

SIR JOHN LOGIN AND
DULEEP SINGH

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SIR JOHN LOGIN AND DULEEP SINGH.



TO THE MEMORY
OF THAT ILLUSTRIOUS ENGLISHMAN, THE
RIGHT HONORABLE JOHN BRIGHT, M.P.,
WHOSE LOVE OF JUSTICE
AND WHOSE CLOSE PERSONAL FRIENDSHIP
WITH
SIR JOHN LOGIN
CAUSED HIM TO TAKE A SINCERE INTEREST
IN THE OBJECT OF THIS WORK,
AND WHO WAS ONLY PREVENTED BY HIS OWN MORTAL ILLNESS
FROM ADDING TO IT (AS HE HAD INTENDED)
HIS TRIBUTE
TO THE MEMORY OF HIS FRIEND,—
I DEDICATE THIS BOOK.



Publisher's Note

It may look unprogressive to bring out another reprint of a book which was first published as far back as the later years of the nineteenth century. It is possible that lot of further research might have taken place in this subject during the succeeding years, yet these works maintain their own reference value. The idea behind the present venture is to make available these rare works to most libraries and readers

The British and other Western scholars rendered great service to this land and their works still have great bearing on the Language, Culture and History of the Punjab. The Languages Department has planned to bring out reprints of the most valuable works, including the present one, for the benefit of most readers, scholars and research workers.

Patiala

May , 1970

LAL SINGH

Director

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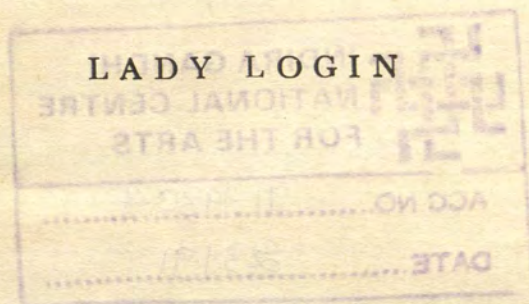


Leaves of the
S. L. Lopez



SIR JOHN LOGIN AND DULEEP SINGH

BY



WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

COLONEL G. B. MALLESON, C.S.I.

DEEPAK REPRINTS

1989



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Published By :

DEEPAK REPRINTS

Sadar Bazar, GURGAON-122 001

(Haryana) INDIA.



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PREFACE.

It is probable I should never have been induced to take up the subject of this volume but for the fact that the interest taken by my late husband in his ward invested it with an interest which has assumed greater proportions in consequence of the recent action of the Maharajah. For many years the Maharajah lived in our house; he spontaneously adopted Christianity under our roof; and he developed many instincts alike generous and calculated to inspire regard. I have always taken the deepest interest in him, and no one has been more grieved than I have been at the line of conduct he has lately so heedlessly adopted. Still, condemning that conduct as thoroughly as anyone, feeling that the world regards it as a base return for great kindness, I am anxious that that world should know that there is not only something, but a great deal, to be said on the other side. What that is I have told in these pages. They contain the story of the first connection of the Maharajah with the British to the present day. It is only just that, however the public may condemn the recent foolish utterances of

Indira Gandhi National

the Maharajah, they should know that his outbursts are not the offspring of a mere freak, that he has real wrongs, and that his nature, always quick and sensitive, has been goaded into action, which, in his calmer moments, he would be glad to disavow. The carrying out of this task has been rendered the more genial to me, in that it has enabled me to show the world what manner of man he was to whom the Government of India entrusted the earlier training of the young Prince. There have been men in India whose services have come more before the public, but I am confident I shall be borne out by those who knew my husband when I state that a truer man, one more imbued with sense of duty, and more fearless in the performance of it, never served the East India Company than John Spencer Login.

LENA LOGIN.

GRACEDIEU, WATERINGBURY, KENT,
July 4th, 1889.



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INTRODUCTION.

BY COLONEL MALLESON, C.S.I.

A FEW lines which I wrote on the subject of Duleep Singh in the *Asiatic Quarterly* about a year ago procured for me the pleasure of an acquaintance with Lady Login, whom I found to be even more interested than myself in the conduct and treatment of one who had been her husband's ward in the tenderest and most impressionable years of his life. I soon found that whilst Lady Login regretted equally with myself the wayward conduct of the Maharajah since he quitted England, we both agreed that there were many circumstances in his history, a knowledge of which would induce a public which judged only from facts within its ken to take a more lenient, or, at all events, a less prejudiced view of conduct which, without such explanation, would appear wholly unjustifiable. No living being was so thoroughly acquainted with all the circumstances attending the Maharajah's youth, early training, development into manhood, and subsequent career as Lady Login; nor could any one tell as accurately the history of those monetary relations towards the Government which have influenced so unfortunately the later actions of the Maharajah. I respectfully urged, then, upon Lady Login the advisability, in the interests of the Maharajah, in the interests of truth and justice, of writing from the stores of documents in her possession a connected history of the Maharajah's life, from the date of the

connection with him of the late Sir John Login to the time of the cessation of that connection. The story might, I ventured to suggest, form one of the main features of the life of one of the noblest servants of the late East India Company—Sir John Login himself.

The idea commended itself to Lady Login, and she at once acted upon it. The result is contained in this volume. How admirably Lady Login has performed the self-allotted task the public, I am confident, will unhesitatingly admit. The great merit of the narrative is that it tells "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." Lady Login has kept back nothing that she was able to tell. The result is a valuable contribution to contemporary history, and, what is of not less importance, a complete revelation of the causes which have influenced Duleep Singh in his hostility towards the British Government.

I have myself always held that the treatment dealt out to Duleep Singh after the close of the second Sikh war was alike impolitic and unjust. When that war broke out Duleep Singh was the ward of the British Government. He was a child of nine years old, and took no part whatever in the administration of the country of which the British Government had recognized him to be the Sovereign, but of which the English Resident and a council of native nobles were the actual rulers. The revolt of Moolraj, and the outbreak of Sikh chieftains in the Hazarah which followed that revolt, were directed against the actual Government of Lahore, which, as I have said, was presided over by an English Resident, and which ruled in the

name of Duleep Singh. Yet, when those risings were suppressed on the field of Gujerat, the British Government, then absolute master of the situation, visited the sins of Moolraj and the Hazarah chiefs on their innocent ward, deprived him of his kingdom, and, he has always asserted—though this would seem to be denied—of the estates which his father had accumulated, and consigned him to the care of Doctor—afterwards Sir John—Login.

To a truer-hearted, more conscientious, or better man it would have been impossible to consign him. How thoroughly and how well Sir John, aided in every particular by Lady Login, performed his duty towards the young Prince is admirably told in these pages. The reader who may take up the book for information on this point will, I am confident, not lightly lay it down. Upon this part of the history I do not propose to dwell in this Introduction. There can be no doubt—indeed, I had it from the Maharajah's own lips in 1871—that throughout this period, and at the date also of his speaking to me on the subject, he was thoroughly happy. I propose, rather, to ask the attention of the reader to the circumstances related in the fifteenth chapter—circumstances which explain the sudden migration from happiness to discontent, from discontent to despair, from despair to acts bordering on insanity.

It would seem that the Maharajah was a man of a trustful, generous, and open disposition. Further, that he did not care to bother himself with details, and that he hated business matters. So long as Sir John Login lived he was happy. Though often urged to effect a settlement, or rather to insist that the India

Office should make a definite settlement with him, he always put it off. He was content to have Sir John between him and the India Office. After Sir John's death, Colonel Oliphant, whom he appointed equerry and controller of his household, soon gained an ascendancy which produced similar feelings of trust. He was then living at Elveden, where he had the best shooting in England; and when I stayed with him there in 1871, he told me he was the happiest man in the world. When I next saw him, about ten years ago, he told me he was the most miserable. His words were to the effect that subsequently to Colonel Oliphant's death he had discovered that he had been cheated out of his kingdom, and out of the private estates which his father had possessed, and that he could get no settlement from the India Office; that he had still hopes that he might ultimately succeed, but that the treatment he had received had well-nigh broken his heart. He complained bitterly that no provision had been made for his family. When at Elveden, he said, he was in constant hopes that he might receive an English title, and with that title such a sum attached to it inalienably as might make him forget that he had ever sat on the footsteps of a throne; which hope, he added, was growing dimmer and dimmer, till it was well-nigh extinguished. He told me this one evening, the only evening that I dined with him, at the Garrick Club, of which he was a member. The time, to the best of my recollection, was 1879-80.

The whole story is told, fairly and impartially told,

in the fifteenth chapter. The evil, as Lady Login tells us, dates from the time of the annexation of the Punjab. No settlement, properly so called, was then made. But, when Duleep Singh attained his majority, Sir John Login pressed upon Sir Charles Wood the necessity of coming to a settlement on the terms of the Treaty, and suggested Sir John Lawrence as the most suitable person to draw up the agreement. Sir Charles Wood, after some delay, assented; and Sir John Lawrence agreed to act in the matter on condition that Sir Frederick Currie should be associated with him. This was conceded. The two men met and drew up a report. This report, however, was objected to in Council, and was never acted upon. The outcome was that somewhat later Sir Charles Wood offered "improved" terms to Duleep Singh. The Maharajah accepted these terms, with the reservation of his rights, as the head of the family, of being allowed to have a voice in the apportioning of the fund known as the "Five Lakh Fund," and to inspect the accounts. He further claimed the repayment of his losses in the Mutiny. This was the last transaction. It occurred just before Sir John Login's death.

It is to be regretted that the Indian Council set aside the settlement proposed by Sir John Lawrence and Sir Frederick Currie. These men had been on the spot; they knew all the circumstances of his case; and if their recommendations had been attended to, Duleep Singh would still be a loyal subject of the Queen, and the "perfect happiness" of 1871 would never have been impaired. But not

only was the recommendation not acted upon, but no permanent settlement was ever arrived at. The relations between the Maharajah and the India Office can be best described as having been from first to last hand-to-mouth relations.

As a specimen of what these have occasionally been, I quote from the last page of this book:—"The Government," writes Lady Login, "has never accounted to the Maharajah for the money received for the sale of the house, nor has he received anything in respect of the value of the land, though the papers show that the whole was purchased out of his money; nor any compensation in respect of the contents of the house which were destroyed at the Mutiny." Lady Login proceeds to show that during thirty years differences arose which would have instantly disappeared if the recommendations to which I have referred had been adopted. Since then officials have arisen who had had no part in the original treaty—who knew nothing of Duleep Singh as the recognized ruler of a powerful state—who know him only as a deposed prince, asking, as they consider it, for alms.

The Maharajah, doubtless, has many faults, and his more recent conduct requires the exercise of a large amount of charity. But there are few who will rise from the perusal of Lady Login's book without admitting that he has suffered great wrongs, and without asking whether it is yet too late, by a generous concession, to bring back the lost sheep to the fold he quitted in despair.

SIR JOHN LOGIN AND DULEEP SINGH.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY DAYS.

How often in the history of the British Empire in India, has the unexpected offer of a cadetship or commission in the H.E.I.C. Service been the means, under Divine Providence, of opening a career to some young and eager spirit whose lot might otherwise have been cast in a less eventful path of life !

In no case has this been more singularly exemplified than in that of the young Orkneyman who, in the summer of 1831, had just taken his degree of M.D. in the University of Edinburgh, and whose early associations and ideas were all so connected with the sea and its interests, that his highest ambition then was to be able to combine his present profession with his



Chapter I. 1809-39. desire for a life of adventure, by entering the Royal Navy as surgeon.

It is just this innate yearning for a wider field of action than the narrower life at home can give, that has impelled the sons of Scotland forth into all quarters of the globe as the pioneers of civilization, and engendered in them that adventurous spirit which creates the successful colonist, or the brilliant soldier of fortune.

Such names as Livingstone, Clyde, and Gordon, are enough to testify that in these later times the race has not lost that chivalry and love of adventure which have ever been its characteristics ; and if this be true of the descendants of the Celts and Anglo-Saxon-Danes who people the mainland of Scotland, is it wonderful that the dwellers in those isolated groups—known to the Romans as “Ultima Thule,” that mythical land “bordering the unknown,” and to us as the Orkney and Shetland Archipelago—should feel inspired with the spirit of their Norse ancestors, and burn to see and conquer other lands ?

Though these islands form now an integral part of the United Kingdom, and are politically considered one of the shires of Scotland, their incorporation is, comparatively speaking, only of recent date, and their inhabitants are totally distinct in customs and origin from the rest of their fellow-subjects.

In the commencement of the eighth century, sea-rovers, or Northmen, from Scandinavia descended on

the Orkney and Shetland Isles, and extirpating whatever race they found already in possession, colonized the archipelago. From this central point of vantage, sheltered in its voes and fiords, their fleets of war-ships harried the coasts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and pushed their enterprise down and around the shores of the continent of Europe into the Mediterranean Sea, even up to the walls of Constantinople.

Chapter
I.
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The Orkneys, therefore, were under the sway of the Kings of Norway, and for centuries continued to be so. Indeed, it was not until the year 1468 that King Christian I. of Denmark mortgaged his rights in these islands to James III. of Scotland, as part-payment of his daughter's dowry—the right to redeem them being retained to this very day by the Danish Crown; and down to modern times their laws and internal regulations have remained peculiar to themselves, and based on the old Norse customs and charters, the Norse language itself, still preserved in local names and expressions, becoming extinct only within the last century.

Thus, lineally descended from the old Vikings, the Orcadians are essentially men of the sea; for, roads being few, the shortest distances must be done by water; and he is of little count among them who can neither handle an oar, nor sail a boat skilfully, amid the currents, whirlpools, and skerries which render these regions so dangerous to mariners. Lying, as these islands do, where the opposing forces of two

Chapter I.
1809-39. oceans meet—their shores washed by the failing waters of the Gulf Stream, along whose borders storm and fog continually hover, while the Atlantic billows unceasingly thunder against the giant cliffs of Hoy—their natives must indeed be a hardy race to battle successfully with the terrors of such a coast; and, in fact, as seamen they are unsurpassed for boldness and enterprise.

Here, then, was the birthplace of John Spencer Login. He was born in Stromness, on the mainland of Orkney, on November 9th, 1809.

The name of Login is peculiar to this one family in Orkney, and is believed to be of Norse origin.*

The following particulars of John Login's early days are furnished by his brother, the Rev. William S. Login :—

On both father's and mother's side he sprang from a class of small proprietors peculiar to Orkney. Small though their holdings be, they tenaciously cling to them, and pride themselves on keeping them intact and handing them on to their sons. Many of them, therefore, can trace their connection with their lands for hundreds of years.

Our grandfather was in the service of the Hudson Bay Company, and his son (our father, John Login) was, when a young man, in the merchant navy, but left the sea and settled on his patrimony, or holding, in his native place, Stromness. Here he became a

* There are many "Logies" throughout the islands whose ancestors came over originally from Buchan, in Aberdeenshire, as retainers of Earl Patrick Stewart, towards the end of the sixteenth century.

ship-owner and agent, and married Margaret Spence, who came of an old Orkney family on the west mainland, the head of the house being Spence, of Kirbuster, in the parish of Birsay. Chapter I. 1809-39.

Our maternal grandfather commanded a merchantman trading to the West Indies from London. He married an "Orkney lass" named Groundwater—by the way, a great beauty!—a daughter of Edward Groundwater, of Groundwater, in the parish of Orphir. They had a large family, all of whom were born in London, our mother being one of the youngest. When he left the sea, he retired to Orkney, and there ended his days.

