharajah has entirely abandoned all
thoughts of Whitby ... I think that Mr Gladstone could

probably recommend the Queen to confer one.'**

In any case, when the Maharajah learned that the queen was not in favour of his parliamentary plan, he withdrew gracefully. So strong was her influence on him that he was prepared to ditch his Carlton friends by undertaking not to make political capital out of the affair by discussing it 'in the clubs or elsewhere'. In any event Herbert Gladstone retained his seat, but with his majority only 120 out of an electorate

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of 2,050. It was perhaps to keep in with men of influence

who might sometimes be able to intervene in his interest, that

he continued to use the Carlton more than

any other club and many of his more important

written on its paper. That he was quite at

indicated by a paragraph in *Kilmorychan* was

journal eagerly read by every

Highness Dhuleep Singh was much aggrieved at the absence of fish-knives at the Carlton Club. >"<1 '

a letter to the Committee petitioning them to introduce half-a-dozen for his own use,

made before fish-knives! A fact with which High High

of the bargain: his party was beaten at the 8th = ' >

of 1875 and the Conservatives came into power with D

as prime minister and the Duke of Argyll as

Secretary of State for India. Disraeli was under no obligation to fulfil Gladstone's pledge, but at the Queen's

sent Argyll to discuss the position, which developed into a typical Maharajah mix-up. He suddenly decided that he did not really want a title. He had not, it appeared, would his peers allow him to P honour for his children. I was

The story of the rejected peerage was told by Osborne, the

son of the minister at Fettes, who had

Before I was ordained in 1880. I was acting for a noble

Secretary to Lord Granville at the Foreign Office.

by the Maharajah to attend him at Elveden a. an interview
the Duke of Argyll, the Secretary for India[^]

Queen Victoria had always intended special

English in all save name. She sent the Duke, therefore, on spe

. U D[^]ese-sing. a Marquisate for
U was this, to offer Peerages for both Pn .

Victor, and an Earldom (or at least a [^]Kcoun [^]

His Grace's letter outlining this proposal had been sent
forehand by the Prince.

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When, however, the interview took place in the great
library at Elveden. a noble apartment decorated with gold Indian
shawls upon the walls, the Duke conveyed the Queen's offer and
the Maharajah immediately declined it
'I thank Her Majesty', he said. 'most heartily and humbly convey
to her my esteem, affection and admiration. Beyond that I cannot
go. I claim myself to be royal; (I am not English, and neither I nor
my children will ever become so. Such titles - though kindly
offered— we do not need and cannot assume. We love the English
and especially their Monarch, but we must remain Sikhs.'

He walked across to a table and opened a drawer. 'This', he said
drawing out some paper. 'is the design for my coat-of arms, drawn
up by the Prince Consort and initialled by the Queen. I use them
out of courtesy to Her Majesty, but I will not register them at the
College of Arms; I am not English.'

The Duke said to me afterwards he had never seen truer dignity
or more real independence of spirit. I have reason for believing
that the Queen, when told of all this, shared his opinion.*'

The motto selected for the Maharajah's coat-of-arms by
the prince consort - 'Pro Jesse quam conspicui' (*to do good
rather than to be conspicuous*) - was unlikely to have in-
fluenced him in what might have been seen as a conspicuous
honour both to himself and his family. He may to some
extent have felt that the offer of a peerage was no more than
a polite way of denying him his freedom of operation within
the British system. But if he now wore European dress on
all but the grandest occasions and scrupulously observed the
social conventions of his English contemporaries, the
Maharajah was beginning to assess his position objectively,
and was showing signs of a fundamental split in his nature,
the Sikh in him struggling with the Anglo-Saxon overlay.
Inflamed by the unaccommodating attitude at the India
Office, he had begun to study the historical perspectives of
his position, and a reading of Prinsep's classic and impartial
History of the Sikhs and the relative government Blue Books

in the British Museum, had made him aware of his people's past and of British perfidy in their suppression. And so, thanks to the limitation on cash the conquerors now

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imposed, his position even among his friends and retainers was being undermined. Fifteen thousand a year, all that remained after deduction of interest payable to the government, did not seem to go very far, nor did an advance of forty thousand pounds from Coutts, secured on his life insurance, do more than pay off pressing obligations.

On days of disquietude, the Maharajah would find relief in music and its composition. He was absorbed in an opera and was seen alternating between two grand pianos in deepest concentration. The subject of the opera is not known; perhaps, like Massener who in 1877 wrote 'The King's' he hymned his precursors in the heyday of their power.

On 1 May 1877 Queen Victoria was declared Empress of India. It may have been with the Maharajah in mind that she asked for a troop of Sikh cavalry to be sent over. This idea was firmly rejected by the India Office.

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CHAPTER 8

The Sackville-West Report

New Year 1878 brought the Maharajah pleasure in the form of a letter from the Queen-empress bestowing on him her newly instituted female order, 'the Crown of India',* and chagrin in the copperplate handwriting of Messrs Courts, bankers, who, while reminding 'his obedient servants', begged to remind him that he had undertaken to have by now considerably reduced his £40,000 loan and, though desiring to consult his convenience in every way, hoped that he would make arrangements to deal with the matter at an early date.*

The Maharajah was probably not too intimidated by this unctuous reminder, but it brought into immediate focus his ever-increasing financial weakness: with five growing children to educate and bad harvests that raised the cost of living at the same time reducing his rents, he saw the necessity of once again approaching the India Office for help. Early in January he sent off to the Secretary of State, Lord Salisbury, the dunning letter from Courts and a new and more con-

tentious projection of his case; ostensibly asking for no more than good advice, even if it raised the question of the retention of money forfeited by the death of family pensioners.

My Lord, I submit the foregoing statement to Your Lordship for your advice and assistance.

After the first Sikh War the Indian Government constituted themselves my Guardian and solemnly promised to maintain me on the Throne of the Punjab & I attained the age of 16 years but so managed my affairs in the meantime that when the Governor of Mooltan rebelled against the Sikh Durbar they allowed a portion

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of my subjects to rise against my Government. As the late Sir Frederick Currie once informed me, had Lord Cough when first asked to send down the European troops from Simla complied with his request, the rebellion would have been nipped in the bud. but this delay on the part of the Commander-in-Chief, not only cost me my Throne for which I care very little, but also my private property both in houses and landed property and this when I had not even lifted my little finger against the British Government and when I and my property were alike under their Guardianship. I was sent at a prisoner to Fetteghar. excluded from any communication with my family ~ I was allowed to take with me about £1000 worth of plate, jewels etc. the only remains of my great wealth. I and this remnant of my property were guarded by the late Sir John Logan and the Native Troops but even this small property was lost to me in the Indian Mutiny - I was offered by the Indian Government £10,000 to compensate me for this loss, a sum which I declined to accept.

My debts are mostly incurred in building and furnishing my house and concentrating on my property.

Upwards of £300,000 have been spent in the almost entire rebuilding of Elveden House and in partly refurnishing it, a sum Your Lordship knows is not large considering that many Country Mansions in England cost ten times as much and more. Had I been allowed to retain only one of the houses belonging to either my Brothers or Uncles the proceeds of the sale of it would have been more than ample to build me a better dwelling than I now possess and have left me a little more to amuse myself with. Out of the Four Lakhs and not exceeding Five Lakhs set apart for the maintenance of myself and relatives and the servants of my state, I have reason to believe that the whole of the sum allotted for that purpose has never been entirely spent annually and the amount now paid for those purposes is, I believe, greatly under the lower of these two sums. Though repeatedly promised by the Government, I have never yet received a fair statement of accounts as head of the family.

Your Lordship is aware that it takes the expenditure of the

income of several generations to make a place and I have had to do this in a few years besides maintaining the position granted to me by my generous and gracious Queen in this Country and to add to my difficulties owing to the late dry summers and bad

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When we have had in Suffolk, a great many of the farms on my estate have been thrown on my hands and I have had to provide money to stock them in order to carry on the cultivation and Your Lordship as a landed proprietor need not be told what an expense and loss that is. Moreover all my property is settled on my descendants and I have no security to offer if I wished to raise money as at the present time I require some to go on with the Agriculture and Messn. Court 8: Co. very naturally ask as you will see by their letter that my debt to them chiefly secured by Life Policies should be materially reduced. Therefore my Lord I ask what am I to do?*

As was his custom in times of stress the Maharajah saw to it that the Queen was made aware of his predicament and petition. On receipt of a copy, she wrote to Lord Salisbury suggesting that in view of her protégé's excellent behaviour and special circumstances he might be treated with generosity. Her Secretary of State replied in a somewhat ambivalent style, accommodating enough, but leaving a line of retreat from possible royal displeasure via the veto rights of his Council, at the same time sounding a warning of things to come:

Lord Salisbury wish his humble duty to Your Majesty respectfully submit that the application of H.H. the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh is now under consideration at this office. That in dealing with it he will bear in mind the wishes expressed in Your Majesty's gracious letter. The matter, however, is not entirely in his hands, as the Council possess a veto on any grants of money: but they appear to be liberally disposed in the present instance Lord Salisbury entirely concurs in Your Majesty's opinion that politically the Maharajah behaved so well. His private life would be more easy to criticize and likely to lead him into large expenses, which will probably result in a renewed application to Your Majesty's Indian Treasury. All things, however, considered the present application is not unreasonable: Be he trusts may, in some form or other be entertained.*

As was his duty Lord Salisbury passed the Maharajah's application on to his advisers and it was considered by the

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political committee, who were not all of the same opinion: though one of the members thought that something might, and ought to be done for him, another strongly opposed; a third, after invoking the spirit of Lord Dalhousie, made

the point that the Maharajah was pretending himself both as a petitioner and as a claimant and should be firmly put in his place before the matter was proceeded with; he was of the opinion, however, that 'the scandal of leaving the Maharajah at the mercy of his creditors would be a very serious one'.

The final version of their deliberations was embodied in a letter which began by accusing the Maharajah of making more unfounded claims after he had conceded a 'final settlement of the question' and ended with the suggestion that financial help might be forthcoming as an act of grace if he submitted to an inquiry into his management of his affairs.

The Maharajah's reaction to further delay in resolving his pressing problems and the humiliating suggestion that his private affairs should be looked into by a public official must have been one of impotent anger, but he was learning the rules of the game and was diplomatic enough to disclaim his intention of asserting any actual rights and to submit with as good grace as he could muster to an inspection of his accounts. On 11 April he replied;

(I would take leave so point out that I do not assume that I am personally entitled to the difference between the sum not exceeding five lacs of rupees, named in the Terms of the award of March 1849, and the sum which may have been actually expended to the present time; but I pointed to the fact that the whole sum has not been expended as affording a fund out of which a further sum might fairly be allotted to me personally.

I admit that the arrangements made for me have been stated to be final, but I have nevertheless thought that I might, without impropriety, state my real position, and ask for further consideration at the hands of the Indian Government. I may remark that in all the different arrangements I have been entirely in the hands of the Indian Government, having no power to dispute any decision at which the Government may arrive. I believe there is no other

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[The Indian prince, in my position, who does not receive from the Indian Government an allowance largely in excess of the provision made for me.

I should not have the least objection to my accounts being submitted to the inspection of any gentleman of position nominated by the Indian Government. I should not wish to place myself in the position of having my accounts examined by a professional accountant.'

The 'gentleman of position' nominated by Lord Cranbrook, Lord Salisbury's successor after his transference to the Foreign Office, was Lieutenant Colonel the Hon. William Sackville-West, fifth son of Earl de La Warr and Lady Elizabeth Sackville, direct descendant of the dukes of Dorset. His instructions were received in a letter dated 24

May defining the objects of his investigation as being to ascertain; (i) what was the real condition of the Maharajah's landed estates; (2) whether the income received by the Maharajah from Government, and from his estates, was or was not sufficient for his maintenance in England in a style befitting his position; and (3) whether His Highness's difficulties arose from causes practically beyond his own control, or whether and to what extent they were the result either of mismanagement of his estates, or of reasons under his own control.*

Before learning of the appointment of his inquisitor, the Maharajah had applied for 'a small advance of even £1,000' to meet necessary expenditure on farms he had been compelled to take in hand during the bad times. He was faintly informed that, 'pending receipt and consideration of Col-West's report the Secretary of State was unable to take any such step in regard to his affairs as compliance with his request would involve'.¹⁸ If such official parsimony and such unsympathetic responses were beginning to eat into the Maharajah's soul, he greeted Sackville-West with a good spirit. They surveyed the estate together, studied bank statements and bills, and, though there appeared to be a certain lack of continuity in the Maharajah's system of accounting.

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The investigator was able to acquit him of personal extravagance, except for a gambling loss of though it was clear that he was spending at least £1,000 a year above his income. Among the minor lubricities revealed among his papers was his personal guarantee for a £1,000 raised for his boyhood friend Tommy Scott.** Much of the trouble, it seemed, lay in the large capital expenditure on purchasing the estate and building and furnishing the house, on which interest had to be paid to the government. The various farms brought in insufficient rent owing to the fact that the preservation of game was the main consideration, though it was agreed that the Maharajah's splendid shoot, after the sale of game and as many as 100,000 pheasant eggs a season, cost him no more than £300 a year. Sackville-West concluded with a brief homily: 'I venture to suggest, for consideration, that should any rearrangement of His Highness's affairs be made, it is extremely desirable that it should be made a condition that his accounts should be kept and audited in such a manner as is done in most well-managed estates and households...'*2

Sackville-West's painstaking, and on the whole vindictory, report on the Maharajah's state of affairs was submitted on 18 August 1875. At the beginning of the month, in anticipation of its favourable reception, the Maharajah had written with studied politeness to Lord Cranbrook setting out what he hoped would be allowed him:

As Colonel West whom you very kindly appointed to investigate my affairs will shortly lay before you his report; I desire to submit to Your Lordship a statement of my hopes and wishes for a more liberal consideration than has hitherto been given me.

Without raising any claims but throwing myself entirely on the generosity of my Gracious Sovereign I beg to bring before you my following requests:

That I may be relieved from the pressure of all my present debts, that the premiums on the Policies on my life be paid out of the Income of (about) £40,000 to £50,000 allotted for the support of myself, my relatives and the servants of the state; that an income

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be allowed to me which will properly settle my affairs
Entitled to me by my Sovereign, at least equal to ^

able to support my family. That any portion of the ^

affairs of my family be settled and the part
of my property be accumulated during my lifetime for ^
and that a capital sum at least equal to the value of my
of my very large private property be given to me - my

property being wholly in my possession. ^

Should my petition be granted to me. My property
will be provided for in a handsome and liberal manner
[on the part of the great nation.**

The Maharajah was in a frustrated mood and
inclined to play the bureaucratic game according to the rule
for ever. He had been sensibly advised not to tend
attached to yet another historical resume, an ^ .

to some £480,000 worth of family jewels sold by the
India Company and supposedly distributed as prize money
to the conquering army, and £1,097,000 for ancestral
as yet undefined; for good measure he had added compound
interest. But he was not to be deterred from sending a copy
of his claim to the queen, with the following covering letter.

My Gracious Sovereign, Through Your Majesty's kind
interest my pecuniary affairs will be brought before the
Government of India in and consequently I had prepared

a statement (copy of which with that also of the letter I sent to
Cranbrook I humbly beg to enclose) of their neatness of me to
send to the Secretary of State for India but I am advised by one
two Indian officials not to do so. I ^ .

I have no friend except Your Majesty who is able to help me
therefore unless your great interest exercised on my behalf
will again treat me in as mercifully as the Government of
India have hitherto done. Can I therefore my Patron rely
more on Your Majesty's clemency and generosity and favour in this

final settlement of my affairs?

The only plea that I put forward for thus presuming to address
You IS Your own never ceasing Graciousness both to me and mine
My Gracious Sovereign.

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THC SACKV.IILr->E5T KrPO.T

. ,11 I have lived for but whatever it done
I do not expect to get all the Majesty*

for me I intend to be your most loyal subject.

I have the honour to remain Y J Puleep Singh.'

The queen replied; , . j ^

Dear Maharajah. I have to « interfere » in you.

you. it will I am sure. do taken in you. and

You know how deep an interest which you were & are

how much I must for .hr ^ °oo had no control - Ho. >>

perceived by the...necessity over "high » ton. idered

Long friend, excuse me J; " of J. v. o. bly on .he

, I must inform J .o ., "ri. lly. I have »e fo' . onre nme

«demen. of Yr. .ffi. c. J. puH. m "he

will be .0 mention to you. a. . » ,h. ch

tvh.. I myself. partly I i. much did. ked for

you proffered - It is > «■«'» v. d. , cdocc thii. &
my intention in the Co""V- ' ,ouph for amusement. I am

keep up a moderate amount, qm. e eno y
,ur; it would have the bet. d.,, children. & mutt a*

I take the liveliest. ■"«" "'v^'for me of Victor! I hope he
you to let me have a Porttai. taken

it will hit beautiful hate. Maharanee, ever yr. aflee

With kindest, remembrance to me

friend... " . ^ tccomroendation to

The queen also ""J charge of extravagance, which

Cranbrook reverting to 'i' fact, rubt. antta. ed- If a
.heSackville-We, reponh. dno', ^a, c, c can be alleg^

certain amount of "I";, g,, allowance should be

against him, the Queen . *,1 jTtagnificcnc.

m!dc for hi* notion* charge, of extrav-

ralSdy^rr^^edtoHton.

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Lord Hertford, a shooting friend, who claimed to have 'some influence over him', had heard other criticisms of the Maharajah current in society and had asked Ronald Leslie-Melville to warn him to look to his reputation. The Maharajah seemed grateful for his friend's advice and wrote to Hertford:

Thank you very much for the friendly hints conveyed through Ronald Melville. Without nonsense I am exceedingly grateful to you . . . The accompanying statement will show you the state of my affairs and explain my apparent neglect of my wife and family.

The fact is that I cannot afford to bring them up to Town but if through the kindness of the Queen the Government of India treat me in a liberal spirit none of my friends will ever be able to bring against me such a charge.

It is false that I am a disbeliever in Christianity. Indeed I am quite the contrary but as I cannot act up to my convictions I disdain to lend myself to hypocrisy and do not go to church as often as some people.

With the exception of playing whist at the United Whist Club in Waterloo Place (some members of which are not of desirable character) I keep no low company - only with Lord Westbury and Captain Goldingham I am at all familiar, with the rest of the members I scarcely ever speak. All my friends are among those from the highest society in the country. I am quite willing to take my name off the list of members of the aforementioned club if my friends desire it or reform in any other way they may wish. Again thanking you for the kind interest you have taken in me . . . *

Hertford was persuaded to indicate to the palace that the Maharajah's little weakness had been moderated: 'He assures me he is leading a steady life,' he wrote to Sir Henry Ponsonby, the queen's private secretary, who had taken over the Maharajah's file, following the death of Phipps, has only lost £300 altogether at whist, but still thought it best to give up playing & has taken his name out of all the Whist Clubs except the Marlboro'. From all I hear I believe him to be good and fond but requires to be watched & taken care of ... & that he is grateful for any interest.'**

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T..t

U,.,c..oLo,dC,nWo^—

to be done It once to touce the ^ authorized an
and even a public teandaU on J f jj consideration

advance of uf their •coniidera-

of the Saclevfle-West report. Tl e mo t
tion was a decision that the „tates and

svas to press the Maharajah to sackville-

invest the proceeds after paying ^ seemed a

West had valued the ,alc into account

good accountant s solution. pUee. The nesv

the landlord's PB"""" e Colonel Osven Bume,

political secretary at the India Ome . by the

recently back from """"^“ular Private Secretary
vicero. Lord Lytton. as the .^0 the delicate task

thatIndiahasknosvninourtime . Maharajah.

of communicating 'h' ‘“J’” fi rcoutse svas not even to
svholeft him in no doubt that meh gentleman,

be considered. Bume. a "j”™ r*;v j n.,jvc princes in India,
known to have got
convinced the councti that it

find some other soluoon to the p j,,i,,i^g on

Bume produced b""*"" ,’ V,,),j,,lih'5 death, did imply
the sale of the estate after the M J

thattheIndiangovemmentsvoJdh^set^^^^

Briefly the main points of the sc proceeth

(1) Thcciutoto l,c,<,ldt.ntheM.b.r.jjh'jd“^ "vemmen. and

' to be allocated to payng »<["T

to providing pensions for . .-ccd £40.000 to pay o

(ii) Thn if he agreed he m pay --"b

hi. overdraft at Coom »d no^ong^ pre-

amounting to over £5.o@o

viomly advanced.’ » ^ave been impic-

Such a makeshift sou”™” ""’/j’b "s,y .879, over a y ar

mented from London. j application, p ,

after the Mahara^H's .0 refer it .0 ■"*/>»,

after the Maharajan \$.prided to refer u to u.-
mittee handling *1 "r"*" report, was marled off

their views, and the file, m

QUEEN victoria's MAHARAJAH

the heart of the matter with some warmth.

Her Majeiiy's Government have ... to decide now ^

shall Uavt the Maharajah's affairs to " "X'^venon of
svhrrhrr. a. ,hc cos. of ao ^,1 "have His

India which can scarcely be IOC^sidOTbl^ they

Hi6hncs,fron,hi.l.abih.,ca.aodfo,...shh.nt>..hthc^ ^

sa^ to enable him to live on hts estate, and to retain

^°WMe fully aliJe to the paramountnccssity for
presem dmc, and ro .he espedienc, on general
ing within the narrowest possible limits • ^ri Her

fiuble a kind as that on politieal tti^d.ants md ^

Majesty's Govetnment feel it ptaetie^y ^ J,. ,he

frst of the alternative, above suggesred, and
Maharajah tink. into the post.ion of». into Wen. landed PTMP
'They believe rhar. having regard to .he hjs.ory of ■>''
between the British Government and the j

infaney .0 the present rime, and to *' j ,ri*oul
due. of His Highness, such a testdl eotdd not be pt''''''''
discredit alike to the British Crovm and nation, and to the GO

On a review of all ihdcicumsonccs ofthe case, *

Government are of opinion that they cannot remain md^ermt
the embarrassments ofthe Maharajah, and they would ^ g
avoid, if possible, insisting as a condition of their ai .
immediate sale of the esute which His Highness, now am
middle age, has converted into a home for himself.

. . . Possibly your Excellency's Government may be able to sug-
gest some method. likely to be accepuble to His j

which the desired object may be attained at a smaller present
than that above stated. I need scarcely observe that it is
that I should be placed in possession of your views in the ma
at a very early date.'*

Despite the request for urgency, the government of did not find time to reply until 7 July, necessitating an advance of £3,000 to keep the Maharajah going. Their

There is a great deal of

information to be gathered from the Maharajah's letters. The Maharajah's letters, they finally came to the point:

... We regret that we are unable to appoint the

various members of the

The Maharajah's letters contained the following information: The Maharajah has been through a long illness, and he has been very ill.

consequently, which have been made to him to allow him to find in the Indian Territory relief from the

men. We are sorry to hear of the

new fact which is a belief, for it is undoubtedly

experience; and we feel that the fact entitles us to a certain extent at least, to a certain extent. The Maharajah would have little claim on the motive, which is mainly an act, on the part of the Maharajah's

men. The Maharajah's letters have shown

in a great measure removed by the action of the

received from the public treasury the means, of which the Maharajah is on which, with the income previously assigned to him, the Maharajah, he could not live, and we are now to give from the public treasury an amount to enable him to live on that estate. We are sorry

Highness, and the more so because we

character and his honourable feelings. but we feel that a liberal policy in the matter is no sufficient reason for

it can only be exercised at the cost of justice to the

We do not think it right that such a state of things should be perpetuated at the cost of the

^uention it not which is the Maharajah's

tained at their expense in a manner befitting his

tion and his proper dignity, but whether he should be

On enjoying the luxury of preserving his game, and

great estate totally unprofitable. We should therefore have .

under any circumstances. How such a question should be *

ind at the present time it seems to us hardly necessary to i
it, when it is certain that nothing but the ruthless and i ^
most useful expenditure can avert the necessity of fcs 'j-

QUEEN VICTORIA'S MAHARAJAH

onerous taxation, and when it is in the highest degree doubtful
whether our efforts to avert such taxation will succeed . . .

So long as the Maharajah retains his present estate in his present
condition, and on his present income, it will be impossible for
him to avoid incurring fresh liabilities; and we concur in the
opinion that the 'obviously desirable' course to adopt is the sale
of the estate. We do not believe that any other remedy is pos-
sible. Even if the measures proposed in your Lordship's Dispatch
were taken, and the Maharajah were to continue to live on the
estate, it seems to us highly probable that he would again be
involved in expenses which he could not meet, and that we should
see again hereafter a renewal of those demands on the Indian
Treasury which have been so repeatedly and so successfully urged
in the past

. . . We can now only advise that the conclusions stated in this
Dispatch, be communicated to His Highness, and that he be
informed that under no circumstances will any further assistance
be given to him from the revenues of India. The Maharajah will
naturally be unwilling to accept this decision, but we should hope
that he may be persuaded to take a wiser view of the situation,
when he understands that he cannot hope to obtain freedom from
his embarrassments in any other way. We may add that in view of
the fact that His Highness has stated his desire that his eldest son
should succeed to the whole of his landed property, it seems
probable that the sale of the estate after his death, which is one
of the conditions of the proposal made in your Lordship's Dispatch,
would be scarcely less distasteful to His Highness than its sale
during his life. However this may be, we cannot agree to any
plan which would involve the injustice of throwing fresh
burdens on the people of India, for the purpose of relieving His
Highness from embarrassment, from which he can relieve himself
in a simple and honourable way, and with advantage to his own
real interests. ^*

Lord Cranbrook saved no time in letting the Maharajah
know that the news from India was bad, but he did not go
so far as to say the matter had been finalized:

I regret to have to inform your Highness that, having referred
for the opinion of the Government of India the various applica-
tions on the subject of your affair, which you addressed to me

Till SACKV.IIE-WtST KEFOST

,hc coun. cfl^o V«t. 1 "°*;^i^hvlhWe' to yoot High-

Government expronnp view» wry

nett** wiihet. ,jny tmember* of my

Owing to the abtence * , to fully consider the

CcuonU. will no. be i.'onnl .to the

matter, or arrive at a final dec» |j. ^hat you ihould at

tecrsi. but 1 think It ^ communiiaion which

once be acquainted with the ^ _,,n,ntcnt. to whose views,
h.. been received from the , J.f.,ettcc it due

you. Hightett mutt f , h,,,,, mutt be to go^

1 am comttimed to add that b ^ j, not be pottible
.,tounder.t.ndth.tinth«mcum .emporary

for me to eotettam any futtto apr

mditappointedM.har«ah»«retumcdtohon^^^^

I have no alternative “■;° .IjJ'°^U,,mid,.te want,, thm
ratei of inteteit. a loan toflieient to ^ , s,,gh,

etipplng till furthet my tetourem^ ^
the friend and ally of Biglanf ,i,ion. a pu^to

wa, twom. it reduced >? '*■'> ^"";“Uf the boujab ugnrf hy
againtt which thetermt “f ""J , pnlfect protecnon.

island in tSau, wemed to afford htm P

On the tame day he ""J"" jf/noulTfind to add wat;

^le"; will -

fVif government

r Majesty will sec mat » Ji,;2w

assistance from the ROY""V""«f,dcncc in the generosity of
.The Maharajah-t lade of ""f ^/om returning to the
the India Office did not F""TM' J* ,g February tSSO he

attack early in the following y
wrote to Lord Cranbrook:

rote to Lord Cranorouih. but I have not

1 am extremely totty to ene'lotcd large bilh-

the mean, of paying the f,d .eu.n.t will explain the

The enclosed letters from my age

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QUEfN Victoria's maharajah

vine ofiffain, and in order to catty on the cuhivjtion of the farmt Hill In hand till tenant! ate found for them I ihaJJ requite tome ^),ooo at I regret to inform your Lordthip that I have again met with heavy Iwsei owing to the metemem seaton.

My Lord - If your Lordthip it unable to help to extricate me from my pecuniary difTiculttct. owing to the unfavourable view taVrn of my petition by the Government of India, I moH camettly pray that my private landed ettatet illegally held in pottettion by that Government fat by the teem* of the annexation only the State property wat confneated) may be rcitorcd to me in lieu of the ttipend now paid.

I am certain that neither your Lordthip nor the Council composed of honourable and jou Englishmen, nor the House of Commons, nor the British Nation, which glories in doing justice to the weak, desire to deprive me of my private income of something over 4100.000 per annum, not raking into aeounf the gem Kohinoor which I feci honoured it in the possession of my most gracious sovereign and was not sold with my other jcssrls.^* Cranbrook'j reply did no more than notice that the Koh-l-noor should have been introduced into the argument, (hough there must have been some questioning looks among his entourage.

Your Highness's affairs arc at present under my consideration m Council, and pending a decision in regard ro them it ts impossible for me to sanction the grant to your Highness of further temporary advances.

Adverting to the concluding pan of your letter, it is my duty at once to inform your Highness that, whatever course maybe finally adopted in regard to your affairs generally, no claim on the part of your Highness based upon any alleged right to private estates in the Punjab or to jewels, can for one moment be entertained by the Government of India.*' ,

The Maharajah may have been aware that he had overplayed his hand for he was quick to assure Cranbrook that he had only brought the matter up for tactical reasons and had not meant to be taken literally : 'J was quire aware when I wrote my last letter that the Government of India might not allow my claims to my srery Urge pnvate property, but X36

TL.r. SACKVIItt-WIST BErORT

,wa,anxiou»houiamyaranUWghtW^^^

ID Stop the mouths of those Lotd-

India who might possibly geu p showing that

ship in Council might be mdmed to f « ^TM' ,,|hs,,t
I might be placed in a posst.on of peat
adding to taxation already exisnng. ,,,,cnd with.

In June there wa, a nesv f;" , °^ arHveden.

Lord Harrington, svho had shot ' . objection

Harrington wassaid to have a ten ^ . 20 but he svas

in a proposal before g"“S^>' \ <,ucstion svith an open
prepared to go into the Ma J ^ placed before

L,,d.Heecalledforthename.oujape|Xtob

him and had a long dehbmatio ,,iirimr they came

further discussions with the Maharajah s sohctor.)
up with a nesv proposition: ^

(0 To advance your your debt to Messis.

internt. to at to .""""i r (a) TO advance you
Count & Co. and to """"TM " ? ,0 defiiy certain debts

afoither sum of """"^inTowiiveanycliimtointetetton

which youdeetn ptessingiand OITowaive

the /;i3.ocxs recently advanced to > • ynjssood by your

This offer of asiitance. biect to two contingencies:

Highness to be made absolutely nracsicable (with reference to
(a) Tliat it is eventually found to W n fj, j,
existing settlements, dee.) to ” ' l . . n.) That your Highness

embodied in the enclosed the eundinons

consent, to. and will aid heartily, m cstrytng
of the Jchemc. to ,hc couric herein

Should your Highnnt be ,o make the above-

ptopored. I than be prepared debts, without

mentioned advance of . _j pirliamentary action

waiting for the result of the legal o y

'X^har,ahaeeep.ca.-.e^<;l>:^^^S

could hardly be expected to at of his estate after his

government's absolute right to *P . down in the
death, which was one of I should be at the
memorandum. He proposed that such a sale

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QUEEN VICTORIA'S MAHARAJAH

dhrcrdon of the then secretaty of sutc rather than abiolutc.
*I cannot tell.' he argued, 'what the petition of my eldest
son may be at the time of my death but he may. by marriage
or otherwise, have acquired the means of living at Elveden.'^
Another small request he had was that he should be given an
immediate advance of ^5.000 rather than the j^j.coo
specified, on condition it was applied to pa^dng debts rather
than to farm improvements. The secretary of state was pre*
pared to assent to the latter proposal but would not relent on
the former.

That was a subject upon which the Maharajah had very
strong feelings - Elveden was his. and he wanted to know
that he could pass it on to his son. It was a matter which the
queen might understand and sympathize with, even if
Harrington should not. On the day he had his negative reply
he wrote:

My most Gracious Sovereign. I have this day received the final
communication from the India Office granting me a loan of
jQiTiOOO without interest during my life but on the absolute con-
dition that my landed estates must be sold after my decease.

As the Bankers are pressing for the repayment of the advance
made by them I have no alternative but to accept the accommoda-
tion thus offered - as that or nothing. Nevertheless, it breaks my
heart to think my eldest son will have to run out of his house and
home and leave the place with winds his earbest associations in
life are connected for strangers to live in.

I implore the Government to strike out the word 'absolute' and
let it remain entirely in the discretion of the Secretary of State
for the time being at my death to decide whether the property
should be sold or not as Victor might acquire the means by
marriage or otherwise and live here as a country gentleman.

No one knows but myself my Sovereign, the agony that I
suffered when I was turned out of my home and exiled from the
land of my birth and I shudder to think of the sufferings that my
poor boy may undergo.

It is one thing to sell out on one's own accord which my son
would always have had in his power and another to be com-
pelled to do so without rhyme or reason

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done to entore your oavn eomfort and a proper p
children.

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QUEEN VICTORIA'S MAHARAJAH

As I once or twice mentioned to you before, I thmJe you were
thought extravagant and that that may have led to a want of con-
fidence as tcgats the future.

That I shall do ivlmt I can for you and my godson you may be
sure of.

Trusting that you and the Maharanee and your dear children
are well...

As promised the queen brought up the matter with Lord
Harrington. After expressing her views on affairs in
Afghanistan and the desirability of retaining Kandahar, she
continued:

Though the Queen has asked Sir Henry Ponsonby to write to
Lord Harrington mare fully on the subject she cannot refrain from
adding a few words and sending him this copy of a letter from the
Maharajah Duleep Singh in whom die has always taken a great
interest from his sad fate and natural fine qualities. He may indeed
have been very extravagant, but that was almost natural for an
Orienu; but he is very truthful and straightforward and loyally
disposed, rare qualities in his tact and the Queen thinks it wrong
(besides being very contrary to the views of the liberals) to place
a deposed Sovereign who was utterly innocent himself in a position
so humiliaangandpainful to himself and his children. The Queen
trusts that some better ultimate arrangement may be made, tfc
have got his splendid kingdom and we cu^hl not to let hu family
and even himself become poorer than an En^Ioli country gentle-
man.®'

The Maharajah returned again to rebut the charge of
extravagance when he sent die queen a draft copy of the
hook he had picpaied for publication of his case- reading
in the papers that Hatnngton was staying at Balmoral, he
asked that he also mi^t study it so that he would not only
sec the government's view of the matter. He appended a
statement showing her how he had spent the money bor-
rowed from Coutts. It seemed to indicate that there was no
more than ;0S82 that could be attributed to personal expendi-
ture; atthesamerimebeclaimed to be spending some £2.000
a year in restoring the church, rebuilding cottages for the

T.IE SACKVIIIIE-WEST REFOBT

poor.mam.RmmB.hevmRg=schc.o,a,,dplan<ng<rcesfor.h=

benefit of his children." whole problem of the

The Queen in fact. I like her, at
 Maharajah at some length seems to have
 Balmoialandhetm.n.stersinon.tor.J^
 modified her more, Maharajah's financial
 becoming too closely involved, in
 problems and advised her. Xhus her next letter
 sold her the government point of .
 somehow lacked the warm-heartedness
 demonstrated:
 I have feared the very thing which you
 , a. once referred to, and expressed the
 idea: "I would rather hold out any hopes of your
 further claim being with you on what
 subject: - - - ■
 unfortunate difficulties. I, of course, acquiesce in
 If I might advise you as a, I am assured they
 the arrangements which you have made for your
 have been dictated by a scheme done, far as
 present difficulties and make effect these objects
 The Govt. of India considered in the highest
 I cannot help thinking that you had purchased some
 you once told me you would then provide a house
 Late and live more economically, to do ...
 for your son which you were not
 But despite the Queen saying that he had
 read - - - - -

QUEEN VICTORIA*} MAHARAJAH
 was less than filial: 'Your Majesty will I trust pardon my
 not appearing at Court for some years to come as I will now
 try to lay by every farthing that I can till I have saved suf-
 ficiently to provide my son with some income.'