Soon after our father's death a great change came over our circumstances. Several vessels, of which he had been part owner, were wrecked, and as none of them had been insured (insurance was not so common in those days) our means were consequently greatly reduced; but our mother, who was a woman of remarkable energy and courage, struggled bravely on under great difficulties, winning the respect and admiration of all who came in contact with her. Wherever her name was known (and that was widely) it seemed to make way for us, her children. She had business correspondents in all the principal towns on the east coast of Scotland, and as far as Newcastle; and in all of them we found friends to welcome us for her sake. Though she has been in her grave for nearly fifty years, her memory is still green in Stromness. Her trust in her eldest son John was certainly not misplaced. Never did son or brother take upon him in early youth such heavy responsibilities with greater conscientiousness.

We have all great reason to thank God for such a mother; it is only in after life that we can realize and appreciate all the efforts and sacrifices she made on our behalf.

Stromness was at that time a place largely resorted to by merchant ships trading to all parts of the world. The Hudson Bay Company's ships and the whale-fishing fleet called there regularly, both coming and going; and ships on long voyages to Australia,

Chapter the West Indies, or America, called there also for some of their
I. supplies. It was a very usual refuge for vessels disabled by the
1809-39. storms of the North Sea, and it was a common practice for
 Russian and Swedish ships that found themselves too late to
 enter the Baltic, to winter in the harbour of Stromness.

Our house became the resort, consequently, of ship captains and passengers going to and fro; and, young though I was, I still retain a very pleasing recollection of the friendships we then formed. On John, who was ten years my senior, the effect of seeing men of that class and hearing their stories of the sea, was very great. His youthful enthusiasm was kindled, and he was seized with an intense desire to become a sailor.

Both our father and our mother were decidedly opposed to this idea, and did all they could to dissuade him from his purpose. They, in the first instance, sent him from home to school at Kirkwall, to keep him, as they believed, away from ships and boats; but even there he was more frequently found about the harbour and pier than any other part of the town, and he was such a favourite with the seamen in the harbour that he found it easy to indulge his passion, spending hours at sea alone in the roughest weather, handling a sailing boat with the greatest dexterity, or spending his nights at sea with the fishermen.

As a compromise he was sent to Edinburgh, though yet a mere boy—certainly not more than fifteen—to study medicine at the University, with a view to become a surgeon in the Royal Navy. He was too young to take full advantage of the classes he had to attend in matriculating, and I believe his first year of attendance was spent more in the study of naval history than of any other branch of learning!

He awoke at length to the importance of his medical studies, and his undoubted talents attracted the notice of the Professors. After studying for three summer and three winter sessions under Professor Syme, who showed him much kindness, and at the Royal Infirmary as Surgeon-Dresser under Doctors Adam

Hunter and John Campbell, he received his Diploma as Licentiate of the Royal College of Surgeons in Edinburgh, June, 1828, when only nineteen years of age. Chapter I. 1809-39

In March, 1829 he was appointed House-Surgeon in the Royal Infirmary, the Visiting Surgeons being Liston and Lizars, with whom he was brought much in contact. In the winter of 1829-30 he was appointed permanent Physician-Clerk to the Royal Infirmary, with charge of the medical wards under Doctors James Gregory and Shortt and Professor Christison. The degree of M.D. he obtained in 1831, having to wait till he reached the prescribed age of twenty-one years.

While pursuing his studies, he was only at home for eight or ten weeks in the autumn. It was during these brief intervals alone that I had an opportunity of seeing him. I remember how he busied himself in improving the streets of our town; there were no rates available for the purpose, so he went about collecting subscriptions, and spent the money according to his own judgment in making alterations and improvements where they were most needed. He hired labourers to carry out his ideas; and not content with merely directing, when the pinch came, often lent a hand himself.

A few weeks before he left home for the last time a terrific storm broke over the North of Scotland, and was felt in its greatest violence in Orkney. Our harbour was full of ships, a number of them were driven from their moorings, and the havoc among the boats and jetties was terrible. There were no lives lost; but the destruction of property was considerable, and but for the skill and energy displayed by John on this occasion, the losses would have been much greater. He roused all the pilots and boatmen, and compelled them to follow his leadership in defending the piers and jetties against the ships that were driven against them; he had such a masterful way with him that he carried all before him!

It was immediately after obtaining his degree of

Chapter I. M.D. that a career in India was suddenly opened up to John Login, altering all his previous plans of life.

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Dr. Shortt was asked to recommend a young surgeon to take charge of the case of Lord Chief Commissioner Adam, who was then suffering from dangerous complications, necessitating close and skilful supervision. He at once advised that young Login should be asked to undertake the case, and for this purpose take up his residence at Blair-Adam.

The proposal was accepted, and the results of his care and skill proved so eminently successful, that in a short time the Lord Chief Commissioner was most effectually relieved of his complaint.

To show in some gratifying form his appreciation of the valuable professional services rendered to him, the Lord Chief asked and obtained from Mr. Loch (his son-in-law, one of the directors of the H.E.I.C.) a commission as assistant-surgeon for young Login, advising him to select the Presidency of Bengal, as he could supply him with good introductions to influential friends there.

In those days India was a sealed book to all who could not command personal interest at the India House, therefore this unexpected prospect was most welcome, as it opened the way to splendid possibilities in the way of travel and adventure, and of usefulness to his fellow-men, which amply compensated him for having, in deference to his parents' wishes, renounced his personal leaning to the sea.

One more visit Login paid to the old Orkney home, Chapter I.
to take leave of all his friends before setting sail for 1809-39.
the other side of the world, and (though he knew it not) to look for the last time in this world on the face of that mother to whom he owed so much, and from whom he inherited those qualities of indomitable energy, perseverance, and sound judgment, which were destined to stand him in such good stead in after life. Even in those early days he was remarkable for a certain persuasive power of "getting his own way," and this was amusingly illustrated on the occasion of his last visit home.

His mother had invited a large number of friends to a sort of farewell entertainment. All the bigwigs of their little community were there—doctors, lawyers, baillies, ship captains, the old parish minister and his assistant, all much impressed with the dignity incumbent on their positions, and the sedate gravity which it behoved them, as elders, to maintain on an occasion so appropriate for parting words of counsel and admonition to a young friend about to be launched in life.

Scenting some intention of the sort in the air, Login electrified the assembly by proposing that all, young and old, should join in a game of "blind-man's buff!" Spite of all protests, he carried his point; and the "guid folk" of Stromness had presented to their astonished view the unusual spectacle of all those "grave and potent seigniors" tearing about in a state

Chapter of the wildest excitement, like school-boys broken
I. loose !
1809-39.

In another letter his brother William* writes :—

I was only twelve years old when he left home on the 4th of December, 1831, and I never saw him again. Still, the unceasing flow of his affection towards us all, which time and distance seemed not in the least to abate, kept him as fresh in our thoughts and affections as if we had never been separated. Few families have been so closely knitted together as we have been, and this was largely owing to the strong hold he had on us, and the self-denying generosity which he exerted on our behalf. Though abundantly prosperous, and flattered with friendly recognition by the highest, he never forgot the “auld hoose at hame” and its inmates. He left on my youthful mind an impression of one born to command. There was no resisting him !

On arrival at Calcutta, in July, 1832, Login found himself posted to H. M. Buffs, and in October accompanied the regiment to Dinapore. Here he learnt that the Commander-in-Chief had ordered him to be transferred to the 1st Brigade of Horse Artillery, and he was appointed to take medical charge of the 3rd Troop at Dum Dum. At this place he was stationed until December, 1833, and here, too, like many young officers in the Bengal Artillery, had cause to bless the earnest religious influences and true Christian piety which pervaded the great headquarter station, and of

* The Rev. William S. Login, for thirty years Presbyterian minister of Sale, Gipp's Land, Australia.

which Major—afterwards General—Powney, of the Chapter Bengal Artillery, was the chief centre.*

L
1809-39.

John Spencer Login was naturally of a serious and earnest disposition ; but it was at this period of his life that were chiefly laid the seeds of that deeply-rooted piety and strong faith, which were the ruling features of his character in after-life, and which so plainly governed his every word and action, though he was not one to make a parade of his religious convictions : indeed, it was this very dignity of reserve with regard to his inmost feelings that impressed those brought in contact with him.

While at Dum Dum he was selected by Government to proceed to Persia as medical officer to the detachment under Colonel Pasmore, sent to organize the army of Futteh Ali Shah, but was induced to withdraw his name in favour of another medical officer who was most anxious for the post.

The appointment of Dr. Login to the Horse Artillery at Dum Dum had been in the first instance rather a sore point with the Brigadier commanding there (Sir C. Brown, K.C.B.), he having applied for the post for a friend of his own. Login had therefore some natural prejudice to overcome on the part of his commanding officer ; but in the end his zealous attention to his public duties so won the heart of the Brigadier, that when in December, 1833, he was made over by Lord

* See Kaye's "*Lives of Indian Officers*"—"Major D'Arcy Todd."

Chapter I.
1809-39. William Bentinck to the service of the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Commandant was among the foremost in expressing the regrets of the community at losing him. A silver breakfast service was presented to him, and a farewell dinner given in his honour by the corps—rather an unusual compliment to a young assistant-surgeon.

The whole is described by him in a letter to his mother :—

What do you think of your son being honoured with a farewell dinner given by the station, and invitations sent to all my friends to meet me, in the name of the Brigadier commanding and the officers of artillery—upwards of forty at dinner, the old Brigadier in the chair, with your humble servant on his right? After the cloth was removed, the Commandant proposed my health in the most flattering terms, toast drunk with honours (aye, more than honour, for there was kindness in the manner they did it), the regimental band playing “Logie o’ Buchan” (for which I am indebted to some Scotch friends who were present); and when I attempted to return thanks, I fairly broke down—it was too much for me! When I tell you that my breakfast table is now adorned with a handsome silver service, and that my old Captain (generally looked upon as a miser) sent me before leaving, a cheque for 500 rupees (£50) to help my new outfit and uniform, need I tell you that I am sorry to part with all my friends here? I am sure you will not think that I tell you this in any boastful spirit, but I cannot withhold expressing my feelings to you, besides, I know what pleasure it will give you.

I am quite an artilleryman now. Bluejacket for ever! I have been trying my hand at the great guns too, and have made one of the best shots, I assure you! Indeed on the strength of it, I

think I shall apply for a lieutenant's commission in the Nizam's Chapter
artillery!

I.

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On arrival at Bolarum, Login found himself appointed to the medical charge of the 6th Regiment Nizam's Infantry, which he continued to hold at Hengolee, Ellichpore, and on active service with a brigade of troops in the Bheel Country, until December, 1835, when he saw his name in orders as Civil-Surgeon at Howrah, near Calcutta. Proceeding at once to join, he marched from the Deccan, *via* Nagpore and the Nerbuddah, to Mirzapore, and found on his arrival there, in January, 1836, that he had been transferred to Fort William as Garrison-Surgeon.

For these appointments he was indebted to Mr. James Ranald Martin—afterwards Sir Ranald Martin—Presidency-Surgeon, who, before Login left Calcutta, had expressed his intention of securing his services at the Presidency whenever opportunity offered. He had not held this post long, when Mr. Martin recommended him to Sir Charles—afterwards Lord—Metcalf, as surgeon on his personal staff, when proceeding to assume the Government of the North-West Provinces. Dr. Login remained with Sir Charles in this capacity at Agra for two years, occupied to his heart's content in such work as he delighted in; for Sir Charles enabled him to set on foot a hospital or dispensary for the poor, and he was further engaged as superintendent of the Famine

Chapter I.
1809-39. Relief Society, the work of which at that period was extremely onerous, owing to the terrible distress prevalent.

At this time he organized the Orphan Asylum at Secundra, which has expanded since into its present proportions, and proved such a boon. He here formed the lasting friendship of James Thomason, afterwards Lieut.-Governor N.W.P., which continued throughout his career. Here, also, he learnt to know Henry Havelock, Broadfoot, and Edward Sanders, of the Bengal Engineers, ever after highly valued friends of his.

This was a happy, busy time, under a Chief whom he so much loved and respected, and it was a great sorrow to him when at length, in December, 1837 Sir Charles Metcalfe left Agra to return to England, where he was appointed to the post of Governor of Jamaica. Login accompanied him to Calcutta, and, loth to say farewell, went out with him to sea, returning only with the pilot vessel.

Sir Theophilus Metcalfe (brother of Lord Metcalfe) at this period applied for him to be sent to Delhi; but as Dr. Ranken elected to return to his duties there, Login was appointed to Hooghley as Civil-Surgeon and Postmaster, being posted at the same time to his old corps—the Horse Artillery, at Dum Dum. He was, however, soon to quit this for a locality with which he was afterwards much associated, and where his name was destined to be widely known among

Europeans and natives alike, as the originator of many benevolent and charitable institutions.

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Dr. Stevenson, the Residency-Surgeon, being compelled to leave Lucknow and proceed to England on sick-leave, the acting vacancy was, in April, 1838, offered to Login by Lord Auckland, whose interest had been specially requested by Sir Charles Metcalfe on his behalf. Accordingly, in May, he became Acting Residency-Surgeon at Lucknow, and was soon after appointed Postmaster-General in Oude, in addition to his other duties. It might have been thought that the work of those two appointments would be sufficient to occupy the whole of any one man's time, but such was by no means the opinion of Dr. Login, who was filled with an eager desire to do his part towards alleviating the distress he saw around him among the suffering native population.

The famine which had so terribly prevailed throughout the N.W. Provinces, had extended into Oude, and driven thousands of poor starving wretches to seek relief in the city of Lucknow. A large public subscription had been raised a little time before he arrived, at the instance of Colonel Low, the Resident, and Captain Paton; and as Login had had much experience in this work, both at Agra and as a member of the Relief Committee in Calcutta, he was asked to superintend the application of the fund at Lucknow. With characteristic energy he threw his whole soul into the work, and drew up certain proposals on the subject which

Chapter I. were unanimously adopted by the Committee. An institution called the "Poor's House," or "Gharib-khana," was thereupon established, where the most destitute were received, lodged, and fed. Here they were classified according to their needs: the sick, the blind, the maimed, and the lame, being placed in different wards, while special arrangements were made for the comfort of children and families; and the public report says, "Order, cleanliness, and excellent arrangements were everywhere manifest, exhibiting a well-conducted and most useful institution." The whole was under his personal and daily supervision.

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At the same time he was enabled, by the liberality of the King of Oude—Mahomed Ali Shah—also to provide food, shelter, and clothing for upwards of 500 infirm persons daily, while of those able to work, several thousands were employed on the buildings then in progress at Hoosainabad, under Azimoolah Khan, Derogah. There was, moreover, in the city of Lucknow an old native hospital and dispensary, founded by Nusseeroodeen Hyder, the preceding Sovereign of Oude, which had fallen into neglect, and this also was reorganized by Dr. Login, and rendered capable of treating 140 cases daily.

These various institutions were in full swing, and Login had settled down to a life of hard work, "such as his soul loved," with every moment occupied, when the *Gazette* announced that Dr. Stevenson (who was still drawing his official salary as Residency-Surgeon

and also as A.D.C. to the King of Oude) had been promoted to the grade of surgeon, which disqualified him from holding the appointment any longer.

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On this, knowing how fully satisfied both the Resident and the Governor-General were, with the manner in which he had performed the duties of his position, Login abstained on principle from making any application for the vacancy, having a conscientious conviction that the Government ought to be the best judge of the man most qualified for any particular post. The Resident, as well as the community at large, felt certain that he would be confirmed in the appointment, and in consequence of this general belief no other medical officer applied for it. Dr. Stevenson, however, exerted all his private interest to retain his appointment in spite of his disqualification. Owing to Login's scruples, he was enabled to do so with success, and it was arranged that he should be allowed to return to his duties in January, 1839.

In the meantime, Lord Auckland, in August, 1838, offered Login the choice of a civil appointment, or to go on active service with the army of the Indus, then assembling for the invasion of Afghanistan. Login, in reply, expressed his willingness to be employed in any way in which he might be thought most useful, adding that "if appointed to the army, he hoped to be allowed to join the artillery again."