CHAPTER y

Letters to The Times

THE f... >ho, « *0 'f L-P'f-

February, when the Maharaja w . ^ to 'shut up

inCTcasing financial cmbarrasimen ,

Elevcden and establish himself m London .

U is cscsremely disagrcdbl.

your Lordship about my pocunurysfnHS. ,dvanced

After paying off my debr, for i,, and

,0 me by your Lordship in Counal oA « b^IH n ^

i shall have some heavy P'r'''' ' ' -,,,,rty in Suffolk, which I
rofarm building and ""jSLr'Snse £a.000 in dobt

greatly feat ftoughly speaking wJll» of , hangs cannot

Hill. Therefore, ir is gone obvrw ^use and reduce my

continuc. and I must shut up y insuffieient to main

establishment, as my P'''^ STto occupied, until my farms ate
tain me in the position I hav

let and produce a fait tent, were it not that

I would let the right of ipftn'^ pme ptodoca mote

I find the tale of pheasano W ^ g. and, besides, at does not

moneythaneouldoethetwasebeobtun

annoy the few tenants ^gggad to cultivate four fattns

Isusuinaheavylmsby^ aUowed them to 60 °'' °

thrown on my of my death, very matetially affen

cultivation, would, m •>>' '^,°y .Id my children would suffer
the saleable value of my ptopetty.

in consequence. inquiries to be made of ^

Your Lordship can I wdl with pleasure furnish,

tenants, whose names and jdd»® ,,,, ‘‘*.’‘8’

that during then tenancy „g game almost entirely into
game, as I had given oP R

queen Victoria's maharajah

,hri, control (.pc.tag from memo.,) fo. .he Uo cigh. o, nine

^"mv inmnoon i, immedi..e>, »

your Lordship will commend. jiff;r,iUv therefore I

^ But how to furnish this r«idencce .* y,;! ! assist

e.me.,l.,e3oe.,o,,,Lo,d^f,ooem^^

me, to kindly cause the £4. /ll #100 due to them.

Coutts&rCo.tobepaidtothemootoahX:44. d ^

so that my silver plate and <>« I may dispose

security for the former sum. may be set fr«, purchase

of them, by sale or otherwise, to raise sufficient money to p
the necessary furniture.* »i,i,raiah

Si. Owen Bume wi> depuied to find out ^ ^

was really serious about moving to London, and on ree 5

.,;::;cLh.thew...tecomme.,ded.h.t/:4.000>^^^^^^^^^^

made available on account for the

Meanwhile the promised £40.000 had not ^

and the whole scheme was the j .Uji

Chancery Court, where the master of the rolls ju g
a special act of Parliament was indispensable to P*!^ ' _

legal effect. Impatience at the protracted proewses of
ctacy, and the realization that even when they
ground to a conclusion, his case would be bound for
the legal fetters of an act of Parliament, made the Maharaja
decide to take the first evasive steps to release himsc
total commitment. Hchadnot even drawn the >C4.000 wn
he wrote to Harrington that he was returning
because his game farm had done well and the • j

his London house cost only £1.700; he had no wish, e s .
‘to receive and retain any money that it might be consi c
was held under false pretences’. He ended his letter by as
‘whether the Government of India had any objecnons to
laying down my rank and title of Maharajah? Jue

he gave for this controversial suggestion was that as the v

ITTCRS TO THE TIMES

of his estate Cvi^btCT"b°“B”“ “P “

cultural depression, his EhiWren. g o^erty as the pro-

princes', might have to descend Lordship in

vision made for their matntenw ^^ resort to

Council will lead to'= I. f“ ’^tltetfthe palace,

hblackmail. Harrington forsvarded ‘ j |,ow to deal

observing to Ponsonhy: ‘We are rat P answered

with the Maharajah’s ‘ ,, hardly believe his

it demi-officially to the effect t a seriously;

proposal to lay aside his rank an ^

but that if on reflection be pew correspondence to

Govt, of India.” Ponsonby a,, “Jpated. 'This

the queen, as doubtless the Ma jn niuch harm in

would never do,' she minuted, m svithout consulting

India. He ought never to have done this

his friend the Queen.'* Mahataiah’s proposal to

Harrington's cool response to the Maharajan^^P^

lay aside his title included a rqqc i , ^ any further.

/siOMandarefusaltodiscusshisfinanaalaffa^.^

Nothing mote was heard on cither S J ^^ of state a

when the Maharajah fonvarded jnsount plus com-

cheque for £3,453 . as^ng*^

cheque for /;;3,453 ‘ °^,^niion of payi^B

pound interest, and declared his i jemindcd the

from time to time as he was a c. govern-

from time to time as he was a c. Indian govem-

secretary of state to obtain the v threatened to do

mentahoutlaying aside "Resent to Parlia-
in the event of a petition he was aoo
ment having no result." indication that the
The petition referred to was * discretion:
Maharajah's desperation was outstnpp b ^ he
having done furLr homework p,,,3A,
rephrased his version of ajprived of a kingdom
describing himself as having P of private
producing a surplus revenue nf yiao.ooo a year, and
landed estates producing an intro hitherto been
of the Koh-i-noor. He "'A offered himt and
obliged to accept whatever terms ha

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QUEEN Victoria's maharajah
concluded by praying that if his Idngdom could not be re-
turned to him, as the Transvaal had recently been to the
Boers, he might be handed back some of his private estates
or at least their cash equivalent.*

In his reply Hartington returned the cheque as being un-
acceptable under the rules of the Court of Chancery and
added a rebuke which indicated that the Maharajah's haras-
sing tactics were having some eflect on his temper: 'I must,
at the same time, express my extreme regret that, notwilh-
sunding the unqualihed assurance, given in your letter of the
13th December 1880. that it was your intention to co-operate
loyally in the measures for the settlement of your affairs,
which had been agreed upon after much consideration, and
with an anxious desire on the part of the Home Government
of India to promote your interests and those of your family,
your Highness should adopt a line of procedure which I
cannot but regard as inconsistent with that assurance.'^

The Maharajah protested, in reply, that his motives had
been misunderstood and that far from wishing to set aside the
pending arrangements, he was preparing to put his estates on
the market as soon as he was legally entitled to do so and
there was a turn for the better in agricultural economy. After
dwelling on the meagre nature of the relief he was in any case
likely to obtain, he concluded: 'I have again to ask of your
Lordship to ascertain {if possible by telegram) whether the
Indian Government have any objection to my laying aside
my rank, as an opportunity has presented itself for me to go
into business as a jeweller and diamond merchant, for I desire

by industry and [dlegible], as well as by strict economy, to add to the provision made for my children as much as I can.**

Harrington did not rise to the bait. But in view of the Maharajah's gadfly persistence he coolly telegraphed the viceroy indicating that he personally could see no objection to his renouncing his rank.

On 26 June the Maharajah returned to the attack, requesting that an officer of the Indian government be appointed to take charge of the Elveden estate and 'deal with it as might

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LETTERS TO THE TIMES

be deemed best.' Harrington, of course, replied that this was impossible, and the Maharajah's answer, partly pathetic and partly challenging, did little to make him change his mind; he probably thought the man was going mad;

My Lord, I beg to thank you most sincerely for so kindly promising to communicate to me the views of the Government of India regarding the laying aside of my rank as soon as your Lordship is in a position to do so, which I pray God will not be very long as the uncertainty and the consequent sorrow arising from it is very injurious to my health and Sir W. Gull has informed me that if I hope to live some years longer I must have no anxiety on my mind.

With reference to your Lordship's refusal to appoint someone to take charge of my estates in Suffolk, I have only to express my sorrow and to humbly beg of you to reconsider your decision.

When I came to this country after having been deprived of my Kingdom and all private property and after some years residence in England and acquaintance with its people it appeared to me best that I should under the altered circumstances of my life occupy the humble though honourable position of a Country Gentleman and with this view I asked for and was granted a sum to found a home and this my English home was the one thing on earth that I idolised.

When the agricultural depression set in and my income began to decrease I was compelled to ask the Home Government for assistance.

Col. Sir Owen Burnes was sent to me with the Government's suggestion that I should sell my property in order to extricate me from my pecuniary difficulties and I cannot describe to your Lordship the pain this cruel proposition gave me coming from the Representatives of the Nation who had declared themselves my Guardians and took a paternal interest in my welfare.

When however your Lordship's ultimatum (that part of which referring to the absolute sale of my Estates at my death I at first resented) came, I began to see that there was no hope that my only wish in the world would be realised, and that my English home would be broken up and my descendants must look to some other

place as their home.

Ever since then my Lord I have been tearing myself from it and have at last succeeded in bring^g myself to hate the sight of

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QUEEN VICTORIA'S MAHARAJAH

it . . . The before. my Lord, I humbly beg you either to give the means to occupy the positions I have hitherto fulfilled and enable my descendants to do the same after my death, or to take these estates off my hands so that I may be able to make a better provision for my children myself, and not bring them up with such tastes as they will not be able to indulge in hereafter.

As I do not desire to trouble your Lordship with more letters than can help I beg of you kindly to inform me on the following subjects:

1st. I presume as I am now a Naturalised Englishman there is no legal difficulty to my returning to the Punjab either to get information regarding my private landed estates &c. or to reside there altogether.

and. To whom is the Order of the Star of India to be returned? To your Lordship or Her Majesty?

3rd. On what grounds my claim to private property and landed Estates in the Punjab are not recognised by the Indian Government? Surely, my Lord, as English justice acknowledges no difference between man and man ought I not to be treated on the same footing of equality with my servants who are allowed to keep their Estates?

4th. In view of your Lordship's and the Home Government's high sense of English justice and British liberality

The Maharajah added a postscript: 'My address after the 3rd of August will be Elvedon Hall as I must go there to reside for a few weeks during the time the harvest operations are carried on/ * @

The circumstances of Harvest time, however, did not prevent him from continuing the battle to extract himself from the impending finality of the act of Parliament which the India Office seemed to assume was the coup de grace. His first step was to get counsel's opinion as to his right to family estates in India. Mr Vaughan Hawkins of Lincoln's Inn opined, on 10 August, that 'no private estates or property were liable to be confiscated under the Treaty of Lahore, the terms of which apply to State property only'. ** The Maharajah was quick to put the queen right on any ideas she might have had from her advisers on that subject by

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sending her the opinion. He also made it dear that he was going to fight:

The odds will be very much against me, My Sovereign I know, as I single-handed combat the most powerful Government in the world to obtain what I believe to be my rights for the sake of my children but trusting in the help of God I am determined to go forward whether or not I succeed or fail for no human aid is of any avail except that of Your Majesty's and that I dare not ask for as Your Majesty has most graciously already done more for me than I could ever have hoped.

How true is the saying My Sovereign that History repeats itself.

The Khedive's ease at this moment in Egypt is exactly what was mine in the Punjab. His Arab Pascha is what Moolraj was to me some thirty years ago and the British Government sent an army to put down the rebellion against me as it is being done at the present time at Alexandria but the late Marquis of Oathouse misrepresented the whole affair and I the innocent (sic) was made to suffer with the guilty in the consequences of the Proclamation issued by his Lordship's orders at the entrance of the British force into the aforementioned Province.

It is very hard indeed My Sovereign that I should have been classed with Your Majesty's enemies and treated as such when I never even lifted up my little finger against Your Majesty's Government.

Had I been aware My Sovereign of the true state of things the knowledge of which was carefully kept from me by the late Sir John Login -a creature of Lord Dalhousie- and all the officials were unfortunately the only friends I have had all my life except until very lately to advise me) and as well acquainted with the English law and customs as I am at present a very different provision both for the maintenance of myself and my children would have been made but even now I do not despair as having by accident discovered providentially preserved the official dispatches connected with the Punjab in their entirety at the British Museum and feeling certain that Your Majesty at the head of this great nation will cause justice to be done to me some day or other.

Imploring Your Majesty to forgive me for presuming to address Your Majesty once again, I remain, my most gracious Sovereign, Your Majesty's most loyal humble subject . .

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QUEEN Victoria's maharajah

While writing thus to the queen the Maharajah must all the time have been brewing his ease for presentation in the form of a letter to The Times, which made some telling points, ably, if insidiously, rebutted in an editorial which seemed to indicate that the writer had got his facts from Sir Owen

Bume, the political secretary at the India Office. The correspondence started off many arguments in the country as to the rights and wrongs of the affair.

To the Editor of The Times.

Sir, As the era of doing justice and restoration appears to have dawned, judging from the recent truly liberal and noble act of the present Liberal Government, headed now by the great Gladstone the just, I am encouraged to lay before the British Nation, through the medium of The Times, the injustice which I have suffered, in the hope that, although generosity may not be lavished upon me to the same extent as has been bestowed upon King Cetewayo,* yet that some magnanimity might be shown towards me by this great Christian Empire.

When I succeeded to the throne of the Punjab, I was only an infant and the Athabre soldiery, becoming more and more mutinous and overbearing during both my uncle's and my mother's reigns, at last, unprovoked, crossed the Sutlej and attacked the friendly British Power, and was completely defeated and entirely routed by the English Army.

Had my dominions been annexed to the British territories, I would have said not a word to say, for I was at that time an independent chief of an independent people, and any penalty which might have been then inflicted would have been perfectly just: but that kind, true Englishman, the late Lord Hardinge, in consideration of the friendship which had existed between the British Empire and the 'Lion of the Punjab', replaced me on my throne, and the diamond Koh-i-noor on my arm. At one of the Durbars. The Council of Regency, which was then created to govern the country during my minority, finding that it was not in their power to rule the Punjab unaided, applied for assistance to the representative of the British Government, who after stipulating for absolute power to control every Government I have conquered Zulu King, exiled in London, whose lands had been taken

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it is due to the pointed by
of the School, Lahore

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5 The Second Lahore Durbar.
; ift December

Maharajah Duleep Singh face*
I Sir Henry Lawrence (fc/j).
Lord Cough Uenre)

.y/ j and Lord Dalhousie
‘ ‘ Frederick Cum. trandaiing.
«ii on Duleep Singh » {eft

9 Dr John Login

10 A watercolour sketch

of the Maharajah by F. X
WimerhaUcr. July 1854

11 Tik Maharajah
photographed
at Oibomc, 1854

>9 Princess Victoria Gouramma of Coorg

24 A shooting party at Elveden, 4 December i »77
Buttreu' CfroRikfc tonghT): Lckrd Frederick Faroy. Prince
of Wales (seated), Earl J of Leicester, Lord RendJesham (seated).
Duke of Atholl.

. V I Balfour of Burleigh. Sir

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Victor piinted by George
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LETTERS TO THE TIMES

department, entered into the Bhyrotva] Treaty with me, by which it was guaranteed that I should be protected on my throne until I attained the age of sixteen years; t)^ British also furnishing troops both for the above object and preservation of peace in the country, in consideration of a certain sum to be paid to them annually by my Durbar, for the maintenance of that force.

Thus the British nation, with open eyes, assumed my guardianship, the nature of which is clearly defined in a proclamation subsequently issued by Lord Hardinge's orders on the 20th of August, 1847, which declares that the tender age of the Maharajah Duleep Singh causes him to feel the interest of a father in the education and guardianship of the young prince. (Vide Panjab Papers at the British Museum).

Two English Officers carrying letters bearing my signature were despatched by the British Resident in conjunction with my Durbar, to take possession of the fortress of MooUan and the surrounding district in my name, but my servant Mooltaj, refusing to acknowledge my authority, caused them to be put to death, whereupon both the late Sir F. Currie and the brave Sir Herbert Edwardes, most urgently requested the Commander-In-Chief of the British

forces at SinJa, as there were not sufficient English soldier* at Lahore at the time, to send some European troops without delay in order to crush the rebellion in the bud, as they affirmed that the consequences could not be calculated which might follow if it were allowed to spread; but the late Lord Gough, with the concurrence of the late Marquis of Dalhousie, refused to comply with their wishes, alleging the unhealthiness of the season as his reason for doing so.

My case at that time was exactly similar to what the Khedive's is at this moment: Arabi being, in his present position, to his master what Moolraj was to me — viz., a rebel.

At last, very tardily, the British Government sent troops (as has been done in Egypt) to quell the rebellion, which had by that time vastly increased in the Punjab, and who entered my territories, headed by a proclamation, issued by Lord Dalhousie's orders, to the following effect:

'Enclosure No. 8 in No. 42 - To the subjects, servants and dependants of the Lahore State, and residents of all classes and castes, whether Sikhs, Mussulmans, or others within the territories of Maharajah Duleep Singh ... Whereas certain evil-disposed

QurtN victosia's maharajah

pcnon< and traiton have excited febeHion and mtarreetjon. and have seduced portions of the population of the Punjab from their allegiance, and have raised an armed opposition to the British authority; and whereas the condign punishment of the insurgents is necessary ... therefore the Ontish Army, under the command of the Right Hon. the Commander-in-ebief. has entered the Punjab districts. The army will not return to its cantonments untJ the full punishment of all insurgents has been effected, all oppose tJon to the constituted authority put down, and obcdtenc and order have been re-establsshed.'

Thus it is clear from the above that the British Commander-in-Cbief did not enter my dominions as a conqueror, nor the army to stay there, and. therefore, it is not conect to assert, as some do. that the Punjab was a military conquest.

'And whereas it is not the desire of the British Government that those who ate innocent of the above offences, who have taken no part secretly or openly, in the disturbances, and who have remained faithful in their obedience to the Government of Maharajah Duleep Singh . . . should suffer with the guilty.'

But after order was restored, and iinding only a helpless child to deal with, and (he tempradon being so strong, Lord Dalhousie annexed the Punjab, instead ofearrytng our the solemn compact entered into by the Brituh Government at BhyroH'al : sold almost all my personal, as well as all my private property, consuting of jewels, gold and silver plate, even some of my wearing apparel and household furniture and distributed the proceeds, amounting (I was told) to X<250,000. as priae money among those very troops who had come to put down rebellion against my authority.

Thus I, the innocent, who never lifted up even my little finger against the British Government, was made to suffer in the same manner with my own subjects who would not acknowledge my authority, in spite of the declaration of the above quoted proclamation that it is not the desire of the British Government that the innocent should suffer with the guilty.

Lord Dalhousie, in writing to the Secret Committee of the late Court of Directors, in order to justify his unjust act, among other arguments employs the following. He says: -

It has been objected that the present dynasty in the Punjab cannot with justice be subverted since the Maharajah Duleep Singh, being yet a minor, can hardly be held responsible for the acts of

THE HISTORY OF THE PUNJAB

the nation. With deference to those by whom these views have been entertained. I must dissent entirely from the soundness of the doctrine. It is, I venture to think, altogether untenable as a principle; it has been disregarded in the case of Maharajah Duleep Singh. When in 1848 the Khalsa army invaded our territories, the Maharajah was not held to be free from responsibility, nor was he exempted from the consequences of the acts of the people. On the contrary, the Government of India confiscated to itself the richest provinces of the Maharajah's kingdom, and was applauded for the moderation which had exacted no more. If the Maharajah was not exempted from responsibility on the plea of his tender years at (he age of eight, he cannot on that plea be entitled to exemption from a heavy responsibility now that he is three years older.'

It is in Uluk arguing. His Lordship became blind to the fact that in 1848 when the Khalsa army invaded the British territories. I was an independent chief, but after the ratification of the Dera Gurdaspur treaty I was made the ward of the British nation; and how could I, under these circumstances, be held responsible for the neglect of my Guardians in not crushing Moolraj's rebellion at once, the necessity of doing which was clearly and repeatedly pointed out by the British Resident at Lahore?

Again. His Lordship says: 'The British Government has rigidly observed the obligation which the treaty imposed on them and fully acted up to the spirit and letter of its contract.' No doubt all this was or may have been true, except so far that neither peace was preserved in the country nor I protected on my throne till I attained the age of sixteen years; two very important stipulations of that treaty.

He further alleges: 'In return for the aid of the British troops they (my Durbar) bound themselves to pay to us a subsidy of 22 lakhs (£220,000) per annum ... from the day when that treaty was signed to the present hour, not one rupee has ever been paid.'

Now, the above statement is not correct, because of the following despatch which exists: Enclosure No. 5 in No. 10, the Acting Resident at Lahore affirms. 'The Durbar has paid into this Treasury gold to the value of Rs. 1,356,637-0-6 (one million three hundred and fifty-six thousand six hundred and thirty-seven rupees), taking the

value of a rupee at 2s.).'

1. Thus I have been most unjustly deprived of my kingdom, yielding, as shown by Lord Ddhouseie's own computation in (1

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QUEEN victoria's MAHARAJAH

think) iSjo, 2 {urplui revenue of iotne /[^]joo.000, and no doubt now vastly exceeds that sum.

2. I have also been prevented, unjustly, from receiving the tenuis of my private estate (vide Prinscp'i History of the Sikhs, compiled for the Government of India) in the Punjab, amounting to some jo.000 per annum, since 1849, although my private property is not confiscated by the terms of the annexation which I was compelled to sign by my guardians when I was a minor, and, therefore, I presume it is an illegal document, for I am still lawful Sovereign of the Punjab; but this is of no moment, I am quite content to be the subject of my Most Gracious Sovereign, no matter how it was brought about, for her graciousness towards me has been boundless.

3. All my personal property has also been taken from me. excepting [^]20.000 worth, which I was informed by the late Sir John Login was permitted to be uten with me to Futteghur when I was exUed; and the rest, amounting to some ^{^^}330.000, disposed of as stated before. What is still more unjust in my case it, that most of my servants who remained faithful to me were permi«ed to retain all their penonal and private property, and to enjoy the rentals of their landed estates (orjagheets) given to them by nse and my piedecesson; whereas I their master, who did not even lift up my little finger against the Britishnanon. was not considered worthy to be treated on the same footing of equality with them, because, I suppose, my sin being that I happened to be the ward of a Christian power.

The enormous British liberality permits a life stipend of £25.000 per annum, which is reduced by charges (knovm to the proper authorities) to some £13,000. to be paid to me from the revenues of India.

Lately, an Act of Parliament has been passed by which, some months hence, the munificent sum of some £2,000 will be added to my above stated available income but on the absolute condition that my estates must be told at my death, thus causing my dearly loved English home to be broken up, and compelling my descendants to seek some other asylum.

A very meagre provmon, considcnng of what and how I have been deprived, has also been made for my successors.

If one righteous man was found in the two most wicked ciues of the world. I pray God chat ac least one honourable, just and

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noble Englishman maybe forthcoming out of this Christian land of liberty and justice to advocate my cause in Parliament, otherwise what chance have I of obtaining justice, considering that my despoiler, guardian, judge, advocate, and my jury is the British nation itself?

Generous and Christian Englishmen, accord me a just and liberal treatment for the sake of the fair name of your nation, of which I have now the honour to be a naturalised member, for it is more blessed to give than to take.

I have the honour to remain, Sir, your most obliged servant,
Duleep Singh.*^

Thanks Times' editorial on 31 August 1856;

We print elsewhere a somewhat singular letter from the Maharajah Duleep Singh. Encouraged, as it would seem, by the restoration of Cetewayo, he puts forward an impassioned plea for this consideration of his own claims. On a first glance, his letter reads as if he demanded nothing less than to be replaced on the throne of the Punjab. He professes to establish his right to that position and to waive it, magnanimously avowing that he is quite content to be the subject of his most gracious Sovereign, whose graciousness towards him has been boundless. His real object, however, is far less ambitious. It is to prefer a claim for a more generous treatment of his private affairs at the hands of the Indian Government. In violation of the sovereignty of the Punjab, with its unbounded power and unlimited resources, 'the enormous British liberality' he complains, permits him only a life stipend of £25,000 per annum, which is reduced by certain charges to some £13,000. All that he has hitherto succeeded in obtaining from the Indian Government is an arrangement, lately sanctioned by Act of Parliament, whereby he will receive an addition of £2,000 to his annual income on condition that his estates are sold at his death in order to liquidate his liabilities, and provide for his widow and children.

It is really against this arrangement that the Maharajah appeals. His argument concerning his deposed sovereignty of the Punjab is manifestly only intended to support his pecuniary claims. If these were settled to his satisfaction he would doubtless be content, and more than content, to die, as he had lived, an English country gentleman, with estates swarming with game, and with an income sufficient for his needs. This is a son of appeal to its justice and

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QUEEN VICTORIA'S MAHARAJAH

generosity with which the English public is not unfamiliar. Duleep Singh is not the feebly dispossessed Eastern Prince who has felt himself aggrieved by the dispositions of the Indian Government, nor

is this the first occasion on which his own claims have been heard of. For a long time he preferred a claim for the Koh-i-noor, of which he alleged that he had been wrongfully despoiled. Now it is his private estates in India which he declares have been confiscated without adequate compensation. No one, of course, would wish that a prince in the Maharajah's position should be ungenerously treated. He is, as it were, the ward of the English nation, and even his extravagances might be leniently regarded. But, as the claim, now publicly preferred by the Maharajah, has been disallowed after full consideration by successive Governments both in India and this country, it may not be amiss to show that his case is by no means so strong as he still affects to consider it.

The events of the two Sikh wars, and their sequel, have probably faded out of the memory of most of our readers, but they are, however, accurately stated, so far as the main facts are concerned. In the Maharajah's letter. It is not so much with these facts themselves that we are now concerned as with the Maharajah's inferences from them, and with certain other facts which he has not found it convenient to state. It is perfectly true that after the overthrow of the Khalsa power in the sanguinary battle of Sobtaon, Lord Hardinge declined to annex the Punjab and placed the Maharajah on the throne under the Regency of his mother, the Ranee, assisted by a Council of Sirdars. This settlement, however, proved a failure, and was replaced by the arrangement under the Byrowal Treaty, whereby the entire control and guidance of affairs was vested in the British Resident, and the presence of British troops was guaranteed until the Maharajah should attain his majority.

The Second Sikh War, which began with the revolt of Moolraj in 1848, soon proved the utility of this arrangement also, and after the surrender of Mooltan and the battle of Gujrat, which finally broke the reviving power of the Khalsa, Lord Dalhousie, who had succeeded Lord Hardinge as Governor-General, decided that the time had come for the incorporation of the Punjab with the British Dominions in India. Duleep Singh was at this time only eleven years of age; but he had been recognized for more than three years as the Sovereign of the Punjab, and by the advice

LETTERS TO THE T/A&S

of his Durbar at Lahore, he signed the terms of settlement proposed by the British Commissioner, whereby he renounced 'for himself, his heirs, and his successors, all right, title and claim to the sovereignty of the Punjab, or to any sovereign power whatever'. By subsequent clauses of the same instrument 'all the property of the State, of whatever description and wheresoever found,' was confiscated to the East India Company; the Koh-i-noor was surrendered to the Queen of England: a pension of not less than four and not exceeding five lakhs of rupees was secured to the Maharajah, 'for the support of himself, his relatives, and the servants of the State'; and the Company undertook to treat the Maharajah with respect and honour and to allow him to retain the title of 'Maharajah Duleep Singh, Bahadour*.

Of this instrument, the Maharajah now says that he was compelled to sign it by his guardians when he was a minor, and he argues that the political necessity which dictated it was due to the lapses of the Indian Government, which had failed to fulfil the pledges of the DhyrowaJ Treaty, and had allowed the revolt of Moolraj to develop into a Sikh rebellion. In answer to these allegations, it is sufficient to quote the report of the British Commissioner, who presented the terms for signature. 'The paper,' he lays, 'was then funded to the Maharajah, who immediately affixed his signature. The alacrity with which he took the paper when offered, was a matter of remark to all, and suggested the idea that possibly he had been instructed by his advisers that any show of hesitiation might lead to the substitution of terms less favourable than those which he had been offered.' Moreover, the plea that the Maharajah was a minor, and, therefore, not a Ixec agent, is fatal to his own Case; he was two years younger when the Bhyrowal Treaty was signed, and younger still when the settlement of Lord Hardinge replaced him on the throne, and restored him to the sovereignty, which he even now acknowledges might at that time have been rightly forfeited. We need not dwell on this point, however. The Maharajah himself would hardly press it. His claim of sovereignty is merely intended to cover his claim for money. He never was much more than nominal Sovereign of the Punjab, and he probably desires nothing so little at the moment as the restitution of his sovereign rights. The political question has long been closed; it only remains to consider whether the personal and financial questions still remain open. The Maharajah complains that

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he was deprived of his personal and private property - with in* significant exceptions - and of the rentals of his landed estates. There is, however, no mention of private property in the terms of settlement accepted by the Maharajah; and a minute of Lord Dalhousie, recorded in 1855, states explicitly that at the time the Punjab was annexed, the youth had no territories, no lands, no property, to which he could succeed. The pension accorded by the East India Company was plainly intended to support the Maharajah in becoming state, and to provide for his personal dependants, and the British Government expressly reserved to itself the right of allotting only such portion as it thought fit of the 'Four Lakh Fund', as the pension was called, to the Maharajah's personal use. Some time ago as 1855, Lord Dalhousie wrote a dispatch, intended to remove from the Maharajah's mind all idea that the Four Lakh Fund would ultimately revert to himself, and characterizing such an idea as 'entirely erroneous*.

The Indian Government, however, has certainly not dealt ungenerously with the Maharajah. It is true that it has not recognized his claim to certain private estates of which no record exists, still less has it listened to any of his attempts to assail the validity of the instrument whereby his sovereignty was extinguished. For some years after the annexation his personal allowance out of the Four Lakh Fund was fixed at Rs. 2,00,000 - a sum which was considered entirely satisfactory by the leading Ministers of the Durbar,

who assented and advised the Maharajah to assent to the terms of 1849. But in 1839 this allowance was doubled, and the Maharajah himself more than once acknowledged in subsequent years the liberality of the arrangements made. The allowance of £23,000 a year has been reduced to the £3,000 mentioned by the Maharajah in his letter, nor by any act of the Indian Government, but by what could well be called extravagance, though, as he is an Eastern prince, it is more generous, perhaps, to describe it as magnificence. He first bought a property in Gloucestershire, but this was sold some years ago, and his present estate at Elveden, in Suffolk, was purchased for £138,000, the money being advanced by the Government, and interest for the loan to the amount of £3,664 per annum being paid by the Maharajah. Some two or three years ago the Home Government of India proposed to release the Maharajah from payment of this annual sum provided that he would consent to the sale of the estate, either at once or at

LETTERS TO THE TIMES

death, for the repayment of the principal of the loans advanced. This proposal, however, was rejected by the Indian Government, which maintained, in very strong and plain language, that the Maharajah had already been treated with exceptional liberality, and that if he wanted more money he should sell his estate. The Indian Government remained inexorable, but the liberality of the Home Government was not yet exhausted; the Maharajah had built a house at Elveden, at a cost of £100,000 and had borrowed £50,000 from a London banking firm for the purpose. For this loan interest had to be paid, and the Indian Government has lately sanctioned the repayment of the capital sum without making any further charge on the Maharajah. It is to this arrangement, and to the Act of Parliament which sanctions it, that the Maharajah refers with some bitterness at the close of his letter. In order to settle his affairs, and to provide for his wife and family, the Act of Parliament requires that his estate at Elveden should be sold after his death. Hence the Lanyamae. An argument which starts from the sovereign claims of the son of the 'Lion of the Punjab', ends, somewhat ridiculously, though not without a touch of pathos, with the sorrows of the Squire of Elveden. Dulcep Singh began life as a Maharajah of the Punjab, with absolute power and boundless wealth if he had only been old enough to enjoy them, and if the Khalsa would have allowed him to do so; he is not even allowed to end it as an English country gentleman, leaving an encumbered estate and an embarrassed heir. There is really a certain tragedy about the whole matter. Fate and the British power have deprived the Maharajah of the sovereignty for which he was born. He has done his best to become an English squire, and if he has lived beyond his income he may plead abundance of examples in the class to which he has attached himself; yet he is for ever to bear the consequences himself, and not to inflict them on his children and descendants, as an English squire would be able to do. The whole case is one which it is very difficult to judge upon any abstract principles. It is, no doubt, the duty of every man to live within his income, and yet if the Maharajah has failed to acquire a virtue rare indeed among Eastern princes and not too common in the class to which he belongs by adoption, there is no Englishman but

would feel ashamed if he or his descendants were thereby to come to want. At the same time it is impossible for the Indian Government, which has claims on its resources far more urgent

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QUEEN victoria's MAHARAJAH

than those of the magnificent squire of Bveden, to guarantee him indefinitely against the consequences of his own improvidence- At my rate, it is safe to warn him against encumbering his personal claims by political pleas which are wholly inadmissible. He is very little likely to excite sympathy for his pecuniary troubles by his bold, but scarcely successful, attempt to show that if he could only come by his own, he is still the lawful Sovereign of the Punjab.

Duleep Singh's reply was published in The Times, 6 September 1852.

Sir. As your leading article of Thursday, the 1st ult. commenting on my letter of the 28th, which you were good as to publish, contains many inaccuracies as to matters of fact, which no one, perhaps, can correct so precisely as myself, I trust you will allow me to do so, and to make a few observations.

(i) You say: 'All that he has hitherto succeeded in obtaining from the Indian Government is an arrangement, lately sanctioned by Act of Parliament whereby he will receive an addition to his annual income, on condition that his estates are sold at his death, in order to liquidate his liabilities. and provide for his widow and children. It is really against this arrangement that the Maharajah appeals.'

I do not 'really appeal' against the above arrangement, but what I do certainly think unjust in it is that I am not permitted to repay, during my life, the loan which is to be made under it — £16,000 having already been advanced to me - and that I am thus forbidden to preserve, by a personal sacrifice, my English home to my descendants. In April last (sent a cheque for £3,542 14s., representing capital and compound interest at the rate of five per cent to the India Office but it was returned to me.

My widow and children, should I leave any, were already provided for, under arrangements which existed before this Act was passed.

(2) With reference to your quotation from the British Commissioner as to my 'alacrity' in signing the terms, I have simply to say that, being then a child, I did not understand what I was signing.

(j) 'Moreover', you say, 'the plea that the Maharajah was a minor, and, therefore not a free agent, a fatal to his cause, he was two years younger when the Treaty was signed,

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and youngtr Jtill when the teltlcmnt of Lord Hardinge replaced him on the throne, and rettored to him the Jovercignty which he c^cn now acknowledged, might at that time have bom rightly forfeited. We do not dwell or> thii point, howo'cr, the Maharajah hitntclf would hardly preit it.*

Dut. whether it it fatal to my cate or not, I do press it, and maintain that after the ratification oftheDhyrowalTrcaty, I was a ward of the Oritish nation, and that it was unjust on the part of the guardian to deprive me of my kingdom in contcqoence of a failure in guardianship.

Here at Lord Hardmge's own words: *Dut, in addition to these considerations of a political nature, the CovemoT-General is bound to be guided by the obligations which the Drtish Government has contracted when it consented to be the guardian of the young Prince during his minority.* 49. "Punjab Papers* 1647-4%)

(4) 'The Maharajah complains*, you would say, 'that he was deprived of hVs personal and private property - with insignificant exceptions - and of the rentals of his landed estates. There is, however. no mention of private property in the terms of the settlement accepted by the Maharajah; and a minute of lord Dalhousie, recorded in 16}\$. explicitly states that at the time the Punjab was annexed, the youth had no territories, no lands, no property to which he could have succeeded.' My reply is, that at the time of the annexation (had succeeded to territories, lands, and personal property, and was in po«eiiion.3nd these possessions were held in trust, and managed for me, under treaty, by the Drtish Government.

That I had succeeded and was possessed of private estates in land, is an historical fact, and a matter of public records. Moreover, these estates had belonged to my /amily, one of them having been acquired by maniage, before my father attained to sovereignty. The statement in Lord Dathousic's minute only amounts to a denial of the existence of the sun by a blind man; and there are none so blind as those who will not sec.

And now with regard to my alleged extravagance, these are the facts. The life stipend of /125.000 allotted to me. has to bear the following deductions: - (i) interest, payable to the

Government ofindia ; (2) about ^3,000 as premium on pofia'cs of insurance of my life, executed in order to add to the meagre provision made for my descendants by the British Government, and

ItSi

QUEEN Victoria's maharajah

as security for the loan from my banlcn; (J) C^,000 per annum for two pensions of £5°° annum each to the widows of the superintendent appointed by Lord Dalhousie to take charge of me aficr the annexation, and of my kind friend, the late controller of my establishment, besides which there is some annum

payable in pensions to old servanu in India.

In order to be able to receive his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and to return the hospitality of men of my own position in life, and because I was advised and considered — not I think unreasonably — that the rank granted to me by Her Majesty required it to be done. I expended some £100,000 (not £150,000 as you were informed) in the alterations and repairs to the old house on this estate; suitable furniture cost £8,000 more.

At a cost of some £1,000, I have purchased life annuities to be paid to the before mentioned widow ladies in case they should survive me.

About £100,000 more had to be borrowed from my bankers on mortgage, to complete the purchase of this estate, as the money lent to me by the Government of India was insufficient by that amount. Thus, my debts amount to something like of

which covered by policies of insurance. £100,000 by

mortgage, and the remainder amply secured by personal assets. Therefore, instead of my estates being heavily encumbered, my heirs, were I to die at this moment, would succeed to a house and furniture which are worth much more than £30,000, without any liability, besides some £70,000 secured by insurance on my life.

I think you are bound to acquit the Squire of Elveden of extravagance.

When the agricultural depression set in, I requested the Home Government to make an allowance that would enable me to maintain my position, and they kindly, after causing all the accounts to be examined, helped me with £10,000, but do not accuse me of extravagance. Subsequently, pending the consideration of my affairs, some £6,000 or £7,000 more was advanced to pay off pressing bills, as during that time I had not completed the arrangements for reducing my establishment. Out of the above loan £10,000 was invested in live and dead stock on farms in hand, and would be forthcoming, if demanded, at a very short notice.

Thus the extravagance during my residence at Elveden is reduced to the fabulous sum of some £100,000 and I possess enough

LETTERS TO THE TIMES

personally. beyond any question. to discharge debts to that amount, and some £6,000 more, should they exist after my death.

In common justice, therefore, Mr, Editor, I ask you to contradict, in as prominent a manner as you can

in your most influential journal, the statements as to my

the following paragraph of your leading article of Sunday title
"It is, you say, that 'the claim now' publicly refuted by
Maharajah has been disallowed after full

sive Govts., both in India and this country. Yes, it is very easy disallow a claim without hearing the teal . c.

The English law grants the accused the chance of P^vuig him self not guilty; but I am condemned unheard; it this just.

I remain. Sir, your most obliged. ,,

Net long after the oxch.nge of lettets m We Ttes a

small book apeated, entitled ^e '4»"«Xd{v Tmbner

and the Mabarajal. D.ileep Sin^li. It was pubshed by Tmbner

& Co. of Ludgate Hill and the author was M

Evans Bell was a writer of power and . p ,,5^.

ably argued his causes from the native n 1 p

He had been assistant commissioner at Nagpo “

his appointment for insubordination m «dYO<tmg Ae daj®

of the dispossessed ruling family. Hts

civil serviL had made him highly unpopular

lishment, who could hardly apprecate aemued of^dtd^

mediocrity', of having an ‘unconaliato^ e a

the recommendation that 'no time would be >■>“ ” P^TM ^

total stop to the tide of “highly educated young gentlem

”Su'r"stt' it point.' he wrote. ^ ,’’Tr““^na‘’g’'e ha!

dclugeofyoungEnglishmen.whomt e m o p

sen, forth in a of

quarter of a century. This has ica rivU and

the “damned nigger” system in every cp care for

miUtary. Boys just emancipated from ,, of their

nothing but beer and billiards, 'whose very gn

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QUrEN VfCTOBM's MAtMBAJAfI

lingtiagc and ciutoms makes them didike and despise thejr native subordinates, arc piiced in charge of companies of sepoy.''^^

The Maharajah sent a copy of Evans IJeU'i book to the

queen, who cannot have been altogether gratified by its controversial and critical interpretation of the activities of her government in India, even if it did provide confirmation of the Maharajah's argument. According to Evans Dell, the Mooltan revolt could have been put down immediately but had been allowed to spread, thus justifying more far-reaching intervention leading to annexation.

Lord Dalhousie might have gained the favour of the Princes and people by a plain statement of what had been done, and what was intended to do in the Punjab. Instead of doing so, he violated treaties, abused a sacred trust, threw away the grandest opportunity ever offered to the British Government of planting solid and vital reform up to the Northern limits of India, and by an acquisition as unjust as it was imprudent, weakened our frontier, scattered our military strength, and entailed a heavy financial burden upon the Empire. 'That, I believe, shall be the verdict of posterity and history

Parliamentary told the queen that, according to Sir Owen Duncanson, 'Major Evans Bell is a professional agitator. He is a clever but entirely unscrupulous swindler, & he has used his pen against us as a professional agent in every single annexation or settlement we have ever made.' There was an upsetting suggestion in the Maharajah's letter accompanying the book: he again proposed entering Parliament. He gave two reasons:

1st. I am aware that there is great discontent prevailing in India and I know on the very best authority that were Russia to appear on the borders of Your Majesty's Eastern Empire there is not an Indian Prince who would not rebel. I hope by representing their grievances in Parliament to bring about such a change in the existing state of affairs as will entirely destroy the possibility of such an occurrence, and thus serve Your Majesty in a humble way.

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LETTERS TO THE QUEEN

2nd. Should the Indian Government not give heed to my appeal I hope to be able to advocate my own case in Parliament,

The queen did not see why the Maharajah had to be in Parliament to get a public hearing and "I will

look into the matter. He put the question "Should I

Burne, who, referring to the queen's interest in the case, replied:

The case will no doubt come on in Parliament. "I have heavy artillery you mention. but I cannot think that the Maharajah

will do this. As to the private states we have

of them till lately, and we are attacking the Government of India,

enquiries. In the meantime they private

defied after the annexation, M.

"The ruler of the Sikh Empire had fallen on

were perhaps — after the reflection of 33 years broke out

him suddenly. But he

in open rebellion, & he acknowledged by

terms were fair enough & he almost swallow lately

the M.P. until quite lately. had very an I advised

in the new arrangements made with

acted or would have liked but the Indian Government

& are very angry indeed at our making any concessions all

For Sir Owen Bume, who liked to see a

very perfect gentleman, such hiding under the viceroys could his
viceroys was to say the least hypocritical. ^

postscript be described as gentlemanly .
that Dulce Singh's mother was a very able Bhistee,

he is not Runjit Singh's son at all. but the son of
or water carrier, a favourite at her court. Balmoral,

It was not until November that the queen,
put her mind once again to the matter without

^The Queen it anxious to answer the "she

delay, having been so long without justice" ..he

feels very sorry for him - it wishes some time to be given, she

wrote a memorandum on Ponsonby's letter. ^^^^

passed on Bume's story of the J

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QUEEN VICTORIA'S MAHARAJA

decided, for the queen added tartly, illogically: 'The notion
of his not being Runjit Singh's real son - it is nonsense as he
never acknowledged he was placed on the throne by U.
Harjinder. The Queen read the books also.' It might be
thought that her advisers were trying to discredit her protégé
in her eyes, as they were to do ten years later in the case of
another Indian friend, the maharaja.

The queen's letter, drafted by Ponsonby, avoided all the

controversial suggestions put forward by the Maharajah in former correspondence and referred him back to Lord Harrington, who she was sure 'would not be party to any injustice'. She reproved him for his letters to The Times. 'If I might advise you - it would be better not to write in the papers. It is beneath you to do so. It is to someone whose wise and impartial opinion you could rely & whose advice in these difficult questions would be of use to you?'¹⁶⁶

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CHAPTER 10

Arguments with the India Office

After the passing of the Maharajah Dideep Singh Estates Act in 1882, the Maharajah began to feel that his fortunes and his future had taken an unacceptable turn for the worse. Not only was he unable to leave Elveden to his eldest son, but his position in society was rapidly becoming untenable through lack of funds.

He had never been one to accept the meaning of 'final settlement', especially when settled under duress, and was not long deterred by the apparently awesome act. Accordingly, on 1 March 1883, he wrote to Lord Kimberley, Harrington's successor, giving 53 Holland Park as his address as an indication that he could no longer afford to live at Elveden:

I have the honour to lay before your Lordship a statement of my wishes in the confident hope that my Case will be reconsidered and such a provision made as will enable me to maintain the high rank conferred to me by my Gracious Sovereign during my life and by my Children after my death, worthy of the magnanimity of this great just and civilised Nation.

1st. I would venture humbly to request that if no greater generosity can be bestowed upon me at least my present life stipend of £25,000 per annum be continued to my male heirs at my death.

andly. That the £100,000 in which I am indebted to the Indian Government together with given to me for the purchase

of an Estate in this Country may be considered as a full compensation for the loss of gold and silver plate and Palace jewels, thus relieving my stipend of the heavy charge of interest deducted from it

QUESTIONS

3rdly. That the £100,000 on which I am indebted to the Indian Government for the benefit of my children and myself may be continued by me out of my life stipend of £25,000 per annum be continued

from the turylui athmp out of the uiies{^cicJ balance of the »utn allotted for the maintenance ofmytelf my relative* and wrevant* of itate at the Annexation.

My Lord. } feel very deeply the hardhip to uhieh my ehildren wU be tubjeeted, via., bniip btmiht up m the poution which I occupy m ihi* Country ihrough the praonume** of my Sovereign on beinp compelled to telinqonh it at my death for a lower iphert of life ...*

These movinp ptoposaU. mainly on behalf of hi* childfcn. did not seem inordinately dcmandtnp, yet Lord Kimberley * reply, received three wcki later, wai enjelty ncpativc. even

ifhejipncdhimielfYour Highness** Sincere friend and u-etl-

whhef' ; 'I regret to be under the occesiity of informjng V Highnws that I am entirely unable to entertain the request which you now put forward, and that, so far a* the Indian Government ii concerned the arrangement* embodied in the Actof Patliament which received the Royal Assent on loth August last must be eomidered absolutely final.

When the queen saw a copy of the letter she was suf- ficiently agitated to scrawl an immediate memo to her pnvate secretary Henry Ponsonby which indicated her strong feel- ings in the matter; 'The Queen will wntc later abt. the Maharajah, but thinks Ld. Kimberley mcjt heartless and un- kind. She feels something must and shJ be done and as she and the Pee, always rook a red pefsosial mternt in him she wishes that a personal appeal should be made to him- Could Sit Henry go to him! He has been very hardly used - and U n potentially bad for us if he goes back impovenshed and full of grievances. Sir O. Bumc (his enemy) was a chtld when the Maharajah came over here and was treated as an exiled deposed Sovereign. The Queen feel* very strongly on this subject.**

Strength of feeling was one matter, but being able posi- tively to override the decisions of the India Office was quite

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ARGUMENTS WITH THE INDIA OFFICE

another snd ,ha, .he queen. « R rrsi'.?;

should not, and in this case would not, do: .he Mah>''J'' | money was hardly a mailer on which she could bnng about the resignation of her minister. Owm

A. the queen's request Ponsonby Dutne to see if anything could ^ ^ well

a hardening of official attitudes whic i P for the fuwrc. 'We are very delenmnrd a. and so ate they in India. We find that the

no compromise, and that if we comm P . . Qy^en's
Patliament immediately after they have ^ Hunse added
sanction we shall get into a slough of despond_ Du^^
a drop of acid for the royal ear: to me
dined to have less sympathy I... settled /a ooo
apparently well founded rumour. hat he has etd
a year on a Mitt Ash whom he has
keeping.*

rohVvethc'coumr^andgoandlivcin^

■"LL^IZdCquiehtoregiste^abom^

seemed to be the Maharajah's first pos> threat 'Having
ing a course that had hitherto I am much

taL an interest in the case S Jewels

concerned to see that he IS actual y se^ Hertford wrote to

for the purpose of going to Indt . himself but

Ponsonby. 'Surely this is not only

may be productive of "V^fX^Maharajah's intemperate
When the queen learned of Uic J , . ^ Ld.

action she scribbled a note to cd.

Hertford see the Queen finds herself in

do so out of friendliness. ^-i,,r,:ah to come to

difficulty is that she repeatedly told the Maharajah to

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QUEEN victoria's MAKARA/AH
her or write to her if he was in difficulties. As his best friend
she fdnnof let him think she deserts him.'®

Hertford could do nothing. The sale was to start on 23
July 1883 at the rooms of Messrs Phillips, Son & Neale, of
New Bond Street, and to bring the point home, Ponsonby
and Hertford were invited to attend the private view. An
article in The Times on 20 July was sympathetic, and
encouraged the idea that authority might be persuaded to
bow to popular opinion.

The news of His Highness being compelled to sell his jewels
and other valuables will excite a deep feeling of sympathy among

all who are acquainted with the history of the 'Lion of the Punjab ... There is very good reason for the complaint on his part that he has practically been deprived unfairly of a large share of the income which was guaranteed to him . . .

Although the Government, from a purely business point of view might be justified in believing that the Maharajah has 'probably brought his pecuniary difficulties upon himself, it could be in extenuation that the ways of Oriental potentates are not as those of modern English Princes, where the nation was not under the same obligations as it is under towards His Highness the Maharajah ... A golden bridge might, with generosity and dignity, be built for the sake of a position which is embarrassing for both parties.

According to The Times, the most striking item in the sale was the silver and gilt plate, of which there were twenty-four breakfast services - 'teapot, sugar basin, cream ewer, toast and egg frame, etc.' - alone. But the piece de resistance must surely have been Lot 150; 'A magnificent centre piece, 39 inches high, composed of a large and finely modelled figure of an elephant carrying the Maharajah of the Punjab, surrounded by several equestrian groups etc . . There were also cashmere shawls and 'rare Indian carpets' up for auction, whilst the third day's sale was given over to 'elegant and fashionable Indian jewellery'. Items included enamelled bracelets and necklaces set with diamonds and pearls, pendants and bracelets set with cabochon emeralds, pearls and

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ABCUMINTS WITH THE INDIA OFFICE

A CATALOGUE

25,000 Oz. of Chased Plate,

VAILMITH

C/JSKK'IKOKJKWKL,
RARE INDIAN CARPETS,

NUMEROUS. Ac,

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJAH OF LAHORE

DULEEP SINGH. C.C.S.I.,

WALIA, & CO. W'F

INDIAN ARTS

PHILLIPS, SON & NEALE,

WILSON & H-

On Moodily, njid J«ly. -SSJ' T™ "“"”2

At em tftroc* ?•«■««« •«" "“*"

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QUEEN VICTORIA'S MAHARAJAH

diamonds, as well as some of the Maharajah's celebrated pearl necklaces and earrings, one of which had fifty-two large graduated pearls. The Maharajah's best pieces, it was said, were

not included in the sale. Of the pearls. The Times said: 'There is a certain modest native beauty of tint, rich yet subdued in the natural pearl ... singularly beautiful in their natural hue, like the veiled beauties of Lahore and Cashmere.'

The interest generated by the sale caused a question to be asked in the House of Commons by Mr Mitchell Henry, Home Rule member for Galway and therefore not a spokesman for either of the parties responsible for the state of affairs, who asked the secretary of state for India. Mr Cross, 'whether the Maharajah Duleep Singh and his family had ever received the a year guaranteed by the Treaty

of Lahore, or whether, on the contrary, the Maharajah's income had been so diminished by the Government that for many years he had not had more than about 4 * 3 *00® * to live on'. He ended by requesting the government to present for inspection to the House a full account of their financial dealings with the Maharajah and his family since the annexation of the Punjab.

In his reply Cross quoted the terms of the Lahore treaty and concluded that Her Majesty's government did not think it necessary to produce the information in question. Mitchell Henry got to his feet again and gave notice that he would also move that the whole dealings of the Maharajah with the government should be referred to a select committee. There were shouts of 'order' as Mitchell Henry asked whether 'the Government had not induced the Maharajah to settle as an English gentleman in this country and to purchase with the money guaranteed by the Treaty an estate which only paid three percent interest, while the Government charged the Maharajah between four and five percent for the money they had lent him'. There were further cries of 'Order' before Henry continued with a supplementary question. Was the government aware that 'the Maharajah was returning to India a disappointed man in consequence of the treatment

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ABGUMCNTS WITH Tilt INDIA OIFICt

of the Government in order to live in a private station in
Hfe*?

Cross did not attempt to answer these telling questions,
and dismissed them with offhand brevity; 'If the Honourable
Member had read all the papers he would have come to a
different conclusion.*'

Despite Cross's arrogant dismissal of his claims the
Maharajah was determined to establish the equity of his
position. He had his case carefully drafted in copperplate and
a copy went off to the queen, 'as a last resort before quitting
this country'.* The last two paragraphs read:

Your humble Petitioner's Prime Minister after the annexation
was permitted to enjoy an income of £10,000 during

his life and yet his Sovereign, the Son of the Lion of the Punjab
to whom was sworn everlasting friendship by the British Nation,
and the Ward of that Nation has £5,000 a year less than his former
Minister and is compelled to sell his game and pheasant eggs in
order to add to his income as he receives hardly any rents from
his landed estates owing to the present agricultural distress.

Therefore your humble Petitioner after throwing himself
entirely upon the Christian charity and generosity of the British
Nation implores that some more equitable and just arrangement
be entered into with him. He had been hitherto obliged to accept
whatsoever terms have been offered as that or nothing and if the
Transvaal has been restored to Boers because it was considered
bare justice and the Island of Ceylon to the Dutch may be not hope
that if his kingdom cannot be restored his landed estate or a portion
thereof may be handed back to him or a fair and reasonable sum
be paid to him in respect of his losses and loss of private property
and thus justice will be done to one of Her Majesty's most loyal
and grateful subjects.*

The reply came;

It has given the Queen much pain to read the Memorandum
which Your Highness has forwarded, for Her Majesty fears that
whether well or ill founded Your Highness is suffering under a
sense of injustice. This deeply distresses the Queen whose earnest
hope was that your difficulties had been met and that her Secretary
of State was always ready to listen to any appeal made by Your

QUEEN VICTORIA*! .MAHARAJAH

Hitherto . . . The Queen cannot help expressing » doubt ■» better
it would be desirable for Your own interest to induce at
present, but Her Majesty has no desire to restrict the freedom of
Your movements if you think a voyage to the East would be con-
ducive to your amusement, health and comfort*®

It is likely that the Maharajah was through the queen's
homely placebo that she did not want to restrict his move-
ments. He knew only too well that the government did, and
for good reason, and he must have seen that she was doing

no more than offering a salve to their rrlentJesj scourging. There is no doubt that the India Office was worried that he might go, especially in his present mood. Memories of the mutiny hung heavsly on the minds of many, and though the Indian nationalist movement was still in embryo, there was mounting feeling among Indian intellectuals that they should haN'e more say in the running of the administrnion- Lord Ripon, the rieeroy, may not haNt been too worried, but Ronald Melville, who had rece n tly been in India, found that the Sikhs had shown 'the greatest possible in t ere st and enthusiasm in the Maharajah, although they knes^' he had turned Christian',” Kim^Iey was not sure w hat to think and sought the rictroy's views on what to do if the Maharajah actually did go to India. Ripon replied that he would simply restrict his travel by forbidding him to go north of Allahabad, or STsit any scam rtiled by an independ^t ptinee,*' of which there were at that rime Ss'C hundred and fifty. Kimberley decided not to aggravate the Maharajah with Ripon'sdecijsjonthe wasofthe opinion that the whole idea of going to India was in any case nothing but a bluff.

Ronald Melville did not beheve that Umiring the Maha- rajah's movements would affect his declared jntenoon. but he maintained that his &ieDd had no more sinuret a raori\ -e in returning to his homeland than a desire to marry offhis daughters to stiiable Indians, and to be able to live within his means. Has*ing known him for thirty years he was certain the Maharajah would have menrioned anything questionable. Melville thought, as he had been in the habit

ARCUMEKTS WITH THE INDIA OFFICE

of talking quite 'freely* with him. His good friend, Lord Hertford, was not so sure, but they were both agreed that it would be better in every way if the Maharajah remained in England. One possible solution that occurred to them was that he might be given some reiponiible job that ss'ould enhance his self-esteem; the only oflicc he had held to date was as a local justice of the peace. Some more responsible job, say with the Indian Council, would scrs'c to make him an ally instead of an enemy of the Indian government.

Ronald MeK'illc saw it all clearly - 'With his knosviedge of Native character, his devotion to the Queen, his love of England, and his natural abilities, coupled with the feeling of his countrymen towards him, he ought to be a source of strength rather than a trouble to our Indian rule.* * ' Hertford added: *Of course, if he were so placed, the Maharajah's dccisioni would be subject to a veto from experienced Englishmen.

iiscrc was still the matter of the Maharajah's private estates, svhich had been forsolongouranding. 'The Queen cannot undentand the difficulty about settling the question of fact as to whether the private estates in the Punjab exist or not,*** she wrote to Kimberley. If they did, they might form the basis of a claim. She also asked Gladstone for his opinion and intervention. The prime minister's opinion was that he did not consider the Maharajah had a case 'as of strict

right', but, as he verbosely phrased it. 'Mr Gladstone shares what he undentands to be Your Majesty's feeling, that a great dilapidation of the fortune of a fallen Indian Prince may be a cause of pain and scandal, irrespectively of the wisdom or unwisdom of his conduct, and that some effort should be made to get rid of that pain and scandal may be proper.' His intervention consisted of a talk with Kimberley who, Gladstone informed the queen, had told him that the problem would have to be settled by the Indian government. 'The matter has thus been put in train for consideration,' he concluded lamely, 'but of course the result cannot at present be forecast.'*®

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QUEEN VICTOEIA'S MAHARAJAH

From painstaking searches in village records by the Maharajah's agents, it seems that Runjit Singh had indeed privately possessed a conudcrable amount of land, as well as ses'cral revenue-produdng salt mines, which was confirmed by a London lawyer commissioned to investigate. The Maharajah, encouraged by the India Office, had been to a great deal of trouble and expense to establish their existence, but the India Office had long ago dedded that even if acceptable evidence were produced, it could in no way be admitted so long after the event. Two yeane were to pass, hosvever, before they officially dismissed his daim.

Nevertheless, by the end of October there was a break in the ranks of the Indian establishment. Kimberley svas in touch with Ripon again in an effort to come to some arrangement for the Maharajah's financial betterment. No doubt motivated by a desire to please the queen, Kimberley seemed to be doing his best: thinking he had found a way round he let it be known through Ponsonby that the Maharajah should send in a 'respecuble' letter asking for an inaeased pension specifically on account of the agricultural depression, and net based on a re-interpretation of the Lahore treaty. Kimberley made the position clear: '*... if he repeats any of his unfounded claims and pretensions he will get nothing.' Neither should he mention, he discreetly advised, anything about a proposed visit to India, which might be construed as a threat.*^

But the Maharajah would have none of these face-saving devices, and he positively rjected any grant made under such conditions. All he wanted, he had now dedded, was an independent inquiry into the justice of his claim, not a tentative handout under false pretences. He made his new approach clear in a letter to Kimberley, fimJy stating that he refused to be regarded as a suppliant. 'dcpeDdent on its mcidful bounty or compassion'.** To the palace he sent a heartfelt plea: *Oh? that it were possible to obtain an impartial hearing into what I ought to have had under the Treaty and wh«her I have ever realised what chat treaty was

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arguments W.TII THE INDIA OEFICE

TI,l. i, all I ail for!' Hit pride had brat
lo secure to me. Thu « The accravated

injured, his sente of just.ee mocked. Ihc apg
Maharajah explained hit atlitude to the queen.

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queen had calmed him ' out that he wat

taking a belligerent ^h'l^^oo', fu.ure, i. i, clear

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QUEEN VICTORIA'S MAHARAJAH

that yeat was his warning that in addition to his private estates and salt mines, he would also be claiming the value of his jewels, questionably confiscated to pay the costs of war. He included the Koh-i-noor for good measure, bur did not seem to realize that those additional jewels from his father's treasury were even then in the Tower of London. He also gave notice that he would be asking for the 'just, honourable and only possible interpretation to be put upon the Treaty of 1846'.^* He svas prepared to put his case to arbitration. And in the background was the threat of going to India and stirring up the pot.

In July, the Maharajah sent Queen Victoria, and a number of other influential people, a copy of his 'little book', which had been compiled at his request by a barrister of Lincoln's Inn. This volume, nicely printed and bound in leather, was abo intended to inform the Maharajah's personal friends of the leading features of his case, even if they did not already know it by heart. Some copies were circulated in India.

By the next post, the Maharajah sent an extraordinary letter to Ponsonby;

May 1 beg of you kindly to lay at the feet of my Sovereign the accompanying paper knife the handle of which I ordered spediUy to be manufactured for Her Majesty when 1 was on a visit to Naples svith my two sons last Spring. On the reverse is the emblem of my (ealty. My father was an ally ofEngland all his lift. I also as such have had the honour conjointly-with my Sovereign of having a salute fired before the fortress of Mooltan and as I have been a most loyal subjea of the Crown for the last 35 years I shall not therefore now turn aaitor although J may re-embrace the faith of my ancestors and eventually take up my residence in India, but I will not take die latter step without laying before Her Majesty my reasons for doing so.

There is a terrible storm gathering m India and 1 hope to render such service as to compel the principal ministers of the Crown to recognise myjusc claims which perhaps under the present circumstances they may be distncluid to admit. I know that the advent of Russia is hailed with intense joy both by the people and Princes ofindia in their secret hearts whatever they may outwardly
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ARGUMENTS WITH THE INDM OFFICE

U}*2n<i they *reaH prepared to rehd *i soon at that Power advances a little nearer.”

It might have been deduced from that letter that the paper knife w'ai more jymboltc of a stab in the back: a change in

his religion might disappoint the conscience of the queen and would certainly affect hopes of Christianizing the sub-continent, but the reference to Russia, though it could not exactly be construed as a threat, indicated a certain dangerous drift in his thinking. Ponsonby sent the letter to the opposite number with the Prince of Wales. Sir Francis Knollys, who replied from Sandringham in what sounded like the gruff voice of his master: 'I am afraid the Maharajah has retained all the bad qualities of the East without gaining any of the good qualities of the European. He is a bad lot, I fear. My own impression is that not in 500 (not in 1,000 I may say) converts to Christianity are improved by their conversion.*^^

However startled the queen may have been by the tenor of the Maharajah's letter, the reference to it in her response was more in sorrow than in anger, as if she was not prepared to notice the menace in its composition, and in her blindest manner was trying to calm the storm that she felt raging in her breast.

Dear Maharajah. You were so much attached to my dear Leopold* from his earliest childhood, that I thought you would like to possess a recollection of him. and therefore send you an enamelled photograph of him. I likewise send you my last book.

In your last letter (to Sir Henry Ponsonby I think it was) you made use of some expressions which pained me and which I would wish to refer to. You mentioned the possibility of returning to your early faith. Now, considering what a fine and fervent Christian you were for between 30 and 40 years. I cannot believe you would forsake the blessing of that pure Religion - for one which offers none of its comforts and blessings. I say this without doubting the least that there are many good and excellent Hindus, but the faith is one the principle of which cannot be admired. Forgive me
•Princess Leopold. Duchess of Albany. died in the spring of 1858.

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QUEEN victoria's MAHARAJAH

saying this - but I have known you, taken too warm an interest in you for so long, not to speak out plainly. I am sure the Maharani (to whom I wish to be kindly remembered) and your children would feel the same.

Believe me always, your affectionate and faithful friend,
Victoria

The tempest was not stilled. The Maharajah's reply to the queen's gentle request for his views about religion led to an outbreak that must have made her realize that she was now dealing with a deranged and possibly a dangerous mind:

My Sovereign, Your Majesty's most gracious letter and the gifts

which accompany it have duly reached me and I humbly beg of your Majesty to accept my bean's sincere grarirude for this further mark of your continued graciousness and remembrance.

Like a dog participates in the joys as well as sorrows of his nutter so do I humbly share whatever affects your Majesty.

What all the Bticish caonon. though they can blow me to pieces, could not make me say now that I know my true position, viz., I yield, your Majesty's boundless gradousness towards me has entirely accomplished -■ and I hope always to remain as I am at this moment your Majesty's mo« loyal subject unless the persecution of the Government will compel me to seek asylum beyond the bounds of your Majesty's Dominions on my return to India.

As your Majesty is the only true and disinterested iriend I possess in the world I did not like that you my Sovereign should hear from any other source in the first instance but myself of the possi-biLtyofmyro-ctnbradiigihe&idiofmyancestors, though I mentioned it to Sir Henry Ponsonby.

I have since sent for a Bhaee or Brother to come with a copy of the Holy Book of the Sikhs to teadi me to read it My Sovereips the Faith of Nanok and the Hindoo religion of the present day arc very difierent &om each other. The former is a pure Deism containing many ten ets apparently of Chnsnanity whereas the latter is mere idol vfotship which can not commend itself to any reasoning mind.

My Sovereign when lots were cast before the Holy Book of the Sikhs for the purpose of selecng a name for me Dleep came up. i8o

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inheritance richer by far than all earthly kingdoms is present[^] with sincere respect and regard by his faithful friend' (?)... or in other words having deprived me of my inheritance which was in his power to let alone, he hoped as my friend (111) that I may acquire another which was not in his power to bestow.

My Sovereign, such vile hypocrisy of the Christians as the above has made me wish to revert to the faith of my forefathers which is simple trust and belief in the great architect of the Universe whom to praise and glorify should be the all-absorbing duty of His worshippers. Thus believing and worshipping God, like my ancestors, I now desire to pass the rest of my life and die.

My wife who begs me to present her humble duties and gratitude to your Majesty for graciously receiving her, does not, like your Majesty, believe in my turning Sikh again - but she will be undeceived should I be compelled to go to India.

Implored your Majesty's favour for troubling Majesty with such a long letter . . . and pleading your own graciousness as my excuse for doing so ... I have the honour to remain My Sovereign's humble and most loyal Subject . .

The queen, who described the letter as 'extraordinary and half cracky',^{2*} must by now have realized that she was getting into deep waters, and was unusually stern in her reply, but even if she hid behind her ministers sometimes, she could

ARGUMENTS WITH THE INDIA OFFICE

truly claim that she was doing her best for the Maharajah and though she could not go much further than she had already done in pressing his claim directly, she had by no means given up hope of seeing him satisfied.

Balmfoul, Sept. 18th.

My dear Maharajah. Though your letter was an answer to mine I cannot leave yours unanswered as there are observations in it which I must much regret.

In the first place you know that it cannot interfere in your claims; they must be decided by my responsible advisers. But secondly as your friend, and perhaps the truest you have, I would most strongly warn you against those who would lead you to do what would inevitably bring you into trouble without doing you any good. Do not use threats or abusive language, for it will not be the means of obtaining that impartial hearing of your claims which you desire. Above all I most earnestly warn you against going to India where you will find yourself far less independent and far less at your ease than here.

Ever your affectionate friend. V.R.f.*'

The Maharajah replied by return of post with a plea that, though contentious, must have impressed upon the queen the profound distress he was suffering:

My Sovereign . . . how shall I express the gratitude which I feel at Your Majesty's condescension in giving me such advice which shall be acted upon by me to the last Icier.

All that I desire, my Sovereign, is an impartial enquiry into and a hearing of my claims, and { fed very, very happy to leave myself in Your Majesty's hands whatever may be mine ultimate fate.

With reference to my going out to India to reside I humbly beg to inform Your Majesty that I had determined on, should it ever be my destiny to do so, seeking this property and settling the proceeds (which I have the power to do) on my wife and children and after resigning the stipend paid to me by the Indian Government and thus terminating the treaty of 1849 to proceed to my native land as a Sikh Fakecr leaving my family in England.

Your Majesty may not be aware perhaps that Ubeny to a recluse is of no use as he can devote himself to the contemplation of the Deity anywhere and the more persecution he suffers the more
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sanctity he acquires in the sight of the Indians. Besides, My Sovereign, the 45,000 Punjabee soldiers in Your Majesty's Indian Army who assisted in re-establishing Your Majesty's Eastern Empire during the Mutiny of 1857 might petition for the release from prison of their chief as d»e reward of their services rendered on that occasion which the Indian Government might find difficult to refuse. But I do not for a moment fear any such treatment at the hands of the India officials because my unwavering loyalty to the British Crown for upwards of J5 years is known both to them and my country . . . My Sovereign I humbly beg to be pardoned for causing Your Majesty pain by anything I said in tny last letter hut my history, My Sovereign, is such a painful one that whatever I quote from it must cause pain to a just and generous mind like Your Majesty's, besides I feel bitterly the unjust acts of the India Government. I often ask myself am i in my right senses or am I mad

By the spring of iS85. the Maharajah was considering putting Elvedcn up for auction. There had been no reaction •.'from India nor in fogland. The politicians were being totaDy inflexible. Money was nmning out and he could see no end to the'affair. In desperation he sank his pride and begged for cash, say ;iC 3 ,000. to keep him afloat until the answer came &om India. If fie wctc forced to go ahead and sell his estate, he told Ponsonby, no offer would compensate for its loss — 'for if once my Engl jsh'bome passes into other hands though the India Office may then offer to pay me 2 million a year I shall not be able ro reside in this countrj''.^'

At the end of March there was talk of trouble with the Russians on the Afghan border. Here wts a chance, the Maharajah thought, to affirm his devotion and loyalty to the queen and perhaps win favour with an establishment which was beginning to question his soundness. He wrote to Ponsonby offering his services in {ndu:

Should serious news respecting the breaking out of hostilities on the Afghan frontier . . . happily prove to be true I beg of you kindly to implore my Sovereign graciously to cause me to be appointed an Aide-de-camp to HRH the Duke of Connaught's

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ARGUMENTS WITH THE INDIA OFFICE

sciffin IndU. Two of my former subjects, viz., the Maharajah of Cashmere and Sirdar Kot Singh as well as many Indian Princes have the honour of possessing rank in the British Army and therefore may I humbly implore that the same distinction may be conferred on me also? I do not possess an army and therefore cannot offer to lead it against the enemies of my Sovereign but I do possess myli/cwhichlim willing to serve Her service. If it is in doubt my family may be held as hostages in England for my good behaviour. It is possible that I might raise a regiment of volunteers in India in that case my Sovereign will hear that I was not unworthy of the confidence she was graciously pleased to place in me and prove how grateful I am for her boundless grace to me.*®

The reply came via Ponsonby from Aix-les-Bains; *... I can assure your Highness that the Queen was very much gratified by the loyal feelings evinced by your Highness in offering your services at this important crisis. H.M. hopes and believes that there will be no rupture of our amicable relations with Russia, still at the same time the Queen commands me to thank you for your devotion and to add that she has enquired of Lord Kimberley whether you could be in any way employed should the necessity unfortunately arise.*** In a scribbled memo. Ponsonby noted: 'The Queen thought if he went it wd. pacify him. I ednt. explain how he cd. volunteer. The offer surprised her.'**

From India, in response to Kimberley's request to keep the Maharajah 'in good humour', ** came a reply that could only have been drafted by the new viceroy. Lord Dufferin: 'Government of India is very sensible of the loyalty of the Maharajah in offering services on present occasion, but it has been our object to conduct our preparations for a home emergency in such a manner as to prevent excitement in minds of public, or lead the people of India to consider that our normal resources are not sufficient to deal with the present crisis. The arrival in India of His Highness for the object he proposes would, I fear, lead to our imperfectly informed subjects to imagine that the condition of affairs was far more serious'

QUEEN victoria's MAHARAJAH
unsatisfactory than it is. Under the circumstances Government of India does not consider it necessary' - for His Highness to make the sacrifice he contemplates.*^

To the son of Runjit Singh, who was apparently offering himself body and soul, to fight for the queen, his rejection was discouraging. But probably his suggestion had in any case been no more than a gesture, and his next move indicated that his underlying intention had been to embarrass the Indian government. If he could not be a staff* officer he would join the British army as a volunteer! 'Should war unfortunately break out between England and Russia,' he wrote to Kimberley, 'I plan to proceed from Bombay via Karachi and through Belochistan to Afghanistan, thus entirely avoiding passing through the Punjab.* The provocation came in the next paragraph - *I am determined not to be deterred from this resolve (unless physical force is employed by the Indian Government).''*

When Kimberley communicated the Maharajah's latest intention to volunteer to the Secretary, Lord Dufferin telegraphed

back: *We think it undesirable he should visit India, and we could not let him join the Army.'* On her copy of the message the queen pencilled in purple a note of surprise: 'Why? He really is loyal to the Empress, only very much vexed and disappointed.*'

The wayward Maharajah, meanwhile, decided to play host again at Elveden. A grand shooting party took place, just as though nothing had changed: seven thousand head of game were killed, and all was reported in the press, much to Kimberley's annoyance, who remarked that it did not help matters for the public to read that this 'distressed Prince' could entertain as of old.