This answer so pleased the Governor-General that he himself requested Sir Henry Fane to post Dr. Login

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to one of the troops of Horse Artillery ordered on active service, and he was directed to join the army on the frontier, as soon as the return of Dr. Stevenson set him free from his duties at Lucknow. Such was his eagerness, however, for service in the field, that when he learnt, in October, that the troop of Horse Artillery to which he was posted was ordered to the frontier, and would have to be placed temporarily in medical charge of the doctor of H.M. 16th Lancers, he wrote to headquarters offering to throw up his present well-paid appointment and proceed forthwith to join his troop. Gratified with such zeal, the Commander-in-Chief ordered that his travelling expenses should be paid to Kurnaul, where he arrived in November, 1838, and found himself placed in medical charge of *all* the Horse Artillery, with an assistant-surgeon under him.

Though his residence at Lucknow had been so short, barely six months in all, many were the expressions of regret and goodwill from all classes of the community on his departure; the subscribers to the Gharib-khana especially recording their "unanimous admiration of his benevolent zeal and laboured assiduity in personally superintending every department of this Institution, the numerous sick among them having also received daily from Dr. Login the great benefit of his own personal medical attendance."

Colonel Low, the Resident, at the same time addressed a most complimentary letter to him, in the name of the whole European community, expressive of

their admiration for his untiring efforts for their welfare, and adding—

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I have good evidence of the fact that great numbers of natives of this city have expressed, in their own circles of society, their admiration of the zeal and kind feeling displayed by you at the Hospital, and of the unwearied personal labours which you voluntarily took upon yourself during the late sickly season, in attending upon your numerous patients; while many of the Christian inhabitants have often spoken to myself in the warmest terms of the kindness which they and their families have received from you, in your medical capacity, at their own houses.

I sincerely hope that wherever Providence may cast your future lot in life, you may enjoy health and opportunities to continue the practice of similar acts of benevolence and usefulness to those which you have so conspicuously performed at Lucknow, and which will ever produce a pleasing reward, in the consciousness of possessing talents and energies actively exercised for the benefit of your fellow-creatures.

I have the honour to be,

*The Residency,
Lucknow,*

J. Low,
Resident.

Oct. 22nd, 1838.

It was also gratifying to Dr. Login to find that the improvements he had inaugurated in the Post Office during his short tenure of office were highly appreciated, both by the European community and by the Postmaster-General in Calcutta.

The following letter to his mother was written from

Chapter Umballa, November, 1838, just after leaving Luck-
 I. now :—
 1809-39.

The Commander-in-Chief was so kind as to order my *dak* to be paid, and I was directed to make all possible speed to reach Kurnaul on the 1st instant.

The King of Oude sent for me a second time to the Palace before I left; he received me most kindly, and honoured me by an embrace! (which I assure you is considered by no means a small compliment) and in other respects treated me most liberally, presenting me with a dress of honour, or *Khillut*.

He has thus put it into my power to send a small token of my gratitude to the kind Lord Chief, Miss and Mrs. Adam, and Dr. Shortt, in the form of some handsome shawls which he himself put on me; I hope to be able shortly to send you a sketch of my "dress of State," which was, I understand, much more valuable than such as is usually given.

We are on the march to Ferozepore, on the banks of the Sutlej, where the whole army is to meet to make a grand display before the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Auckland, and Runjeet Singh, preparatory to proceeding on more active service. . . . I had to walk through at least three miles of tents at Kurnaul before finding Tom Drevor, who was encamped at the other end of the lines from me. This will give you some idea of the force which is to assemble at Ferozepore, for this is only two-thirds of it! The number of fighting men, it is true, does not exceed 15,000, but of followers there are no less than 150,000!!

I must now conclude, earnestly entreating that God's abundant grace may be vouchsafed to us both. . . .

Believe me, your most affectionate son,

J. S. LOGIN.

The bonds of friendship with Henry Lawrence (who

was there on duty with his troop of Horse Artillery) Chapter I. 1809-39.
 were drawn very close during that march ; they shared the same tent and were constantly together, being of one mind on every matter which they discussed.

Henry Lawrence had not long been married, and had to leave his young wife behind, but she joined him at Ferozepore, and Login was much with them until the army marched for Candahar.

On leaving Ferozepore, the army of the Indus, under Sir Willoughby Cotton, advanced through Scinde and Beloochistan to Candahar, where it formed a junction with the main body under Sir John Keane. Login accompanied the force, and shortly after he arrived at Candahar, in May, 1839, he was asked by Major D'Arcy Todd to accompany his mission to Herát, with the option of remaining there, or returning through Turkestan to Cabul with Major Eldred Pottinger.

The military authorities, however, were very unwilling to lose his services, and it was only on his personal application at Lord Keane's headquarters, stating his desire to join the mission, that leave was at last granted.

On his departure, he received from the Commander-in-Chief a most gratifying official letter, testifying to his valuable services.



CHAPTER II.

HERÁT.

Chapter II. 1839-40. "FOR three or four hundred years," says Colonel Malleeson,* "the valley and city of Herát were the granary and garden of Central Asia. In that valley and within the walls of that city the desolating presence of the Afghan was, in those days, never felt. The inhabitants, of mixed Persian and Turkí blood, were industrious, inventive, energetic, and painstaking. The fertile valley of the Herirud produced supplies far more than sufficient for their simple wants. Their city lay on the intersecting point of the roads which communicated with the markets of Europe, of India, of Bokhara, and of Persia.

"Under these circumstances Herát soon became the most important commercial city in Central Asia. . . . Her streets were adorned with palaces, with markets, with aqueducts, the remains of which even now excite wonder and admiration. The courts of her ruling princes became centres to which the intellectual

* "*Herát*," by Colonel Malleeson, C.S.I., pp. 9-11.



aristocracy of Central Asia resorted—all who were famous in poesy, in science, in astronomy, in architectural acquirements. Her fame was sung by poets, and recorded by historians. Nor was the prosperity confined to the city alone. It spread into the valleys, to the north, and to the west. To this day the valley of the Murghab, even as far as Merv, is strewn with ruins of castles and villas which attested the prosperity of the parent city. Nor was that prosperity transient. Conquerors indeed came, and besieged, occasionally they even stormed, the city. But those conquerors were not Afghans. They did not carry in their hands a withering and perpetual desolation. After coming to conquer they remained to repair. And so inherent were the advantages possessed by the city, that after each new conquest she rose again almost immediately from her ashes, and recovered her former prosperity. . . . Herát still remained the commercial queen of Central Asia . . . until the year 1717"—when the Afghans first captured the city.

In such glowing and eloquent language does the able pen of Malleison describe the famous city. Some idea of its size in former times may be gathered from the fact, that when in 1219 it was taken by Chingiz Khan, it was found to contain 12,000 retail shops, 6,000 public baths, caravanserais, and water-mills, 350 schools and monastic institutions, and 144,000 occupied houses. One million and a half of men perished in the siege. Again, in the time of Tamerlane (1381), the pro-

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Chapter II. 1839-40. verb was universal, "Which is the most splendid city in the world? If you answer truly you must say Herát!"*

But it is not only on account of its wealth and commerce that Herát has such a paramount position in Central Asia, and it was chiefly its strategical importance, as dominating the road to India, which induced Lord Auckland to despatch thither the mission under Major D'Arcy Todd. His aim was not only to further the commercial interests of the East India Company by opening its markets to British trade, but also to cultivate amicable relations with the ruler of Herat, Shah Kamran; and by aiding him with grants of money and the support of the English name, enable him to maintain his independence, and withstand the attacks of Persia, instigated by Russian agents.

The distress among the starving population was great, and the want of confidence in their ruler crushed all heart out of the people and prevented their making any effort to better their condition. Shah Kamran was at this time a perfect cipher in the hands of his Wuzer, Yar Mahomed, but his own character for brutality, cruelty, and deceit, was such that there was no hope of matters being better conducted in his own hands.

He was the son of Mahmoud, the last of the Sadoksye Kings of Cabul, and had, in his father's lifetime, been made by him Governor of Herát. When

*See Malleson's "*Herát*."

Mahmoud was driven from Cabul and deprived of his kingdom, he retreated to Herat, which place still remained faithful to him, and calling himself "King of Herát," under the suzerainty of Persia, remained there until he died by the hand of his son Kamrán, who thereupon proclaimed himself King.

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Shah Kamrán soon proved himself a very troublesome vassal, frequently making raids on the neighbouring tribes and villages wherever he could obtain spoil; and having constantly to be called to account for his filibustering behaviour, he was seldom in favour with his suzerain, who was at last provoked into attacking him in his stronghold.

The renowned siege of Herát by Mahmoud Shah, King of Persia, had taken place only two years before the mission arrived there, when the brave Eldred Pottinger was the instigator and leader of the successful defence made by the Herátis against the Persian army.

The following extract from a letter written by Login to his mother gives his first impressions of Herát:—

July 29th, 1839.

. . . . You will be glad to hear that we have reached this famed fortress in safety. Our political negotiations are, I think, going on well, and I hope ere long that British influence may be fully established here. The city and its environs have suffered severely from the siege, not one-fourth of its former population remains. Under a good Government it might in a short time

Chapter II. 1839-40. regain its former prosperity, but such is not Shah Kamrán's! We expect to be allowed to spend part of the money, we have brought in repairing the fortifications, giving advances to the cultivators, and supporting the poor, of which there are an immense number; but these Asiatics are so jealous of our interference and so suspicious of our motives that there is no certainty as to what we may be permitted to do. The people of the surrounding country are wild and lawless, but they have a very high opinion of individual British skill and prowess, and consequently respect us greatly. I have no doubt that, with God's blessing, much good may be done amongst them. I believe it is almost decided that I am to remain here for some time. I cannot say that I at all dislike the idea of doing so: the country is very fine, climate to an European delightful, snow for four months in the year, fruit of all kinds in great abundance, "only man is vile!"

I think I *ought* to remain here—a wide field of usefulness is open to me, and I may, through Divine blessing, be preparing a way for a Christian mission in this centre of Asia ere long. Colonel Stoddart, who was here lately with Pottinger, is now at Bokhara, sent as an agent from the British Government. The Usbeks affected to treat him as a Russian spy, and put him in prison; but he has found favour with his jailor, and is by no means uncomfortable. I believe him to be a sincere Christian, and who knows but what the city, "Holy Bokhára," as it is called, may yet feel his influence.

There are several families of Jews here. I had yesterday a long conversation with two of them; they were much delighted with part of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans which I read to them in Persian.* While here my allowance may be about

* Jews are settled in great numbers over Eastern Persia and Turkestan, though only a few families were then to be found at Herat, who, however, were well affected to the mission.

Among themselves they use the Persian language, written in the Hebrew character, and as they appeared much delighted with the small tract which

700 rupees per month, but expenses are very great. The poor of the city are to be my special charge. Chapter II.

There is something unique in the idea of our Government strengthening itself by acts of benevolence in the interior of the city, while its walls are being repaired without. 1839-40.

The courier starts immediately. God bless you all.

Your affectionate son,

JOHN.

The Herát Mission was composed of the following officers :—

Major D'ARCY TODD, Envoy ;
 Capt. EDWARD SANDERS, Bengal Engineers ;
 Lieut. EDWARD CONOLLY, Bengal Engineers ;
 Lieut. JAMES ABBOTT, Bengal Engineers ;
 Lieut. RICHMOND SHAKESPEAR, Bengal Artillery ;
 Lieut. CHARLES F. NORTH, Bombay Engineers ;
 Dr. RITCHIE, Bombay Army ;
 Dr. LOGIN, Bengal Army ;

joining Major Eldred Pottinger at Herát in August, 1839.

Login had got one of their Rabbis to transcribe for them, he was induced to employ the same man on a similar transcription of Martyn's Persian Testament.

This was not finished when the mission left Herát, so Login took the manuscript with him to Cabul, where he met a son of the old Rabbi, just arrived with letters from Stoddart at Bokhára. Him, Login engaged to complete the work, leaving him in the charge of Major Dawes, B.H.A., who took the Jew with him to Jellallabad, where the transcription was finished during the siege and sent down to Peshawur by the first *kafila*, which traversed the Khyber after Pollock's advance. Thirteen years after Login had the happiness of hearing that this last-named Jew had through this work been led to enquire into the truth of the Gospel, and died a Christian at Bombay.—*Ferrier's "Caravan Journey,"* p. 123.

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Login undertook the charge of the poor, amounting to 2,000, who had for some time before the arrival of mission been supported by Eldred Pottinger, at the expense of the British Government.

As soon as arrangements could be made by the Engineer officers, a portion of the destitute people were employed in the fortifications of the city, but a large number of females and infirm persons remained to be provided for, and continued under charge of Dr. Login during the stay of the mission. For those of this class, who were unable to earn a livelihood, an asylum was established by him, in which employment was given to the blind and infirm according to their various circumstances, and with a success that was truly gratifying. To those able to work at their own homes (the custom of the country preventing out-door work for females) he endeavoured, with great success, to re-establish the manufacture of carpets, for which Herát had always been famed—the women being employed in spinning the cotton and wool required for the purpose, and receiving a supply of food (*attah*, flour) for their labour.

On the success of these arrangements being reported to the Court of Directors, a sum of 700 rupees per mensem was ordered to be placed at Dr. Login's disposal to carry on this work, and also that of a dispensary and hospital which he had established, and which was daily attended by crowds of the sick poor of the city and surrounding country.

In addition to these duties above mentioned, the Commissariat and Post Office were placed under Dr. Login's charge ; the former being of great importance, owing to the famine at Herát after the siege, and the necessity of obtaining supplies from a great distance, *i.e.*, Seistan and Merv—not only for the mission, but also for the numerous poor dependent on it ; and the latter including the establishment of horsemen for the protection of travellers between Herát and Candahar, a distance of 400 miles. Dr. Login personally inspected all the intermediate stations, conciliating the Dourani tribes in the neighbourhood (by which the safe passage of the mission was afterwards much facilitated). The arrangements on this line were so successful, that the members of the mission were able to communicate with Candahar in less time than letters took to go from Candahar to Cabul, though the distance in the former case is greater by 100 miles ; while so efficient was the protection of the road under the system employed—*viz.*, that of keeping at each station two or more Afghan foot-soldiers belonging to the *Sir-i-Khail* (chief of the tribe) of most influence in the neighbourhood—that during the whole eighteen months only two or three trifling robberies took place throughout the whole distance.

During 1840, Login was despatched on a special mission to Candahar. His chief object was to convey despatches and presents for transmission to England, and to bring back the treasure (sovereigns) for use of

Chapter II. 1839-40. the mission at Herát. He made a most successful journey, meeting with the utmost courtesy and kindness at every *Khail* he passed through; probably owing as much to his control over the guards on the road, and his well-armed party of twelve, as to his reputation as a *Feringhi Hakim*.

At one of his halting-places, however, he was near falling a victim to Afghan treachery. He had been received by an Afghan chief in the neighbourhood of Washeer in a most courteous and hospitable manner, and honoured with an *istigbal* in Afghan style—the eldest son of the chief having been sent out to meet him with display of feats of horsemanship. The principal men of the tribe were also invited to a feast in his honour.

It was arranged before parting for the night that the Khan, with an escort, should accompany Login next morning for a short way towards Ghirishk. It happened, however, that the latter awoke very early, and could not again fall asleep (*the Afghan pilau may have been indigestible*), so finding the moon bright and the weather favourable, he left his little tent which was pitched in the courtyard of the caravanserai, and walked to the gate, where he found a Pharsevân holding the horse of the sleeping Afghan who was supposed to be sentinel. After a little conversation with this man, during which he was considerably enlightened as to the character of his host, Login determined to wake up his men and proceed on his

journey to Ghirishk as soon as possible. This was done, Chapter II. 1839-40.
and a message sent to the Khan of apology and thanks, accompanied by a small present. The Khan speedily appeared, and endeavoured to dissuade him; but failing in this, ordered out his party to escort him. This was civilly declined by Login, who after a trying march of nearly fifty miles reached Girishk in safety, and was cordially welcomed by Captain E—— in charge of the district.