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CHAPTER II

'The Eleventh Future Guru'

A DARKER element in the many-sided story of the Maharajah was now to appear, ready to catalyse the dangerous thoughts that had been forming in the back of his mind. The recent death of his comptroller and friend, Colonel Oliphant, who had for so long been the anchor of his household and counsellor and censor in his dealings with the India Office, had broken another of the personal links he had forged with Englishmen. Neither was Bamba of much help to him at that time; she seemed to have turned in on herself and to be incapable of coping even with the simplest of problems. In May 1857 a cousin called Thakur Singh arrived from India, together with another cousin and a small band of followers, who were to undermine even further his sense of identification with his country of adoption.

Thakur Singh was described by the police, who had been keeping an eye on him in India, as 'of an intriguing disposi-

tion and not without a certain sort of capacity'.* The Maharajah had been in communication with his impoverished cousin for some time, and had used him to obtain information about his considerable family property in India, which Thakur Singh had described as 'enormous'.* Suffolk locals reported unusual comings and goings from the station of turbaned Indians and there were deep discussions in the library at Elveden as the visitors tried to persuade the Maharajah to come to India. Now that they knew he was returning to their religion, all the Sikhs, they assured him, were devoted to him and, in accordance with prophecy, were urgently looking forward to a revolution and his restoration on the throne of the

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QUEEN Victoria's maharajah

Punjab. The other cousin, described by the police as 'of a profligate and indifTcrnl character', would read him the Granth, the sacred book of the Sikhs, which contained the writings of Nanuk, the Hindu founder of their faith. Nanuk had been succeeded by nine Gurus, or teachers, the last of whom, Govind, died in 1703. Govind had proclaimed the KhaUa, the sacred commonwealth of Sikhs, and decreed that devotees should receive the pahul, or initiatory rite, wear their unshorn locks beneath a special turban, and assume the surname of 'Singh', meaning lion. Govind ended the succession proclaimed by Nanuk; but, according to the story, he had made a prophecy, that when retailed in full to the Maharajah amplified certain unsettling propositions which he had already heard, in essence, from his mother.

Being asked upon an occasion by his disciples whether he would ever again visit the world, Guroo Govind Singh replied in the affirmative adding that he would be born again in the household of a Sikh who would marry a Mohammedan wife, and that his name would be Deep Singh. After being dispossessed of all he had inherited this Deep Singh would reside for a long time alone in a foreign land and would return to correct the errors in which the Sikhs had fallen in their worship of God and the neglect of the Guroo's tenets. Before the latter would come to pass Deep Singh would suffer much persecution and be reduced to absolute poverty. The Guroo further predicted that Deep Singh will marry a Christian wife, and his children by her the Guroo, in the prophecy, calls Englishmen . . . The Guroo foretells that there will be a war between the two dogs, the bear and the bulldog, Boochoo and Dultoo, in which Deep Singh will take part, but that he will be defeated and will take refuge at a certain village and when there self-knowledge will be revealed to him ... About that time The English after selling the country will quit the land. Then will thunder my snakes (young followers) ...' It is further predicted that Deep Singh and his descendans will reign for three generations over the land lying between Calcutta and the Indus.*

It was not difficult to persuade the Maharajah to accept what he already half-believed, that he, Duleep, was indeed Deep Singh. Had not his father, the great Runjit Singh, been

•Till ELrvrNTll rUTUKE r.u«u'
 one of the few Sikh! who had been through the marriage
 ceremony with a Mudim woman? And were not
 England, the bear and the bulldog, already at each other
 thrLts? The rot of the prophecy spoke for itself- the retn-
 camation of Govind stood before them.

The Maharajah, perhaps loshowhisimportancce ro his cou-
 sins, wanted thim presented at “nd

asking him toarrange things so that they would has e a chance

ofmeeting the queen:-... My coussns ^

sented at Court tomorrow are very anxious that they may

not miss seeing their Empress of whose

have heard so much from ”’f L “a d

cause instructions to be given for them to

beforeHer Majesty retires Theyareextreme^pomfor them

Station in life and hence their appearing
 proem costumes. 1. is most painful “.Vf
 blood relatives of the Lion of the Punjab >:«««. ““d my “
 ren will, come down to. but who «n restst h' force of
 tiny?}* Thus, the following day. the quOT ""P ^ ,,

MaharajahT secret agents at her reception at Duckingtta

”“! ?iakur Singh and his pany soon

instructions to prepare the people or uimself as the

return. He himself, it was agreed, could regard h.mself as

future prime minister of the Punjab. --rtain ‘evil-

It was soon to come to the ,u^ s ears that ocrt>m ovu
 disposed persons-,’ meaning Thakor S.ngh >"d te^o^ ”•
 had influenced the Maharajah for the worsen and ’ ““““S
 him to India to act against British rnterots. It ts hkely thu
 the queen-s intervention on d-b occas.on was ^ 'o
 to save the Maharajah as to safeguard 'b'
 empire. On 15 August '885 Pon'o-by wrote to Lord Ran^
 dolph Churchill, yet another ".f f°Q

upon to investigate the M^arajah ^

mands me to inform you that sne^ --nfiprinE him

cultics of the Maharajah Dulcep Sing a intrigues

desperate, that he is consequenUy susceptible to the mttig

QUEEN VICTORIA'S MAHARAJAH

of evil counsellors in India, who are calling upon him to come to the Punjab, and that she fears if not relieved from his pressing necessities he may take some step which may lead to serious consequences.'

Having spent the best part of a day looking through the voluminous file. Lord Randolph was quick to reply:

I have arrived at the conclusion that I cannot recommend to the Govt, of India to undertake any further burdens on account of H.H. the Maharajah, and moreover that even if the Govt, of India was willing to be liable for further expenditure on H.H.'s account and were to make proposals to me in such a sense. I should be unable to agree to such proposals, on the grounds that such a course of action on my part would be surely attacked in the House of Commons in a manner and by arguments to which I would be unable satisfactorily to make an answer ...

The Maharajah's claim to the ownership of private estates in the Punjab cannot really be seriously considered. They were never advanced until 1880. and Lord Cranbrook most emphatically refused to entertain them. Perhaps you are not aware that the Maharajah claims compensation for the loss of the Koh-i-noor.

Every single one of the other statements of the Maharajah contained in the book which he has circulated and which seems to have made so much impression upon the Duke of Grafton, Lord Heniker and others, is utterly misleading, inaccurate and at variance with history and will not bear one moment's real investigation.

I shall be prepared to lay all the official records in the possession of the India Office before Parliament if necessity should arise; though they are not to the credit of the department as far as careful business management is concerned, they show beyond refutation that the treatment of H.H. the Maharajah by successive Secretaries of State has been indulgent and generous to a fault.

H.H. the Maharajah is at liberty to visit India whenever he pleases, but when he lands in that country he will have to conform to the orders of the Governor General, and reside wherever the G.G. shall desire, and to travel in India only with the Governor General's permission.'

After making several other negative points. Lord Randolph Churchill concluded by stating that 'after careful

'THE EVENTUAL FUTURE CURIO'

consecration of the temple could not be any

responsibility to increase the ample, liberal

allowance in any degree. He made no reference at all to

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not be shown to the Maharajah unless he was there to soften

" Rejaion hadly needed rubbing in. ye. A.W.Moore.

LoMSol^h-s secretary a. the India Odice toob ■. up^

himself to write to Ponsonby and put salt

lund. In .879. when acting in the same “

Cranbrook. Moore had taken a more indulgent

painful 11 it may be for Her . »^ceived and must

Lrdty of the Royal favour svhich h' ""thTetrup

be left to take hb own course. Even tf he svere bo s.,, P

for a year or two more^he end would be the same,

scandal only postponed.’ . »4jWa_

Whatever Moore may have %ive him

jah's way of life. hi. friends fi,,, flcrrford

up, even if each one of them rectitude. But it was

and Leicester- were men of the highest reOit

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to a degree, one day «™l.«e @tHch w“ probably

alluded toinsomewonderfulptophc^,^^^

concocted last year but which he . broken hearted

before he was bom) & the nert sitngg ^

and saying he could not leave El«dm.^

sin, whose dupe he is, B concerned about

wonders.’*® If the Maharajah’s friends were concern

QUEEN victoria’s MAHARAJAH

his deterioration, they were also concerned about his estates.

‘Everything*, according to St George Walker, rector of

Elvcden, ‘is at a standstill, if not in a state of collapse.’ The

rector put the situation directly to the under-secretary of

state;

His Highness the Maharajah DuJeep Singh has lately declared to us his intention of at once giving up to the Government his Estates here in England and forthwith proceeding to India. Notices to this effect have been sent to servants and the tenantry generally and directions given for all labour to cease and an immediate sale of stock etc. to take place. The consequence is that numbers have already been thrown out of employment and others are preparing to quit their cottages. As a matter of course the able-bodied portion in the parish will be compelled to seek for employment elsewhere - but what will become of the afflicted, the aged and the extreme poor I know not - for the schools, clubs, and charities, hitherto entirely supported by His Highness, will be supported by him no longer. We in (his neighbourhood are indeed sorry and in > measure surprised at the very serious rum which affairs have taken. it being generally supposed that His Highness, having proved the justice of his claims, the Government would at once redress his grievances and so prevent the deplorable troubles & privations which now threaten this and the surrounding parishes.**

The rector's letter gave the firm official notice that positive steps were being taken to leave England. The Maharajah confirmed this intention in a letter to the queen a few days later. 'My Sovereign . . . that no justice should be rendered to me I entirely attribute to destiny, but what I greatly grieve at is that I should be prevented by action of the Government from paying my last homage to Your Majesty before my departure for India on the nth of December next and be thus banished, dishonoured, and disgraced from Your presence the only Friend I thought God had raised up for me in the world. He ended: 'I have little honour to remain, my Sovereign, until death (provided the Government do not make my life intolerable in India), before God Your Majesty's most loyal and humble Subject.***

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'the eleventh future guru
 Lord Randolph Churchill's dilemma of the problem had an almost unchallengeable authority about it but it did not stop the Maharajah from petitioning the Queen to stop the Maharajah from sending her 'j'™

threat; 'This is hardly the treatment I'm

when became I had nothing else to offer I volunteered to give my last drop of blood in Your Majesty's

Majesty's Government are making a most blunder in that trying to crush a loyal heart a" I feel 7" " not. Your Majesty will be. bye and bye, of the °P™°"

when time has divided the realm. but God I will be do .

The loyal-hearted Maharajah was even then engaged

"ir

he was confined in the small hill
 India at Ootacamund. which, though an P^oo
 a, far from the Punjab at Pootah. the
 wrote a highly provocative letter to Lord Randolph Churchill:
 I cannot tell your Lord, how pleased I am
 Govt, have definitely determined to
 which I have all along thought would follow
 my arrival in India in order to help forward
 therefore the of the partition which has
 has been foretold by the Sikh Gurus when
 died about 1715. I shall
 I shall have been reduced to absolute poverty
 is to commence. Powerful British Government
 It also flatters my vanity that the Government
 should think me worthy of its notice as a co-religion-
 martyr of me in the eyes of my countrymen
 instead of treating me as I expected of disloyalty
 metomy own devices until I had committed some act of
 'T^oo indeed, I feel that the Government
 necessary as it were to 'set out to 'kill a flea'.

QUEEN victoria's MAHARAJAH

To indicate that his intention of leaving for India was in earnest, the Maharajah informed Lord Randolph that he would be sailing with his family on 16 December. As the time for departure drew near, the Maharajah became more aggressive. He had been told yet again that on reaching India he would be debarred, if necessary by force, from entering the Punjab, but he insisted that he would make his way from Bombay to Delhi. If they wanted to arrest him they could! On being told repeatedly that he would be required to live at Ootacamund or at some other place in the Madras Presidency, the Maharajah flatly refuted Dufferin's well- Lord Dufferin - order, and reassessed his intention of going to Delhi, southern gateway to the Punjab, and a suitable base for political manoeuvrings. 'His Excellency the Viceroy has only to put me under arrest and sent to any part of India that he may think proper to do so. For I am quite prepared to

suffer any persecution from the most immoral and unjust British Government which, because it is incapable of doing justice, prefers to bully the weak, rather than disgorge what it had acquired in a most unscrupulous manner.**^

When the queen saw the letter she scribbled on it, 'The Maharajah is outrageous.'** 'Outrageous' he might be but he was still a threat both to her peace of mind and the security of the empire; as time drew near for departure, frantic messages were sent from the palace to the India Office, the prime minister and the Maharajah's friends. The Maharajah meanwhile waited at the Carlton Club - on hand should something move the government to come to satisfactory terms. Henniker and Grafton were working hard behind the scenes.

. . . Henniker and myself have drawn up a Petition to the Queen, asking Her Majesty to use Her influence in obtaining a fair and equitable adjustment of the affairs of the Maharajah Duleep Singh- We have not touched upon claims, but merely on what we feel are the rights of every Englishman and every right feeling person.

If Her Majesty will read it privately and at all encircumscribes our view and feels that it should be further enquired into. our object is that

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•the eleventh future oubu'

it should be calmly considered by Lord Salisbury, that he should obtain the highest legal opinion and if the result should be favourable that an equitable arrangement should be brought about which should be satisfactory to the Maharajah and the Country. We think the following arrangements that should be made clearing His Highness from present debts; leaving the Hindu Estates entailed on his sons, and the payment of the £11 million left by the Treaty, minus the pensions still being paid to Family and adherents, until they fall in (as by Treaty undoubtedly settled) by death or otherwise, and an investigation as to whether arrears should not be paid also. All this should be accompanied by a friendly acknowledgement of a long mistaken cause, (which lay more to his heart than all the money) ..."

A friendly acknowledgement of past mistakes was one thing the government was not prepared to offer and to some extent it was the Maharajah's intransigence!

that was behind their present attitude. His letter to Randolph Churchill, described by Sir Owen Burt at the time as 'breathing of the malice and vexation of impotent rage, had alienated officialdom to such an extent that Lord Salisbury, now prime minister, daily refused to endorse the Grafton-Henniker petition, though it had come forward from the queen herself. , •

Grafton and Henniker needed more time. So did ^

Maharajah. They had no difficulty in persuading him to deter

his sailing, while they engaged in yet another round in India. The new approach, it was agreed, would be based on the Maharajah's request for arbitration.

fair-minded Englishmen such as they found a way to settle the matter once and for all.

CHAPTER 12

The India Office Adamant

At the beginning of 1858 (the argument with the India Office had entered its most critical phase. On the one hand the Maharajah was crudely threatening to renounce Christianity and immediately set off for India; on the other he was putting forward financial claims which he knew were unacceptable, or demanding arbitration which he had been told was politically impossible. His inflammatory letter to Lord Randolph Churchill indicated that he was in the grip of passions he could not control - pride, menial excitement and a superstitious belief in dubious prophecies.

The Maharajah had been taught by his mentors, from the beginning onwards, that in correspondence with officials, especially the high-minded mandarins at the India Office, such a corrosive poison over him. Losing one's temper never paid and even the most unpalatable statement must be couched in terms of extreme urbanity; a show of anger, however righteous, could weaken whatever goodwill there might be and provide cover for a bureaucratic withdrawal. No one was more aware of this than the patient Ponsonby, who dealt with even the most trying correspondence with restrained courtesy. In a memorandum to the queen, he reported that he proposed asking Lord Henniker, who was coming to see him to discuss the Maharajah's vexatious affairs, to encourage his friend and neighbour to 'use more conciliatory language to the Indian Secretary and Council'. In the same note Ponsonby, appreciating that the queen was the last hope of influencing her wilful subject to resolve a dangerous situation, asked if he might 'hold out a hope that

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Your Majesty would receive the Maharajah after returning to Windsor'.* To which request the queen tersely replied 'Certainly'.

That meeting, however, was not to take place. The Maharajah told Grafton that he thought it would be very 'uncomfortable', and implored him to dissuade her from ordering it. But even without the queen's mollifying influ-

ence, he was persuaded by Grafton and Henniker to adopt a less aggressive, if strategically more deceptive, approach towards the new secretary of state. Lord Kimberley, who was back in office following the fall of the Conservative government. After bringing him up to date with his case, the Maharajah ended with an apology for, and an offer to withdraw, 'any expression of disrespect ever employed intentionally or otherwise by me towards Her Majesty's Indian Government'.¹

The Maharajah must have had a good idea why the government was adamant in its refusal to allow an inquiry into his affairs, which would expose them to precedent and possible humiliation, and bring up any number of embarrassing questions that had long been shelved in the India Office archives, but at least he was prepared to let Grafton and Henniker continue their efforts in that direction in the knowledge that an official refusal would gain him a point. If the case was put to arbitration, Henniker assured Ponsonby in vain effort to influence affairs, the Maharajah would then 'put aside prophecies and letters written in a heated tone' and accept the outcome in 'a fine manly way'.² The Duke of Grafton added his weight, complaining to Ponsonby, in a manner less than urbane, that 'to refuse a simple request ... is not a very high or dignified line; but to refuse him everything, even an inquiry, is surely a great injustice. The truth is, they have spent the money and have no funds to fall back on and so fear an investigation.'

Grafton's sincerity was apparent when he guaranteed his friend's good behaviour: 'I can only say this about him that since I first enquired into his affairs & saw so much more of

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QUEEN VICTORIA'S MAHARAJAH

him his whole conduct has altered that he is not like the same man, he is never excited now, is amenable in every way to advice given and sees now that however foolish may have been some of his assertions & acts, he would be far happier if taken by the hand, prevented from going to India & a friendly arrangement made. He is like a child now longing to be led and only too grateful for a word of kindness.'³ Grafton had sufficient influence over the Maharajah to persuade him to postpone the date of his departure in the hope that the India Office might yield to any last-minute pressure that could be applied.

'There are very grave objections to such an arbitration as he demands,' Lord Kimberley wrote to Ponsonby, though he did not go so far as to spell them out. The queen, who must have regretted that the Duke of Wellington was no longer there to solve the problem, instructed Ponsonby to refer the matter once again to Mr Gladstone. The prime minister's reply, dated 25 February 1866, did little more than Lord Salisbury's to gratify:

I think five years have elapsed since I went into the case of the Maharajah, with a strong compassionate presumption in regard to his unfortunate condition. At that time, Hartington went fully into the matter with me, and I am sorry to say convinced me (if I remember right) that the Indian Dept. & Govt, had done very much on his behalf, and that his difficulties were due to his unfortunate errors of judgement on his own part. I have conversed with Lord Kimberley on your note. I think with him there is a good deal of difficulty, on the point of principle, in the introduction of arbitration. On the other hand one will find that in the case of a man like the Maharajah, 'fallen from his high estate', the scales ought not to be too nicely poised in his prejudice. So I am glad that the Viceroy has been asked whether further concession can be made and to what extent.*

Despite his Liberal affiliations, Mr Gladstone refrained from stating that one point of principle which arbitration was so 'difficult' was the fact that it would bring into a public forum, brooded about also in India, the whole dubious question

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of the original annexation of the Punjab, and other territories on the subcontinent besides. ,

The palace was not then privy to the passed earlier in the year between the viceroy and the then secretary of state. Lord Randolph Churchill, on the subject of 'further concessions'. On the receipt of a telegram from India had indicated that they were seriously "

effects of the Maharajah's arrival and were prepared by him off:

Have you any further information about Dufferin?

It is certain that he really intends coming to India. I am sure you regard

be informed that persistence on his part is not temporary.

our express wishes will, under Article J, . . regarding his him in India. absolve us from any "

pension. At the same time we should like to see him so that, if he abandons his should be

formal undertaking not to leave. I am glad to hear-

preparing to examine present state of affairs with view to his position.

The late sentence had originally read urgent

men,' but Dufferin. the viceroy. I am sure you regard

instructions to all departments to amend their copies

"col the Maharajah be bonghi offT And if^

much'SirOwen Bume was given the job oftes^J^^ ^

ket. At their first meeting on ^5 _f pojitencsses,

a hurry ro ealch a rrain. so. after an exrhjnge

the Maharajah left a memorandum r.!,. subsequent

and returned .he following day. A form

interview was presented by Dume to his master
of a dialogue: ..

Sir O. BHrne: Well, Maharajah, I have read dealt

Salisbury. There b nothing in it which h» been^lre
with in past correspondence, so that w mind, will. 1

your case with you. This, in your prwen of your

sec.bclabour thrown away. Iwfl mere y, friend to

claims as they strike me personally, as one who is

QUEEN VICTOfcIA'S MAHARAJAH

you. They arc prposterouj. I cannot comprehend how a person
in your position can court rcbuffby demands which no Gosmi-
meet in its senses can even confer, much less satisfy*.

Afj&rrectfajt; I like ^•Quf frankness, and appreciate il Bucican assure
you that nothing short of iheir rccognidon by Gos'cmmenc, and
adequate compensation. ss-iH satsiy me. I want, at any rate, a fuU
inquiry on them. If the case is gis'cn against me f shall be satisfied.
Why cannot the Priv^* Coundl. ot the House of Lords, adjudicate
on my case?

Sir O. Bitrne: That is impossible. It is a question which has ofen
been raised and settled in the oegads'e. and you will ncs-et get any
Govemmem to agree to so direct an interference with the powen
of the Government of India, in its dealings with Native Pnnees
and thnr pensions. Moreover, you refer to transactions of nearly
half X century ago. which, if reopened as you desire, would reopen
every act of State of the British Govmmeni in India from the rise
of the East India Company dQ now.

Makerajah: True. I see it. and other people have told me the same
thing. I give it up. But will not the Government of tndu give me
this full inquiry? They have treated me like an animal; they are
now trying to goad me to desperation; they forget I am a king;
they have offended a man once loyal to them, and only too anxious
now to show his loyalty, if he be given, what high legal authorities
and others tell him arc his just dues.

Sir O. Burnt: AD this, Mahaiajah. is beside the mark. You have gotwind in the head, and have lost your ordinary good sense. Now let us view this matter in a business-like way. You, on your part, signed away your kingdom with alacrity; you could say nothing at the time against the British then dealt out to you; you have since then thankfully accepted from year to year, until lately, all that the Government of India have done for you. finally, you agreed to an Act of Parliament which you now want to upset, by claims which it is impossible for any Government to admit.

AfajMrjfaA- I acknowledge a Hindu. I now see, however, that I have been a fool. It is only because that I have learnt to realize my position as a king.

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Tier INDIA orricE adamant

Sir O. Burnt: But I suppose now I will be a most benevolent Secretary of State, filled with pity for you. and with every desire to meet your views. what would satisfy you? Suppose I were to say, for instance, that you shall have a year, clear of all charges, would that do to?

Afjftjra/ijft; Certainly not. I want an inquiry into my claims, and reasonable compensation for money unjustly withheld from me.

Sir O. Burnt: Suppose, then. I were to offer you an increased allowance for your eldest son on your death, and buy a moderate estate for him as a gift, would that satisfy you?

AMjrjJjff; Certainly not, I am a King. My son ought to have what I have and an estate fitting a prince. This you will not give. No. The Government of India want to get rid of me and my family, that we may sink into oblivion.

Sir O. Burnt: Well, Maharajah. I see that benevolence won't do. Picture me, therefore, an austere Secretary of State, Suppose I were to say to you. 'You are disobeying our distinct will by going to India. You will therefore be settled when you get there, you will be deprived of your stipends, and be made to reside in some spot selected by the Government of India.' What then?

Afafiaraqak: I should laugh at you. This is just what I want. You must at any rate clothe and feed me and my family, and my income will be then more than made up by subscriptions from every ryot in the Punjab, and from every part of India. Moreover, I know that no Government would dare resort to such a step in view of English public opinion, and the consequences of it in India.

Sir O. Burnt: Well then, Maharajah, I see that, from your point of view, neither benevolence nor austerity will meet your case. What on earth are you going to India for? I cannot quite understand why a nobleman like you, who has embraced Christianity, and, whatever you may say to the contrary, has had a comfortable home in this country, and has been treated with consideration, should

want to go to India, where you will certainly not be comfortable, and may risk the loss of all you have got.

Afalmriy'ijli; I have already taken the first step to abjure Christianity, because I no longer believe in 'so-called' Christian Gos'cmmnts.

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QUEEN Victoria's maharajah

I am resolved to go to India, in order to settle at Delhi, where I can resume my native habits, bring up my children to a livelihood there, get my hasvking and shoodng i<c. The Government of India should let me do this. If they touch me, it will shake the Punjab, if not now, at any rate later on. I am determined to go. I have fixed the 17th February, but I may delay a week. My friends advise me to stay on, to see if I can get an inquiry, and, moreover, there is now a change of Government, and I think Lord Kimberley will befriend me.

After a few more words the Maharajah left. Throughout our conversation we were both perfectly good tempered, my sole object all the time being to endeavour to ascertain what would satisfy his so-called claims. On leaving he repeated his wish for an inquiry, he thanked me for receiving and listening to him, and left an impression on my mind that he really intends to go to India as a last venture, and that his so-called claims necessitate some very large concession if they are listened to. It is only fair to add, however, that the Maharajah emphatically repeated, 'If I am granted an inquiry, and adjudged to receive nothing, after a fair examination of my claims, I shall be satisfied.'*

. What exactly did the Maharajah hope for? Did he really expect a very large cash handout to meet all his claims? Did he really expect an inquiry when he had been told so many times that it was impossible? Did he really want to leave his sport and his friends and go to India and become a Sikh guru? He was like a man in a maze, uncertain how to emerge.

Following his receipt of Bume's memorandum, Kimberley, who had placed the problem firmly in the lap of the viceroy, telegraphed Dufferin on 2 February: 'Recent interview with Bume confirms opinion that no reasonable concession would be accepted. Still, it might be useful to know the maximum limit of pecuniary concession you would recommend.'*

This significant question was not to be answered for several weeks, meanwhile the Maharajah asked for an interview with Lord Kimberley. Kimberley, though reluctant to involve himself personally in the matter, agreed to an appointment as 'otherwise he would have represented me as unwilling

Tilt INDIA OFFICE ADAMANT

even to hear what he had to say'.** All the Maharajah had to say was a polite reiteration of his position and an assurance of his loyalty. But he wanted an inquiry - 'Pray understand', Kimberley reported him saying, 'that nothing like an offer of Rs 10,000 or Rs 10,000 a year to my income would satisfy me. [I want an inquiry into my claims.] Kimberley thought his demands 'preposterous' and gave little hope that they would even be considered. On the disappointed Maharajah, who had at least expected a more sympathetic attitude from a Liberal minister, could say no more than: 'I see it is all of no use. but I shall wait a few days to see whether I get any Satisfaction, and if not, I shall go broken hearted to India.**'

So the Maharajah, it appeared, was staking all his cards on arbitration. It is possible, however, that he was still playing a cunning game of bluff in the knowledge that this was a course which the India Office had rejected on a matter of principle, and 'principle' was for them, once invoked, likely to be as immovable as a mountain. But pressure on that weak point might lead to their yielding to his financial demands, sufficiently at least to enable him to restore his position and assuage his pride. At the same time there was the beckoning finger of fate that led to India and the glorious destiny of the eleventh guru.

Meanwhile, despite the Maharajah's statement to Kimberley that his sole object in going to India was domestic, and his undertaking to stay at Ootacamund with 'loyalty and obedience', the authorities there were all the time uncovering native plottings in his name and by no means desired his presence even under the most stringent supervision, 'Has Dulcepp Singh started for India?' Duffett cabled on 18 March, 'if not, what are his present intentions? '** 'Dulcepp Singh intends leaving on the 31st in (Merrona' was the reply."

Kimberley was now down to his last card - a cash offer. 'Can you now reply to mine of the 2nd of February?' he cabled urgently. But the viceroy seemed in no hurry and did not answer until 20 March:

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QUEEN Victoria's Maharajah

Dulcepp Singh's question was considered by Council during my absence, and I have now seen their opinion. We are willing to afford the Maharajah such relief as can be obtained by maximum grant of £50,000. This sum, or a small sum which you think sufficient, could be applied, first, to payment of any debts due to persons other than Government, second, to decreasing of debt due to Government, so as to make reasonable addition to Maharajah's income. Money would be given on understanding that Maharajah abandoned all claim to mines or other private estate, that he gives acquittance in full, and effectual undertaking never to return to India, and that no further payment will be made hereafter on any ground. Grant would preclude all future claim regarding five lacs fund and provision for family.**

So ^30,000 was the price they put on the Maharajah's total surrender. Little more than enough to pay off his overdraft at Coutts!

It fell to Sir Owen Bume to impart Kimberley's ultimatum based on the viceroy's offer. It was to be part stick invoking the stringent Regulation of 1858, which gave the Indian government power to detain without trial, and part very small carrot of a cash settlement. On 24 March the Maharajah and Sir Owen faced each other once again. After preliminary politenesses Bume read out the minister's statement:

The Secretary of State has received satisfaction the repeated

assurance which the Maharajah has given of his unshaken loyalty and devotedness to Her Majesty, and it need scarcely be said that it would give Her Majesty's Government the greatest pain if anything should occur to disappoint the expectations, which they trust they may confidently entertain as to His Highness' conduct in India.

In view, however, of the communications received from the Maharajah, specially those letters which relate to a certain Sikh prophecy and to His Highness' announced intention on arriving in India to be re-baptised into the Sikh faith, the Secretary of State thinks that, before the Maharajah proceeds to India, it is due to His Highness that he should be reminded that, in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Lahore of 1849 to withdraw his person if he does not remain obedient to the British Government and reside

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in such places as the Governor General of India may select, he will, whilst in India, come under the provision of Regulation 11 of 1858, by which the Governor-General in Council is empowered, for reasons of State, to place under personal restraint individuals against whom it may not be deemed proper to take judicial proceedings; those reasons being the due maintenance of the alliances of the British Government with Foreign Powers, the preservation of tranquillity in the territories of Native Princes entitled to its protection, and the security of the British dominions from foreign hostility and internal commotion.

The Secretary of State further desires to make known to the Maharajah that the Viceroy, having had His Highness' various applications under his consideration, has recently informed the Secretary of State that the Government of India would be willing to grant His Highness a sum not exceeding ^50,000, to be applied, first, to payment of any debts due by him to persons other than the Government; and, secondly, to decreasing the debt due by him to Government, on condition that His Highness enters into a formal engagement to desist from all claims whatsoever on the Government and never to return to India . . .

Sir Owen went on to describe the Maharajah's strange reaction:

The Maharajah listened attentively to the first portion of the Note, and, on my asking him if he clearly understood it, replied in the affirmative, saying that he had considered the whole matter, and was quite aware that the Government of India had the powers of which I had reminded him. I then proceeded to read the second portion of the Note, upon which he observed, with vehemence, that nothing would induce him to accept the 'paltry sum* offered: that his claims to private estates alone reached ^4,00,000 a year; that he was not in debt, and wanted no money; that he was resolved to go to India, and that on no account whatever would he sign any paper either in renunciation of his claims or binding him never to return to his own country.

I deemed it my duty to assure the Maharajah that the communication I had now made to him had been inspired solely by feelings of Consideration towards himself, and to save him, if possible, from blindly pursuing a course of conduct which exchanged a life of certainty for one of uncertainty, and which could only end in

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QUEEN victoria's MAHARAJAH

misery to himself and his family. His Highness replied that he was not unmindful of this, and not ungrateful for the kind intentions of Government towards him. He then entered into a somewhat rambling statement, assuring me, in the first place, of his loyalty, and warning Government, in the second place, of the risk they would run if they imprisoned him in India. That step would exactly fulfil one part of the Sikh prophecy; then to find Wmself in some, as yet unknown, Sikh village, to be supernaturally elected as Prophet and to lead the Sikh nation; there was then to be a great war between England and Russia, in which he was to have a part, although it was not yet known which side he was to take; that he was now to be a lord, and that he cared no longer for his position or property in England. After warning the Maharajah that all this was merely dreaming, as to which he might some day have a sad awakening, I took my leave. His Highness reassuring me that nothing would induce him to accept the grant of money offered to him, and that he had made all arrangements to leave for India on the instant. He was firm and quiet in his manner during the interview, and thanked me very warmly at the end of it for what he called my courtesy towards him.*'

Immediately on his return to Holland Park the Maharajah put his uncompromising position in writing:

With reference to the communication you were directed to make to me by the Secretary of State for India this afternoon, I think it only right to state, for your information, in this letter that not even for five hundred thousand pounds were it

offered to me, would I ever give up my just claims on

the British Government, or bind myself never again to go to India.

The offer of fifty thousand pounds (£50,000) made to me by you for the above purpose this afternoon would have been treated by me with the greatest contempt, were it not that it came from a Minister of Her Majesty's Government for whom I have sincere respect.

My position on re-embracing the faith of my ancestors will become, in fulfilment of the prophecy, that of a Sikh Guroo, and should the Indian Government be so ill advised as to import me, I dare not predict the serious consequences that will follow sooner or later. It will be believed by the Sikhs, of whom a considerable number are in the British Army, that I suffered degradation not

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embraced Sir. anything in this reference

It is extremely desirable, and it is to say any more

who am the son of the old ally of the interview

I must confess that, though I am a devotee of the

this afternoon. I have become convinced

ing myself will be 'Jided policy of the

of the Sikhs after they have now

Viceroy. Do I do not care what

Nanak test upon you."

> elcjr. the contents of

To make his intentions thousands of cata-

Elveden were sent to the, led to interested buyers.

logues at a shilling each were distributed.

There was a vast amount of, e

amboyna wood, and, May by which time

was scheduled to run from 27 f. ., the out of the

?o'rnr;"ot«Matctrre.easedtoth^

: 'X\L"nr,rprtrcrution of .he Sikh prophet:

Lertiori, IJfh ManS >"•

My beloved Countrymen, It was not my intention

to leave India, but Surgooroo, who is more powerful than I, has been compelled to quit

England, in order to bring about, that, a great change in India. I submit

to his will, being persuaded that what will happen. *

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QUEEN VICTORIA'S MAHARAJAH

and I sincerely hope for your prayers to the Sutgooroo on that solemn occasion. But in returning to the faith of my ancestors, you must clearly understand, Khalsajee, that! have no intention of conforming to the errors introduced into Sikhism by those who were not true Sikhs - such, for instance, as wretched caste observances or abstinence from meats and drinks, which Sutgooroo has ordained should be received with thankfulness by all mankind — but CO worship the pure and beautiful tenets of Baba Nanuk and obey the commands of Gooroo Govind Singh.

I am compelled to write this to you because I am not permitted to visit you in the Punjab, as I had much hoped to do. Truly a noble reward for my unwavering (loyalty to the Empress of India). But Sutgooroo's will be done.

With WahGootoojeedcFotieh. I remain, my beloved Countrymen. Your own flesh and blood,

Duleep Singh.*

The effect of such a proclamation on the security of India can hardly have been shattering. As an editorial in *The Pioneer*, the widely read newspaper published in India, commented; 'In brief it means that his Highness has no intention of giving up either beefsteak or brandy punch. What effect the manifesto will produce remains to be seen. If Duleep Singh makes himself troublesome he will have to face the consequences. He may have reason to conclude before long that the position of a well-to-do English country gentleman is more comfortable than an Oriental pretender.'* But the peculiar proclamation was shocking enough to Kimberley who read it in *The Standard* and deputed Sir Owen Burne to ascertain its authenticity. Sir Owen sent round a messenger who returned with the Maharajah's answer: 'The letter is perfectly genuine, and therefore I do not desire to repudiate it. We leave here at about ten this evening, and sleep at the Great Eastern Hotel in Liverpool Street, so as to be ready to quit England tomorrow morning.'**

That day the queen saw her foreign secretary Lord Rosebery at Windsor and, according to the journal, after talk 'of the

*B!cned be tbe nimeofour glonous furu'

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^rM"ho"b=co;in,veFy^^^^^^

Lfincc, & his going to Ind» ■» «" ten svell

going to India. " The foUowmg

But there was nothing to be , • of himself, the

morning the a Sikh attendant, a narive

reluctant maharani. his six chd ^ ^ embarked on the

servant, a European nurse an J! ^ letter,

P & O l^eroM bound for Bombay. His
written on bo.rd befotc sailing, was to the queen.

My Sovereign. Before qoitng YoTMajesty the in-

addtMS Yout Majesty in order to con V g,,ciousnes5 both

exprMSible

to me and mine during my s y

over some 30 y«>"- , . , for-et all Vour Majesty

So long as I hve 1 ""je"* Your Majesty's ministers

endeavoured to do on my b would cause me if

I could not face the p.tn person and there-

I ventured to rate my l«ve . fi,pveness for not paying

fore 1 humbly implore Your Majesty * 'org.
my last homage before you a long hfe and

ThatGod may btes Your

every happmest bo* " Maiesty's Heartbroken subject,
but fervent prayer of Your M J ty Dulecp Singh.

His last telegrams, however. ^nfamed the

three other messages were intercepted hy

single word 'Started . Jh ... j^iy put under close
the authorities in India and the reapients du y P

observation.

CHAPTER 13

Arrested at Aden!

In India the influence of the former Maharajah of the Punjab were circulating in the country. The time was ripe : it was a period of developing nationalism; the wounds of the Mutiny had not entirely healed; the vernacular press was influencing the newly educated classes to regard the British as oppressive. Colonel Hennessy, commanding the 15th Sikhs, asked by Government House for his opinion, asserted that: ... the gravest discontent prevails, and has long prevailed . . . and on that point I am positively certain ... It is the law courts that are driving these simple minded people to distraction. They are very good for lawyers of every degree, but are draining the life drops of the unfortunate population. It embraces the entire system of the internal Government of the country. This brings the case it is extremely probable that the people would not object to a change of system, although I firmly believe they would prefer to be ruled by Englishmen if only the laws were remodelled to suit their own views and ideas. In regard to Dalip Singh's influence over the Sikhs he would indeed be a bold man who could say he had no fear of it in his own regiment. I most devoutly trust the subject will not be put to the test in my day. The spirit of the Sikhs is not dead, and they are full of national fire, (should tremble in my shoes were that gentleman to arrive at our borders with the Russians! The British Government should hold him fast and secure in England in my opinion.'

The 'Abstract of Political Intelligence, Punjab Police No. ii' of 20 March 1886 and 'No. 16' of 4 April summarised the current situation:

The Maharajah Duleep Singh is expected to arrive in India in April. People in Delhi are speculating as to where he will reside

2X0

arrested at Aden!

As a result, enquiries

pur and wild rumours are current regarding P

he was conferred on him. It is understood that the

sent letters announcing that the Maharajah has his daughters to Sikh religion in England, and has been found and

the Buriya Sirdars in the Ambala district. "V p.,.

declare that they would pay 'X Hindin on *c o*; hmd.
mined to do so hj ,,,, ,t 4 t come into power

pray that Duleep Singh and the S Kidcas* may

agrin, but are of die opinion that .he Ni P ^

be foolish enough to join in 'V ^ oension^ and Sirdar Thikut

The Maharajah, they "T' he is of an intriguing

Singh will get into trouble before long,

and erasing disposition. _

The question of whether the Sikhs will be ""'^be

Singh after his arrival in India .he Sikh reli-

Sikhs are in favour of his h"E ^ Gutdapat on

gion if he desires to do so. Jaimat Ra . Bombay,

die .4d. April with the intention P° 5 " M,f,,,iah Dhulip
whither, belaid, he had been s>"e'"

Singh by telegraph. He S"" e,^ Sudars (evidently careless

at Delhi, he would meet view all the SiW M t jj ,1,5

remarks). The Russian Government, he ^ rxtessed

Maharajah and have a sectetondetstanding

hope dit before long Dhulip Smgh wdl be placed p
position as a ruler.^

The viceroy j" °d 3l'M>r°h."The message

in a telegram from Kimberley 3 more cause for

continued with information Maharajah's earlier

anxiety than had been suggested by the Maharajah^

blat communications about his acc^ viceroy's orders:

dence and his intention to abide by die vice, y

In recent communications with "J'mSl troubles in

language of menacing 'ba""""^" ,bcad of Sikh nation.

India, war with Russia, and part he y ^ jo India.

An address from him so Sikhs, -rased 'O hav^ edged by

jus. published in newspaper hem and since

* Nih.np docinniirc Sikh »«c.

QUEEN VrCTOIHA** MAHARAJAH

Maharajah to be genuine, li announcer hii intention to be rebaptized into Sikh faith, with view to oke hit place as Gooroo of nation. Maharajah lays stress on text of alleged prophecy announcing successive steps fay which he is «j be lestored to power. He no doubt intends to circulate this in India. Affairs, if neglected, might possibly give serious trouble, but I have no doubt you will take whatever measures you may deem necessary to prevent any dangerous feeling being excited amongst the Sikhs. Duleep Singh's communications should be carefully watched. He is now in a state of mind which seems to border on monomania.*

The monitory wording of the telegram, with i» misleading summary of the Maharajah's proclamation, caused some show of nervousness at Simla, the hot season seat of government, and the legislative department set themselves to investigate the legality of cutting his progress short before he reached India. The only legal expert not then on leave was bold enough to maintain that as Aden came under the jurisdiction of the Indian government he should be arrested there, and a warrant was accordingly made out on the grounds that it was necessary 'for the security of the British dominions from internal commotion*.^ Thus the order for arrest was issued under the all-embracing Regulation in of 1818, which was hardly designed to apply to British citizens such as the Maharajah could reasonably claim to be, and it was suggested that it might be as well to consult the highest legal authority in India, the advocate general, as to its validity'. Sir Courteney Ilbert, the council member who was personally handling the affair, rode over the proposal with an evasive minute; 'I do not think it worthwhile to do this. It is necessary for reasons of State, that Dhulip Singh and his party should be detained, and we must run the risk of the legality of our proceedings being questioned. So far as I can see, we have done our best to conform to the law.'*

On 15 April the order went out from Simla to Aden:

Maharajah Duleep Singh with Maharanee, six children, and servants is passenger by Penimular and Oncnial Vrfona &om London. Please require whole party to land and deum them under sur-

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ARRESTED AT ADEN!

vcilUncc at Aden until further orden. You can inform Maharajah that the address which has been Hsued by HJs Highness renders hjs return to India undesirable. Should His Highness on this announcement express a desire to go back to England, he may be allowed to do so in an English ship, on giving you a solemn pledge in writing that, in comideration of his release from hts present detention,

he will not renew his attempt to return to India and will abstain from all treasonable practices.

Keep me informed by telegraph of the result of your proceedings.'

On the same day the viceroy reported his questionable action to London:

In consideration of the fact noted in your telegram of 21st March, that Duleep Singh has sued an address to Sikhs, which he acknowledges to be genuine, and in which he announces intention of assuming authority over Sikh nation, and which, at the same time, indicates steps by which he is to be restored to power, and in view of communication made by him to Political Secretary at India Office of a menacing character in reference to eventual trouble in India and war with Russia, we have thought it desirable to issue a warrant for detention of Maharajah and party at Aden. Orders to this effect have been sent by telegraph to Aden authorities.'

On the day following, the gentlemen in Simla were embarrassed to read a transcript of the Maharajah's proclamation in The Pioneer, the text of which was confirmed by 'communications' just arrived in the mail from England. Where was there mention of 'assuming authority'? Where was there reference to prophecy? Herbert admitted that 'the case against the Maharajah is less strong than the telegram led me to suppose', but held 'that the Council orders of April 15th were justified by that telegram'.

There was some argument about whether the family should be named on the warrant. 'What are the ages of the children?' it was asked. 'We must not court ridicule by serving warrants on babies.' It was finally decided to name only the Maharajah and, if possible, to avoid producing the warrant at all.

QUEEN victoria's MAHARAJAH

The viceroy's follow-up message to London dated the sixteenth, did not mention the discrepancies, presumably because newspapers and dispatches had not yet been perused, and referred to the proclamation as 'disloyal'.

We have instructed Resident at Aden to inform Maharajah that the issue of his disloyal Proclamation appears to render his return to India undesirable, but that he will be at liberty to go back to England in an English vessel, should he so desire. We are now dispatching to Aden trustworthy Political Officer who will be instructed to enter into communication with Duleep Singh, in case he refuses to embark for England, with the view of ascertaining whether it is possible to obtain from him such security for future good conduct as may be necessary. It is needless for us to point out great inconveniences which would arise were His Highness allowed to take up his abode in India with the avowed object of exciting revolt in the Punjab, without Government of India taking every precaution to render abortive so mischievous a design.*^

For the information of Queen Victoria, Kimberley sent Ponsonby the telegrams ordering the Maharajah's detention, personally disassociating himself from the action and placing responsibility firmly on the shoulders of the Indian government. In his covering letter, he wrote: "This is a matter which is eminently the province of the Viceroy to deal with, as it is impossible for any one not on the spot to appreciate what danger may arise from such proceedings as those of the Maharajah. We may hear at any moment of his arrest as the ship should arrive at Aden today."**

The queen was 'rather startled' when she heard the news, but did not exactly disapprove. 'This is rather sharp practice,' she scribbled on the message, 'but better than if he went to India. He has brought it on himself.'

The *Terona*, delayed by headwinds, reached Aden on 21 April. The Maharajah, who had donned his Sikh costume at Suez, had been the cause of much discussion among the passengers, most of whom had had to listen to his tale of woe — one of them described him as 'very loquacious'. Victor and

ARRSTED AT ADEN!

Freddy were particularly popular on board, the former openly saying that he objected to his father's proceedings and referring to him as 'my idiotic parent'.

On arrival, the Resident, Brigadier General Hogg, came on board, and under the interested eyes of the

formed the Maharajah that by order of the

India he could not be allowed to proceed ^

Though Hogg had the warrant in his pocket

retained it and took care to avoid the

Maharajah, however, refused to leave >""*8

officially 'arrested', and it was necessary for him to

tap him symbolically on the shoulder, after which he

tested vehemently and invited the attention of all present

the fact that he was not leaving the *^'P ol'

that there would be a 'great State trial' ^ "

the action they were witnessing finally filed down

a loud and sympathetic cheer as he and his family filed down

the gangplank into 'captivity'. It is desired-

The brigadier general had the viceroy »
able that His Highness should be treated
consideration, and that his comfort should be
at Government expense as far « sX

important that the health of the party s (he

Maharajah should not be permitted to commun.c
outside world. . . i.e. his visi-

Back at the Residency. Hogg did his bnn

tors feel they were guests rather than to Eng-

wasmadccartothe Maharajah thathe CO

land when he wanted to. he was ^XXild-

thoughtat first of going to Egypt wit oppor-

ren. but he decided to stand hu ground and take -ne pp
tunity of exploiting his arrest to hi, own aJvantagc^Ha^ J
sent his family back to England, he ion was

twisting on his own account. His , thr viccrovJ

embodL in a telegram sent by the Resident to the vi^roy^

Maharajah states his reason for not to return

is thatheannot face ridicule, but His Highness wdl agree

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QUFEN VICTORIA'S MAHARAJAH

toEnpbnd and sign any protocol, provided Governmct promise
a full judicial investigation of all his claims by Law Lords of the
House of Lords, with a view to granting him only a reasonably
equitable redress within six months, and provided Government
pay him immcdiaely, on reaching London, the sum of two
hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling as compensation for
the sacrifice of his liberty, which, as a loyal subject, he is asked to
make, in binding himself not to visit India without permission of
Government.**

The Maharajah was insistent upon making it clear that
even though he had been charged with issuing a 'disloyal
address' he still regarded himself as a 'loyal subject'. He was
anxious to give no justification for being considered 'dis-
loyal', a status that would have put him in bad grace with
the queen and the IlritUh public and justified his arrest by
the Indian govetnmctit. On learning that his actions had been
so described on the warrant, based on the wording of a ptc^
cUmarion that had in fact been passed by his lawyer, he was
anxious to make that point clear to the viceroy, with whom
he now had permission to communicate : *I desire yTauf EvecJ-

lency clearly to understand that whatew instructions you gh'tf, provided the word "disloyal" is not employed vnth them, or I am requested ne/io return to India, will be loyally carried out by me. If it is desired id detain me here for any length of time, I request that I may be permitted to corre- spond with friends in England, and also that my 17 sers'ants awaidng my arrival at Bombay be sent on here, the Govern- ment paying all their expenses.'**

Dufferin's patronizing reply was designed to pour oil on troubled waters. There was only the most oblique reference to the loyalty issue, and it cannot have offered much consolaoon to the frustrated Maharajah, cooped up in the stuffy Resi- dency, uncertain which way to turn to his intangible enemies:

I desire to thank your Highness for your telegram, and to assure you that it is my desire that your Highness should be treated with every possible respect and consideration. I deeply regret the

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unhTPy dra.m,untr, «hich h»»c «c«io»cd y««r Hig hn^i

dcicntL. .. Aden. eepcdJly « 1 M uto ,omc pm,

for your Highncn'i comroraMe cioblohment in thn coimY . but.

Sf Lr HipL™ »ill fotpivc the exp, union the menu which have been put into eieenlanon by your imputed upon the Government the necetiity of liking your Hig- neii to abindon your idea of coming to >ud'*-

I thii morning telegraphed to the Seernary of trance, onneeted with you, Highnm,-, J''™'.™ toon a, I than have received HU Lordih.p . reply. I cate at greater length with your Highncii. I am very wntible m

reouf,co,,,,,anLrinwhrehyourHighnm,exprm«you,w^^^^

ingnet, to comply with any tuggettion, ^

you from hence, and your Highnet, may rrtt

eaprettion th.ll be uted calculated to wound your Highnet, . feel

ingt."

I, wa, perhap, at well that the Maharajah mind about going to Egypt. The viceroy 'r' caution of checking with the •"-PO*""a «

tioner in Cairo. Sir Evelyn Baring.

■rouble ttirred up in hi. own recently .ettled nefdom end

eneyphered hi, negative responte: 'It ""V ""f
Dhulccp Singh should come to Egypt- = ' probably
the hands ofVhosc who are hostfle to us
exercite a bad influence on the Khedive and ^a d 'ue
at well a, on the Mukhtartand on i
by dittorted account, of DritUh policy m
regard, native prince,. Nubar Pacha, whom 1 comultcd very
confidentially, i, much oppoted
Having paked hi, family off ro EngHnd the Maharajah ,
next tactical move wa, to fall back o j ,,dy out
viceroy personally might improwon cas object
forward to London, On a9 April he talagtaphad
I had in view in going to India wa, P""<>" £ "" ^
claim, on the Britith nation before V""
gatheted hopes from different source, t a tuovement
mendation, your Excellency made to die Home Govenme

QUEEN victoria's MATlARAJAI

would be acquieiced in, but now that I am prevented from
proceeding there, what itep* am 1 to take in the matter?*'*

In reply Dufierin maintained hit friendly tone but was not
to rite to the lure:

In reply to your Highnctt** telegram of the a9th. I beg to uy
that your Highnetj't reprentation had been very carefully corv-
tideder by the Government of India, and the cominurtication
which was made to you beforeleaving England embodied 5 d view
of the case. Should your Hifdiness on retutnlng to England be in-
clined to address me privately as a friend, it would always be a
pleasure to me to give you the best advice in my power.

In conclusion, allow me to express my deep personal regret at
having been the cause of exposing your Highness and your High-
ness's family to inconvenience in the dachatge of my public
dunes.**

On finding this approach firmly blocked the Maharajah,
who told Hogg that 'his expectations were shattered'*' was
now determined to make himself as much of a nuisance as
possible. The telegraphic charade continued with the
Maharajah's apparently amubic but ultimately embanassing

reply; 'Return heartfelt thanks. Will gladly address your Excellency as a friend should occasion arise. On further reflection, determined on sending family to England at my own cost for education. I remain here prisoner at your Excellency's pleasure. Request that Government pay expenses of and send 17 servants from Bombay. Addressed letter last mail to your Excellency.'

This letter referred to enabled the Maharajah to express at greater length than the telegraph would allow, the ideas that had been churning in his mind. He was determined to re-establish himself as a loyal, if unused, citizen. That point having been accepted, he may have hoped that the viceroy, with his plenipotentiary power, might settle affairs to his advantage both as a paternal friend and a foresightful provider of further trouble.

As I desire to remove the erroneous impression which appears to have been caused on your Excellency's mind regarding the

arrested at Aden!

Publication of the document alluded to in your Excellency's kind and cordial telegram of 24 April, in reply to mine of same date, I venture to address your Excellency on the subject.

The document I submitted to Lord Salisbury setting forth my claims and his reply have been published both in the English and

Indian journals, with the view of laying my case fully before the public and with the intention of appealing both to my countrymen and people of India for pecuniary aid on behalf of my country. I had very shortly after teaching India, as the Government do not appear to care to grant me any adequate redress for the wrongs which I consider I have suffered at the hands of the Government.

who, if the Blue Book speak, she would be my enemies are even now my trustees, both for no other reason than

The address to my co-religionists... has been

disloyal motives whatever, but simply as a matter of public opinion of Christianity, and to lay before my countrymen plain, against restrictions put upon my countrymen.

As a matter of course I am not a disloyal. For, your

comprehensible to me, and appear extremely hard whereas the Maharajah, Sindia and Holkar, and others, who all possess great wealth and some anxiety to the Government, are

ment, poor I, who have but only some

and a very limited income, am about to be unfavourably

setting fl in my native land, where ' "■“^, '*1 J, ”'"
economy (which is not pouible tn Englan), v,,r., of my

thing by from my stipend during my hfc or behalf

uniformJtate children, should Ac aforesatd appeal on Ae.r behal.

" Yom Eteellency, the late Margub of lyalhousie. immcAatri^
after Ac annexation, when many of the o ,hc stability

soldier, were still living, did not think “ ■““Eerom m jhe sjabUny
of Ac English rule to appoint Fatchgath as a pc . . ■ ^period

forme,bu.now,af,eralap.eofsome3Sye»rs.dunnBWh,eh^
the British Raj ha. been now firmly I Mve

mere setting foot in India is about to F° 1 jjined, and am

published some documents for reasons Y accusa-

placed under arrest here under false, and .0 me mess /.<lr>1,

tion of issuing a disloyal address. >• u where I

Your Excellency, I dearly loved my Englhn home, wher

QUEEN VICTOaiA's MAHARAJAH

would fain have ended my I«fe and which it haa broken my heart
to Icave.^^

The viceroy was still not prepared to enter into arguments
about theloyalty bsuc, nor did hii reply teem to indicate that
'all possible consideration' amounted to more than admoni-
tion. But in a letter to the queen, of whose special interest
he was all too aware, informing her of the story of the arrest,
he ended with a strong indication that he w'as of a mind to
make a cash offer:

... Lord Dufferin has receiveda very kind and considerate letter
from the Duke of Grafton who seems to have taken great paio
to go into the Maharajah's affairs to have shown him an extra-
ordinary amount of personal kindness. It seems to be the Duke \$
opinion that there is one point in the case where perhaps Hi* High-
ness may have a eenain amount of right on bis side. This point
it is Lord Dufferin's intention to have most carefully exambed and
if fair grounds can be established for any further concession he will
be very gUd to uke advanuge of them but it has of course to be
remembered that any further relief which may be given to the
Maharajah mustofnecessity come out of the pockets of the Indian
Tax payers, A' therefore that it would rtot be just or right to indulge
His Highness, except a fair justification can be made out for doing
so.

No sooner had Dufferin completed his promising letter than
he received the message that the Maharajah intended to
remain at Aden. The viceroy reacted to the aggravating in-
formation in 3 postscript:

Lord Duffenn is sorry to say that «ncc wrong the above he has received a most provoking telegram from the Maharajah uymg thachehas changed his ound, and that he intends constituting himself a prisoner at Aden, while sending his wife and children to England- Lord Dufferin has cold His Highness m reply that he » very much surprised that he should have changed thus suddenly his mind, that there is no question of his being a prisoner as all Europe not to say Africa is open to him but that of course if he chooses to remain at Aden he is at liberty to do to. under certain conditions.**

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The Queen's reaction from Oalmorai no doubt earned eyebrows to be raised among the hard-headed members of the viceregal entourage.

The Queen Empress thinks the Viceroy for his last kind letter of the 5th May about the poor Maharajah Duleep Singh. He was so chirming & good for so many years, that she feels deeply grieved at the bad hands he has fallen into and the way in which he has been led astray, for the Queen thinks it will have a 'Cr)' bad effect in India if he is 'rather severely punished' especially if the Maharanee (an excellent pious woman) their six children especially the two boys, quite Englishmen, are in poverty or discomfort. In the Maharajah's present state of excitement nothing can be done but he if he will quiet down then the Queen is ready herself to speak to him. Some money should be sent on his wife & children. A good man of business be placed about him & enough given him to enable him to live « a nobleman in England. The Queen wishes he or his son could be made a Peer then they could live at any other nobleman's family. It is most important that his Indian advisers & relatives should be kept from him for they are those that have brought him to this past

The Queen was not aware that one of her scheming Indian relatives had in fact arrived in Aden: Thakur Singh* had hoped to meet him in Bombay but hearing of his arrest had taken the first boat west. 'I desire to take advantage of my Cousin's presence here to be re-initiated into Sikhism,' the Maharajah wired the viceroy. 'Kindly telegraph Resident, saying I may go through the ceremony in his presence.'^* The viceroy referred the matter to his man on the spot, the lieutenant governor of the Punjab, who advised that 'refusal would be misunderstood and might cause irritation as interference with freedom of religious convictions; it would also magnify his importance. So long as he does not return to

* name was»» some confirmation in India as to whether this was the Thakur Singh of the San<lh>nwili family who had visited the Maharajah in England during the war thought to in Delhi at the time, or the other cousin of his name

from the Wagah branch of the family. It is >pratt to have been the latter.

QUEEN Victoria's maharajah

India or Punjab, consent will do little if any harm. A few persons might make capital out of conversion, but most of the intelligent and loyal Sikhs understand situation and are comparatively indifferent. Intended baptism long rumoured. I would not advise that Resident be present.'**' This advice was translated into a telegram from the viceroy to the Resident: 'You can allow the ceremony to be performed, but it is not desirable that you yourself should be present, or that any of our officials should have the look of countenancing the proceedings. On the other hand, if you can manage it, it would be well to prevent any private communication between the Maharajah and the Punjab gentlemen. I dare say your tact and skill will enable you to arrange the business in a desirable manner.'**

The ceremony by which the Maharajah returned to the religion of his ancestors took place in the morning of 5th May. Five Sikh witnesses were prescribed, and it was necessary to borrow two from a ship in the harbour. In accordance with his parole, given as 'a Prince and a Gentleman', he made no effort to converse with his initiators who were packed off to India by the next boat. The previous night, in honour of the queen's birthday, the Resident had given a large dinner party and the Maharajah had attended sporting his diamonds. The weather was even hotter than usual and he had complained of feeling 'very queer in the head'. Doctors Jackson and Hay reported 'weak action of the heart'.**

The government of India would be placed in a most embarrassing position should their charge become seriously ill or even die while under questionably legal detention at Aden. Apart from the queen, he had powerful friends in England and only the day before his initiation into Sikhism, Mr Hanbury, in the House of Commons, had raised the question of his detention, and in view of the under-secretary for India's unsatisfactory reply had given notice of his 'intention to take an early opportunity of calling the attention of the House to the general treatment of the Maharajah'.** The Indians, however, seemed less concerned about the fate of their com-

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pitriot. though the *Sikh Akhbar* (a vernacular paper published in Madra), carried a long article about him claiming that he had been harshly treated and confined to a dark Mand, and that his detention was a mad act on the part of

Lord Dufferin.** , . . .

Four days after the doctor's diagnosis the Maharajah's health had sufficiently improved for him to return again to the attack. On 25 May he telegraphed V.:

demand both as a domiciled Englishman and a British subject to be publicly tried for any disloyal act

of having committed against the

Government, and to be punished, if found guilty, by the Indian Government. The Indian Government realized that they were in a weak position and certain changes were made in the

Government Home. His Excellency has directed me to make out

the word disloyal in the telegram.

The Secretary to the Political Secretary, a

copy being forwarded to Sir Owen

Durand, the India Government Foreign

Secretary, that some of the

enclosures in their original shape in order to avoid

any possible inconvenience in the passage of the

enclosures placed before the Viceroy in an

envelope with a demand that he be investigated into his claim to property

in Aden. In a minute that laid bare the heart of Monier Durand, the

Viceroy what he already knew - that

it was inadvisable; I think there is nothing to be gained and

nothing to be lost by such an

enquiry, and I would not agree to

keep the case very much before

the Government a number of political questions which required

to be dealt with. I would reply that I had no

power to promise, and that I do not think such an investigation

QUEEN Victoria's maharajah

be of any advantage. The advice was tersely communicated to the Maharajah as 'Government of India has no power to make any promise of the kind.'

Though he must have expected such an answer, the desperate Maharajah was straining for a way out of his predicament. The previous day, by way of further embarrassing the viceroy, he had asked if he could telegraph the queen appealing for a public trial on the loyalty issue. An admission by the viceroy that the original charge had been removed from the record might have enabled the Maharajah to claim substantial damages for wrongful arrest, and Dufferin may have felt some anxiety that his handling of the case would be unfavourably criticized. But he could hardly refuse the Maharajah permission to communicate with the queen and accordingly, on 1 June, he telegraphed; 'Having been arrested on charge of publishing an Address alleged disloyal, I have demanded a public trial of the Viceroy in order to refute the accusation, therefore appealing to the proclamation issued when Your Majesty assumed the title of Empress of India that justice shall be rendered to all your subjects,) pray Your Majesty to cause my demand to be granted, (signed) Maharajah.'

It was Ponsonby who phrased the royal reply: 'I have gladly received your denial of having issued a disloyal proclamation and I have desired my Secretary of State to enquire into the matter. General Ponsonby will see Lord Kimberley tomorrow.'

Back in the lap of the India Office? The confused Maharajah, his stance at Aden shown to be in vain, responded with a last desperate manoeuvre to obtain a public hearing. Unaware that Dufferin had doctored the telegram that had originally charged him, he telegraphed the queen: 'I do not deny having issued the alleged disloyal address, but implore that a public trial be granted me either to prove my innocence or guilt and punishment.' If he was to be hanged for a sheep, he wanted to be tried for a sheep. There was no reply from the palace. What was there to say when the secretary

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of it. who considered the Maharajah 'quite of this held.' The viceroy explained to the queen the main purpose of the regulation under which he had been arrested had been to keep him out of court.

At the same time at the time of the telegram to and from, the viceroy decided to have the Maharajah removed from Aden. The fact that he might die on them, whether he wished it or no, Sie Lident was becoming bored with his "gu" and

loose, out of touch with her and away from the control of her ministers. She was angry with Lord Kimberley for his apparently hard-hearted treatment and annoyed that her expressed wishes should have such little effect. What would her Maharajah get up to next? What was to be done?

'Some kind and firm penon,' she ventured in a scrawled memorandum, 'shd. meet him at Paris Sc set him straight - pacify him & prevent his ruining his Children. The Queen's godson she must see shd. not be ruined by his poor, she is still convinced, good-hearted but utterly deluded father's follies. The Queen is gtlly. grieved abt. it as she was to fond of him and for many years he went on so When Kimberley

deputed Sir Owen Bume to look after Bamba, the queen noted: 'Not a vy. good person to choose as he is ill-disposed towards the Maharajah.'

On reaching Suez, forlorn yet defiant, the Maharajah posted off to The Times of Indio a letter that indicated that there might be some truth in Kimberley's assertion that he was going 'quite off his head'.

Sir. W 21 you permit me. through the medium of your influential journal, to narrate a few events in connection with myself, in the hope that they may prove interesting to the general public. Although I am an uneducated Englishman, yet I was arrested at Aden without a warrant, one having been issued since, I re-embraced Sikhism while staying at Aden. Before quiting England the Indian Government, in great trepidation. offered me £50,000 in full settlement of my claims upon It, provided I promised never to return to India. But I declined this offer. as I would not accept £50,000 * and give a receipt in full. My health having broken down through residence at Aden, I am now travelling on my way back to Europe, in order to drink the German waters.

Although the Indian Government succeeded in preventing me
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from .caching Domb.y li'dy. y« •b'Y >" "◊>' 1 atd

.Old, .ha. .hSc arc .o India. For «hm I r.um ' a. Goa or Pondicherry, or. if! fancy an overland route, I™ enrer .he Punjab .hrough Rmda. In iHa. even. ' ""PP^ of .he Dri.iih army in India would be ren. our, aumance of '00. allV "he Amir involed. .0 •ingle individual, vnr., mywif Wha. » »""Y""gLT.ha, i have The uapayer of India, no doubi. will be glad in heat .ha. I have

re,]'^er.K'miwrahle r.ipend paid - "te'hy m;"';' '!m

treaty of annexation, which was coned

wh J I wa. a minor, .hu< wning a..de .ha. "

tirely. Ai aoon a. rertored to hcaldi. I ho^ •• well as

aid to the oriental liberality of both my .0 ^ I

.he people of India. Should. B'J, '""^:",,Lauve

veto upon their pener out tmpultc. * eu,op<.an Power, who.

buttotranlfet my allegiance to tome oth F jiff, cult

I dareaay, will provide for my mamteuanen I fmd .. ve^

.0 eollen my .hough., a. prewu. owrng .0

Dulicp Singh.“

\$.s. Suez.

7th June 1886.

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CUAFTI R 1 4

‘A Rebel Now in Enniest’

Titir Maharajj did not in fact go to 'dtint the Crmin witen' at he had indicated veai hn intention; fve ntahtiihed himielf in I'arii and immediately t^pan the next round m Im iirupple with wliat had by now become virtually the entire jvjwer tructtite of the Hritith empire, lie mint have felt that evot the queen hadfotpotten him: the did not write: hit friendt Grafton and Ileniker had loppotted to her that It wat 'better to leave him alone till be hat calmed down'. Tliey attumed that at he VoolJ nor afford to give up hit allowance, he would probably come to tfiton when he required money again*.*

The Maharajah wai by no meant 'calmmp down*', and the raping of hli mind it revealed in a letter he tent to un-offending old Sir Robert Montgomery at the India Offcc. who wat only tr>'ing to help, begging that no communication ihould be addretted to him from there. *I neither rctpcci tuch a t^Tannical and tinjun admtnittrauon. nor am I any longer loyal to the Dmith erown (having offered my tervicci to Rottia)' he continued. *I teck nothing from you gentlemen at I have been refuted juttice and my loyalty intuited. I have only one prayer now, that God may. befote I die. enable me to have revenge on the Indian admmwtra-tion and humiliate that Government, and to caute the expendiureofmany more millont ofpoorjohn null'i money than the ^j.ooo.ooo I ihould have aiked for the Jd« of my private ptopetty, out of which I have been lo piously iwmdW by the Christian Dnmh nation.* He ugned himself

a rebel now in earnest'.*

2X8

'a REBtL NOW IN EARNEST

TheMah.r>jihludaIrc2ayb<n in touch withthcR®
ambanador. That he ava. indeed m can, eat !

alleBiancc wa, conveyed to Grafton m a '«■='

•I wrote yeaterday to the Ruaatan Am!>“»d”r of ring
actvicca to the Emperor and requened a p P U

aoon aa I receive I ahall go to St. “S.f

received by the Emperor I shall go m j.

not I shall go to Pondicherry and be a thorn m the
Lord Dufferin.” Grafton,

When the queen saw a copy f •”1“ ” ^jed to the

as was no doubt intended by the send . t
palace, she must have realiaed for 'f “5 Xe tried
Maharajah was really beginning to passions

with all her powers of , f,,,jkrn the faith

r^K^shf^rt oTeiderand nosv

fot^to :^Vtrd.vltr;:rm Windsor on djuly

1886:

Ihearextraordiniry repom ! cannot

& of youf intending to transfer yo ^ devotion towards

believe this of you who pro csseds^ioyjdry^ ^ ,

me - who you know has always^ the time when now

may say tools a maternal ""1“ j" ^ gj,u,iful S: charming boy.
31 ycati ago you K thoughts, your home

In earlier years, your life with its i , pattern to all

with your aimiable wife & five 1”“ , ,nie 5; devoted

lodiai Princes. Dot after the ",LThVv,,,,,ounded you &
fiend Col. Oliphant. bad & false fn^d ^ jj good

put things into your heads heart^L

& noble in you to ""f“ p.d ,o diiastrous coniequences.
plungeyonintodeeperdrteuliraS^an yo,,

Think of me ai yout hf ,,,ees thal the repom

Trusting you may be able to give
are untrue. Believe me always, your true friend

Graffon, who "If reShrs'Sfrdlip"

Ponsonby : 'He must be far go

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QUEEN VICTORIA S MAILAKAJAN

His readiness to give up his religion is a very bad sign for you
would have been astonished (the Prince of Wales was at
Euston & heard him) at the wonderful sermon, one may call
it, he gave us after dinner at Euston some years back
(Dorchester having professed to know more of his former
religion than he did himself) when he explained all the
Religions he had studied & finally said "that he found no
comfort in any until he understood Christianity & then he
found hope in a Future".'^

The Maharajah's reply cannot be said entirely to have
'resisted the Queen's friendship', and though on one level it
seemed to be totally intransigent, on another there was the
implication that he had not yet committed himself to the
Russians but would return to the fold if he was given satisfac-
tion:

Gracious Sovereign, I am highly honored by the receipt this
day of Your Majesty's most gracious letter and return my heartfelt
thanks for this mark of great condescension.

It greatly pains me to inform Your Majesty that it is no lon-
in my power either to contradict the current report or to give
the assurance which you so graciously demand. For
Majesty's Government having branded me disloyal when God
knows I was most loyal and devoted to Your Majesty I had no
other course left open to me except either to turn traitor or con-
tinue to submit to the insults repeatedly offered to me by the
Administration of India. Unfortunately however my nature prov-
ing too proud to follow the latter course I offered my services to
Russia but as yet have received no definite reply and I would
willingly return to my former allegiance if full justice were
rendered me.

I am not responsible most Gracious Sovereign but it is the
Council of India and Lord Duffryn together are responsible for
driving me away from my allegiance to Your Majesty.

I have most Gracious Sovereign not only resigned my stipend
but have also set aside and annulled that wicked Treaty of the
Annexation of the Punjab which was extorted from me and my
ministers by the late Marquis of Dalhousie when I was of tender
age and the ward of Your Majesty's Government. For I do not

'a rebel now in earnest
,vl.y the «aVt it bound to observe the ttipulttion it eouint

and not the Strong? Knf he much

It deeply print me rnd rlto Your Majetty
dUpleated that I am compelled to make ^ ,p 5 ,t

a letter ttt Your Majetty hat honoured me wth but I mutt p
the truth no matter rvha. the “■“<1“^” „y that I

Your Majetty I implote you to “^,l 't^k yet

am a proud Sikh although I may , wever disastrous the

by J help of God. I tvill
consequences of my own acts might p

on the bed I have made for my»«f* . ^ ^ neither a

Most Gracious Sovereign believe me wh« » «y
friend nor a foe 'has put these notioriin guardians

is the study of the records of the

as prescr\ed in the Blue Books of Home

refusal both on the part of the of iusticc added to that

Government to render me some me „\den that has cm-
very recent degradation inflicted on me at Aden

bitteted my feelings. j «fmv death will never for-

I am deeply sensible and to the day y ^,ut

get Your Majesty's boundless graciousn . ^ d suffered
Lury reachi, u, rhrr Ir i. r^lnnLl upremou

wrong, the cruel coercion, and inflation ^

that has driven many men to despe

human. _ covereiRn for thus

Imploring your forgivmor rxpresriom or word

freely giving vent to my fwlmg an vonr Maiesty « well as

Aar mlghr fppear dir.opce.ful •“““f Jj.^Seal^ I am
for this badly written letter but being muen
not able to write any better. . mvself.