On the following day, Captain E——'s agents brought information that the Khan of Washeer had, while entertaining his guest, despatched messages to Aktar Khan, a Dourani chieftain then encamped not far from Sadaat, urging him to intercept Login, who would pass at a certain time, and who would prove a valuable prize!

Had it not providentially happened that the aforesaid "prize" had been induced to start two hours earlier than was expected, he might not have reached Ghirishk so safely, and a valuable copy of the "Shahnameh" presented by Shah Kamrán to Her Majesty, of which he was the bearer, and which he afterwards had the pleasure of recognizing in the Royal Library at Windsor, might have failed to reach its destination.

Being deeply interested in carrying out his various duties, Login, at the earnest desire of the Envoy, declined to avail himself of the option given him to return to Cabul with Major Pottinger.

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In the following March, 1840, he received a letter from the Commander-in-Chief, Sir- Jasper Nicoll, intimating that he had, on the recommendation of several medical authorities in Calcutta, appointed him as surgeon on his personal staff, hoping he could make arrangements to join. On hearing this, the Envoy at Cabul represented so strongly to the Governor-General, at the instance of D'Arcy Todd, the great importance of Dr. Login's work at Herát, and the difficulty there would be to replace him, that Lord Auckland requested Sir Jasper Nicolls to appoint another surgeon to officiate for him till he could be spared from his present post, intimating to Sir Jasper at the same time that he (Lord Auckland) intended giving Dr. Login a permanent appointment as soon as he could.

After Eldred Pottinger had left, taking with him Dr. Ritchie, the number of the mission was still further reduced by Conolly's departure to Seistan, and at Christmas, Abbott, and later on Shakespear, were sent by Todd on a mission to Khiva on behalf of the Russian captives.

The small remnant became entirely dependent for news of the outer world on the *cossids*, or runners, whom Login had established on the roads to carry the posts; and their appearance at stated periods was anxiously looked for. Mitford's arrival was, therefore, an event eagerly welcomed, and as his description of the position of affairs at the time, and the life led by the mission

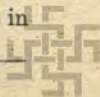
at Herat, is the most detailed and interesting on the subject, some extracts from his work are inserted, in spite of its being already so well known.

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* Oct. 27th, 1840.

Reaching Herát at sunset, I entered the gate, and made my way through a long street crowded with people and strings of camels, and proceeded immediately to the Residence of the British Envoy, Major D'Arcy Todd, by whom I was most kindly and cordially welcomed. Major Todd's party at this time consisted of Lieut. North, Bombay Engineers, and Dr. Login, of the Bengal Army. I experienced the most assiduous kindness from those gentlemen, and once more felt myself at home with countrymen and friends, most thankful that I had not been marched as a slave to Khiva by the Turcomans. My wardrobe, as may be imagined, was in a very precarious condition—my frock-coat was dilapidated at the elbows, the buttons had made their escape from their cases, and altogether I was scarcely fit to appear in civilized society, but by the kindness of these friends I was soon furnished with a fresh outfit.

The British Envoy arrived at Herát in August, 1839, since which time a great change has been effected in the condition of the place; the town reviving from its ruins, the population returning, the peasantry are restoring their villages, resuming the cultivation of their fields, and caravans of Herátis are daily arriving from Meshed and other places where they had taken refuge, to re-occupy their deserted homes under the protection of the English name. These people had fled, not as might have been supposed, from the Persians, but to escape the tyranny of the Wuzeer, and actual ruler, Yar Mahomed, the greatest oppressor of his own people. He carried on a trade with the Turcomans in



Chapter II. 1839-40. slaves, receiving in return horses and cash; he is said to have disposed of over 30,000 of his own people in this nefarious way! and nothing but our protection induces the people to return within reach of this miscreant.

Dr. Login informed me that when the Envoy first arrived the place was full of beggars, the remains of the ruined population scarcely amounting to a thousand, but now there is a well-stocked bazaar crowded with people, and a beggar is rarely seen. Dr. Login has contributed much by his praiseworthy exertions to the rising prosperity of the place: he employs the people in various works and branches of industry, and has re-established the carpet manufacture for which Herát was always celebrated.* These carpets are very handsome, and the colours bright. I visited some of the looms, and was struck with the rapidity with which they worked; they had no pattern to guide them, but worked from memory, yet never made a mistake by inserting the wrong-coloured worsteds.

When the Envoy arrived he found no house that he could occupy, but was assigned a large garden surrounded by the ruins of the Shah's palace in this place, called the Char-Bagh; there was not a room entire, and he was forced to pitch his tent until a house could be built. There is now abundant accommodation, the Residency being large and commodious. Dr. Login has also built a pretty house on a more European plan at the opposite side of the garden—which gives the place a most uniform appearance; in the centre of the garden is a large square tank, where several broad pathways intersecting the garden meet, the different partitions being full of trees and shrubs.

The people of Herát seem well-disposed towards the English,

* The Heráti carpet is famed above all others for the brilliancy and permanency of its colours. They are made in all sizes and prices from £1 to £100. Conolly pronounced the best pieces he saw to equal the Turkey carpet, and their price to be moderate.—*Malletson's "Herát,"* p. 92.

and well they may, considering the benefits they reap from them. Chapter II.
They are protected from tyranny, they are profitably employed, as well as assisted by us; the villagers are advanced money and grain to plant their fields; but what reliance can be placed on a fickle populace if their chiefs are inimical? * 1839-40

When the Envoy first arrived he had with him a detachment of Sepoys. These were sent back to Candahar, as he considered himself safer without them. He has a pretty little castellated walled village on the Herirúd, three miles from the town,† where in case of danger he might take refuge and maintain himself until events turned in his favour. . . . At the Residency they have adopted the precaution of giving appropriate conventional names to all the people of importance, to prevent servants who may know a little English from understanding the

* Writing so late as 1863, Vambéry says, "I find no exaggeration in the opinion that the Herátees long most for the intervention of the English, whose feelings of humanity and justice have led the inhabitants to forget the great differences in religion and nationality. They saw during the government of Major Todd more earnestness and self-sacrifice with respect to the ransoming of slaves than they had ever even heard of before on the part of a ruler."

† A beautiful garden at Herát is mentioned in Ferrier's "*Caravan Journey*," described as a new one laid out by Yar Mohamed; this, according to Login's notes must be "one which originally belonged to Hajee Ferozeodeen (grandfather of the present ruler). It is situated on the Candahar road, within a short distance of the Herirúd. Like all the other gardens in the neighbourhood, it had been destroyed by the Persians during the siege, but after the retreat of Mahomed's army it was made over to Eldred Pottinger, who expended a small sum in restoring it and repairing the garden-house. Major D'Arcy Todd continued to keep it up and embellish it, and all our party, especially Major James Abbott, while he remained at Herát, took more or less interest in putting it into order. Seeds and plants of various kinds were procured for it by Todd from India and England, with a view to make it useful as a nursery for the improvement and restoration of other gardens. Besides this garden, which was made over to the mission, a farm, at some distance up the valley, of about 200 acres, was presented to me by Shah Kamrán, but at my request assigned for the support of a dispensary and poor-house that had been established in the city during our stay there. The farm was remarkable for its fertility, especially for the quality of the melons which it produced."—J. S. L.

Chapter conversation. Shah Kamrán, for instance, living in the "Ark,"*
 II. was given the appropriate name of *Noah*. . . . The
 1839-40. prosperity of the country is now fast reviving.† If
 Herát were occupied by us, and agriculture encouraged, any
 moderate-sized military force could be maintained here on the
 supplies of the country, and hold its own against all-comers.

The grapes of the Herát valley are particularly luscious. "The cultivators of this happy valley," says Conolly, in 1831, "enumerate, if I remember rightly, seventeen different sorts of grapes which they grew."

During his residence in Herat, Dr. Login often came in contact with the members of Shah Kamran's household, and was in great favour, being constantly called upon for professional advice, which he afforded willingly to all. This was frequently used merely as a pretext to get him to give the news of the outer world to those who were kept in seclusion, Shah Kamran himself often requesting him to come, ostensibly to prescribe for some passing ailment, but more for the purpose of getting him to talk of England, its power and greatness in contrast with Persia and Russia, the Queen, and that very mysterious power known as "Jân Kumpany Bahadoor," whose existence he marvelled at being permitted by the great

* Persian for "citadel."

† The town of Herát, destroyed by the siege of 1838, rose by degrees from its ruins, thanks to the gold that the English had so profusely scattered around them.—Ferrier's "*Caravan Journey*."



Queen, in case they should rebel against her some day !

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On many of these occasions. there would be an unseen, *though not unheard*, audience, listening in wrapt attention to his descriptions, and many were the audible "*wah ! wah's !*" Kamrán's favourite wife was very intelligent, and full of anxiety to hear all about Englishwomen, and especially everything that could be told her about her *sister* the Queen ! She always called the Hakim Sahib "*bhai*," or brother, and this originated his *soubriquet* among his colleagues, the Begum, at the same time, being known as "Login's sister." The needlework done by the ladies in the harem was beautiful, and they were always sending him specimens of their skill—embroidered vests, and quilted *chogas* and *resais*. Covers were made for Login's Bible and Prayer Book, and this opportunity was made use of by him to send a Persian Testament to have a cover made for it ; and when he found it bore marks of having been read (by whom he never discovered), he offered to exchange it for a volume of Hafiz's poems, which offer was eagerly accepted.

Though the common speech of the people of Herát is Pushtoo, they have no literature in that language, it being merely a colloquial dialect or corrupt form of the Persian. Consequently, as Login says :—

The first book in Pushtoo ever seen by Shah Kamran and his family, or by any other person, I believe, at Herát, was a New

Chapter II. 1839-40. Testament which I had brought from India, and which had been published by the missionaries at Serampore in the Persian character. It excited great interest among them, and was read by some of their learned men. It was, if my memory serves me right, in possession of Shahzadah Mohamed Yussuf, the present ruler of Herát (1856), at the time of the departure of the mission. At all events, he had got it from me a short time before. May I hope that it has been equally as useful as the Hebrew transcript ! After the siege, Eldred Pottinger commenced a translation into Pushtoo of a part of the Holy Scriptures, but discontinued it on finding I had brought a copy.

In connection with this, I may mention, that I gave away several copies of Martyn's New Testament in Persian to people of influence at Herát, and a Testament in Turkí to the Khalifa of Merv, a man of considerable sanctity among the Turcomans. With this latter I had, perhaps, more intercourse than any other member of the mission, from the circumstance of almost every one who came in with *kafilas* from Khiya and Bokhara being anxious to consult the "Feringhi Hakim" at the dispensary, either for their own maladies, or for those of their relations ; and few of them went away without asking to see the *hikmut* by which the blind were taught to work in the poor-house.

I must confess, it was not a little gratifying to me to learn from Wolff's "*Journal*" that kind inquiries were long afterwards made at Merv for a gentleman of the name of "Luggan," with whom Dr. Wolff said he had not the pleasure of being acquainted.*

The Hindostani servants who had accompanied the mission to Herát, not caring to remain there for an indefinite period, became clamorous to return, and they were allowed to depart to Candahar with the first

* J. S. L. Notes to Ferrier's "*Caravan Journey*," p. 185.

safe escort, leaving their masters to supply their places as best they could with Herátis. Login was the only one unaffected by this move, as his faithful Khalipha, Ali Bux, would not desert him; he said that he had been with him from the first, and meant to die in his service. He also declared his intention to make himself comfortable in Herát, and take a Heráti wife, as it might be years before he again visited Lucknow, where he had left his wife. He found no difficulty in making his selection; and with the consent of her family, Fatimah, whom he declared "fair like a *Belati Bibi*,"* cast in her lot with the mission, and when its departure was decided on, refused to leave her husband, and with her child, accompanied him through many dangers and forced marches, proving herself a fearless rider.†

Poor Khalipha was not always able to preserve the peace between his rival wives when in after life he settled down in Lucknow, as Derogah of the Gharib-

* i.e., European lady.

† On one occasion Khalipha, who was in charge of the baggage animals, saved the papers and valuables from loot by marauders. Solemnly opening one box he displayed a number of terrible-looking surgical instruments (of which they stand in great awe), and declared that these and some marvellous *dawaie* (medicine) formed the sole contents of the boxes, which were the property of the world-famed Hakim and Wizard who had worked such wonders at Herát, emphasizing his assertion by pointing at the same time to his enchanter's staff which he carried in his hand, and to which the wild tribesmen instinctively salaamed with deep reverence. The staff was Login's favourite walking-stick, a very formidable bludgeon, a gift from D'Arcy Todd, having a coiled snake around it, and being covered with hieroglyphics all carved by him; it bore also the inscription, "Bhuggut Ram (Todd's *soubriquet*), his work."

Chapter II. khana, surrounded by his various belongings; but to the last he was devoted to the "fair Fatimah."

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Hinghan Khan, an orphan boy of good family, one of the captives rescued by Eldred Pottinger from the Turcomans, used to follow Login about like his shadow, sleeping at his door all night, until at last the Hakim Sahib took him into his service. He proved himself invaluable, adapting himself to all circumstances and places. He was, like all his countrymen, a splendid rider, and was of great service on several occasions when there were difficulties with the tribesmen on the march.

With these two servants Login was very independent at Herát, though, of course, the style of living was decidedly primitive, and the Persian mode was perforce adopted. Still, life, with all its attendant roughnesses, was thoroughly enjoyed by men who led such a busy, well-occupied existence, doing good to their fellow-creatures, and by their blameless lives, in the midst of debauchery and excess, shedding lustre on the name of Englishmen; and during the whole stay of the mission the fanatic Mahomedans had before them a living example of Christianity in that band of devoted, self-sacrificing soldiers.

The Envoy kept an excellent Persian cook, to whose abilities Englishmen and Afghans, at our morning meals, says Login (to quote again from the notes previously mentioned), did ample justice, with such knives and forks as may have been used by

Abraham; but we generally *dined* alone in the English style, and I think the prudence of this arrangement cannot be doubted. The Heráti Afghans are a very drunken lot, and cannot understand the self-denial of Christians in declining to drink, when wine is not prohibited to them by their religion. Chapter II. 1839-40

Shortly after our arrival at Herát, in walking across the garden one dark night after dinner, without waiting for the lantern, on my return from the Envoy's to my own residence, I struck my foot against the ledge of the *houz* (cistern surrounding the fountain), which happened that day to have been nearly emptied for the purpose of cleaning it out, and fell to a depth of about eight feet, receiving a severe concussion. It was at once supposed by the people of Herát that I had been drunk on this occasion, although by habit almost a "teetotaler!" and all the kind condolences with which I was honoured by Shah Kamrán and his family, and Yar Môhamed and his chiefs, were evidently offered under this impression. Nujoo Khan, the "*topshee bashee*," himself a noted toper, wished me quietly, in confidence, to acknowledge that I had taken "*kudrezeadah*!"* and it was not till my habits were better known that I was exonerated from the suspicion.

About a year afterwards, happening to go up to the citadel to the King, I found him drinking some Shiraz wine, which he also desired the "*athar bashee*," after I had been seated, to offer to me; and on observing that I merely tasted it, the Shah said, with a knowing look, "Don't be afraid, there is no *houz* here!"

During the Ramazan, the public Afghan breakfast gave place to private English ones; but we were then honoured with the presence of Sirdar Sheer Mohamed Khan, brother to the Wuzeer, who, to entitle him to the privileges of a *traveller*, had, while the fast lasted, pitched his tent outside the gate of the city, and came to learn the European mode of eating with knife, fork, and

* *Anglicè*, "a drop too much."

Chapter spoon. (Travellers, in Mussulmaun countries, being exempted
II. from the necessity of observing fasts.)