I I U1.. tmninre tO

not able to write any better. __^.,-d *0 subscribe myself.

I most humbly implore to be

Your Majesty's most devoted humble faithful servant

In his letter to the Governor-General

Maharajah had asked for an equal share of power

in view of the imperialistic designs and given all pos-

sibilities in the East he would be warmly with

friendly support. It was, in fact, a question of Afghanistan

teams to establish an acceptable boundary already in the field; in any case the Russians

QUEEN VICTORIA'S MAHARAJAH

priority to their expansion towards the Mediterranean rather

than towards India.

From the report of the Russian ambassador. Kotzouev marked 'secret' and 'personal', to his master, the Minister, de Giers. It is apparent that the Maharajah's approach was lacking in subtlety, nor was the pro-

the Queen's letter likely to further his cause even if it established his bona fides as a man with good connections.

Monsieur le Ministre. Maharajah Duleep Singh has come to me to show me and make me read his autograph

had just received from Queen Victoria, I should have

a copy of it but he did not consent.

The Queen has written to him in affectionate terms reminding him of the care that she had

in his childhood, her position as God-mother to him and hopes that he would become a 'pattern' for all Indian requests him to abandon the path he has taken under the influence of bad counsellors and she asks him if she should believe the note that has reached her that he has offered his services to the Queen. 'From where does the Queen know that you came to Embassy?' I asked him. He seems not to know.

While questioning him again about his intentions and the that he expects from his contact with Russia. I have come to

that he hopes to extract a large sum of money from the English Government.

Hence, it is to be feared that the offers which the Maharajah makes are only a means of blackmail. He thinks he will be able to frighten the English and make them pay by threatening

with the prestige that he would gain by placing himself under o

protection. ,

The Maharajah says that he would accept the money that might obtain because he is poor but all the same he wul return to England. He says that he insirs. whatever may happem on placing himself under the protecuon of the Impe Government. ,

On my obsetvng that it would not be right pif-h-vis Englan and that the English wouldnotbc so simple as to give him money \s-iihout making sure of his loyalty, he said that they arc so afrauJ

*A REBEL NOW IN EARNEST

of, hcaim=uUi,,hc could

male any «cif.cc only in ,c.um “ A," m'illion

from it. He hopes to extract out of them up to in

^Wwt,m%l>.l=fu,u,= cha,,cc,o™

i. h appa.cn, ,ha, i, h no, -hrouEh .nc. honey ,ha, “M^t",icu. ic Minincc. .he homage of my mo,, respectful and profound devotion. Kotabue.*

While privalely not discouraging m.hiary Ccnnal Asia, de Giers seas no. anxsaus ,o b' making .rouble with *5 also informed him:

purpose. It svas m that spin. lha. D,,l,,p

‘Not wishing to go to his house in t e ^ ^ ^ verbal

Sin6hiswat?hedVBri.ishage.s.andto^;;B*;; ,,,,i^^

communication is more subject to f This is the only

than alctter, I have therefore «",»“XVv in hU hands. nt= written material f™™™ 'b' ""X not becnV see me again.”

Maharajah has not rephe and has . , have said on

There was indeed little the Mahar jah couW ha ^ receipt of the Russian response, svorded. perhaps, by Other eyes:

Highness, The Imperial °°™™Xions°™desto'h in those of

and maintains it in its own vast pos ^ ^ ,,,«mmcnts are jointly

the other powers and feels that * e the peoples the

responsible in their effort of f -titoiions. Far from iL

benefactions of security and stability @ . jjobles in India,

hence, the thought of favouring u_., would not find the

No reason impels it and Your ".ghn«s ^ of vengeance,
means necessary tcaliw plans "f^XX^cquence of what
I am authorised to affirm th« t course of our

you were good enough to say to m ^

nteivew. «c. Kotzbuc.”

g. described to Grafton

The Maharajah was in a position ne „bittat,on

as 'desperate', still uncertain wbedser to hope

QUEEN victoria's MAHARAJAH

and thus be able to return to England and
some degree of honour, or whether to proceed further alo g
the road to rebellion, which was already “nm

srony. As the India Office seemed to be ignoring him toW y.
the Maharajah rried out his new sveapon to gam their at
tion-the pmclamation. For a start, he “P” „

announcement he proposed ro make to his cou y ^
his lawyer, and his instniaions to let Grafton
indicate that he expected it to be passed on. Grafton
was quick to send it on to Ponsonby at the palace.

I have received a copy in confidence of a letter

to the Sikhs which the Maharajah intends (if not sent »
mg to all the Indian papen asking them to insert it.
a letter and so seditious that one cannot beheve the J
insert it: but if not certain. I do not know ^•“t Duffeni^^m)y
about such a Circulat. but I think he should be
a letter & perhaps he has power to prevent its
say is, privately, that if anything the Maharajah can do
trouble this Circular is meant to do all the mischief he can.
two copies over vid told Mr Uwrence no one was to s« K e ^
myself-if he thought it wd. not make me too unhappy • »
propose anything to save him from his folly I would, but 1
way and unfortunately Lord Salisbury is more against .j

any minister 1 have communicated with last year & this. *
think the Maharajah's last act was not to be ignored completely.

{sjo_ I Dated Paris, l/ie I5thjnly>

By the grace of Sri Sat Guru Ji we Maharajah Dalip J-
the lawful sovereign of the Sikh nation, under the Treaty ^
Bhyrowa! entered into without coercion between ourselves an
our Durbar on the one part and Great Britain on the „

from hereby in consequence of the insults and indignities repeatedly offered us - of which the recent imprisonment inflicted on us at Aden is a proof as well as an account of non-fulfilment with us of the stipulations of the Treaty of annexation of the Punjab by the Indian administration, set aside and annul that iniquitous and illegal document, the so-called 'Terms granted', which was extorted from us in 1841; by our wicked Guardian, the Christian nation, when we were an infant of only 11 years of age. and y

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A REBEL NOW IN EARNEST

The above-mentioned covenant under the protection of England.

W. H. G. J. S. D. Singh.

Maharajah of Sikh. under Treaty of Deroor =

The proclamation was in essence no more than a personal renunciation of the Treaty of Lahore, but the Maharajah was so alarmed to ask the viceroy what he would do. The result from its publication in India Duffern had consulted his colleagues and the

the Punjab and concluded that it would have no effect - and that it would not be advisable

reference to Duleep (and his claim.) (or P. . . p

The Maharajah was holding back his proclamation; Grafton thought that in

to be out of this mess - * Du. time was plotting* were coming to a head. On 7 ? showed

Grafton a confused statement of his mind -

that he still wanted to be made to change his mind.

I am constrained to address you among my

passing away & the sympathy I feel for my

countrymen will die away unless I keep myK them in one way or another. ^ most

A lawyer gave me a hint some time back that you ^

kindly corresponding "i* Sir, ^f the opinion

Court of Arbitration apptd. & Henni induced to follow

my ^tr. t. vkrp'. of my .wo

^"mbe satisfied with anything "

investigate into & arbitrate on whole quesn yourselves

Icat^estly implore you and He»n.kerno .o«pow^^^^

to a refusal on my behalf. . . the wretched y

P.S. I am Ender a Solemn Compart to my coonUTn«^°^'^^^
less than £3 million or the award of the Court of A
time led by me the Sikhs shaU fight for their rights.

*35

QUEEN victoria's MAHARAJAH

Grafton sent the letter to Hennikcr» and Henniker sent it on to the palace. In his covering letter to Ponsonby Henniker wrote; 'If the Govt, would accede to what the Duke of Grafton &: I proposed in our Petition to the Queen al orue, I hope it might be accepted, & to end a difficult & disagreeable business. Of course, if it goes much further there will be no retreat from either side.***

As far as the India Office was concerned there was no intention whatever of a retreat. The secretary of state. Lord Cross, stated unequivocally that arbitration was 'impossible' and that 'as far as the Maharajah was concerned nothing further could be done'.*^ It was dear that their policy was simply to ignore him.

Neither was there any sign of a retreat from the Maharajah. Though he denied having authorized it, two of his 'proclamations' appeared in the newspapers and various stories were published about his plans to co-opt the Russians. Grafton realized that events were moving rapidly and that the Maharajah had lost no time 'for fear', as Grafton expressed it, in a letter to Ponsonby, 'of being pressed to relinquish his folly'. He continued; 'At all events he has done for himself but is he to do this and England support his wife & family. I do not know with whom I find most fault; the Government who behaved ill to him, ignored him, & drove him to folly, or the Maharajah for his folly— but I see nothing but a mess, I only hope i^norin^g him may not turn out a red truswke &■' bring trouble on us. It is easy to judge after events, but it now seems Dufferin was wrong; he ought to have let the M. go to India & then if he did anything shut him up; now he is at large & mischievous - I really believe he is off his head.'**

The Maharajah at this time made another approach to the Russians, duly r^oned to de Gicts at St Petersburg by his Paris ambassador.

Maharajah Daleep Sing has come again to see me. He tells me that proclamations have been published in the Punjab calling upon the people to revolt in his name and with the assurance that it

'a rebel now in earnest'

would be supported by n.m,U. He affirm, .lu. <hi. I-"
wiffiou. hi. Bivme the order, even nlfliou. h.< ® X

ffinl. .ha. a rhioB in the Punjab would P""X
in view of the polirial even., which are ^"" 5 - H'
offered hi. mrvice. to .he Imperial Go"" " 'f',,"

reply which had jeered his firat overture.. •

fm having clearly declared rha, he cannot

.inue. to have hope., i. i. beenw he n eonvmeed .ha. a war
between Ru«ia and England b imminent.

I have .old him rha. he .ould no. have .llmiom. ffa. m
reply he had received wa. final.

Then .o a. not to expow my poor people, I man mna
lo my adherents to suspend all action.

•That b what b best for you to do. more and

He wiied to remain in Pan. for about in
riien will try to go to Pondiehcry ^ with

While leaving me. he again repeated ortnmrrefmal..

England ii inevitable and that notwithstanding our p om

we ffall me him mrving our came ,hi^ for

the power which had despoiled him and becaum

'Trgr..ul..e.blm.etf.ha.we.h.ll^

uscfually.considenngihatithvesatth

Afghanistan and its warlike qualities surpass those
Indian peoples.*'

It is clear that the Russian, did not '*""sed'ro

Mahatajah's approaches: the i/mr in hi.

the Tsar Alexander tlt. who wrete on the above letter
own hand, 'maybe sometime it will c use •

On ,0 October the Mahatyah seenaed to have
his mind. *1 write to say that it is nosv - recede

Henniket. 'I start very shortly for the East. I could
even if I wished (which I do not "XcMhin I was before
tions). There was not a more loyal s J ..^ds to refuse
my teent arrest. It wa. foolish on Pf^' 8'"" There are

me a Court of Arbitration such “ ■ ,,,eh a thing as

45.000 Sikhs in the British Army. T P conqueror

devotion from a conquered people towards their

QUEEN victoria's MAHARAJAH

is against human nature. It U true they have been loyal - but they have no leader. I am no>w wth them.'^®

Hennikcr sent the letter on to Ponsonby, who observed that the Maharajah's 'language and condua' had 'alienated the Queen's friendship for him', and that now she only felt anxious that the maharani 'should not sulTer for her husband's foUy'.2'

The Maharajah's dramadc statement that it was 'too late' and that he was shortly to start for 'the East' was still un-implemented by December. The feverish state of his mind at that period is revealed in his correspondence with Robert Watson, an associate from Mulgtave days, who had been helpful in his obtaining support in his plam to contest Whitby. It was Watson who had been responsible for getting Hanbury to ask his quesoon in the House and was now press-ing him to force an inquiry into the whole matter. The Maharajah's reply to Watson's encouraging letter shows something of the tortured processes of his mind daring this periods

I thank you very much for your lener which shova me that there are'll! some right minded Englishmen in England.

It b most kind of Mr Hanbury to think of bringing my case before PatUament.bucI ampenuaded that he wouldbe disappointed with the result were he to do so. For he is not likely to succeed where the sovereign herself has f^ed. Lord Salubury has already refused to grant a Cour of Arbitradon composed of Law Lords of the House of Peers, and he b not likely to permit a discussion of my daims in the House of Commons. It b very easy always for the Governmeut of the day to cause the House to be counted out whenever a member desires to force a discussion of a disagreeable topic and my tale would reveal to the Bnnsh public that Russia is not the only unjust, unscrupulous, and immoral nabon in the world. England appears at this momenttobe much mtercsted about the liberticsofBulgaria, because Russnis meddling with thar freedom, yet Great Britam herself hesiuted not to depose me, her ward, from the throne she had guaranteed me by the Treaty of Bhytowal in 1846 and deprived foe aspinng Sikh nabon - those eighty millions ofpeopk-of focir own nationality when it suited

'a rebel now in earnest'

own purpose. Yes ! 'People Usot live in gless ^

throw stones at others,' Yes! India groans under A' "tutun

injustice of England, but out of loyalty to the Empress I
willingly blind to the misery of my countrymen until I *

degraded of an arrest at Aden last spring when "I was
ended. I, a naturalised Englishman and before God I declare) a

most loyal subject of England apprehended. I am not a

prevented from exercising my liberty as such to reside in any part
of the British Empire. A public trial not even before"

granted me to refute the charge of disloyalty brought against me by
the administration of India, because I happened to
use the form of salutation current among the Sikhs. viz. "ujeh

jee de Fattch as a victory to the teachers, in a proceeding
I addressed to my countrymen before quitting England in
matters is a treatment that no man of honour would or a

submit to. I am not the proud son of the Lion of

No, Watson! I have done with the British Government for ever
and by the help of the God of my fathers. I will for ever
overthrow the tyrannical, immoral and unscrupulous
administration of India. Morth-

Let Russia give me only 10,000 men to appear
on the West frontier of India, and the thing is done. For
45,000 of the Punjabis, my former subjects, in the British
at this moment, who would come over to me at
other British troops would be sent to oppose me then the
wolves of the Punjab would rise in their rear. Also all Punjabis,"

would make common cause with me. for they have

injustice like myself from our present rulers.

I endeavouring to bring them about. I do not seek any
to myself. I shall do it purely out of revenge

suffered at the hands of my guardians, the British "

who pretended to regulate their actions by the tenets of

Vile Hypocrites! . . . , he

I enclose copies of two proclamations which were
issued. Hitherto no proclamation has been issued
with knowledge or sanction in the Punjab.

Good bye Watson! May God bless you.

The Lawful Sovereign of the Sikh Nation under the Treaty of
Amritsar with Great Britain, 1819.

QUEEN victoria's MAHARAJAH

Stripped of its glory. the

little more than a plea to the people of India to provide

funds:

Brother Princes and Nobles and the people of beloved Hind

By the Grace of Almighty God

As the Emperor of Hind and of the Sikh Nation

Maharaja Dalip Singh, the lawful sovereign of the Sikh Nation
have set aside and annulled that treaty of annexation of the Punjab
to the disgrace of Great Britain, be it

known to all, and our Durbar, when we
of Christian England under the treaty of Dhawal
to lay his wicked hands on our dominions by the late Unsettled

Lord Marquis of Dalhousie.

But the moral (!) British nation is no respecter of
covenants- and treaties when its own interests are
the interests of the weaker contracting parties thereto, as
you as well as ourselves know by experience.

No doubt, your mighty rulers will call upon you to refute the
above assertion, but dare they deny that it is not in their hearing
what the leading journal in England The Times not very long
(in spite of the proclamation issued when it
Great Britain in the name of the Empress of India married
after the suppression of the mutiny of 1857. to the
internal administration of your respective dominions would not
interfere with by Her Majesty's representatives in Hindustan;
advocated, viz., the abolition of your armies, the maintenance
which is dearer to you than life itself. But fortunately for your
friends, just about that time a storm commenced to gather on
north-west frontier of India, in the presence of which your mighty
rulers did not feel themselves sufficiently strong to carry out such
high-handed measures and you escaped therefore the fate intended
for you.

However, let us hope now that evil day may never dawn upon
you. for the poor old British lion is becoming so feeble [sic]
indeed as to show the 'white feather' at the mere buzzing of a
but that, however, is not to be wondered at, because the Sikh
the son of the renowned Lion of the Punjab as well as the lawful
sovereign of the Sikh nation, and like his people, who by his
valour saved the British empire in Hindustan in 1857 from utter

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'a rebel now in earnest'

annihilation, at least, feared no odds that might be opposed to
him.

The poet speaks truly when he said. 'If it were conscience that makes

cowardf.'

Yes. the Government of India are consciout of the wickedne« practiied by them lowardi ui. the ward of the righteous Brimh nation, and tremble lest v.x should come and avenge the wrong inflicted upon us by our guardian. For in great trepidation, they offered us jatisfaciion of our just claims provided

we signed a protocol never to return to Hindustan w'ithout their permhiion.

But their Christian immorality knows no bound, for rather than render justice, the Government have preferred to commit another and still greater wrong so as to try to cover the first by refusing us a court composed of Law Lords of the House of Peers to enquire into and arbitrate these (admitted by Lord Salisbury to be so) 'controverted mailers' on the miserable plea that they had not the power to appoint such a tribunal. The Government of Great Brittain powerless to grant a court of arbitration!!!! Ah! what mockery! What falsehood!!! On our part, however, we should have cheerfully accepted the verdict of such a court as final had it awarded us but a single pice in damages.

We.ihcrefore. appeal toyoutorienulgenerosity. Brother Princes and Nobles and the people of Hindustan, as wr vastly prefer to suffer the greatestr degradation, humiliation and shame of Bheck Manga or begging our bread from you beloved countrymen, to being under any pecuniary obligation to such a most iniquitously unjust, tyrannical and foteign Government, who, though professingcodeofhigh morality, piouslywindled us out ofour Kingdom, and defrauded us of all our private property, both of which the British Nation as our guardian under the Treaty of Bhyrowal 1846 had taken upon itselfopxotrctduring our minority, and is bound in honour either ro restore the whole or give equitable compensa-tion for the same, but Jesus Christ, by whose tenets these Christians profess to regulate their morals, has not said in vain that wc do not gather grapes of thorns nor figs of thistles; therefore, not even in England is justice to be had.

In the glorious days of yoie. it used to be the pride of your ancestors to defend the weak who sought their protection as we seek yours this day against the strong, though they might lose IU

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they pojssessed in doing so. Therefore, if that spirit of nobJe chivalry w not quite dead among you, then aid a brother Prince and countryman in advenity.

The Government of India out of spite may indeed put its veto upon the generous impulse of your hearts, hut if you all unite, it will be powerless to harm ye»u as you cannot all be deposed or sent to the Kala Pance for not paying any heed to the arbitrary behest of such a timorous administration as it has now become. For see, thatnotwiihsranding all its boasted vast resources how it dreads the

return to India of a Sikh who unlike you does not even possess a single soldier.

Therefore, he not cowards but be brave and worthy of your great forefathers.

(sd.) Dalip Singh,
The Lawful Sovereign of the Sikh Nation**
The most rousing prodamation, presumably for release at a later date when the Maharajah appeared with troops on Indian soil, read:

Courage! Courage! Courage!

We your own flesh and blood, tell you, lift up your bowed down heads and drooping hearts 'for your redemption draweth near' and by the help of the Almighty, Aryavarta shall once more be free and the rising 'Young India*' shall enjoy both liberty and seK^government.

Yes, beloved countrymen, an avenger of our common great wrongs is indeed about to appear, and the just God of the Universe will shortly cause your wicked mien to crushed under his feet But you must have a little more patience yet, so as to allow us to work out your salvation most eftctualJy.

The iniquitously unjsrn and unscrupulous administration of India have succeeded at last by their arbitrary acts m driving us away from our (we declare before God) most loyal allegiance to the Empress of Hindustan, but by the aid of Providence they rue the day on which they dared to insult us by causing our arrest at Aden. For although we were naturalised Englishmen, yet we were placed under arrest without a warrant having been previously obtained for our apprehension

The British Government dared not have treated a bom Englishman as thus, but because we were not such, we were neither

*A REBEL NOW IN EARNEST

allowed a public mal not were Y^HfoV'to

revol.ingcharEeordUloyaltypn:fettcd.giin.tmtowardsouth

Most Gtacious Sovettign.

Government. . i «t;rK England, and

If we, who wete once hean and soul ^ ^

who would cheetfully have apdt the ^°P f,, ,11

setvicee of the Emptes, of Hindustan as “

her personal boundless j of arbitration

jusdee and ev^ a hearing etc most loyal,

and branded disloyal when on p of India, for prevent-

Then, whatehanehayeyoo.bt<h«P^on^

tag the Immotal '•'""""'.'""t .Uev have hypocritically

theit putpose - ftom "'."F" ,^,rwvh England,

guatanteed to you by lencalled » ,j, ^

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yout thtones only until a ^tlook at what

to yout so.ealcd just tulcrs fot your P . . jd,rations of the
ha, lately uken place in Butma. In 'P"" " X," appeal to

Queen's ptoelamation of ISJS to e

you that the days of anncaanon avc entirely degenctated

Thetefote, friends, if r,,,,,ed too mete

into cowatd, and become ^'to"" *en rise up and

puppets in the hands °f P™' . also m the glory of

make common caom g we thus invite you to

libetadng out mother coumiy. , . ® do not fot a moment

take part in this grand both ^ for God ha, other-

suppose that we shall seek any a.d from you. m
wise made us strong who ww once valour saved the

Sri Khalsa ji. you by yout fat dten to act so

British Empire in India m '*5^'^ P ,oval to England. Beside,
for we ourselves at that ume vvctc , -odod, you had no

owing to our absence from n' * ^ nation to instruct

leader appointed by Sri Sat C^ru jio y warfare that

you as to the part that you should have uten m

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QUEEN' \ICTOBIA*S MAKAEAJAH

was tfc<i going on. fcut now in the oomhtg stmgcJe sorerciga both
by the wSl of Sri Sat Guna Ji as wdlas in ^e Tittae of the Treaty of
Bhyrowal iS^S with GteaiBritaia(tnsd&twlucb Christian England
assumed oargaardiKijlijp.dioi^b by a most pions act shortly after
they swindled us ottt of our Kingdom}, we contmiad tot to pro-
pare for our advance into the Punjab.

^e command also stub as of our loyal subjects as may then be serving rn the Biithh army, and wbomay be left bdiisd, to attack the Briash forces sent against cs in their rear and those who tmay be in the ttx^ opposing us to come oeer to our side- But let oar enemies and disloyal sub^eto beware for we intend to aanihilate them onerly.

Sri Kkalsa ^ we acbtrrt you to smdy the Sakbee au and learn therein y'onr glorious destiny as ptetSete d by Daswan Padshah Sri Gum Govind Stagh JL

VahGtmijide Fatdj (uL) Dalip Sm^

(February, i5?7) Sovereign cf tJse Sib Nation.*^

Such wvlike enclosum seem to have had a spiae-chiHsng effecr on the YotVshire wonhy. who teplied in agiuied tone almost oriental ta tt^-le:

'a rebel now in earnest'

life and may ibe Father of jigho be my guide and may I be the humble instrument, in his hands to assist you in your difficulties is the prayer of

Your humble Sr Faithful servant,
Robert D. Watson.^*

Watson was so upset that he took what for him must have been entirely uncharacteristic action. Without telling the Maharajah he forwarded the letter and proclamations direct to the queen with the drastic suggestion, here made for the first time, that she should persortally force the government to take action:

Imost humbly desire toapproach Your Majesty on behalf of dear Old Master, the Maharajah DhoJip Singh, and to implore Your Majesty to use every effort to avert a catastrophe which I am satisfied will be disastrous and bring ruin to him. and bring no credit to our own country.

My first duty as a loyal subject is to Your Majesty, and secondly to do my utmost to try and avert the utter ruin of one to whom I am deeply attached. With thiioyect I enclose the copy of a letter I have just received from the prince, bearing date 7ih, and I beg most humbly to implore Your Majesty to bring pressure to bear on Your Ministry to at once do justice and avert a calamity.

I have only to add that I should wish this communication to be held strictly private, the intended proclamation I should only be willing to place in the hands of Your Majesty's Private Secretary, and not in the hands of any of your ministers and unless Your Majesty asserts your authority as the head of this realm I can see nothing but danger ahead.

I also enclose a reply I have sent to my Dear Old Master.

I am, Most Gracious Sovereign, Your True and Loyal Subject,
Robert D. Watson.

P.S.

Madam, I see only two courses open. One to force as head of the nation. Your Government to do an act of common justice, or secondly to command the Prince to Your Majesty's court at Windsor, and to exercise that influence over him which I know Your Majesty to possess.*

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QUEEN victoria's MAHARAJAH

The Maharajah may have thought that Watson's urgent response represented the anxieties of the British public as a whole and even of those in authority, for his reply indicated that he was still under the impression that he had some cards to play and some threats to make that would shake the India Office from its complacency. His offer to yield his position in exchange for £3 million and his restoration to the throne of the Punjab, indicated a thinking that was both wishful and tumultuous:

Believe me, Watson, I have it in my power either to save or destroy the British Empire of India and I will either have £3,000,000 or my revenge. Let the British Government ask (some) 45,000 Punjabi soldiers employed in the Anglo-Indian army whether they will or will not fight against me if sent to oppose my advance with forces of Russia and convince themselves of the truth of my assertion that their loyalty would replace me on the throne of the Punjab and make a better position for strengthening their empire. *

For I will guarantee that Russia or any other power in the world would never trouble them in India. They would thus have some 8,000,000 of the most brave people of India heart and soul with them, instead of not possessing the loyalty of a single Indian. But they have been dead to their own interest in suspecting me of disloyalty and not reposing implicit confidence in me.

27th December, 1857

(sd.) Dalip Singh,
Sovereign of the Sikh nation

If he thought he had gone too far in expecting to be restored to the throne of the Punjab, the Maharajah in a postscript had an alternative proposition:

I might just as well tell you as this letter is not likely to be published in the newspapers that since I wrote you, I am assured

of pecuniary aid up to one million pounds sterling and therefore. I am not likely to accept any proposal that the British Government are likely to make. As I only at present require £10,000, this sum will be placed in my hands within six weeks by which time the political events in Europe will have developed themselves more decidedly. The British Government if they do not

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A REBEL NOW IN EARNEST

.o .ry .he

them only restore my estate. ^ Council of

time a passage as " "J^i;,'calcu..a and publish abroad

India in London and the C ^ j-ma^dthcoettyrievances

that I am appointed to enquire into an like thousands of

of the natives of India at any

little fires ready to be blown into content

moment by the merest accident • establish Her Empire on

to serve England loyally and un which it will never stand.

the sure foundation it knows so well as I do both

No one { though I say it circumscribes of my

the English and the Indians by the peculiar custom

'■"Vlor Watson did not get

correspondence with the Scots so should force her

his presumptuous suggestion forward the cor-

respondence in his hand he asked Pomsonby to forward

Lord Cross, now Lord Watson wrote

Lord Cross did not reply and *' a

threatening to withdraw his whole purpose

The Secretary of State coldly replied "°Xce on the

would be served in entering into correspondence

subject'.^' . u. 1 . TM.etic communication with

The Maharajah's last P**/***,^ on 28 January

authority was to Sir Robert on g • made to

1887. He was still in Paris, but about his plans

Kind and good Sir Robert. "The J. J. Parrer & Co. for the receipt to be sent to my . . . , request to the India

•Star of India' which I am anxious to possess before

Office some time ago, and which I, I, re any day) from Paris.

my departure (which may be that I have received

Doubtless you will be I on certain conditions,

promise of the price of "P. J. J." of the entire Punjab and and, from India, of assurance of the British army- Lord

allegiance of some 45,000 arresting me at Aden.

Dufferin has gained nothing. The, I, /happen (via- that my After all, what he did not wish should happen

QUEEN VICTORIA** MAHARAJAH

countrymen be not in a position to show me sympathy) has happened. The trodden-down worm at last has been enabled through the mercy of God to lift up his bowed down heart and head in order to avenge the injustice and the insults (as the only reward for his loyalty) showered down upon him for the last 36 years.

enclose also three proclamations, two of which will be published here in a few days, the 3rd a little later on. None are genuine that do not bear my signature.

May the Almighty bless both you and your kind hearted good lady. Once more farewell

Your most grateful, (sd.) Dalip Singh,

Both Sovereign and Guru of the Sikh nation.-**'

Knowing his vacillating nature and still claiming to have some influence over him, Henniker and Grafton continued working for the Maharajah's rehabilitation. They were still intent on setting up an inquiry, apparently his minimum condition for giving up his dangerous plans, which Russian rejection did not seem to have dampened. The India Office, however, seemed determined to refrain from conciliation or even communication, though they were prepared to make some sort of a financial arrangement for the now deserted family. This concession was mainly due to the influence of the queen who had seen Lord Cross when she was at Hong Kong and spoken to him, according to the journal, 'about the unfortunate M. D-S's wife and sons, who will have to be provided for if he throws up everything & goes quite wrong in his passionate excitement & irritation, having been misled by the Tong-headed Indians and relations'."

It was decided that out of the Maharajah's rejected stipend, £6,300 a year should be allowed the maharani and £2,000 a year to the eldest sons. The two eldest boys were morcable to look after the children. 'The young men in their tastes are thorough Englishmen,' Lord Dufferin wrote. He was less than altruistic when he went on to say, 'The more completely they can be induced to regard England as their home the better, as the appearance of even a grandson of

'a rebel NOW' IN EARNEST*

Runjit Singh in the Punjab might have inconvenient consequences. Victor was at Sandhurst and would soon be leaving Eton to go to Cambridge. Henniker was wondering what would be the best regiment for Victor to join. 'Surely he would be better in a good regiment like the Scots Greys,' he wrote to Ponsonby, 'than in the Grenadier Guards, where he would probably be his own master. The Blues or any other Household regiment will bully him ... We want him to be under a good Colonel, in a good regiment, which does not go to India.' With the queen's approval they settled on the Royal Dragoon Guards, the Royals.

The main problem was the younger children - Bamba had for some years been virtually an invalid and totally neglected their education; Oliphant had attributed what he called her 'strange habits' to the fact that some eight years ago she had fallen on the ice; Kimberley had the story that 'whether from despair or being neglected she had taken to drinking alcohol to a injurious extent.' Dutta according to Dr Lawson, of the American mission in Cairo, who had come over to comfort his former charge, 'there was nothing wrong with her at all.' Because of Bamba's inability to cope with the situation Henniker undertook to become the children's legal guardian, and Arthur Oliphant, son of the Maharajah's late comptroller, took over the task of actually bringing them up. 'It is all a sad sad story,' Arthur Oliphant wrote, 'and I feel most thankful that my dear old Father was not spared to know him [the Maharajah] as he moved them all to his house at Folkestone where he and his wife effectively became foster-parents to four confused young Indians. Oliphant recalled their old nanny, Miss Dale, who had left when Bamba became difficult, and gone to Russia to look after Princess Gortschakoff's children. She would, it seemed, have a hard job ahead, for Oliphant reported that the girls, 'did not know how to walk like young ladies' and 'the poor Mahami was also going to give them lessons in callisthenics, and always going to take them to church, but

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QUEEN victoria's MAHARAJAH
these intentions. as indeed all offers, were never carried

Despite the efforts of well-wishers in England, the Maharajah was proceeding with his seditious plans. He described some of them in letters to Thakur Singh in India :
 *I am glad you have come down to Pondicherry. Stay there and continue intriguing with the Sikhs and the Native Princes , . . Please be careful in your goings, for if you act openly the English, who are at present on friendly terms with the French, will get you turned out of Pondicherry . . . Send me some money as soon as you can. Without it I cannot proceed any further. The Russian Minister at Paris has asked me for 50,000,000 without which he will not allow me to do anything with his government ... I have offered 30 million as tribute to Russia. You should now try and ascertain from Nizam, Baroda, Holkar and the Maharajah of Cashmere whether they will join me in paying this sum and thus driving away the English from India. But, as far as I am aware, they are puppets in the hands of the English and I cannot expect much from them. Tell them Russia cares very little for India and the Indians. She cares only for money ... I want to have a monarchical government. I will give India something like Germany by which the Native Chiefs will be independent kings. I will never allow any other nation with the exception of Indians to take part in the administration of the country ... I have appointed you my Prime Minister and you are at liberty to negotiate with the Native States in my name.'**

The Maharajah was consorting with any anti-British element in Paris who cared to contact him, particularly the Irish Fenians, committed with American aid to the freeing of Ireland from English rule. The Fenians had been staging acts of terrorism for the past twenty years, culminating in the Phoenix Park murders in 1882. In the following year they had tried to blow up the public buildings in Whitehall which very nearly wrecked Sir Owen Bernard's room at the India Office. For their various acts of terrorism, five of the 'Invincibles' had been hanged; a number were on the run in

also

'a REBEL NOW IN EARNEST

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into communication with the British, family con-

Katkov, editor of the Matru- .. Had him to

nection with members of the , ^ijcv if England

..pr< opinion* in Snoril h.

wa, giving aid and assistance. particularly if

would do the same for . , -jT; official expansion,

they could further the . l j case even if

Katkov, intended » '*■' to

his government appeared not to be a newspaper.
Moicow and ptomiicd *',hc Maharajah had
During those heady days, a 19-year-old

developed a romantic relation father was said to be a

English girl called Ada Wcthcill. Her father
major general and her Logan

herself an actress and was by the Maharajah decided

would have described as a lady. to follow him

to go to Russia she was sufficiently attached to
and his fortune wherever the road might lead.

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CHAPTER I 5

'England's Proud Implacable Foe'

Tut Maharajah, a usual, had difficulty in making up his
mind which course to adopt. Should he go straight to
Russia? - the Russian foreign office had officially rejected
his proposals. Even if Katkoff and the Irish had led him on.
Perhaps he should be becoming 'a thorn in the side
of Lord Dufferin' and set up under French protec-
tion in Pondicherry, but then the president, M. Grevy, had
not had the courtesy to reply to his request. Another plan
was to establish himself as near as possible to the Indian
frontier, where he could enter into communication with such
potentially friendly princes as the Maharajah of Kashmir, the
nizam of Hyderabad, the Maharajah Holkar, the deposed
King of Oodh, and the minister of Gwalior. Then again, he
might get together with Ayub Khan, pretender to the Afghan
throne, trunccr of General Burrows at Maiwand; Ayub
Khan, beaten in his turn by General Roberts, was then Jick-
ing his wounds on the Afghan frontier. In addition there were
other recalcitrants under Russian protection who the
Maharajah thought might be converted to his cause — French-
Canadians, assorted Irish Nationalists, pro-Boers like Alfred
Aylward, agents from Turkey, Egypt and the Sudan.

He finally decided he would go to Russia, where, with the
help of Katkoff, he might influence official opinion in his
favour. He planned to leave Paris on 17 March and take
a ship from Marseilles via Constantinople to Odessa, but
changed his mind when persuaded that this route laid him
open to 'possible assassination through British intrigues'.
The British were in fact keeping an eye on him; *We keep

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'en-land's proud impeachable foe
through the Foreign Office the strictest watch on his move-
ments in Paris,' Cross wrote to Dnlfenn m " "I for

informed, he is to leave in company with a young B
Constantinople this morning. They™ „

instead the Maharajah suddenly put Katkol to

the winter shooting on the Caspian, and asked JOftoR o
obtain a letter of authority for his g's end
be passed through Russia. Even the Caspian story, i,,,e
to be a bluff - his latest intention was in fact to continue
through Persia to Meru, occupied by and

and the furthest outpost, in the direction Herat,

India, or better still, to Sarakh, Meshraf ^d Herat,

Rt'ian Imm: itS::; i" H pi^ia, J. he end^h^."
Ltt d'^fp: spL^: - &^^

"ttMSj'ah'ierPa* on a. March. accompanied by

his mistress, now honorary roaharam, . equipped

Singh, promoted to honorary Jj" 1"/" 'o, Kve

with the passport of ^ Insh „jlv,jy station

looked the part even if the 5*"" , , changing trains.

were in the appropriate spin . ^ k- ^^ luch, in

the Maharajah was parted from

addition to his travel documents, police were

4,8 -verdgn, and by the

summoned, and British ^ jly was ulti-

Maharajah as the culprits, though the guU^ p ^
materially established as a professional Pi^k pocket. ^

less. pL sportless Maharajah,

messages to Katkoff, who used his military faction

Bogdanovitch, a leading member . . of the police to

favouring territorial expansion to order the ^^^^ ^P
let him in. It was arranged for him to y

Dussaux in Moscow. M, l, raiah had of the long

The first real intimation ^ from August

QUEEN VICTORIA'S MATLABAJAI

Weber, the vice-consul in Moscow, who had been instructed by the British embassy at St Petersburg to look out for him. The Maharajah, who was under the erroneous impression that he was being approached 'to propose to him to open negotiations', curtly refused to see him. If that mission had failed, Weber was soon pleased to report that he had seen the Maharajah setting off from his hotel to Katkof's house at about nine o'clock at night 'in full Indian dress with the "Star of India" on his breast and adorned with precious stones', accompanied by Atoor Singh turbaned and in a 'black dress'. Atoor Singh, described as 'loquacious', boasted to Weber that their further stay in Moscow 'would entirely depend on the movement of the Russians in Central Asia and more especially so - on their movements towards Herat'. Weber suggested to his superior that this information might 'justify any precautions that may in consequence be taken to counterbalance that sort of game'.

'Proper quarters' were quick to react to the diplomatically embarrassing presence of a declared British rebel actively engaged in political intrigue in the Russian arena at a time of the war. What was the Maharajah doing in Moscow when their foreign minister had asserted that he was unwelcome? The British foreign secretary, Lord Salisbury, sent a sharp note to his ambassador in St Petersburg, Sir Robert Morier, instructing him to look into the matter. Morier, formerly ambassador in Berlin, regarded himself as a diplomat of some substance. He had personal talks with the Russian foreign minister, who was probably better informed about the whole affair than he pretended. Morier reported to Salisbury the gist of his interviews with de Giers in a 'very secret' dispatch dated 4 May 1887:

I saw H.E. & found him more than ever annoyed and per-

plexed at the anomalous position in which this extraordinary. I might almost say grotesque, incident has placed him. He had entirely failed to ascertain by whose assistance Dattdeep Singh had crossed the frontier. I said I had heard that the culprit was Genl. Bogdanovitch; and I asked whether he would have the satisfaction

'ENGLAND'S PROUD IMPLACABLE FOE

authority to enable a friend 'V

without a passport - He said he "

succeeded. strange to say, m

Ministry of the Interior, « some sort <> ^ on the

himself on the spot. he would be known to the people under any

frontier and elsewhere. But the ^ j certainly not been
regulations Sr Its results. , ,,,
been no difficulty in obtaining the je Gien
am convinced, though he did not exp ^ jo igive
himself wished to do. namely to "I*** police
Russia. Hh Majesty appears to been ^ and^bserved that
not having been aware of what , tetter police
it was odd that the British Amb^dor have a
than himself in his own "P'*** T —i-ti easily come in by
improved by remarking that a Nilu i g believe M. de Giers
simUarmeam-whereUmsuonglymdmedt^^^^^^
met with opposirion was from the
I for one moment believe that Cl. Y because he is an
M. Katkoffin his intrigues with great grievance
obstinate sort of man who harbouring of Nihilist
he considers Russia has against Eng an , conversation
refugees such as Hartman - It was clear ^ jXeciprocity
with M. dc Glen he had *'?^"*^* of dangerous individuals.
betwe nthetwocountn«inihcexcfe g with H.E.
Bur be rhis as it may, the upshot Y ,, , j, ^d. create
war .hat he declared the rurpulr.on of .he M.Maj
great .caudal: but rha. he cd, ,o reuder him
and that the necessary measures i,-n^ous that I should not
harmlesr. . . . H. however ""
represent him as having entered ^ j A f,, he said 'wuh
to guarantee the innocuomuesofDh^cph' S'
the experience we have had. who can tell what m g

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QUEEN victoria's MAHARAJAH

happen.' I said that I fully realised the difficulty of his position, that
I had reed, no instructions from HMG to ask for Dhulecp's
expulsion, but had only been told to point out the impression
which wd. certainly be produced by his travelling in the direction

of Central Asia through Russian territory. I felt sure that H.E. wd. do all in his power to secure the innocuousness of the Maharajah: no one could do mote...*

Certainly Katkoff, who referred to England as 'the concealment of all Russian political criminals',[®] was not the only man in Russia who objected to the harbouring in England of Russian terrorists such as Hartman. In 1881 the nihilist group 'People's Wing' had assassinated Tsar Alexander II, and Dimitri Tolstoy had been appointed minister of the interior with a mandate for stern repression. Sir Robert Morier, by now more sure of his ground, sent an account to London on a further meeting with de Gicston the 'harbouring' of the Maharajah and was now proud to report that he had been responsible for compromising General Bogdanovitch. The Tsar's first exclamation, de Gicst had told him, on learning how his foreign minister had heard of the Maharajah's illicit entry had been; 'It is passing strange that the British Ambassador should have at his disposal at St. Petersburg a better police than I have.' Morier's dispatch continued;

In a word General Bogdanovitch, whose position is already undermined, had been caught in flagrant delicto doing a piece of Executive business behind the back of the Emperor, of the Ministers and of the Police officials. M. de Giers dropped the expression: 'C'etait un acte de rrafcson' I caught up the phrase as very strong for the occasion, and M. de Giers was proceeding to make some observation when he stopped himself. As he changed the conversation. From what he did say, however, I gathered clearly that the Maharajah's unlawful crossing of the frontier was only a link in the intrigue which there is no doubt M. Katkoff was carrying on through last winter in Paris and that his invitation to the Maharajah to come to Moscow was somehow or other connected with that intrigue.'

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'ENGLAND'S PROUD IMPLACABLE FOE

It was soon clear to the Maharajah, sitting in his seedy hotel, that, even with the support of Katkoff and the revolutionists led by Bogdanovitch, his

likely to progress without the interest of the highest of the high'. He therefore applied for an interview

and when he was told that under the

meeting could not be considered 'desirable'.

letter effectively invited the Tsar to invade India on the Maharajah's behalf.

Before I take the liberty of placing before His

men. The request of the Princes and people for deliverance from their oppression. I "Je" of the

personal advantage for myself. I do not

250,000,000 of my people from the British have

benefit the person who will free them. I do not
have, when the people of India become free » have in my

own country in the Punjab from the British. I desire to earnestly
But I do not make this a condition. I desire to earnestly

life to the interests of the Emperor whose loyal subject I deem myself
wish to become. . . , known both in

Through my cousin Sirdar Thakur Singh (, a just
the Punjab and mostly all over India) and pray the
of the powerful princes of India to command These princes
Imperial Government to take care
possess altogether some 300,000 men I think proper
prepared to revolt should the Imperial Government repre-
sent to the British an advance upon the British as to

representative, be permitted to accompany the Emperor. I would
assure them of the generous and gracious in
towards them by the Emperor, for I would very

care to fill the minds of the people of India. (>h° >
ignorant) with false reports as to the progress of the British
Sassanid, though the British are not to do so,

solemn engagements whenever it suits

having broken two treaties with the Imperial

Among the many advantages that would accrue to the

Government by invasion of India would be to manage their

The Princes of India when free, and to allow them to

affairs in their own way. would 'join together and pay

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QUEEN victoria's MAHARAJAH

tribute to the British Government. Although I am authorized
to name only 50,000,000 per annum yet in my opinion after the
settling down of the country they could easily pay between

£8,000,000 and £10,000,000. The British rate an annual revenue from the country of £50,000,000 and £10,000,000 Sterling, out of which an army of 100,000 Europeans and Officers and English civilians (who receive very high salaries) are paid at least £25,000,000.

The rest is employed in the administration of the country and in the payment of interest upon capital advanced by England for the construction of rail, roads and upon the public debt of India and pensions to retired officials in England. Also, the import and export trade between England and India amounting to some £50,000,000 per annum each way would be secured by Russia. India is indeed a gold mine to England and most of her wealth has been and is derived from that source, I have been much struck already during my very short stay in India with the low value of things in the country from want (in my opinion) of suitable markets for their disposal. But could the same commodities be taken to India I feel persuaded that from 10 to 20 per cent over the prices they fetch here would be raised for them out there. The markets of Central Asia are not to be compared with that of India.

I guarantee an easy conquest of India. For besides the promised assistance of the Princes of India with their armies, it is in my power to raise the entire Punjab in revolt and cause the inhabitants to attack in their rear the British forces sent to oppose the Imperial Army.

My loyal subjects would also destroy all railway, telegraphic and other communications and blow up bridges and cut off all supplies while the Princes in revolt would harass the British troops left behind as a reserve. England is only strong at sea but she has no army. She has only some 100,000 Europeans and about the same number of native soldiers in her service in India. All these are loyal to me and will come over at once to the side of Russia (provided that I be permitted to accompany the Imperial Army of invasion) should they be sent in front of the Russian troops, or they will attack the opposing British forces in their rear, should these Sikhs be left behind.

Under these circumstances no British army could hold its own.

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‘ENGLAND’S PROUD IMPLACABLE FOE

however powerful it might be (which it is not), being attacked

both in front and behind. In state

It may not perhaps be out of place here why I have some power over you in the way such invaluable service to acknowledged head

described above. In the first place I, King, and my 100,000 are

and sovereign of some 400,000 (or 400,000) by the most

Sikhs)peop5^oftheentire^njab acotm^
warlike races of India and all loya regarding
teacher of the Sikhs prophesied somewhere f ^He hf
myself and has mentioned me by name m h ^^p^
besides other matters predicted also a ^
Sm r 'th't S.; -uW thm be tu«-ch,,g under
" ^a great ^alcm|. ^-^Sr^S! [
«tremely i^nran. aa
" M^tiroteut.d.ewho,eof]ndiai,wi,—
People of Hindootm deliverance. With all
joy will know no bounds at t Imocrial Government
humility.Iwouldendeavoortodusoadethe^pc
from rJEarding ,o oppote the malita™^
present, became many powers at atteotion upon
of its wbbes in that quarter bu Unuland For by wrench-
the eouqnest of India »"*/>»" ^,t 7 ah"?,^rial Government
ing India nut of the bandt Steady doubt that
will acquire a source of peat svea.u
so much will be gamed by u ""K j j .a.ould vennirc to state
Furthermore, if I may entertained in *e Imperial
that, should the mvaston of uia W
•"tt::mirm'S%"-vU..p.y.ba..n.aynn.

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QUEEN Victoria's maharajah

be considered disrespectful towards the Imperial Government but
as a loyal subject of the Emperor (which I already consider myself
to be, though I have not yet received the right of naturahsation), I
fee! it my duty to say what f have to say without reserve.

The Imperia! Government, whether it thinks it proper to invade
India or not or to employ me or not. can please itself in the matter
for it is no concern of mine. I have been deputed simply to make
an appeal on behalf of 250,000,000 of my countrymen for deliver-
ance from the cruel yoke of the British Rule and having done so
my duty is ended and, if graciously permitted by the Emperor to
enjoy both liberty and safety in Hii Majesty's dominions. I shall
occupy myself in sport leaving the Almighty to bring about the

deliverance of my unfortunate people in His own good time.

Should the Imperial Government, however, think proper to mm its attention towards the conquest of India and desire my services for that purpose, I would suggest then that 2 or 3 gentlemen speaking English well should be appointed both to further discuss the matter with me and to enquire into the truth of the assertions I have made with regard to India.*

That the Tsar took the dubious daims of the deceitful letter seriously is indicated from the notes he made on its margin: to the suggestion that the Maharajah was anxious to become his loyal subject he noted: 'Undesirable'-. regarding the claim that the princes of India were all behind him, the Tsar, giving his first sign of participation, wrote, 'It would be desirable to verify this fact', and to the suggestion that English-speaking gentlemen be appointed to 'discuss the matter', the Tsar noted, 'It can be done.'

The Tsar made no written observation on another letter that fell into the hands, perhaps intentionally, of his security police. It came from Paris and was addressed to the Maharajah;

Mon Prince, the hour has not yet sounded, but it is not distant.

[know that in England the Government is convinced of the inevitability of an Anglo-Russian war and fears that France may take sides with the Muscovites. The two military patrons of the Irish nationalists have drawn up a proposal for the establishment of an Irish military colony near the Indian frontier — 600 to 6,000

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■ England's proud implacable foe-

min engaging to it to it. to n. ^ Iri*
thi British army, Thi colony probably to b' TM!
of our most devoted friends, who will act as ■>>' ""P"TM'
mint of Russia may die. and it is

and expedient, it will be ready to march in the event of any
deposed monarch and place him on the throne.

The letter was signed 'C'. No doubt it was J'""*
Casey. The 'devoted friend', who was probably to command
the Irish legion, was a gentleman referred to in the
report as 'a former major in the British Army'.

The Maharajah seemed to be too absorbed in his intrigues

to give much thought to the welfare of his people,

Victor, about to leave Sandhurst, was "b">"b'ng >

that was to become all too familiar by getting me

father's letter to an emant son promised htde hope of tm
mediate accommodation:

I am delighted to see your that I

my son, to write such a letwr. For I h ^-rffore how dare
have repudiated the treaty of the annexation. ^ j at

you tcU me wite and ask for the money said to belong
the India Office. independent

Whether the 'Tschar* help me or not. ^ to over-

of everybody, and perfectly ^ j j,ave dedicated the

throw the British rule in India to y ^ do not believe

rest of my life. But take my iny against me.

anything the newspapers write either in y

You will soon be of age and will /ilwels if .hey

your debts. Let the Trustees sell v matters connected

please, for I cannot be bothered aft«h wi awakened

with England. All that is over as a and I

to a new life and the destruction of the ntis ^ujjdie do not
But if you wish to retain my affection or y • . myself to

mention again to me such matter, not as nw ^ ^ swerve

mybitterestenemy.LookuponmcasQca . ,r , he Lion of the

from my purpose ' would not be the son of the l

Look upon mcMdcad.Buti ^

irrom my purpose or I would not be the
Punjab whose name I dare not disgrace. Enelish brag and

You wUI sec. my chUdic. by and by. Let the eng

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QUEEN victoria's MAHARAJAH

boast; they wDI cease their high talk. They are utterly undone,
believe me, my son.

P.S. I could see you starve and even would take your
an end to your misery, but will never return to England- J am
entirely changed since you last saw me. I will freely shed my blood
for the Emperor of Russia.**

A second letter, written a day or two later, more

relaxed in tone. If it sent love to Frederick, it gave no hint of concern for his wife, thought by Queen Victoria^ dying of a broken heart.

I cannot tell you how happy I am to be in Russia- There is plenty of grouse shooting and fine salmon fishing in the north of Russia, and if not better employed I mean to indulge myself in some first rate sport. The woodcock shooting on the coast of the Black Sea is very good and so is snipe and wild fowl shooting in the Crimea. ,

So you see, my dear old man, I have reached the sportsman's paradise. Besides money from India, in spite of the stupid British Government's lorvidding, vni fiow to meilte water am in Russia. To once reach Russia was all that was neef<<@fy> tny loyal subjects required me to break off all relations with the British, and give them proof of my sincerity by entering the dominions of the Tsar before they would undertake to find me large sums of money.

I can imagine the rage that the India officials will be in at my success, though they will pretend to suppress me altogether, but wchthey will find impossible to do nevertheless. Yes! they have made a blunder the cost of which will be enormous to the British nation, though it may bring no good to me. But revenge for all the insults I have suffered will quite compensate me for the inconvenience that I have had to undergo.

Write me a line, cludie. about your health, though don't put it in it, or otherwise, mix yourself up in my affairs.

Send the two knives you and Fred have made for me to Purdey to pack up with my other things.

Send my love to Fred and blessing of the Guru of the Sikhs and with the same to yourself, my childie.

P.S. The joy of your cousins will know no bounds now! I telegraphed my arrival to them. k> all India will know. ' *

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QUEEN victoria's MAHARAJAH that I am endeavouring to land in India at the head of a small European volunteer army of my own ? Does it not seem ridiculous on my part? With kind regards, that is »f a proud rebel is permitted to send them

In one letter he asked for Bamba's riding saddle, presumably for Ada's use, to be forwarded to Kieif- I setting aside all political affairs for some time to come, be confided. 'I am going to indulge in some splendid sport in the Caucasus,' 'The Sportsman's Paradise'. '* But there was no word for Queen-Victoria? though perhaps the Maharajah's odd communication of her daughter Vicky. Crown Princess of Prussia, was meant for her eyes also, for it was sent to Osborne when the addressee was in fact in Germany.

The crown princess immediately sent the letter on to her mother, asking for advice as to how to reply.

My beloved Mama. To my great surprise - } today r^frived the enclosed! I hope you will tell me ivJietfrr I am to send an answer of twat, vf « - in v/hit terms'. I cannot help feeling tetty for him & regretting that he has l^ien into such bad hands. & become soured and an enemy to England!

I was fold the Maharajah was still very grateful to y@** for the kindness you showed him personally. - Perhaps there might be some means ofbringing him to his senses & back to the nght road. He may have some real grievances too.

IVhy he should wticc to me I am sure t don't know, - perhaps because the German Govt. & Court make such professiori* friendship to Russia which I may be supposed to share '*

The Maharajah had enclosed for the crown princess the text of a letter he had sent to the Ddify Felegraph which, though he complained they had not, they had m faa published. It contained a lengthy reiteration of his grievances and ended: 'Yes, I prefer being the puppet of Mr Katkofi*. and a Russian subject, to being die dupe of Great Britain, a nation which professes to be guided by a high code of Christian morality, though practising not even the rudi-mentary justice towards her weak victims.' The Maharajah's letter to the crown princess read:

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■encland-s pbdud implacable poe'

Midamc. ThinkinE i. migh. interc< ""'S'h

indii. now lomc .hi.ry y«M ago. I ^ IVJ

presented at Osborne to your Impena! ^ , ..un,e that I

very young and who med 'o """"1 ""',^p,,rio, rhal I am thb

ihouldca-cr become the proud tbleliirl and larri

day igaimt the government of J which have

injustice, the cruel opposition, and . ,,,, ,, to what

been infiaaed upon me by Englandhave pen Christian

that Power really is. though professing a J , God

Morality. I am

inthe Universe, the Bntish Empire ofl eventually.

swindle and fraud will come to ^ '^""""phbed at Berlin while

Theaccountofthcmannerinwhichl j .nme little amuse-

travelling as 'Patrick Casey' most have afforded some little amem to Your Imperial Highness.

Before sending the Maharajah's letter on memo-
for advice, the queen showed it. Effect his rebel-
randum on the subject indicated the 5, 'General
lions activities seemed to be having no Maicsty for
Sir Henry Ponsonby begs

allowing him to see this, L- office do not allow
Duleep Singh. He suppose that the India

him any of his money? His prod, he did not care
the Irish Secret Press in Paris.

about these proclamations which would might
if he supplied the Imh rebels in Pans with funds
become dangerous. 'x' had time to

On 15 September 1857. ' was delivered
advise her daughter how to 'P' ' did of coUapse
at Balmoral; 'Regret inform you M ^u,,5 following
suddenly this morning with renal co p Adand
chill on Friday. Sir William Gull's represen

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QUEEN Victoria's maharajah
was in attendance. Prince Victor is here. Mother unconscious
twelve hours before death. Family wish buried at Elveden.
Am arranging accordingly. Everything very quiet. Arthur
Oliphant. '**

The queen noted in her journal for that day; 'The unfor-
tunate M. D.S. has published a most violent, crazy letter,
speaking of being "the lawful Sovereign of the Sikhs"* and
"England's implacable foe"! Heard this evening that his poor
abandoned wife, the M'ce Bamba, had died quite suddenly
yesterday. How terrible for the poor children, who are quite
fatherless & motherless!*

On hearing the news the Maharajah telegraphed to Victor:
'Heart-broken - can't realize - will write next week. '**
Queen Victoria sent a message of condolence to the Maha-
rajah, as did the Prince of Wales. The queen had no acknow-
ledgement, but the prince showed her his reply which could
hardly be considered gracious. 'Bertie came & sat with me

when I came home,' she entered in the journal on 7 October,

showed me a really monstrous letter from the Maharajah D.S. to Sir Dighton Probyn, who in spite of all the M's violent rebellious letters in publications, had written in Bertie's name, to console him on the death of his wife. He surely must be off his head.' The letter read;

Sir Dighton Probyn 'sleicr conveying to me Your Royal Highness' sympathy in my late bereavement has been forswarded to me from England - Under other eiraimitances J should have felt most grateful for Your Royal Highness's condescension, but in the present circumstances, while your IUustnous Mother proclaims Herself the Sovereign of a throne and an Empire both of which have been acquired by fraud by Pious Christian England, and of which Your Royal Highness also hopes one day to become the Emperor, these empty conventional words addressed to me amount to an insult. For Your Royal Highness's sympathy can only be expressed by one friend towards another-but which cannot ever exist between enemies.

signed Dulecp Singh
Sovereign of the Sikh Nation and proud implacable foe of England.*"

'ENGLAND'S PROUD IMPLACABLE FOE

The secretary of state. Lord Cross, had advised that the erow^prineeS's reply to the Mahanjah's e..^ mtph reasonably contain condolences on the f tetmind him that his childt^ w«e fathetle» «

mothctlss.DutsvhenshownhisIcttcr -nlvatalThe

Cost advised that she would do best not to reply at all. queen informed her daughter according y-

I was juu going to write to you to tend the whm^rcad

the demented Maharajah gave Dertie & wh. I Daveno. -

,o,, a of the ,th ^th u.

where I like to think you ate """"6 " ' ' ", shld,

Ctcrtt (vkho left yciterday) to aik him answer

be sent after this dreadful letter tt^ertie D.S.'s

that it shld. certainly not be Mmt- T^e ^ jj most sad &

conduct politically A: morally « as bad as P° • „, bm

grieves me very much. - Many m«»kes have b«n m a he shld. not be so ungrateful for all the gt. kindness him...,**

Utd Cross had some gossip for >- 0 ^ on "h"

of Wales had written his private confidential letter, wife's death, and received in return a "letter" which he showed to me and which made him very angry. I believe he will send it to the Emperor.

In July 1857 the Maharajah's pairon and protagoni . . . ^

fell ill. M. Katkoff's serious and out-

me great uneasiness,' he wrote to his R without

Cheremetoff. 'For were he to die, I fear Russia

anyone to protect me and might be turned general

through some intrigue at the "High beyond the

his projects could not be said to be a money

plotting stages. Despite this indeed several

was coming in from India to support > London

of his so-called princely allies were, whatever

celebrating Queen Victoria's Silver Jubilee

money that impoverished Thakur Singh ^

he was probably keeping to himself. T

QUEEN victoria's MAHARAJAH

plan to enter the Punjab in disguise, suddenly throw it off, and declare himself the awaited Guru and their rightful king; the Russian military party pretended to approve and promised any number of officers to lead his men in revolt against the British. There was another plan to go to Meshed and Merv, but his movement toward* Asia was still discouraged by the foreign minister. He was heard to complain 'all is to be wretched peace'. ^*

Ada had become a positive block to his mobility. She was heavily pregnant and would not let him out of her sight, damping his enthusiasm and initiatives with feminine reservations; sometimes he thought she might be a British spy and would not let her read his mail from India. Following the report of Damba's death in the Russian press, the word soon went round that she was not the real maharani as had been supposed and her position in Moscow society was compromised. Morale did not improve when lack of funds forced them to move to the cheaper Hotel Billow,

To make matters worse, Katkoff died that August. 'Katkoff's death is indeed a very heavy blow to me,' he wrote Count Cheremetoff, a copy of which letter ended up in the hands of the Security Police, 'and I am now left without a protector alone in a strange land and the Imperial

Foreign Office I fear against me; but trusting in God I take courage and am ready to meet all difficulties.’^*

On the day after Christmas Ada gave birth to a daughter, Paulina Alexandra, at a time when money was so short that the Maharajah was even offering his rich Indian clothes for sale. He wrote to his lawyer settling what was left of his property on his illegitimate child.’*

Even if Katkoff was dead, the Maharajah had a few powerful friends with whom to conspire. The newspaper proprietor had asked General Kuhl^{^rg}, head of the boundary commission, to befriend him, but there was little help he could give at that time. Katkoff's son-in-law, who was a member of the imperial council, and his friends, assured the Maharajah that as soon as railway communications were

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‘ENGLAND’S PEOUD IMPIACABIE FOE
CFtablished .o Afghan frontpr Ufa Rusmm avcuU drive
,hc Drirish OUF of India. Their EO''''', '''''' S

promised, make India over to them, they had ^{^ TM}
Ly could possibly rule already; Russia's sole object they
claimed, was to weaken the British
grand plans, it seemed, were put forward ”

■ Dalip Singh living in Bina for some years had himself as Sovere^{^^^^}

of the Sikhs, the Coekney girl as an t

spy reported. The Maharajah had also quamlW sA ^{*>m^}

ud-Dim a Persian renegade whom ^{>>' f}
him on the Afghan society

pro w gf. had made a better impress, on ^{''''''hTd}

ind this rankled with the a in

questioned the Persian about ^{*' ^arv ^}

India, he replied. ‘there was not a dog usm’ Nobody

the new generation knew nothing about him . Nobooy

seemed to be taking him seriously. activities of his

The main hope lay in the outcome of ^{<tmt.<}

ADC Atoor Singh, who had b?' '"/ff PoS. to
obtain money from P[^] These would be shown

get written assurances of their support. J .r verify

to the Russian, who would then send out ribing

them. He was also to obtain money for l c p p

'highRussianoffidals\andtavmtmfu^^^

out a plan to cut railway lines and telcg P hhad

Russian force should appear at the of an

been ordered by the Maharajah to CO <r-rinE to help

unsigned letter he had received from ^
hU cause in any possible way. Introducing h.s semnt
unknown well-wisher, the Maharajah ha w

My unknown friend. I received your letter me

whi/h made me happy, but you must be careful m wntmg^
for your own sake. Your letter appeared name, may

opened. I pray to God that your s«wd. Y ^

not fall into the hands of the Bnnsh Gove ^ special

Way to communicate important news wou ereat, and he

messenger to me. The expenses would not c >

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QUEEN victoria's MAIIARA/AH

could come from Calcutta by a French boat to Port Said, and from
there to Consiiniinopl, and via Odessa. A French passport would
be better than an English one. The bearer of this will give you news
by word of mouth. Please help him in every way.^'

Aroor Singh, bearing this message, had duly proceeded to
India by a complicated route designed to outwit British spies.
Scaeted on his person was hts master's appeal to his 'Brother
Princes of Hindustan';

We send our faithful and trusted Aroor Singh from here to
announce to you our arrival in Russia and to inform you that we
shall soon come to India to your assistance. Therefore, believe no
repora to the contrary whether they be published by the British
Government or by the newspapers. We shall give our life to free
you from the English yoke, and only ask you to be prepared for
your deliveranee, for by the aid of the Almighty we shall succeed
But as it is necessary that we should report to the Emperor of
Russia who among you ate for His Imperial Majesty and who for
the continuance of the British rule, therefore, we request you to
inform by word of mouth only our trusted Ambassador on which
side you mean to take part in the coming struggle.

If you should decide on serving the Emperor then confirm your
fidelity to His Imperial Majesty by sending some kind of token, in
order that you might not lose threward for your preferred loyalty

on the day of the defeat of the accursed British.

Look to the efficiency of your armies and get them in order.

The above is our address should you wish to communicate duet with us, but we advise you not to write to us for fear of your letters falling into the hands of the British Government.

Dalip Singh.

Sovereign of the Punjab.^®

Another letter for delivery was to the ex-king of Oudh. then living in some comfort and contentment on a pension considerably larger than Duleep Singh's, in Calcutta;

With great joy I announce to you that I have reached Russia and hope through the mercy of God and with the aid of the Emperor of Russia soon to come to India and deliver your Majesty from the hands of the accursed Eti^ish and to replace you on your throne.

'ENGLAND'S PROUD IMPLACABLE FOE'

You and I though placrd in similar drcumstanco by the same wicked hand, yet I hi« reached this great Empire, while you are still in the hands of your enemies, therefore. I advise you to be very careful.

Many Princes of India have written to say that they will assist me both with their armies and money. Also some 45,000 Sikhs in the British army in India are with the entire Punjab Joya! to me, but as I desire your Majesty to join us also, I therefore address you on the subject.

Please do not write, but send me some token that I may be assured of your goodwill also to the glorious cause of liberating our mother country from the hateful yoke of the accursed English rule ...3'

Aroor Stngh had not been long enough in India to fulfil any part of hh mission when he called, as instructed, on the writer of the friendly letter to Moscosv. The man turned out to be a Bengali and the two were soon entering into a conspiratorial conversation concerning the Maharajah's great plans. Invited for a drive by his new friend, their horse-drawn conveyance drove straight into the police compound where Aroor Singh was promptly arrested. The amiable Bengali was in fact a police inspector who had written a dummy letter to the Maharajah which had completely taken him in. Aroor Singh's compromising papers were confiscated and interrogation began. Triumphant British police officers considered him 'a man of no great intelligence' and it v.'as suggested that he might be a 'plant' from the other slide.^ But his interrogaton had some difficulty in extracting information. According to Colonel Hendenon of the Police Department: 'His story is that he was sent by Dalip Singh for the sole object of raising money in India and was told not to

show his face again unless he returned with a large sum. Aroor Singh is a dull, heavy man and to all appearances about as bad a messenger as Dalip Singh could have chosen. His captors were undecided about the way he should be treated : 'The prisoner having asked me for some ice, brandy, claret and Vichy water, I propose to supply him at present with

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QUEEN VICTORIA'S MAHARAJAH

such stimulants as the medical officer may recommend, and I would request instructions if he can have ice or Vichy water,' the commandant of the Chunar prison wrote to his superior. But Aroor Singh appeared to have had no inhibitions in his conversations with the secret agent who had brought about his arrest. This intelligence was incorporated in a report to Mortimer Durand, the Indian Government foreign secretary:

Plan of Campaign; As soon as the Russians have completed the Railway they are making through Central Asia (which is expected to be in about a year and a half. a Russian army accompanied by Dalip Singh is to invade India, the native soldiers who will be sent to the front with the British army on reaching the neighbourhood of the Russians, are to desert and place themselves under the command of Dalip Singh, whilst the native soldiers on their way to the front are suddenly to mutiny, loot the stores and attack the British regiments: at the same time arrangements will be made to destroy railway and telegraph wires all over the country; and to enable the people, in certain places, to rise against British rule the native states are at this time to declare themselves for Dalip Singh and to attack the British with their armies.

After Plans; When the British have been turned out of India, Russia is to be recompensed by receiving double the amount incurred by her for the expenses of the war ... a yearly tribute is also to be paid to Russia. Dalip Singh is to be installed as ruler of India, and is to be helped by a Supreme Council, the country to be governed on liberal principles and the people to be allowed to have local self-government and freedom of speech.

For correspondence, a crude and cumbersome cypher is used, in which each letter of the alphabet is represented by a number of dots corresponding with its numerical position.

The police in India, with memories of the mutiny, were keeping a close eye on the situation and their spies were successfully infiltrating the Duleep Singh plotters. Thakur Singh, supposedly out of their clutches in French Pondicherry, was under surveillance. He was in bad health and short of money, but there was reason to believe that he had successfully suborned a senior officer and a number of Sikh

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'ENGLAND'S PROUD IMPLACABLE FOE'

soldier who had slipped into Pondicherry to enlist in the Maharajah's name.

Tisahur Singh was soon to die, and it was rumoured in the hazaar that he had been poisoned by British agents. With Aroor Singh in gaol, the Maharajah's only effective ally was now the mysterious Kashmiri Abdul Rasul, now styled 'privatsecretary', who had come over from Paris to join him. Abdul Rasul, who spoke fluent English, Persian, Turkish, Arabic, Hindustani and Kashmiri, had settled in London after the Russo-Turkish war and started an anti-British newspaper in Persian. His description, according to the police file, was unprepossessing: 'Age about 47: height 5' 6"; fair complexion, medium build, true type of Kashmiri in appearance with a very quick nervous expression: marked strongly from small pox, has a scarlike deep burn on his left cheek or cheek, dividing a closely cropped grisly beard. The hair does not grow on this scar.'*

In 1841 he had joined Wolsely's Nile expedition as interpreter, but had been suspected of carrying on intrigues with the Mahdi. He had been put on trial but had been released on lack of evidence, though he subsequently admitted to the Maharajah that in fact he had been an enemy agent. Abdul Rasul was a man of parts and had useful contacts throughout the Mediterranean, including Zobeir Pasha, Gordon's former colleague in the Sudan. That disenchanted ex-slave could hardly be likely to love the British: he himself had been imprisoned in Gibraltar, his money had been confiscated, and his son had been shot for continuing the slave trade. But even the wily professional Abdul Rasul was no match for the British. A native agent of the police, referred to in reports only by the initials 'A.S.', and to the conspirators as 'The Father of the Turban' on account of his large floppy head-gear, gained Abdul Rasul's complete confidence, travelling with him on his mission to the Mediterranean and sending reports to his masters in India covering every aspect of the great intrigue, which included the closing of the Suez Canal and causing uprisings in the Sudan.

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QUEEN victoria's MAHARAJAH

The crafty 'Father of the Turban' even got to see the great Zobeir in Cairo and duly reported his encounter to the Indian authorities:

I saw Zobeir Pasha today and A.I.C. (Abdul Rasul) explained in Arabic that I am a fellow countryman of the Maharajah. When I took leave Zobeir said (in Arabic translated by A.R.) that being of the same complexion, he had a great regard for the people of Hindustan and was ready to assist the Maharajah with person, wealth and men; he could not publish his plans but would do everything. He regretted that of the sort of people in India nothing can be done against the English. He said that he always

understood the Sikhs are brave but unfortunately had no hopes from them; his own people though few in number are ready to fight.

I represented that the Sikhs are unarmed but he replied this was the case of the Sudanese but they possessed themselves of the arms of the Englishmen. He told me to give Salam to the Raja of Faridkoc and Bawa Khem Singh, and bid them to raise a revolt in the Punjab when he gave a signal by a hostile attack on the Englhb.

A.R. told me afterwards that Zobair's plan is to close the Suez Canal and that until this is done, the English power in India cannot be shaken. The Sultan's trinitbtrs whoarc favourable to the Englhb arc not concerned in thb plan but only some of them who arc favourable to Russia and also to Dalip Singh. The plan will be carried out soon and the Canal will be entirely dosed

But all thb was mere plotting. Nothing was aaually hap- pening to make the Mahar^ah feel that he was striking a positive blow at hb enemies. He seemed to be losing hb nerve: sometimes he would be in tears, bewailing the day he had ever lbtncd to Thakur Singh who had led him into such treacherous depths, cursing the Indians for their infirmity of purpose and lack of generosity, and the Russians for not taking him seriously.

Indications of hb moods and activities filtered back to London through the reporc of the Bnnsh vice-consul in Moscow:

■ENGLAND'S EEOUD IMflACABIE FOE

fticDd Of mine .he other d.y .ta » J

i, very .U sf.er 'toLlrhl <■“

yj':.°.^d're™,r. .o'?"nee. for. he .id! •. find . cso do no yood

'i:;,yhon,.hevhi.,<^h^o;^;^^^ reached me. I have ' , Ujvc the country. In a

'.o'lTott rerir. .0 you nrore ful.y md definitely on the subject.

2;ili February u M.Mr.iiDahn Singh has left Hotel

“Hf.Llo'Eh.nVen.hs.hcin.^d,^

■^vr;;eTr:'hrDX' -v'l':"" “

of .hrei!^ . . .0 uh.. he e.n snd w.ll do.

A. the beginnin 6 ^ v{^Jv5”iilmwlte5 at the Hotel

r;;?t.trr?unh\?r%r.;\va. receW^^^^ in July fro- sn

English traveller pasting through the etty.