1839-40. It will thus be seen that the Afghans are not altogether rigid Mahomedans, as regards the abstention from wine and the due observance of fasts, but their hatred to heathen *Kafirs** is very marked, and they carefully avoid all intercourse with them. Consequently, in Afghanistan, the Hindoo servants who had followed the mission, found their position towards their Christian masters, with respect to caste and purity, exactly reversed to what it would be in Hindostan. At Herát and beyond the Indus generally, Christians—as *people of the Book*—were freely admitted to eat with Mahomedans, so long as they abstained from the forbidden food; and we were often asked, “Why we allowed unclean *Kafirs*, like Hindoos, to be freely admitted into our houses?”

When travelling between Candahar and Cabul we were met by a few horsemen of one of our irregular cavalry regiments—Mahomedans from India. Our servants, Afghans and Parsevans, to show their hospitality, offered them a “*kalian*” which had just been smoked by Major Todd.

The Indian Mahomedans asked if they intended to insult them by “offering a pipe smoked by a *Kafir*?” whereupon our people retorted, that the Indian Mussulmaun were *Kafirs* in following the customs of Hindoos, and a battle royal would have ensued, had we not interfered.

For eighteen months previous to the arrival of the English mission, Shah Kamran had never stirred out of the citadel, and was only induced to ride, for the benefit of his health, at my suggestion. One reason he gave for not showing himself in public was, that the Wuzeer did not allow him a proper retinue. He never rode out during our stay, without asking me to accom-

pany him ;* though whether this partiality for my society arose from any mistaken idea as to my official importance, I cannot say !

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The influence which the "Hakim Sahib" has generally exercised in the British Embassy at Teheran, and the employment of such men as Campbell, Jukes, McNeill, Riach, Bell, Lord, and others, in various important duties in those countries, has naturally led the chiefs of Herát to suppose that "physicians" occupy a higher place in the councils of the English than is accorded them, and they attribute much of the prosperity of the English nation to their "*hikmut*."

There was much personal and social intercourse between the members of the mission, and some of the Afghan Sirdars ; and amongst those who were fond of being seen in their company was Syud Mohamed, the Wuzer's eldest son. This youth, who by no means inherited his father's great abilities, was frequently an unconscious source of amusement to the English officers.

During one of his visits to the Char-Bagh, he expressed a wish to learn English, upon which a wag of the party offered to teach him a sentence ; and under the impression that it was merely an ordinary English salutation like "*Khoosh amedeed*," taught him to say "You are a spoon !"

Full of importance of the acquisition—though somewhat doubtful of the exact meaning—on meeting his father on his return home, he accosted him by saying, "*Agir-be-adebi*" (If it be not disrespectful !) "you are a spoon !"

There is a certain grim humour in the intense inappropriateness of such a mild epithet as applied to the ferocious Yar

* On one of these occasions, Shah Kamrán proposed to exchange horses with Login as a seal of friendship. Login named the Turcoman "Kamrán," and found him invaluable on a march—Turcoman horses are noted for their power of endurance.

Chapter II. 1839-40. Mahomed, whose atrocious cruelties—practised not only on criminals, but on his “political opponents”—are past belief. He is said to have flayed a chief of the Bardooranis alive, and afterwards stewed him in a large cauldron! not long before Pottinger reached Herát.

Colonel James Abbott and General C. F. North are the only two living members of the Herát Mission at this date. The former writes as follows :—

Login's fine temper and cheerfulness under difficulties on the march won all our hearts, and he was voted a most important acquisition. Though we were beset with constant rumours of intended treachery, nothing of the kind actually occurred on that usually desert tract, which we traversed by marches, averaging twenty miles each.

On arrival at Herát, Login obtained permission to set up a hospital for native patients, the scanty remnants of the once dense population being in the utmost misery from long starvation during a siege of ten months. To his care also were made over the children whom Eldred Pottinger had rescued from the Turcomans. He also took charge of our post-office arrangements. He was a first-rate man of business, and invaluable to the mission, his benevolence equalling his zeal and his capacity. Whatever could be done to alleviate the terrible distress and misery in which we found the remnants of that once thronged population, the Envoy (with Login's loving aid) carried out. The people marvelled that a nation, strangers to them in faith, should thus lavish lakhs of rupees and all their energies to alleviate the sufferings of wretched beings who could never hope to be even useful citizens. They marvelled, but *one man* execrated what excited wonder in the rest. *He* believed the whole work of benevolence to be part of a plot or scheme on our part to render his own detestable conduct more abhorrent to the people he ruled!

About Christmas, 1839, the Envoy despatched me on a mission to Khiva, and I parted from Login, whom I met but once again, and that casually. He, however, remained with the Envoy to the last, rendering excellent service and retiring with him. The Envoy's value for him was very great.

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General North writes :—

Soon after we got settled in Herat, Login set himself to work to assist the poor, who were in a starving condition. Herát, when in its prosperity, had been famed for the manufacture of Persian carpets or large rugs, but at the time of our arrival, there were only two or three men who knew anything about it; but this was enough for Login, who at once started a carpet manufactory, giving employment to many people; and although their first productions were coarse they sold well, and he was encouraged to persevere, until before we left, the Herat looms turned out articles that vied with the best made in Persia. Login also established a dispensary, and was continually employed in one way or another in exercising his truly benevolent disposition for the benefit of those among whom he found himself.

Our Indian servants soon left, and we had to replace them with natives of the country. We had a train of baggage mules and camels, which required a good many men to look after it. About sixty horses were at different times presented to the Envoy, and we put men on them and made them into an irregular cavalry escort. Besides these there were numerous *Pesh-kidmuts*, or personal servants, and *Farrashes*, house servants, natives of the place. All these were placed under the control of the assistant to the Envoy, which office I held after Abbott's departure to Khiva, and a very troublesome lot I found them! for as they were half Soonees and half Shiahhs, they were always quarrelling among themselves—these two sects among Mahome-

Chapter dans being as inimical to each other as Protestants and Roman Catholics in Ireland.

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One day the Envoy asked me, "North, how do you manage those fellows? Abbott was always asking me to settle some dispute, but you never do?" I replied, "When they come to complain against each other, as they lie so abominably that truth cannot be arrived at, nor justice done, I just order the *Farrash-Bashee* to put one foot of the complainant and one of the defendant in the *fullukh* (the pole to which feet are tied for bastinadoing) and to bastinado them both, and so the right man gets punished, and complaints diminish, whatever quarrels do!" Altogether they are not bad fellows, and we get along very well with them.

When our Indian servants left, we adopted the Persian style of living: all meals taken on the floor, no chairs or tables, no knives or forks, all food put into the mouth with the fingers and thumb of the right hand; we soon became expert at it, but our first attempts at this mode of feeding were rather ludicrous. On the occasion of our making our entry into Herat we were all in full-dress uniform, and went to the Palace to pay our respects to the King. After our reception Shah Kamran sent us a dinner which was of course served on the floor. In addition to the officers attached to the mission, there were present the Wuzeer, Yar Mahomed Khan, and eight or ten of the Sirdars of Herat. It is not etiquette to sit cross-legged like a tailor, but on one's heels in a kneeling posture; the spurs on the heels of our boots prevented our doing this with any degree of comfort. The sight of some half-dozen tightly buttoned up men, encumbered with swords and cocked hats, kneeling around more than fifty dishes spread on the floor, and awkwardly endeavouring to get their food into their mouths with their fingers, kept us in perpetual stifled bursts of laughter, while the Afghan chiefs stared at us in wonderment, keeping grave faces all the time. When the dinner was over it was quite a relief to us to be allowed to cross our legs, for which

we begged permission of our host. When Todd explained the cause of our merriment, the Wuzeer said, "That to see us stooping over the dishes with our cocked hats and feathers reminded him of a lot of fowls picking up grain!"

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The chief dish at a Persian dinner is *pillaou*—rice cooked with butter—in which is the mutton or fowls, and there are numerous small dishes to be eaten with it. At a large entertainment there would be a whole sheep stuffed with fowls, and these each stuffed with raisins, pistachios, and spices. To cook this, a hole is dug in the ground and lined with smooth round stones, a fire of wood is made in the hole, and when the stones are very hot vine leaves are laid over them, and the sheep put in, and the hole covered over; the sheep comes out perfectly cooked by the steam, and the meat is very tender.

Owing to the sudden withdrawal of the mission, much valuable property, as well as paper, diaries, &c., were sacrificed, as we left in light marching order.

The following was written by Login from Herát to his brother-in-law, John Beaton:—

HERÁT, Nov. 16th, 1840.

... We have already had letters by this route (*via* Erzeroum), c/o H.M. Chargé d'Affaires, in seventy-three days from Paris, though for upwards of 700 miles the letters are carried by a single runner or "cossid" on foot. As soon as I hear of the return of our mission to Teheran, I shall endeavour to get a regular mail established between that place and Herát, and have no doubt that it will prove most useful. Within the last few days we have had good news from several quarters. From Khiva, of the delivery over to the Russian authorities of all the Russian captives by Captain Shakespear, and of the probable settlement of the differences in that quarter; from Bokhára, of Col. Stoddart being released

Chapter from jail, and being entrusted with the command of the Ameer's
 II. Artillery; of the surrender of Dost Mahomed to the Envoy
 1839-40. and Minister, at Cabul; of the defeat of the Belooch Army at
 Dâdar; of the occupation of Kelat, by our troops under General
 Nott; of the submissive answer of the Sikh Durbar to our demand
 for passage of our troops through the Punjab, and an explanation
 of their treacherous conduct in assisting the rebels in Afghanistan
 —all these providential occurrences have assisted us to strengthen
 our position.

Within the last month we have lost many promising officers,
 among them Broadfoot of the Engineers, an Orkneyman. Dr.
 Lord, who was in political charge of the northern frontier, a
 distinguished officer, has also been killed in one of our engage-
 ments with the Dost.

Here we have been very quiet, but had matters not turned out
 as they have done I doubt whether such would have long been
 the case.

If ever nation has had cause to say "the Lord has been
 gracious unto us," assuredly we have; it has not been by the
 power of man that all these things have been brought to pass.

. . . . I see little prospect of being allowed to join my appoint-
 ment on the Commander-in-Chief's staff, but I am contented
 here.

Those of our readers who may be interested in the
 general aspect of affairs in Central Asia at the period of
 the First Afghan War, will find an account of the
 causes which led to the despatch of the mission to
 Herât, and of the political history of that mission in
 notes and appendix to General Ferrier's "*Caravan
 Journey*," which Sir John Login compiled many years
 after at the request of the author—a portion of which

is also quoted in Kaye's "*Lives of Indian Officers.*" Chapter II. 1839-40. Sir John Login's views are there given on this question, and also a description of the duplicity, arrogance, and avarice of Yar Mahomed and his nominal master, Shah Kamrán, which will serve to explain Todd's reasons for the sudden withdrawal of the mission. Though upwards of nineteen lakhs of rupees had been advanced to the Herát Government* and people to assist them against the Persians, Yar Mahomed not only demanded more, but continued to insult the British Envoy, while he kept up a secret correspondence with the Persian Minister, in which he declared himself the *faithful servant of the Shah-in-Shah*, that he merely tolerated the presence of the English Envoy from expediency, but that his *hopes rested in the "Asylum of Islam!"*

When this glaring breach of treaty became known to Major Todd, he determined to mark his opinion of such duplicity by stopping the monthly payment of 25,000 rupees until the pleasure of Government

* A short abstract or memorandum of expenditure found amongst Sir John Login's papers may give some idea of the amounts expended on the Herátis. It runs as follows :—

Abstract of expenditure on charitable establishments by the Herat Mission for six months, 1st May to 31st October, 1840, inclusive.

Total received by J. S. Login	...	...	...	...	Rs. 6,378, 8, 4
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Disbursed on account of hospital, dispensary, pauper establishment, orphans, carpet-weavers, cultivators, &c.	...	...	...	...	Rs. 6,378, 8, 4
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1839-40. should be known, and notified his intention to the Wuzeer.

Finding himself, in consequence of the Envoy's resolution, in great straits for money, Yar Mahomed ventured on the bold step of declaring that unless money was forthcoming the British Mission must depart from Herát.

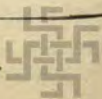
Shah Kamrán,* says Login in the "Notes" before mentioned, for a long time back had felt that the lives of the Englishmen were in imminent danger, and he told me in August, 1840, that such was the case, but that the *Sahibán Inglīs* need be under no apprehension, as he was our friend; but that had he not protected us, not a Feringhi would have been left alive. His Majesty was pleased to conclude by asking if he did not "deserve credit for behaving so differently to us from what the Ameer of Bokhara had done to Stoddart Sahib?"

In reply I thanked His Majesty for his kindness, but said that "we were under no apprehension; that we were conscious of having done *only good to Herát*, and we feared no ill that could befall us; especially as we knew that to pluck even a few hairs from a lion's tail was somewhat dangerous."

At this time it was no secret in Herát that the Wuzeer was only waiting his opportunity to seize the officers of the British Mission. He lived utterly in a state of intoxication; and the prospect of seizing and plundering their property, was seriously discussed by himself and his drunken associates, as the easiest way of replenishing his coffers.

The Envoy, seeing that nothing could be gained by remaining at Herát, and that a catastrophe would involve the Government

* See Kaye's "*Life of D'Arcy Todd*." Login's Notes.



in serious complications, decided to retire, and accordingly Chapter the mission left, and they had scarcely gone when the Residency II. was sacked and pillaged by a howling mob, headed by the 1839-40. Wuzeer's own soldiers.

A good deal of private property had been sacrificed; as a large baggage guard could not be provided, many valuable papers and diaries were left behind.



CHAPTER III.

CANDAHAR AND CABUL.

Chapter III. THE departure of the mission from Herát is thus
1840-41. described by Login :—

Our party, under Major D'Arcy Todd, consisting (with the escort commanded by Sirdar Futteh Khan) of about 300 persons, passed unmolested through the Herát territories, by ordinary marches, receiving marks of good will and respect from the inhabitants, but on reaching the Candahar frontier we found that Aktar Khan, a Douráni chief, was on the watch to intercept us with a considerable force; we therefore determined to conceal our route.

With this view, we turned out quietly during the night from our encampment at Dilaram, and pursued our march.

Accompanied by Sirdar Futteh Khan, who was in the secret of our councils, and whose conduct always gave us cause to trust him, I pushed on with an advance party of horsemen, a little in front of the main body under charge of Major Todd, until early dawn, when we made a rapid advance to take possession of the first set of wells, which we were apprehensive might be held by a party of Aktar Khan's men.

Finding these, however, unoccupied, the advanced party halted there until the main body came up within a sufficient distance to secure them, when it again pushed on to occupy

another small pool in the same way, and thence reached the appointed halting-place, a distance of fifty miles from Dilaram, where it waited the arrival of the main body.

Halting only a sufficient time for a slight refreshment to men and animals, the order of march was again formed as on the previous evening; but as it was considered dangerous to show any lights for fear of attracting the notice of the Afghans, much difficulty was experienced in finding the proper pathway, and heavy clouds having for a time obscured the stars by which he guided us, our one-handed *cossid*—a man well known in these parts for his wonderful intelligence as a guide—actually had to feel for the trodden path on the surface of the desert, and so found it. By occasionally sending back a horseman from the advanced party communication was kept up with the main body during the night, but as soon as day dawned our advance was pushed on more rapidly.

On approaching some broken ground near the "Houz," said to be a favourite *rendezvous* of Beloochi marauders, and likely to be occupied by Aktar Khan's men, our advance was made with great precaution, covered by files of horsemen in front and on our flanks. A signal being made from our right flank, and a horseman riding in to report that a large number of saddled horses were to be seen in a ravine near the Houz, we immediately prepared for action in the Afghan style. *Chogas* (cloaks) were put in saddle-bags, *kummerbunds* (waist-belts) were tightened, turbans firmly bound, loose sleeves turned up, arms bared to the elbow, and matchlocks and bucklers unslung! The signal of the horseman had been observed by the main body, about a mile distant, and we were shortly joined by a party detached in support. They came up at full gallop similarly prepared, each man wishing to appear a very Roostum.*

Thinking it strange none of our horsemen from the front had



* Famous Persian hero.

Chapter III. 1840-41. fallen back, the broken ground preventing our seeing them, I proposed to the Sirdar to ride on with him to ascertain the cause; and on descending a ravine we came suddenly in view of a *kafila* of asses, laden with corn and butter from the Helmund, on its way to Bukwa, escorted by many Afghans on foot! They had just been laden when seen by our vedette, and in the haze of the morning mistaken for horses.

After passing through the ravines, and again emerging on the level desert, our main body closed up, and we proceeded together to Ghirishk, having safely accomplished a distance of upwards of 100 miles with only a few hours' halt, though hampered with camels and other slow-travelling animals.

It was afterwards reported that we had got over our difficulties only just in time, a detachment from Aktar Khan having been sent to intercept us, but arriving too late.

Lord Auckland blamed Todd for not being conciliatory enough, and thus precipitating a rupture; but men accustomed to deal with Orientals in a semi-barbarous state know that they only respect those they fear, and Yar Mahomed naturally thought that want of power to punish, was the cause of his insults and treachery being rewarded with money.

From Candahar, Login writes to his sister, Mrs. Beatton, as follows:—

CANDAHAR, April 25th, 1841.

. . . . You will probably see mention of the departure of the mission from Herát in the papers. It has already caused much discussion in India, and Lord Auckland is highly displeased with Todd for having adopted this measure. It must no doubt

seem very extraordinary to His Excellency that a man should be so blind to his own interests as to act towards us as Yar Mahomed has done; and I can even understand his being doubtful whether Todd, under the circumstances, has been sufficiently conciliatory.

Lord Auckland will, however, find ere long that Yar Mahomed is *not to be won by conciliation*, that to have influence over him *we must command*. Everything which conciliatory manners could do towards retaining our position *with honour* was done.

To have yielded one single iota more to the demands of such a man would have been unworthy of the British name and character, and would have lowered us in the estimation of Central Asia.

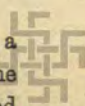
Lord Auckland may be laudably anxious to avoid the necessity of marching troops to such a distance; but our hesitation to do so *after what has occurred* will be construed into weakness by these people, and make them even more arrogant.

I have not the least doubt that were 4,000 men and a few guns sent at once against Yar Mahomed, he would immediately submit, and we should have no more trouble with him. It tries one's patience to think of it, when one might so easily put them down. I have been waiting here in hopes of a force being ordered towards Herát; but as there seems now little prospect of it, I shall start to-morrow for Cabul on my way to India.

I have heard from the Residency at Lucknow that I am to be appointed there permanently; I shall, therefore, endeavour to make my way there as quickly as possible.

. . . . Let me see! Any more news? Yes! You have heard from me of Stoddart's captivity in Bokhára, where he has been most cruelly treated by the Ameer.

He might have made his escape if he wished; but being a chivalrous man and anxious only for his country's honour, he would not avail himself of the opportunities purposely offered him, and determined, it is said, not to leave the place until



Chapter III. apologies were made for the insult shown to a British representative.

1840-41. This bold tone on Stoddart's part, the influence which Shakespear has established over the Khan of Khiva, and the friendly manner in which Conolly has been received by the other Turkoman (Usbeg) state Kókán, has brought the Ameer to his bearings, and induced him to pay the utmost attention to Stoddart, whom he now consults on everything.

Stoddart, instead of being anxious about his *own* liberty, is arranging the release of all the Khan's prisoners (Russian) at Bokhára.

Nothing you see like working on the fears of these rascals! Thrash them first, to their heart's content is our only policy, *then* they will be in a fit condition to *appreciate* conciliation and forbearance!

If Lord Auckland should, after all, determine on moving a force on Herát, I think I shall almost be tempted to return from India to join it. We have done our utmost to do these people good, and spent money in great abundance for that purpose; but the greatest boon we could confer on Central Asia would be to *show our power* by removing Yar Mahomed and his myrmidons from authority.

We should then find our efforts at *conciliation* fully appreciated, and, without doubt, most successful. However, I doubt Government being prepared for such a bold measure.

Your most affectionate

JOHN.

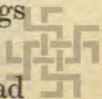
As all further attempts at conciliation seemed only to have a bad effect on Yar Mahomed, there is no doubt that Major Todd adopted a wise course in withdrawing the mission before any overt insult had been

offered, thus leaving Lord Auckland free to adopt any line of policy he might think expedient. For this step, however, he was not held excused by the Governor-General, who, before he even received Todd's explanation of his reasons, declared him unfit for political employment, and remanded him with disgrace to his regiment.

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III.
1840-41.

When the mission left, Yar Mahomed became greatly alarmed; he had never believed that he would be taken at his word, and he now trembled at the probable consequences; but in this extremity his proverbial good fortune did not forsake him. When he expected nothing less than the advance of a brigade of British troops across his frontier, he was delighted by the receipt of two friendly letters, assuring him of the high consideration of the British Government, and of their deep regret that anything unpleasant should have for a time estranged their very faithful friend! To give him a better opportunity to explain his conduct, the Government disavowed all the late proceedings of Major Todd, and begged that the Wuzeer would favour them with his own statement of the case! And greater effect was at the same time given to these conciliatory letters, by our small force being withdrawn from the Helmund to Candahar, leaving the Dourani again at full liberty to renew his rebellious proceedings in Zemindawar.

Satisfied by these conciliatory overtures that he had no immediate cause to apprehend an attack, and that



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the British Government were as anxious as ever to retain his friendship, Yar Mahomed put the letters from the British Government in his pocket, and replied that he could give no answer to them until—through his brother, whom he had sent to Teheran—he received the commands of the “*Imperatur-i-Rus!*”

During his stay at Candahar, Login wrote the following letter to Todd :—

CANDAHAR, April, 1841.

Although aware that any expression of my opinion, as to your conduct towards the Wuzeer and chiefs of Herat, can be but of little service ; I consider it a duty, which under present circumstances I owe to the cause of justice and to you, to offer it at your request.

Having had very favourable opportunities during the last eighteen months of observing your conduct towards the Herát authorities, I can have no hesitation in stating, that it has been marked throughout by the utmost desire to secure their friendship ; and that your anxiety to gain their good will, has on many occasions led you to carry your efforts far beyond the limits which, in my opinion, ought to have been assigned them. Judging, indeed, from the character of the Wuzeer and his chiefs, it is my *firm belief* that your evident anxiety to conciliate them, and the necessity imposed on you of overlooking many just causes of offence, have led them to attach too high a value to their friendship ; and that had a less conciliatory tone and more commanding line from the first been adopted, your efforts to secure British influence at Herát might have been more successful. With regard to your personal intercourse with the Wuzeer, it has always been of the most friendly nature, and I have frequently heard him and his principal advisers express their obligations to

you for the lenient consideration with which you treated him Chapter
and your readiness to exculpate any part of his conduct which III.
appeared dubious. So convinced was he of these obligations, 1840-41.
that he studiously avoided meeting you for some time before our
departure from Herát, lest personal friendship, *as he stated*,
should induce him to forego all the schemes which false ideas of
his power had led him to entertain, or make him acknowledge
the justice of your advice.

I cannot conclude without acknowledging my sincere regret for
having on several occasions expressed myself to you very freely
on your great leniency to the Wuzeer. The evidences of his
tyranny, of which my duties made me a daily witness, and the
knowledge thus acquired of the people's sentiments towards him,
had led me at an early period to the opinion that the uncontrolled
power and influence of Yar Mahomed Khan were incompatible
with the happiness and welfare of his subjects, and had induced
me to believe that his removal from power would be esteemed
the *greatest benefit* which British benevolence could bestow on
the people of Herát. In this opinion, I need not say, I am more
than ever confident.

J. S. LOGIN.

In his "*Caravan Journey*" M. Ferrier gives a very
amusing account of an interview with Yar Mahomed,
who was then virtual King after Kamrán's death. He
evidently believed M. Ferrier to be an Englishman,
sent to open up negotiations with him, and he urged
him to declare his mission as he was quite ready to
treat. He said that during Todd's mission he had
lived in fear of his life from the old drunkard, Shah
Kamrán, (!) whom Todd was instigating against him;
but that now all authority centred in himself, and

Chapter that his view of the matter was "pay me well, and
 III. I will be your humble and devoted servant."
 1840-41.

What I heard and saw in Afghanistan (says General Ferrier) gave me the most profound conviction that the moment the British flag is seen in an Asiatic State the shameless government in force under a native ruler is replaced, if not by abundance, certainly by security and justice. However burdensome the taxation of the English may be, it is always far less so than that extorted by native princes, who add persecution to rapacity. . . . The Sirdars, Mollahs, Syuds, and soldier classes, who live by plundering the industrious inhabitants, were always declaiming against the English, because under them they could not practise their iniquities. The people were irritated, it is true, because their prejudices had been shocked, and rose to shake off their yoke; but now they regret them. . . . They remember with gratitude, their justice, their gratuitous care of the sick in hospitals; the presents of money and clothes when they left them cured; the repairs of their public works, and the extension of commerce and agriculture . . . and after exhausting their praises, they would finish up by—"What a pity they were not Mussulmaun like us! we would never have had any other masters!" After hearing such expressions, is it not allowable to regret, in the name of humanity and civilization, that the British power was not consolidated in Afghanistan, whatever means might have been employed to attain that end?

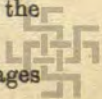
Leaving Candahar in April, still in company with D'Arcy Todd, Login proceeded towards Cabul, being present at some military operations against the Ghilzies on the way, and he had the satisfaction of affording professional aid to the wounded, amongst

them his dear friend and comrade, Edward Sanders, Chapter
 of the Bengal Engineers, who had been with the III.
 mission during the first year in Herat. After a short 1840-41.
 stay at Cabul, being prevented crossing the Punjab by
 orders from Government, in consequence of the disturb-
 ances after the death of Nao-Nehal Singh, Login
 accompanied Major Pottinger to Kohistan, and whilst
 there wrote the following letter to his sister :—

CHARIKAR-KOHISTAN, *June 21st, 1841.*

I have been detained at Cabul by the Envoy, Government
 having notified to him that passage through Punjab is not safe
 at present ; so I have come out here with Eldred Pottinger,
 being tired of being idle at Cabul. I shall remain some time with
 Maule, an old Artillery friend, who commands a regiment here.
 I am sitting writing this in an arbour in his beautiful garden ; a
 lovely murmuring stream flowing round it, and, excepting the flies
 being very troublesome—a big fellow has just settled on my nose—
 exceedingly pleasant. At this moment Purwan Darrah, the site
 of the disgraceful affair with our cavalry last year, and the places
 rendered most classical by recent events, are under my eyes.
 Nor do recent events only contribute to render this place
 historical. Within eight miles are the ruins of a Bactrian city,
 Alexandria, whence coins innumerable are to this day dug up. I
 have been collecting some, but so many have already been sent
 to England that I fancy they are no longer rare. Here, also, are
 places celebrated in the history of Baber, Emperor of Hindostan.
 Altogether, it is a beautiful country. As Alexander Burns said
 to me when describing it one day—"Above, the Alps, Hindoo
 Koosh! below me, Lombardy!" and certainly it realizes the
 description.

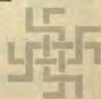
I must confess that were it not for other great advantages



Chapter attending an Indian appointment, I should much prefer remaining,
 III. as I might do, at Cabul. Within three miles of the Residency
 1840-41. and cantonment is a fine large lake, on which there are now two
 boats built by Lieut. Sinclair of H.M. 13th Light Infantry,
 a Caithness man from near Thurso, and considering that no Cabul
 carpenter (*mistree*) had ever before seen a boat, they are certainly
 most creditable to Lieut. Sinclair as a boat-builder. Sinclair him-
 self was, however, the only man that could manage them until I
 arrived, and, as you may imagine, was not a little delighted to have
 an Orkneyman to cope with. We have had many pleasant
 cruises on this same lake of Cabul; rather odd that an Orkney
 and Caithness man should be having races and matches in boat-
 sailing in such a place! Sinclair was born within sight of Hoy
 Head, has been in Long Hope, St. Margaret's Hope, and Scapa
 Floe, but never in Stromness. He, however, knows the merits of
 the Stromness boats built by the Wards, the Moores, and
 Louttets. He is a great favourite with his regiment. . . .

Login was recalled by the Envoy and Minister to
 Cabul from Kohistan, to take the place of John Conolly
 as private secretary, *pro tem*. Conolly was sent to
 Candahar, and Login was fully occupied by Sir W.
 Macnaghten till he started with Todd for India,
 proceeding by raft down the Cabul river from Jellalabad
 to Attock, and marching across the Punjab in
 September, 1841, very shortly before the insurrection
 at Cabul broke out.

Before parting from Todd, the following official
 letter was addressed to him by his late chief:—



MAJOR D'ARCY TODD, *Political Envoy at Herát,*

to J. S. LOGIN, M.D.

CAMP, NEAR ATTOCK, *August, 1841.*

SIR,

... I take this opportunity of thanking you for the very Chapter
zealous and able manner in which you not only performed your III.
duties at Herát, but exerted yourself in carrying into effect the 1840-41.
benevolent intentions of Government towards the inhabitants of
that place. Indeed, I may truly say that had it not been for
your kind assistance I should have found it impossible to give
full effect in this respect to the views of Government. I have, as
you are aware, already brought to the notice of the Envoy and
Minister at Cabul the numerous duties which you took upon
yourself at Herát, the main object of which was to apply
judiciously the means placed at our disposal by Government in
relieving the wants and alleviating the miseries of the distressed
inhabitants of Herát. I need only say there is *scarcely an*
individual in that city who has not reason to be grateful for your
unwearied assiduity, kindness, and patience; and the effect of
your zealous and philanthropic exertions has been to establish in
Herát, and to diffuse throughout the neighbouring states, the
fame of British humanity and liberality. It was from the high
sense which I entertained of the value of your services, and from
the difficulty which I felt certain would be experienced in
supplying your place, that I requested you might be detained at
Herát, when in February, 1840, you were appointed to the staff
of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

I was aware that your detention at Herát would entail upon
you some pecuniary sacrifices, I hoped that this would be made
up to you by an increase to your salary. I have been disappointed

Chapter in this hope, and I have also to regret the losses which you have
III. sustained on the sudden departure of the mission from Herát.
1840-41.

I have, &c.,

E. D'ARCY TODD,

Late Political Agent, Herát.

J. S. LOGIN, Esq.

Soon after joining his appointment at Lucknow as Residency-Surgeon, the storm burst in Afghanistan, and the insurrection at Cabul thrilled the hearts of all the English in India.

The following letter from Havelock at Jellalabad, urging the need of chaplains with the army, is interesting :—

SIR HENRY HAVELOCK to DR. LOGIN.

JELLALABAD, *Dec. 14th, 1841.*

MY DEAR LOGIN,

I have just seen it announced in the paper that you had arrived at Agra and were to proceed to Lucknow. You will have heard that we have had a grand crisis here in Afghanistan, which can hardly be pronounced to be over, though the symptoms have become decidedly more hopeful.

I should define the affair to be a struggle of the Chiefs to maintain their power to misrule, of which they dreaded the annihilation; of certain tribes, especially the Eastern Ghilzies, to revenge the wrong of the reduction of their stipends; and, finally, of the whole people to get rid of the Feringhees.