Another person of some repute in Kieff-^^^^

Singh. He was the only one who had been twice officially
west of Kieff and within the last six weeks

visited there by General Pitt Rivers, and who last winter had

The English girl with her, wife and he himself

a child by him. It apparently recognized German

is known in Kieff as the Indian Secretary, inter-

somewhat vaguely attached to the affairs would appear

pretor and general factotum and his financial

to have improved. , ^ of my Pan Slavist

I may add while on my way seen Jamul-ud-Jam

acquaintances, a Russian of Tia .

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Queen Victoria's MAHARAJAH

during his visit to this country, seemed much impressed by the
prospect which that impostor had held out of a general rising in
India, whenever the Russians chose to give the signal. -**

As he could hardly return to his estate in England, the
Maharajah had the idea of buying one in Russia and becoming
a Russian citizen. He had 'taken refuge' in a village in the
neighbourhood of Kieff. where there was good shooting.
But money was short and plans were developing with de-
pressing slowness. Lord Cross, who was then staying at Bal-
moral. had some recent intelligence to impart to Lord
Dufferin; *So far as I can learn Dulcep Singh begins to see
that he has failed in a dangerous game, and talks of going
to Algiers or Italy; but he is a dangerous and crafty fellow,
and for anything I know all this may be put forward as a
blind; but I believe that as far as Russia is concerned, for
some reason or other she is not inclined to take him up. and
wishes, for the present at least even, to act in a conciliatory
manner towards England. ***

The British Foreign Office was under the impression that
the Maharajah planned to move on to the Crimea and thence
to Tiflis. In fact he had decided to return to Paris for a time,
to raise money by the sale of jewellery he had deposited
with his agent, and from there carry on the struggle in any
way that presented itself. He was again in a hopeful mood -
he had just completed his fiftieth year and according to the
Guru's prophecy 'in the first battle he would be defeated and
he would take refuge in a little village where the spirit would

fall upon him and he would know himself. Thenceforward
his career would be murnpham.'**

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CHAPTKR t(t

'Apologizing All Round*

The Maharajah was back in Paris at the beginning of
November 1888. Though his rebellious plans had been foiled
by the political climate, his pride would not allow him to
admit defeat even if a part of him wanted a reconciliation
with his imagined persecutors. He maintained that ninety
per cent of the Indian princes were behind him and that at
soon as the Russians had finished building their railway, they
would move towards India. He claimed to have forty
thousand Sikh troops on whom he could count absolutely
and volunteers from Ireland, Hungary, Austria, Prance and
Germany ready on his command to proceed to the Indian
frontier without pay. That he needed million to train and
equip his army, he admitted, and if it did not seem to be
forthcoming from his brother princes, that was because it
would be difficult for them to send it without incurring
British suspicions. That was the story he gave to the Paris
correspondent of *The Standard*. He closed the interview in
typical Maharajah style; 'You will see. I shall make my
appearance in India. I do not care a jot for my life, and I am
certain of being supported by my people. I may be beaten,
but I do not believe it, and at least I shall either die or be
victorious.'* To another journalist he described the British
as 'a thieving, hypocritical Christian nation, grabbing at
what does not belong to them all over the world'. He con-
tinued in the same form:

Let them wait a bit. In less than three years - in less than two
perhaps - I and my 250,000,000 fellow-countrymen will have
driven them out of India. I am working quietly, secretly, but

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QUEEN VICTORIA** MAHARAJAH

none the less surely, and in the long run we shall see who will pre-
vail. I am the proud and implacable foe of England. Individually
I do not hate Englishmen, from whom, during the course of my
thirty-two years' residence in their country, I received much
kindness. But as a nation I hate them. I am laying my plans for
a grand empire. I intend to consolidate the natives of India against
the common enemy. No compromise with the British Govern-
ment is possible now. I would not even accept from it the
indemnity I originally asked. It is war to the knife. Wait and see!

He was still playing the role of the sovereign of the Sikhs, and planned to revive an order of chivalry created by Runjit Singh for distribution in Russia and elsewhere to worthy adherents. To the people of India he addressed another of his proclamations: 'Countrymen, be brave!' he exhorted them. 'Be great and noble, like your ancestors! Remember that only in unity can strength be found against our enemies.'^ Once again he opened up a correspondence with the queen, boldly asking her so much for the return of his dominion, which he said was not hers to bestow, but for his family jewel, the Koh-i-noor, at least its value in cash from her own

Madam, While residing in England, I appealed both to your Majesty and to England's Prime Minister the Marquis of Salisbury, for justice. I asked that a competent Court of Law Lords of the House of Peers pronounce judgement upon the conduct of your Indian Administration towards me. your unfortunate Ward, he appointed: but I suppose as your Majesty is a Constitutional Sovereign, justice was refused me. And for the same reasons, it will be useless for me to demand the restoration of my Kingdom, swindled from me by your Christian Government, but which I hope shortly, by the aid of Providence, to take from tiny robbers.

But my diamond, the Koh-i-noor, I understand, is entirely at your own personal disposal. Therefore, believing your Majesty to be 'the most religious lady*' that your subjects pray for every Sunday, I do not hesitate to ask that this gem be restored to me, or else that a fair price be paid for it to me out of your privy purse. By such an act of justice, your Majesty would acquire a dear conscience before God, before whom all of us, whether Christians,

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'APOLOCTZmc ALL round'

N^ahommc dan j or Sikh*, may render in account of deeds done in the body and defend the law of Christ. thou* washing your hands of at least one of the Marks of your Majesty's righteous Government.

Remember that the tenets of Christianity teach every true believer to defraud no man and to do to others as you would wish that they should do unto you.

The Treaty of the annexation of the Punjab was extorted from me» when I was a mere infant of some eleven years of age by my Christian Guardian, for his own benefit, and by that illegal instrument he confiscated both my diamond and my dominions.

But as that Treaty was abrogated by the arbitrary interpretation of its stipulations by your Government, in its own favour, I demand and require the restoration of my jewel and of my sovereign rights, of which I was defrauded by the perfidious representative of

England.

I pray your Majesty to forgive any apparent expression of disrespect that may appear in my letter. It is unintentional. I would not willingly be discourteous to any Sovereign, and far less to your Majesty, who is not only a lady, but who personally showed to me the kindness of a Mother during my long sojourn in England and exile from my native (and.

(I have the honour to subscribe myself. Your Most Gracious Majesty, The deeply wronged legitimate Sovereign of the Sikhs, Dulcep Singh, Maharajah.)

He sent a copy of his letter to the queen to his neighbour in Norfolk, Lord Walsingham. I doubt that you will approve of it,* he wrote, 'but my object is to try to make the D. Govt, to explain before Christendom why it was that I have been dispossessed of my kingdom by Christian England.* He ended with a request that must have seemed oddly juxtaposed with its impertinent enclosure: 'I had definitely arranged to return to Russia in July next. If any of your friends have a pup or two (setters or pointers) that they have no use for themselves would you mind asking /or two for me and send them to Hveden from where they will be forwarded to me. I ask this favour for the sake of old times.

Victor was angry and embarrassed when Walsingham

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QUEEN VICTORIANS MAHARAJAH

showed him his father's letter. He had returned to England from Canada, where he had been sent as ADC to Sir John Ross so that he might be kept away from what Cross called 'evil influences',* to discuss the possible sale of Elveden. The Maharajah, when pressed to sell by his friends in order to provide for his family, had declared 'it must rest on my son's wishes'/ It was quite clear to the son that if his father continued on his present course there was no hope at all of retaining it. Victor could see that his father's proclamations and vengeful outbursts were damaging the family interests and wrote imploring him to give up his 'mad schemes'* and to come back to them as a father. Arthur Oliphant. at that time. suggested to Ponsonby that Victor might personally influence the affair: 'I should be very glad to hear,' he wrote, 'that it is deemed expedient for Victor to visit his father, for, in my opinion, such a meeting could not result in harm to the son -- and might do good to the father.'

In the same letter Oliphant indicated that the other children hoped that Elveden might be retained: 'Princess Bamba has a most difficult disposition - & we think it is very probable that she would be more inclined to accept the situation in which the family is now placed if the old home at Elveden were finally disposed of. I believe there is a constant hope on her part that somehow or other they will be able to get back there. I know Prince Victor also entertains

a similar empty hope. Princess Catherine shares Bamba's views on the subject; the two little ones only are content as they are ... Prince Frederick, whenever he can get away from Cambridge, spends some days at farmhouses on the estate. Certainly Frederick wanted to keep the place going; like his father he was a first-class shot and he used to bring over from Cambridge his fellow undergraduate, the future Lord Rothschild, for a day's shooting, for which he chained

^10.

A week after Oliphant suggested that Victor might go over and see his father, a celebration took place in Paris to which he was not invited. None of the children of the first

ago

QUEEN VICTORIA'S MAHARAJAH

expressed during the last few days the following: "Thai if he does not obtain from India the pecuniary aid which he expects, he might find himself in extreme poverty, in which case he thought the Government would show its magnanimity by giving him back his rejected stipend on his returning here 'and apologising all round': His mental condition is a curious study."**®

'Apologising all round' might have been an effective way out of an ambivalent situation in early editions of The Boys' Own Book, but Lord Cross, to whom Oliphant's information was forwarded, responded in a manner that implied the Maharajah was hardly 'playing the game': 'Viscount Cross ... is quite aware that the Maharajah, who has sold his jewels, is becoming poorer every day, and that at the present moment he is increasing his endeavours to do mischief, especially through his agents in Pondicherry.'**

It may have been true that dissident Sikhs were still turning up in French Pondicherry, but now that Tbakur Singh was dead there was not much to be hoped for from that quarter. Nor had the Maharajah's latest plea to the Sikhs, issued from Geneva on 25 June 1889, as yet brought in any of the funds it so earnestly requested;

Beloved Fellow-Countrymen. It is with feelings of deep gratitude and sincere pride that we thank you for the offer of your lives to the sacred cause of Freedom of which we are the champion.

But as you say that you have no money to give, it becomes necessary for us to explain how small a sacrifice is asked of you to enable us to enter India with a European army and deliver you from the accursed British Raj.

Beloved fellow countrymen. In your number are all India some 250,000,000 souls, and if each of you would subscribe only one pice during eight or nine months, the required sum would be raised and surely this is within the means of us all. Believe not that this money is for our personal use.

Our personal necessities are provided for from our own slender resources and you must bear in mind that all contributions will be accepted for with tokens, by authorized agents appointed by

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QUEEN Victoria's maharajah

5 th. All persons imprisoned by the British authorities shall be released from confinement and their places in jails shall be occupied by those who, having means at thdr disposal, have refused to sub-Kiibc to the fund for the hbetation of their native country.

6th. All persons who have suffered from the tyranny and injustice of the accursed British Gos-ement will be reinstated as far as practicable upon their thrones and in their rights after a scrupulous investigation of their grievances.

yd). As soon after our return to India as circumstances will permit a plebiscite vrill be held in every province, not under the rule of anyNativePrince.and the people called upon to select the government of its choice. For example Bengal will be permitted to try the virtues of the Republic.

8th. All Hindus, Sikhs, Mohammadans and Chnstians are invited to Oder up prayers to God for our triumph, and upon furnishing evidence that they have so done, all shall be rewarded, according to the well known liberality of our ancestors, as soon as by the aid of the Almighty and the material support of Russia, we will appear again among you as a conqueror.

As circumstances may oblige us to be scrupulously prudent, it may so happen that we might be prevented direci future communication with our beloved fellow countrymen, who in that cue are invited to atuch to all proclamations issued by the Executive Committee the same impoiiance as if they have our royal signature.

Dalip Singh.

Sovereign of the Sikh Nation and Implacable Foe of the British

Government.**

A first-hand report on the 'implacable foe' came from Arthur Oliphant in mid-September:

Lut week 1 went to Paris . . . for a few days. While there I saw the Maharajah more than once. His Highness introduced me to 'his young wife', as he termed her, fit she u young, (only a year older than the eldest daughter Princess Bamba). She u a pleasant mannered person, and speaks English well, but with an accent. The Maharajah was exceedingly pleasant to me - and thanked me heartily for my care of his chUdien. He had my father's picture tn 284

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It was not too difficult to make him agree tn
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QUEEN Victoria's maharajah

for everybody was for him to ask the queen for a pardon.
The ailing Maharaj'ah was pleased to leave it to Victor to be
the 'go-between for a reconciliation'.'*

On 2 April, Cross wrote to Lord Lansdowne, the new
viceroy: 'I fancy he (the Maharajah) is in a bad way and
getting worse both morally and bodily. His eldest son has
been over to Paris once or twice, I am sorry to say. They
will not do each other any good. The son has committed an
act of bankruptcy; I cannot pay his debts again, but I mean
to keep him in the army if I can. He is, however, a thorough
oriental in extravagance.'* Like his father's, Victor's money
troubles were to be a continuing source of worry to the
queen.

It was not until the middle of July that plans to ask for a
pardon began to mature. Ponsonby had news of them from
the ever-informative Oliphant:

I write these lines to say that I have heard from P. Victor
Duleep Singh just now ... to inform me that his father is no wone,
altho' he seems very much weaker. P. Victor also says that his
father is going to write the Queen for pardon - and leave to return
to England P. Fredenckisabotberebybisfather'srequesthelping
his brother & his father's wife to nurse the Maharajah - Victor has
written to a Doctor to send a man-nurse at once; 6; has begged me
to write to his sisters, who are at Cassel. to tell them that their
father is til, that the two brothers are with him, & that there is no
danger, & (am to suggest that they voJI be so pleased to hear of
their father's desire to rerun*.

P.S. Since receiving P. Victor's note I went to Lincoln's Inn &
saw Mr Burrell of Farrer & Co., the MR's solicitor - Mr Burrell
went to Paris on Sunday night by Maharajah's desire — & Mr
Burrell says that the left leg & side are paralyzed [nr] - & the left
side of the face b drawn - but that the M.R. can move hb left
hand. He said that the Doctor was of the opinion that he should be
moved out of Paris speedily. Mr Burrell said the Maharajah was
calm— & he was not surprised to hear from me of the intention to
ask for pardon - Mr Burrell appears to think that the M.R. will
never walk, agam - & that another stroke may possibly foUow soon.
If the poor deluded M.R. only returned to England to die, it would

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'ArOLOGIZINC Atl ROUND*

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responsible for his actions. His doctor, who said that he

tells me the M. was even there J^r's often the

does not doubt his brain and liver are a case with that disease.*®

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QUEEN victoria's MAHARAJAH

Not despite his shocking state of health the Maharajah appeared not to have lost all his old spirit. He talked 'openly' to Ronald Leven about his recent adventures in Russia and told him that 'they could do nothing now, but when they go to war with us then they would arrange matters with him',[^] an attitude that did not seem to relate to the humility he expressed in the letter just written to the queen and which he now showed to Leven*.

May it please Your Majesty, My son Victor is writing this letter from my dictation - I have been struck down by the hand of God and am in consequence quite unable to write myself- I have been disappointed in everyone in whom I had been led to believe and now my one desire is to die at peace with all men - I therefore pray Your Majesty to pardon me for all I have done against You and Your Government and I rely myself entirely on Your clemency.

It seems to me that it is the will of God that I should suffer injustice at the hands of Your people.

I can find no one to curse Great Britain and in spite of all her faults and her injustices God blesses her and makes her great and when I look at her, I feel that in fighting against Your country I have been fighting against God - I would return to England were I assured of Your free pardon. I am Your Majesty's obedient servant

On his return to England Leven hastened to consult that other friend and supporter of the Maharajah, the Duke of Grafton. Grafton had already pressed the matter of a pardon with Ponsonby: 'I feel that something ought to be done to save him from himself, his greatest enemy,' he had recently written. 'Is there any hope of the Queen accepting his regrets and allowing him to return . . . With all his faults he is not alone to blame, the Government have behaved worse & they are the real cause of the whole case.' As a near neighbour, the duke was also concerned with the situation at Elveden - the house denuded of furniture and the shooting going to the dogs: 'If he does not come it is high time his Estate is put in order for it is a disgrace to the Country that such

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'APOtOCrZINC Alt BOUND*

miimanagerrimr ihd. be carried out by Trujtecj appointed by the Government. 16,000 acre* without a labourer employed except under keepers who arc a dhgracc to the place, also men temporarily employed without homes &r living where they can, game live dead, eggs sold and all around poached for them.'^^

Leven showed Grafton a copy of the Maharajah's letter and produced it again to the third member of the 'Maharajah committee', Lord Hcnnikcr. Hcnniker, who had already had a word with the secretary of state for India, Lord Cross, on the subject, considered that 'the cITect on India must be the chief consideration',^* in which case it must have been clear to them both that a pardon might be the most cffeciivc way to mutilc the Maharajah for all time by publishing his submission and demonstrating clemency. Hcnniker took up the matter with Ponionby, commenting on the letter's odd composition ; *It shows to my mind most distinctly that the writer is olThis head. The end of it is laughable, w*ere tt not ud to think of his being in such a state.' Hcnniker went on to say that he was not very keen on the idea of the Maharajah coming to England: as their guardian his main concern was the welfare of the children w-ho, under Oliphant's paternal care, were beginning to settle down, even if the latter found it 'impossible to gain any confidence in the Princess Uamba, who rules the othen'.^' Hcnniker continued:

We have the children in hand, at last now; and if he came back, he must take charge of them. He is surrounded by all sorts of people who will cling to him if he hat money to give them. He is, evidently, not responsible for his actions, & t think Lord Leven 's suggestion a good one - that hr should, if he is pardoned, have a ccrain income given to him under trust, the residue of his stipend to be accumulated for the benefit of his children. If he had jCS<ooo a year & we were to go on with the children as we do now, he Would have enough to live on, but not enough to encourage those who get money out of him . . . The Maharajah would fikc to five in July. Might not thb be better than his return to this country - for the present at all events. The question is a mosi difficult one.**

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QUEEN victoria's MAHARAJAH

Queen Victoria did not see why she shoidd not have her chastened Maharajah back, even if Lord Salisbury was set against his returning. *(1) cannot agree with Ld. S's objection to this poor unfortunate Maharajah's return to England as he wd. be far safer here,' she cyphered Lord Cross. 'I believe many feel with me that the former Govt, are very gt!y to blame for what has happened & therefore we shd. be merciful.'"

In Paris, the Maharajah, and in particular his family, anxiously awulcd a reply to his request for pardon. The reaction from the palace simply indicated that the matter was not to be settled there, but that it would be necessary to apply through the correct channel, in this case the scctciaty of state.

Accordingly he wrote to the despised department, though obliquely soliciting the indulgence of the queen rather than Cross, her minister; 'My Lord. I write to express my great regret for my past conduct towards Her Majesty the Queen-Empress of India. I humbly ask Her Majesty to pardon me, and I trust entirely to the clemency of the Queen.'** If the Maharajah had indeed chosen his words carefully so as to avoid prostration before the India Office, Lord Cross's reply made it perfectly clear that it was the government to whom the petitioner's firm obedience was required: '...I am now commanded to inform you that, on the understanding that henceforward your Highness will remain obedient to the Queen-Empress of India, and will regulate your movements in conformity with instructions that may be issued to you by Her Government, Her Majesty, by the advice of Her Ministers, has been graciously pleased to accord you the pardon you have sought.'** The Maharajah chose not to reply, getting Victor to acknowledge and say that his father was too ill to write.^®

The Maharajah did in fact have a 'slight relapse' at the beginning of August, and Victor considered himself in duty bound to stay with him. The colonel of his regiment 'flatly refused'^ to give him any more leave and it was finally agreed that he should leave the army where his performance

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had not in any case how* n gttat promuc. But by the middle of the month his father was apparently well enough to contemplate a visit to England, which would indulge his restless wife, give him some sea air and allow him to see his children. Victor informed Ponsonby of the impending visit: *I hope to bring my father over to England on Tuesday next the 26th and I have taken No. 6 Clifton Gardens, Folkestone, for him for one month. Although he is rapidly recovering his strength and can now walk a little by himself, his head is not quite clear yet and he has been therefore compelled to postpone writing to the Queen himself as he has so much wished.*-**

The Maharajah arrived in England on the date arranged and settled into the small house with Victor and Frederick, Ada and her two little children. Oliphant, who had been holidaying with the younger children in Lowestoft, had sent eleven-year-old Edward and thirteen-year-old Sophia to visit their father and meet for the first time their stepmother and half-sister. There was no room for them in the house, so they and their nurse stayed at an hotel nearby. Damba and Catherine were still at Dresden with their governess Miss Schafer, but they saw their father when they returned in September on their way to Oxford where they had entered Somerville Hall. 'The Maharajah was delighted with the children,* wrote Anhur Oliphant, 'and was profuse in his thanks for our care of them.'** Lord Cross, even if it did not seem to be any of his business, wrote to Ponsonby 'I do

not want these young ladies to go to D. Singh. They are much better off at Oxford. At the same time if their father insists upon it I am not quite sure that I can prevent it.* The queen wrote in the margin 'think we could urge strongly agst. it.'*-*

Financial arrangements for the Maharajah's future had not yet been settled, though Grafton and Henniker were still trying to have their plan agreed to by all parties. 'Pray say nothing about it.* the latter had counselled Ponsonby the day before the Maharajah's arrival in England, 'as the whole

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QUEEN victoria's MAHARAJAH

thing is very difficult to arrange at present, with a man who is partially mad. & an Indian Council not at all on his side. The Queen will understand this, and will know that I do my best. I propose to let the M.R. settle down at Folkestone & then go there to see him. Perhaps I ought to go to meet him but I think not. and I decide to leave him alone for a short while.*^*

An account of activities at Folkestone duly reached the queen via Oliphant's 'Hilfsgitar Reiter to her private secretary:

I think I saw that you were to be at Windsor today so I write you a line to say that I went down to Folkestone yesterday and lunched with the Maharajah — I found him very feeble — very humble - very penitent - poor fellow - but in a better condition than I had expected. He complained a good deal of a heavy & dinky sort of feeling in the head - I recommended massage for the muscles at the back of the neck, to he appeared to think well of the idea. ... It is very nice to see the thorough understanding between the Father and Prince Victor who has been quite a nurse and mother & sister to his Father. - I hope that this episode may be for Victor's lasting benefit. The MR talks of going to Aix-la-Chapelle for baths - and then to winter in Paris.**

While the Maharajah was taking the waters at Aix-la-Chapelle a plot had been hatched by Henniker and Ponsonby for her to meet the queen during one of her trips to the Continent. She was to be in France in March of 1871 and Victor and Frederick were to arrange for their father to be on hand. Thus the Maharajah, who had expressed his wish to see her, was at Nice when she duly arrived at nearby Grasse and installed herself and her small retinue at the Grand Hotel. The queen had registered on this occasion as the Countess of Balmoral and her informal programme on the morning of the thirty-first had been a drive in a donkey cart round Miss Alice de Rothschild's beautiful garden to admire her red and mauve anemones which were then looking their best. After luncheon at the hotel she received, in the 'small drawing room below', 'the poor misguided Maharajah'.^

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QUEEN victoria's MAHARAJAH

made for her to meet the Maharajah, adding his first written reference to 'Miss Ashsted', otherwise the Maharajah's former mistress Polly Ash of the Alhambra, and her allowance of £1,000 a year, which may have been common gossip at the India Office all along.

Sir Henry Ponsonby with his humble duty thinks the best answer the Prince of Wales can give the Maharajah is that he knows nothing of the arrangements for his visit here as they were made by Prince Victor and Lord Henniker.

Prince Victor, who was at Aachen, wrote several times and telegraphed twice to settle it for his father and said his brother would come with the Maharajah.

Mr. Oliphant told Sir Henry Ponsonby that he did not think there was anything against the Maharani's character though she was of low origin. There was another - a Miss Ashsted (?) who he gave £1,000 a year to during his first wife's life.***

The Prince of Wales, who probably knew a little about Miss 'Ash', replied: 'Thanks for your letter of the 14th. I am not at all keen about entering into a correspondence with the Maharajah with reference to the non-reception of the Maharani by the Queen - So why on earth he wrote to me I don't know. He ought of course to have written to you but I suppose poor Henniker will have to supply the "broad shoulders" on this occasion.'***

A note by the queen on the draft of Ponsonby's letter indicated that it was not because of her former profession that she would not receive the new maharani, but because she disapproved of the fact that she had lived with the Maharajah during his first wife's lifetime. As she expressed it the Queen has the strong impression that this Maharani has not been correct. Her being an actress would not raise any objections.'

The next news of the Maharajah to arrive at the palace came in a letter from Henniker to Ponsonby, dated 8 May:

I hear from Victor Dulcey Singh that his father is taking rooms for the Maharani in Paris, and proposes to take a house near Paris

APOLOCRZTNC ALt ROUND

for the summer. I think this is the best solution of the present difficulty. I hope the Queen will think I am right. To have the Maharajah over here just now would not be convenient: but I told Victor that I hoped his father would understand that he was not prevented from coming to England - only that it seemed expedient he should not do so just now. ... He - Victor -- told me that the Maharajah was quite well in his mind on all ordinary topics, but went off at random when speaking of his troubles, and on serious business.*^

From Oliphant came the usual comprehensive report on his young charges:

Princess Catherine passed her first examination at Somerville Hall, but her elder sister Princess Damba failed in French prose and translation, though she succeeded in grammar. After they came down from Oxford they, with Mrs Schafer, spent a few days in London with Mr Oliphant and me; & saw pictures - went to the opera 6: concern - Are they much enjoyed it - after that they went to Essen where they spent a few days with their aunt, a daughter of old Mr Mullet (their grandfather) who is married to the financial manager of Krupp's works. then to Wilhelm (which is close to Miss Schafer's home) and on to Bayreuth - which they very much enjoyed.

Then they went to Basle where I sent the younger sister & little Edvard to meet them, and they are now altogether very happy at Hotel Excelsior, Lake of Lucerne ... I think Her Majesty will see that improvement has taken place in Princess Damba's mind, - the ticket (enclosed) from Bayreuth being quite chatty, and showing how much they have been interested there.

I shall be very sorry for them if they have to return to their father's house, but, if he insists. I don't know that there is any course for us to pursue than that of yielding to his wish.

There was additional news about the father; 'I was in Paris a fortnight ago and saw the Maharajah. He is still very weak and unable to walk much, I did not like the appearance of his face - he looked bloated and unhealthy. In speech he was very humble and grateful for all God's mercies; but he did not touch on the subject of his children, though he was pleased to hear from me of their well doing.'

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QUEEN VICTORIA'S MEMORANDA

Oliphant added a postscript which contained more positive information of the Maharajah's movements: 'The Maharajah had contemplated visiting Rome just now with his son Frederick, but I hear from the latter that he has deferred his visit until after the Autumn - The Maharajah's wife is at Ostend with her children - Prince Frederick is at Carlsbad and Prince Victor is with his father at St. Cloud.*^

The younger children spent the summer on the Continent,

chaperoned by the excellent Miss Schafer. In Ssvitreland Bamba played the part of the queen of Sheba in a tabttau vii'cnt and looked, according to her governess, 'extremely weir in her oriental costume. There was an adventure at GrindcKvald when the Bear Hotel, where they svere waging, caught fire and some of their belongings were burned. The Maharajah, ineansvhile. was taking the waters at Royan, near Bordeaux. He was drinking excessively and his health was by no means good - 'very indifferent*', according to OUpant - 'he it, I fear, a mherable being.'*

The Maharajah wintered in Algiers, where Victor and Frederick joined him; Ada's younger daughter was christened Ada Irene Helen Beryl in the English church there. Early in 1893 there was bad news from Oliphant: It seemed that thirteen-year-old Edward had returned from his preparatory school at Cobham and developed pleuro-pneumonia; the doctors feared the worst. The Maharajah commissioned Oliphant to send a daily telegram reporting on his son's health.** Although Edward showed some improvement, the doctor said there was no question of going to Eton, as he was supposed to do in April. In that month the boy's condition was worse; the tubercular swellings in his stomach would not subside. 'The little boy is on a water bed' wrote the ever-solid Oliphant to Ponsonby for the benefit of the queen, *- and life » sustained by Brandy-Champagne, Brands Essence, P'alemmé and nutrient enemmas of egg. milfe, etc.' Oliphant feared that it was 'only a question of time as to the wearing out of the delicate little frame' ** Bamba was showing what Oliphant described as 'the im-

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serious side of her nature' -• she did not believe in doctors and nurses and resented their strict regime. Victor travelled from Paris several times to visit his brother; the Maharajah announced that he too planned to come over, though Oliphant did not think the visit at all likely to take place as the poor man had recently had two heart attacks.^^

Nevertheless the Maharajah did manage the journey, staying at a Hastings hotel for the weekend of 24 April. Oliphant reported that he was 'very much overcome on seeing his little son. and wept bitterly and loudly - when Prince Victor told him he must not do so. he was quiet. He told his little boy he had come a long way to see him. and hoped his visit would do him good.' Before leaving the Maharajah wrote on a sheet of paper 'The Lord is my Shepherd*' and gave it to his son.**

Queen Victoria had been following Edward's illness with concern. There was bad news on 24 April. Oliphant's last read; 'I write to Inform Her Majesty with the greatest regret that the little prince is rapidly failing.'*® A week after the Maharajah's return to Paris, the news came of his youngest son's death. He was not well enough to be present at the burial at Elveden.

The Maharajah fretted in the close confinement of his Paris lodging, missing his sport and his old friends, assailed by feelings of melancholy and self-pity. Oliphant reported that he was 'in a most critical condition, kidney trouble - dropsical symptoms - intense irritability of temper*.*@ At times he would be his amiable old self, at others he would fulminate against the India Office and concoct svid plans to get even with them; sometimes he svoold express regret for his ingratitude to 'his only real friend' - the queen. He seemed to have given up altogether his aspirations to saintly Sikhdom - Abdul Rasul, back in Paris after release from imprisonment in India, was suing him for breach of contract. Lord DufTerin, his old antagonist, who was just then Ambassador in Paris, reported back to the queen that Baron Texter dc

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QUir-N VICTOIIA*} MAIIARAJAiI

Raviii. » Parit friend of the Maharajah, had told him h< had talked a great deal about religion and the Utble and had 'expreaud hit with to die with hit hand upon that Book*.**

Victor, detpite hit admirable patience and tentc of duty at hit fathet'i eldot ton. wai having a difficult time. The poor Maharajah mutt have realired that he wai being a burden to hit family and, perhap becaute hit lecond wife wat not ihowinp him the dedication he felt wai hit due. laid he would po to Egypt for the winter, and would go alone. No doubt he widied to make hh peace with the American mmionariet in Cairo who mutt have fclr uncomfortable at the outcome of a marriage they had encouraged. It wai. of course, not praaieal for him to travel alone, to Victor uid be would accompany him and made all the arrangCTnenti for the journey, but no tooncr had he done to than hit father changed hit mind, declaring that he had thought better of the idea and would re«vi>ic Algiers. It could he imagined that he had a hankering for the temperate Mediterranean, but despite any ideat he may have had in this direction he wat finally penuaded that they would uke a small house in Lendon for the winter, and accordingly in October. Frederick went to look for one with hit stepmother, glad to escape from the difficult domestic aimotphexc. Victor hurned off to Berlin to be svith hit best fnend, Lord Carnarvon, who had been taken ill ihcre.”

It was the first time in two years that hit wife had left him without her. but there were hh two little girli, Paulina and Ada. to keep him company. He had them visit him every day and enjoyed their simple prattle. Five-ycar-^ild Paulina reported that she had had a Icicr from 'Mammy* and that she was planninga reply. Her father told her to send his los-e and to ask when she was coming back. He would let the children play with his silver hawk bells, retained since boy-hood. a treat they invariably demanded. On Saturday. 21 October, he sent for them three times during the course of the day and on the last occasion, m a spmt they did not

'APOLOCIZtNC ALL ROUKO'

then understand, made them a present of the precious mementos of his sporting youth.**

That night the Maharajah had what was described as an apoplectic fit. He died on the evening of the following day, never having regained consciousness.

The queen heard the sad news even before the family. Lord Dufferin telegraphed: 'The Maharajah Dulcep Singh has died here suddenly in the absence of any of his family who will not arrive till this evening - I have recommended to the body being embalmed.**' The following day the Prince of Wales telegraphed his mother from Newmarket: 'I was much shocked at poor Dufceep Singh's death having known him so long and saw him in Paris three years ago.'**

To Victor, now returned to Paris, and very distressed at having been absent at the critical time, the queen wrote her condolences:

My dear Victor Dulcep Singh. It is with sincere concern that I heard of the death of your father which was telegraphed to me by Lord Dufferin & of which I was afterwards informed by your kind letter for which I thank you very much. I need hardly say how I like to think of former years when I knew your dear Father so well, and saw him so often, & we were all so fond of him. He was so handsome & so charming! But I will dwell on the few years which followed which were so painful. It is however a great comfort & a satisfaction to me that I saw the Maharajah Dulcep Singh two years ago at Grasse. that all was made up between us. I know that this was much owing to your, & your brother Frederick's good influence. I have desired my Lord in Waiting, Lord Camoys, to attend your Father's funeral on my behalf, & to place a wreath on his coffin. Pray accept the expression of my warmest sympathy in your bereavement, & to convey the same to your brothers & sisters. Be assured that I shall always take the deepest interest in the welfare & happiness of you and your Brother Sisters - 4: Believe me always your affectionate friend
Sc Godmother. Victoria R.f.**

It is not on record that the bereaved Maharajah was in any way put out by the queen's continuing lack of recognition.

QUEEN victoria's MAHARAJAH

The funeral took place on 30 October in the little church opposite the house at Elvedon. The Maharajah's coffin stood on low pine trestles in the simple chancel, flanked on each side by family pews. Long before half-past twelve, when the service was scheduled to begin, the church was quite filled

by estate workers and people from neighbouring villages, many of whom discreetly withdrew into the churchyard on the arrival of the 'gentry' come up from London by special train. To the accompaniment of appropriately gloomy chords from the organ, Ada entered the church led by Victor, followed by Frederick, Bamba, Catherine and Sophia. Lord Czmoy's made a stately scand-m for the queen. Lord Kimberley also sent a representative. Sir Owen Borne attended in person. After the service the coffin was carried on the shoulders of burly tenants to the open grave and deposited in a small stone vault. Wreaths from old friends lay round about: the maharani's was a star of lilies and camellias svith ADA worked in violets in the middle; there were remembrances from the Walsinghams, the Henmfccn, Ronald Leven, Mitchell Henry MR, the Logins' son, and many other friends from France and England. The Prince of Walessem a wreath inscribed 'For old Lang Syne'. Another, made of immortelles, simply said 'From Queen Viaoria'.*' TTie plate on the coffin lid told a brief story of birth and death — 'Dulecp Singh, Maharajah of Lahore, GHCSI. Bom 4th September tSjS. Died zz October 189J.'

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Postscript

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The Maharajah's second wife, Ada, died in 1930.

Of the Maharajah's chSSfcm by his first marriage, Victor married Lady Anne Coventry in 1892 and died without issue in 1915. Frederick died unmarried in 1928; he was a popular Norfolk squire and an enthusiastic local historian. He lived at Bio Norton Hall. Bamba married Dr Sutherland, who was at one time in charge of the Lahore Medical School. Bamba died in Lahore, without issue, in 1957. Of Catherine and Sophia, little information can be found, except that neither had children, and Sophia died in 1948.

As for the children of the second marriage: Ada married M. Villement and died without issue in 1926, having com-m/ffed suicide. Paulina married Lieut. Terry and was also childless.

Thus, so far as the record shows, there are no living direct descendants of the Maharajah Duleep Singh.

Elveden was sold by the Maharajah's trustees at the India Office to the 1st Earl of Iveagh in 1894 for £150,000. The estate is owned today by the present Lord Iveagh.

In 1966 Thakur Singh's grandson was paid 5,000 rupees by the Government of the Punjab as payment of 'symbolic compensation of land confiscated during the British regime ,

and in recognition of the part he played in Duleep Singh's
'struggle against the British Government in India'.

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z Oct. 1889

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