The facts are, that Sir Robert Sale's Brigade, with its

auxiliaries, having been moved down towards Tazeen and Gundumuk, with the double purpose of freeing the passes and retiring to the provinces, that opportunity was seized to spring the mine of a Cataline plot. Sir A. Burnes was assassinated with all our adherents in Cabul, and our troops driven by the force of a general insurrection to confine their efforts to maintaining themselves on the two points of the Bala Hissar and the intrenched cantonment. This they are yet successfully doing, and I trust, by God's blessing, will continue to do until reinforcements arrive.

Sir R. Sale's force, to which I was temporarily attached with General England's sanction, fought its way inch by inch to Gundumuk, and on the news of the general outbreak, retired on this place, which it has made too strong for any Asiatic force without artillery to get at any price. It has twice sallied, and utterly defeated its assailants in open field.

This is an epitome of things here. Dawes is within these walls, and well; and we have contrived to re-establish ordinances amidst the din of arms. And having said this much, I come to a subject I have much at heart. Peruse the enclosed letter, and if you do not think this voice from Afghanistan will decidedly do harm, kindly send it on to his Lordship, whose address or whereabouts nobody here can tell us.

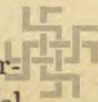
There may yet be time to send a chaplain up with the second reinforcement. If he can be spared, let him come at any time with troops, and the sooner the better. I trust that Todd has got safely through his journey, and that his affairs are prospering.

Believe me, dear Login, ever truly yours,

H. HAVELOCK.

Login forwarded Havelock's letter to the Governor-General, and also wrote to the good Bishop (Daniel

Chapter
III.
1840-41



Chapter
III.
1840-41. Wilson), from whom he received the following characteristic reply :—

BISHOP'S PALACE, *Jan. 8th, 1842.*

MY DEAREST FRIEND,

I read every word of your interesting letter to the Governor-General. The very first opportunity that presents itself we must and will send a chaplain. We had one in view, a kinsman of the Envoy, but he is uncertain in his movements, and I am afraid odd in his habit of mind. The Governor-General tells me he has given you Lucknow; there you will have a charming station, and when you are settled there, I shall send you my subscription paper for 200 rupees per annum for five years, which I know you will not grudge as a contributor to my new cathedral—but of this hereafter. I have not yet seen your paper about Yar Mahomed. You may rely on my doing all I can for your friend Todd with the Governor-General. How you could imagine, my dear Login, that I could forget you! No, no! I remember you, and love you as when we first met at Agra. You have never been long out of my mind, and I shall always be

Your affectionate,

D. CALCUTTA.



CHAPTER IV.

LUCKNOW.

It was a great delight to Login to resume the old work he had set on foot at Lucknow during his previous tenure of the appointment of Residency-Surgeon. He found that Captain Paton, the first Assistant to the Resident, had carried on the work at the Gharīb-khana on the old lines on which he had established it, and he had only to resume the reins. Having so lately left Afghanistan, he was deeply interested in all that was occurring there, and his friend, Sir Robert Hamilton, Resident at Indore, kept him accurately informed of the progress of events, forwarding to him all the intelligence that could be ascertained of the fate of the prisoners, many of whom were Login's personal friends.

Before the hot weather had fully set in, the 56th Native Infantry arrived in Lucknow Cantonment, and the commanding officer, Major Hope Dick, was joined by his wife and her sister (Miss Campbell), from England. The young lady had accompanied her sister, on the death of her parents, at her eldest brother's

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Chapter request, Captain Charles Campbell, of the 42nd Bengal
 IV. Native Infantry, *Buxee*, or Paymaster, at Cawnpore;
 1842-48. and she intended to join her brother as soon as her
 sister was settled at Lucknow. But it was otherwise
 ordained, for on July 28th, 1842, John Spencer Login
 and Lena Campbell* were married at Lucknow, her
 brother coming over to give her away. The newly
 married couple settled down at the Residency—in the
 house afterwards famous as the scene of Sir Henry
 Lawrence's death during the memorable siege in 1857
 —after having spent their honeymoon at Beebeepore
 Palace, kindly placed at Login's disposal by the King.

The post which Login held at Lucknow was generally
 considered as one of the "plums" in the medical service
 of the Company, and as being an extremely lucrative
 one.

It was customary for the Residency-Surgeon to
 increase his pay by accepting other employment at the
 native Court, and by taking large fees from natives
 of rank and wealth in return for medical attendance.
 But Login had such a high sense of the dignity and
 honour of the British name, and of the duty which
 devolved upon every officer who held a position under

* Lena Campbell was the youngest daughter of John Campbell, of Kinloch, Perthshire, male representative of the Loudon Campbells; the title going in the female line to Flora Mure Campbell, only child of James, fifth Earl of Loudon. Lady Flora married the first Marquess of Hastings, Governor-General of India. See "*History of the Campbells of Melfort and Kinloch*," published by Simmons & Botten, 1882, p. 64.

the British Government (especially near a native Chapter
Court), to show himself entirely free from all desire IV.
of gain or hankering after "filthy lucre," that he, 1842-48
perhaps, went rather to the opposite extreme, and was
considered Quixotic in his ideas.

To his mind, Englishmen in the service of the King of Oude, especially if they were at the same time officers of the East India Company, were already in a false position, and it behoved them to avoid anything which could endanger their independence, self-respect, or influence for good in the eyes of *any* native. Hence, though he at all times willingly gave gratuitous professional advice to natives of all ranks, privately as well as at the dispensary and hospitals, he had, perhaps, an over-scrupulous dislike to ask fees from them, but he often instead took the opportunity to urge and encourage his wealthy native patients to assist in promoting useful works in their native city and its neighbourhood. One native friend, Azimoolah Khan, Derogah to the King, who was greatly indebted to him, spent a large sum at his suggestion in opening up a street from the heart of the crowded bazaar to the old bridge of boats over the Goomtee, greatly adding to the healthiness of the city.

Thus, though his professional services were more sought after by the nobles than those of any of his predecessors, he derived little personal advantage; still he had the honest satisfaction of knowing that, in the opinion of those best qualified to judge, he did more

Chapter for the public good and for the poor of the city than
 IV. any who had held the appointment before him.
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After his marriage, the eagerness of his native friends that Mrs. Login should visit their zenanas was great, and her opportunities of insight into the manner of life of ladies of the highest rank were unique.

When she became intimate with the wives of the King (Malika Geytee, in particular) a special request was always made when they were ill that she should accompany her husband, on the ground that she would be able to describe symptoms and appearances more fully to him from her observations, as of course *he* was not permitted behind the *purdah* !*

The scene sometimes was very comical. The patient was brought close to the curtain to answer the doctor's questions, a large hole being made for the purpose of feeling the pulse ; but when it came to the operation of getting the lady's *tongue* through the hole, in such a way as not to exhibit her face, it was often too much for the gravity of the visitor, in spite of the air of solemnity and dignity with which the eunuchs supported their mistress, and opened her

* Login had a great dislike to any underhand way of teaching Christianity in the harems, and thought that, unless with the full consent and approval of the husbands, there should be no tampering with the religion of their wives. He placed more faith in the effect of a good life, and a character for strict integrity and truthfulness, in those who bear the name of Christians, and believed that no blessing could rest on work, which gained the women of India at the expense of the respect of the men.

mouth for the purpose, though even their features sometimes relaxed into a broad grin !

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The Wuzeer Ameenoodowlah's only child (a daughter) was supposed to be dying of consumption, and her death was daily looked for, all the wise women and native *hakims* having given her over, after trying all their cures and spells to no effect. The Wuzeer was in great distress and grief, for although only a girl, she was his only child. Dr. Login asked to see the little girl, and on closely examining her, he found that her whole skin was encrusted with a coat of armour, formed by the unguents and ointments that had been successively rubbed on by each new adviser called in, without removing by washing the previous application (washing during illness being looked upon as fatal); thus the pores of the skin could not act, and unless this could be secured it was no use ordering remedies.

He suggested a warm bath first, which terrified them all, and a great wailing of women and eunuchs ensued! After a time, the Begum, listening to his persuasions through the *purdah*, consented, *if only* the Mem-Sahib would come and see it properly carried out in the *zerana*.

She came therefore, taking her Mussulmauni *ayah* with her, and a supply of soft towels, scented soap, and sponges. The poor child was very weak, and great care and tenderness was exercised before the hard shell could be softened enough to come away, and show what

Chapter the little Begum, Wuzeeroolniza, was really like,
IV. without the husk or shell she had been encased in.
1842-48.

Poor little mite ! She was a perfect skeleton of thinness, and so weak there seemed little hope for her life.

Dr. Login said he could only undertake the case, if the child was made over to his care in the cantonments, where he was then residing, with a few trustworthy servants to carry out his orders. He knew that in the zenana, with such a number of excited slave-girls and jealous wise-women to counteract his directions, there would be small chance of a cure. The parents eagerly grasped at this chance of getting their child restored to health ; and a bungalow was taken for her, with a retinue of women and eunuchs, as near as possible to the house in cantonments where Dr. Login was then residing with his family.

It was rather ludicrous to see the astonishment of the Begums and their attendants in the zenana, at the large sponge used in the bath operations. They were at first alarmed, and shrieked with fright when it filled with water, thinking it was an animal that would bite the child ! but they were delighted with the gift of it, and amused themselves for hours filling and squeezing it out again, and throwing it at each other amid peals of laughter ! The scented soap was also a great delight to them.

The recovery of the child, though tedious, owing to her weakened state, was wonderfully rapid when she was once removed out of the hot city to the purer air

in cantonment, and under the doctor's eye as to food, air, exercise, and amusement. Chapter IV.

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It was an amusement to her to learn to read and write with the Mem-Sahib, whom she always afterwards called her "mother."*

The Chota Begum was an object of great curiosity and interest, to all the English children in cantonments, as she took her daily drives morning and evening in a gorgeous chariot, in the form of a peacock, painted to represent the bird with tail outspread, under which she sat, attended by her zenana guards.

This most enviable carriage was presented to the Login children when the little lady became convalescent.

One morning there was a great uproar ! A messenger arrived at the Residency to say that the Prime Minister, Nawab Ameenoodowlah, who had been out in the district enquiring into a case of a refractory Zemindar, had been waylaid by dacoits, attacked, and murdered, and that his corpse was being brought in. Login spoke to the excited messenger, who was one of the Nawab's horsemen, told him to dismount, go to the Nawab's house, and prepare everything to receive him. He then put some surgical necessities in his pocket, mounted and galloped off to where the Wuzeer's camp was. Had he delayed, the Wuzeer

* Many years afterwards, when he was in England, Login received a letter from the little Begum in question (then the wife of a Nawab), commencing, "My dear Pappa and Mamma," and ending, "your affectionate daughter."

Chapter must have bled to death from his wounds ; as it was,
IV. Login met a mournful procession of the Nawab's
1842-48. people, carrying home, as they believed, their master
dead. He recovered, however, after long and anxious
nursing and attendance, and was ever after truly
grateful for his life at Login's hands. His right arm
had been nearly hacked off, and he was otherwise
fearfully wounded ; but his arm was saved in the end,
and, to his delight, he could again use his sword and
gun.

Many were the odd expedients resorted to by some
of the nobles, to express their gratitude and apprecia-
tion of Dr. Login's professional services. One morning,
during her husband's absence, Mrs. Login was informed
that a messenger from the Palace requested an
interview. A stately *chobedar* in the royal livery,
scarlet and gold, carrying his golden mace (*chobe*),
made his salaam, and pointing to the entrance gates,
where stood a splendid barouche and pair, informed her,
with all the graces of Oriental language, that this was
presented to her by the Wuzeer, by the King's special
desire, as he thought it was most suitable from its
style, to carry the wife of so distinguished a gentleman
as the Doctor Sahib, who was so considerate to all,
and " the protector of the poor."

The lady's astonishment and consternation was
great! Well did she know the equipage in question—a
distinguished and much admired feature in all the
Royal processions, which it invariably headed!

No doubt, it was London built, and gorgeously lined with satin and gold; but it was scarcely such an equipage as the doctor's wife would choose for her evening drive. The horses were large milk-white creatures with pink noses; and their tails, which literally swept the ground, were dyed a *brilliant scarlet*. Their pace was a sort of slow canter, lifting their feet very high, as if pawing the air, or rather, as if moving along majestically on their hind legs! This remarkable action of theirs was particularly admired in the processions—there was something so *distingué* about it! The harness, also, was all bound with red morocco, and had solid silver mountings.

It required great diplomacy to avoid offending the King and the Prime Minister by declining this present, but it *was* accomplished after making a few ceremonious visits of thanks in this magnificent turn-out, by suggesting to the King that the Royal processions would suffer, and be shorn of much splendour, by the absence of this admired carriage, and assuring both King and Minister, that Dr. Login could *actually forego* the pleasure and delight of seeing his wife driving about in this truly regal conveyance, if he could thereby attain the object he had long desired of adding to the healthiness of the city, by the opening up of a new street, and by getting the King and Prime Minister to push forward the scheme for the new road between Lucknow and Cawnpore, with its splendid bridge over the Goomtee, which had lain in abeyance since 1839.

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This was now urged on the King by the Resident, Mr. Davidson, at Dr. Login's suggestion, and was agreed to by the Oude Government, Captain Hugh Fraser, Bengal Engineers, being appointed to carry out the work.

Other strange offerings were presented in lieu of fees—for instance, two baby elephants, each attended and led by a young negro slave (with nothing but a necklace of large bright beads and a waist-cloth as clothing), were sent by the King's brother-in-law after recovery from an illness. It was represented to the Nawab that Englishmen kept no slaves; but he begged that these boys, who had been born in his own harem, should be bred up in close attendance on the Mem-Sahib and her children, for whom they would be ready to die if necessary!

Although the little elephants, who were gaily painted and adorned, were as black as their grinning negro attendants, they would have proved veritable *white* elephants to Dr. Login, as in virtue of his office as A.D.C. to the King and Superintendent of the Royal Hospitals, an elephant establishment was already kept up for him at the King's expense.

On another occasion, two huge Persian cats, male and female, more like small cheetahs, or hunting leopards, each chained to a separate miniature *charpoy*, carried on the head of an attendant keeper, were sent by a grateful patient, a cousin of the King's, as *play-mates for the children*. As, however, their food was

raw flesh, and they were allowed to kill and eat, they would not have been safe companions; indeed, they did not seem much more amiable than tigers !

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It was surprising how the Gharīb-khana cleared the streets of beggars, who had been a great pest. Children were made to see that it was better to learn to work for a livelihood than to beg. Many boys from the Gharīb-khana were placed out in situations, and made some of the best servants in Lucknow and throughout Oude.

The hospital drew so many patients that Dr. Login was obliged to apply for a qualified sub-assistant surgeon (native) from Calcutta, to help in the work.

Cases of snake-bite and of cholera were of constant occurrence. The patients were brought in from the surrounding districts in numbers, and as they invariably preferred to be carried to the Doctor Sahib's house first, there was frequently of a morning to be seen at the entrance gates, a ghastly assemblage of poor wretches writhing in agony in the *doolies* or on the *charpoys*, on which they had been conveyed from distant villages; sometimes, alas! expiring before they reached their harbour of refuge.

In Login's time there occurred only one of those extraordinary cases of so-called "wolf children"—*i.e.*, children carried off by wolves when infants and suckled with their cubs—of which there have been several known in Oude.

In this instance, the child, who was found in the

Chapter IV. 1842-48. district near the Terai,* appeared to be about four or five years old. The body was covered with soft hair, and though undoubtedly human, it was very animal in its instincts and ways. It walked and ran on hands and feet, and could only utter a sound or cry like an animal. It was looked after carefully, but still managed several times to escape to the woods. In spite of all efforts to coax it, it refused food, and soon pined and died in captivity.

Colonel Low, the Resident, Login's kind friend, knowing how anxious he was to get his next brother an appointment, exerted his influence to this effect, and an assistant-surgeoncy was offered him and eagerly accepted.

James Dryburgh Login, after taking his degree of M.D. in Edinburgh, had walked the hospitals of Paris and Vienna, and was looked upon as a surgeon of great promise. He was appointed to an European regiment on his arrival in India, and was only able to pay a flying visit to his brother *en route* to the frontier, where his regiment was stationed.

John Login being now able to offer a home to his sisters, after their mother's death, which took place while he was at Herát, two of them came out to him, and married respectively Colonel—afterwards General—Joseph Graham, Superintendent of the Thuggee

* Large district of jungle and swamps on the confines of Oude and Nepal, the resort of tigers and all sorts of game.

Department, and Captain—afterwards General—Alfred Wintle, Bengal Horse Artillery. His youngest brother Tom, after practical training at home as a civil engineer, he brought out, and through Mr. Thomason's interest got him appointed under Colonel—afterwards Sir Proby—Cautly, who was then commencing the Ganges Canal. He proved himself to have talents of no mean order in his profession; he rose to great distinction as an engineer, and died some years ago Superintending Engineer of the Punjab (Second Circle).

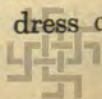
Patrick Vans Agnew was one of the assistants to the Resident at Lucknow, and a great friendship grew up between him and Login; after he left they corresponded frequently, until Agnew's melancholy death by assassination at Mooltan.

The King of Oude had several English officers and gentlemen in his service, besides those in his military employ. Colonel Wilcox (Trigonometrical Survey) was Astronomer to the King, and Mr. George Beechey (son of Sir William Beechey, Royal Academician) was his painter, and had to take portraits of the Governors-General and Commanders-in-Chief for the King's gallery.

These gentlemen had always been treated with great distinction by Mahomed Ali Shah; but when he was succeeded by his son, Wajid Ali Shah—who was afterwards deposed by Lord Dalhousie—a marked difference began to display itself. The young King was anxious

Chapter IV. 1842-48. to show his courtiers that these Englishmen were merely his servants, who could be treated with arrogance and contempt. This was felt very galling by the Englishmen, who were unable to take notice of it, as they knew it would be seized on by the King's favourites as a means of getting rid of them. Matters came to a climax when, instead of the customary courteous invitation from His Majesty to attend some grand public function at Court, a circular invitation was brought, with only the names of the gentlemen invited on the outside of the envelope in a column, with space opposite each for their signature in token of acceptance.

Login's name headed the list, in virtue of receiving pay from the King as Superintendent of Hospitals. Instead of signing his name, he confiscated the paper, and took it straight to the Resident, Sir George Pollock, who made a special representation to the King on the subject. His Majesty was quite alarmed at this unexpected turn of affairs, and ordered an ample apology to be made, decreeing that the title of "Bahadoor" was henceforth conferred on "Login Sahib," and a huge silver seal, set with stones, was ordered to be engraved with his name and *title*, to be used as his seal, and always to be attached by him to any paper he might send to the King. A day was appointed for his reception at the Palace, to have his title and seal presented, with a *khillut*, or dress of honour.



Instead of losing influence by this independent Chapter course, he was more highly appreciated than ever. IV. 1842-48.

The King's public dinners, followed by entertainments of nautches and fireworks, were always a great amusement to strangers. These dinners were more breakfasts or tiffin, being given during the day. Every sort of delicacy was provided, and the King himself had some special dish served up for him. It was considered a great mark of Royal favour to have a portion from this dish sent round to some favoured guest.

On one occasion, after a *khillut* had been presented to Dr. Login, before the dinner, for some special reason, the King took it into his head to show a public mark of his approval, and taking up a *handful* (!) of *kabobs** and rice, which he was eating, placed it on a plate and sent it round with his salaam to Mrs. Login, who, it is to be feared, did not fully appreciate this delicate attention!

The eyes of all the assembly were fixed on her, for of course she was expected to eat the dainty thus *honoured by the royal hand*!

A crowd of servants stood behind the royal chair, each having his separate office. One waved the regal *chowree* over his master's head to keep off the flies; a second, the royal *punkah*, or fan; another bore his *hookah*; a fourth, the golden *chillumchee* and *lota*; † a

* Small pieces of meat roasted on tiny wooden skewers.

† Ewer and basin.

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fifth stood by the King's side to wipe his mouth with a napkin after every morsel ; a sixth lifted his glass of sherbet to his mouth ; whilst the seventh held in readiness the royal pocket-handkerchief and wiped " his royal nose ! "

It was etiquette that he should not appear able even to *walk about* without support, and he was lifted into his carriage like a bale of goods ! This did not appear so extraordinary in the case of the old King, Mahomed Ali Shah, who was both aged and infirm, but it did strike the European community as absurd when the young Wajid Ali Shah, who had prided himself on his great activity, suddenly seemed by his accession to the throne to have been deprived of the use of his limbs. On one occasion alone did he dare to set etiquette at defiance. This was on his first visit of ceremony to the Resident. He submitted to be hoisted up the steps and into the Residency, but on taking his leave, to his attendants' dismay, he actually *ran up* the ladder to the *howdah* of his elephant, amid the applause of the Europeans present. Is it surprising that this life of inaction so rapidly produces in their sovereigns the amount of corpulence which in Oriental ideas is essential to the kingly dignity ?

That Login had the faculty of gaining the hearts of his subordinates, is proved by the devotion shown by his servants to himself and his family, and the length

of years they remained in his service, following his fortunes often into strange and distant lands.

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The faithful Khalipha Ali Bux, who had been with him at Herát and Cabul, was now made Derogah of the Gharīb-khana. He took up his abode there with his *two* wives, and was indefatigable in his duties. Fatimah, the fair Heráti, was a great favourite with everybody. Khalipha used to compare himself to Jacob, with whose history he was quite familiar, and would say, with a twinkle in his eye, that whenever he saw signs of a little domestic "breeze" getting up, he threatened to send for the Doctor Sahib, and that was enough!

Hinghan Khan, the Heráti boy, had accompanied his master to India. He was a light weight, and being like most of his countrymen a splendid rider, often rode postillion with Mrs. Login's pretty phaeton, drawn by a pair of Cabulis. These animals had a most inveterate love of fighting, in which they frequently indulged, even when in harness. To cure them of this habit, an extra rein was fastened to the "off" pony, tying his head away from his fellow; but this did not prevent the "near" horse, when his rider was off his guard, making a snatch at his companion across the pole—and then the fight began. At it they went, "tooth and hoof," to the terror of the bystanders, whether at the bandstand of an evening, or on the road!

Mrs. Login became so used to it, that she would sit

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patiently till the combatants were either separated or tired out, helping Hinghan by pulling the rein that held back the "off" pony, in order to stop the fight, and save his leg from being crushed against the pole. When herself driving these animals, she was obliged to have both of them kept apart by reins. Strange that this quarrelsome disposition only showed itself after they came to India; at Herat and Cabul they lived together in one stall, and were most affectionate.

Poor Hinghan was devotedly attached to his master's children, and his gallantry and presence of mind helped on one occasion to save them from an awful peril.

The Kings of Oude used to delight in elephant fights at their entertainments, and for this purpose a certain number of male elephants were kept in a place apart from others, where they were trained and made *must* (mad or ferocious) to prepare them for these fights.

One morning, very early, the boy Hinghan Khan was out exercising his master's horse, Kamrán. On passing this place he found a terrific battle going on, between the *mahout** and a large elephant who was to fight next day at the Palace entertainment.

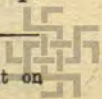
Hinghan only remained long enough to see the poor *mahout* thrown down and trampled to death, while the elephant rushed out, quite mad, straight through the city. Suddenly it flashed on him, that the two babies

* Elephant-driver.

of the Doctor Sahib had started for their early morning airing with the *ayah* on their elephant, and would be now on their way home, right in the track of this infuriated beast, whose trumpetting was rousing the whole city! Instead of turning home, therefore, the boy gave the rein to the Turcoman he was riding, and flew like the wind to give the alarm to the children's attendants. He met them returning about a mile and a half away, their elephant already excited by the distant roaring of the mad one, and refusing to proceed. Instead of obeying the *mahout's* goad, it stood still, quivering with rage, and trumpetting loudly, eager for the fray—for it was a large and powerful animal, noted in the *shikar* after tigers for its courage and speed,* and could hardly be induced to turn its back on the prospect of a fight. When, therefore, Hinghan appeared shouting "*Hathee! hathee! must! must!*" (Elephant! mad elephant!), and waved to the *mahout* to leave the road and strike into a by-way, it was with the greatest difficulty that the man endeavoured to follow his directions. When at length he succeeded, the *must* elephant was almost upon them, and then ensued a terrible race for life!!

It requires practice to accommodate oneself to the pace of an elephant, even when the animal is only walking, and what the motion is like when at a gallop,

* It was afterwards nearly blinded by a tiger in the Terai, when out on *shikar*.



Chapter IV. 1842-48. or in a race, is past description ! Suffice it to say, that the *mahout* managed to outstrip the mad brute, whose terrific roaring seemed to strike terror into all other animals. Hinghan Khan created a diversion in every way, he could, to distract the *must* elephant's attention, and would have succeeded better had not his poor Turcoman been wild with terror and unmanageable.

Throughout this mad gallop the *ayah*, though distracted with fright, yet bravely seated herself in the bottom of the *howdah*, clasping the two children with one hand, while she held on with the other. The children, fortunately, were too young to understand their danger, and were only indignant at the rude treatment and knocking about their "dear *ayah*" had sustained in trying to save them.

That Login's coolness and determination approached stoicism when his own sufferings were in question, was sometimes rather curiously illustrated.

He had been badly bitten by a horse in the hand; the brute having seized the whole thumb in his teeth, had regularly crunched the bone. Nothing would make him let go; and he kept throwing up his head out of reach, so that Login was unable to free himself. Fortunately, Mrs. Login, who was with him, had the presence of mind to pass her hand into the horse's mouth, behind the teeth, and seizing the animal's tongue, to give it a violent twist, at the same time

startling him with a blow on the nose. This manœuvre Chapter IV. 1842-48. was successful in making him leave go of his victim ; but the injury was already so severe, and in such a dangerous position, that it was feared *tetanus* must supervene. In view of this, Dr. Login himself made all the preparations for the amputation of his thumb ; as it was his right hand that was wounded he could not perform the operation himself, and there was no other surgeon to be had. He therefore sent for his European apothecary, and gave him the most minute instructions how to proceed, and arranged that he himself would do all to assist him, short of using the actual knife. Mercifully the amputation was not found to be necessary.

General Claude Martine's* noble legacy to the City of Lucknow, the Martinière College, was inaugurated at this time, and Login was the most active member of the Board of Management.

As Honorary Secretary he drew up all the rules of

* Claude Martine, the Founder, was a Frenchman, a true soldier of fortune ; he amassed great wealth while in the service of successive Kings of Oude, and at his death he left it in equal portions between the cities of his birth and adoption, Lyons and Lucknow. His splendid house, or rather palace, named Constantia, which he had built near Lucknow, he specially endowed to be a college called by his name La Martinière. Knowing that there was a risk that his master, the King, might choose Constantia as a royal residence when he died, he took the precaution to direct in his will that his body should be placed in a mausoleum underneath the house, with access through it, so as to be actually in the building, thus defiling it for Mahomedans. His tomb was one of the sights of Lucknow, being quite French or Napoleonic, figures large as life dressed in full uniform guarding the coffin, and a light always burning.

Chapter the College, and had the satisfaction of setting it
IV. afloat under its first Principal, Mr. Clint—a very
1842-48. learned man sent out from England. He was succeeded,
on his retirement after a short period, by Dr. Sprenger,
a much more practical man for a new college on its
trial. After Dr. Sprenger's appointment, Login had
the opportunity he had longed for of securing another
dispensary for the poor of Lucknow.

To effect this purpose he generously offered to give
up his allowance of 100 rupees per mensem for medical
duties at the College, in order that a well-qualified
sub-assistant surgeon (native) might be entertained,
who could perform the duties of a dispensary as well.
At the same time he offered gratuitously his own
assistance and advice to the person appointed. In
proposing this he had in view the suggestion which he
had submitted to the Secretary to Government two
years before, and which was approved of, to endeavour
to attach a medical class to the College as soon as it
was fairly established, as it would be a great benefit if
some of the students could have the opportunity of
being trained in the medical profession.

On Henry Lawrence being appointed to the post of
Resident at Nepal, he came with his wife and little
boy Alick (Tim) to pay the Logins a visit on his way
to Khatmandoo. Lawrence's energetic character found
a ready response in Login, and the two friends were
perfectly happy during this visit in conceiving and

carrying out all sorts of schemes for improving the condition of the natives, and for stirring up the indolent nobles and opulent merchants to a sense of their responsibility to their poorer brethren.*

Lawrence at that time was writing articles for the *Calcutta Review*, of which Kaye was editor, and he urged Login to do the same. Observing that the idea of improving the means of carriage for our wounded soldiers in the field was exercising his mind, he got him to write several articles on that subject.†

All Lawrence's staff of servants were hired in Lucknow for the new appointment at Khatmandoo, and when he took up his abode there the intercourse between the two friends did not slacken.

Henry Lawrence's faith in Login's powers as a Postmaster was very great, and they were indefatigable in stirring up their respective native Courts, of Oude and Khatmandoo, to facilitate traffic by post and *dâk*.

* Could those two friends have foreseen, as they sat together over their *chota hazere* in the verandah, in the delicious cold weather mornings, after their early ride, that on a day not far distant Henry Lawrence would be carried, amid a very hail of bullets, wounded unto death, from the Residency hard by, to die on this very spot!

† Login had seen, when on active service, so much of the suffering experienced, and borne so patiently, by the sick and wounded, in the wretched *doolies* in use, that he employed his inventive powers (which were great) in perfecting a litter which would be comfortable in-itself and easily carried by bearers, or on the backs of elephants, camels, bullocks, or ponies. It was named "Blessière," and was found so pleasant as a conveyance that it was often used by invalid travellers going *dâk*, in preference to palanquin or *doolie*, as it allowed of change of posture.

Chapter
IV.
1842-48.

The Lucknow post-office became famous for its speed and punctuality, and Login received a special letter of thanks from Government, to whom he was recommended by Thomason, Lieut.-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, for a special gratuity on this account; but there was some rule which prevented this being granted, though the recommendation was recorded.

Some letters of Henry Lawrence's may prove interesting :—

NEPAL, Jan. 20th, 1844.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

I have just written to Thomason about post-office matters. I have asked him if the report is true that I hear, that he is to appoint a young civilian to the Postmaster-Generalship?

I said he ought in justice to the country to give the post to the best man in the department, one able to do the duty and willing to do it, and who would *stick* to the berth. I have told him there should be three grades—500, 300, and 200 rupees, and raise men of acknowledged zeal and ability, that the natives would then trust their valuable letters to us, which they don't do at present, and the post-office funds would soon pay the increased salaries.

Thomason is a queer fellow, and dislikes interference. If, therefore, he values my opinion at all he will take it best in the shape I have given it, and I heartily hope soon to see *you* in office as Postmaster-General of the North-West Provinces, for I earnestly believe you would do it full justice, and would expedite the *dāks* in a manner the slow coaches little think of. You would also make the *dāk* as valuable to the natives as it is to ourselves.

I have given Thomason numerous instances of how native letters are neglected. . . . Our love to you both.

Yours,

H. M. L.

Chapter
IV.
1842-48.

NEPAL, Dec. 19th, 1844.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

I hear from many quarters that there is every prospect of your being our new Postmaster-General.

I thought Thomason could not be so foolish as to put in a young civilian, for then it would only be temporary.

You will make a first-rate head of the department and work up the men under you into something like your own energy and capability.

Alick has been very ill again. Oh ! I wish we had your brother the medico here ; I would have every confidence in *him*. The little fellow is so pulled down, and my wife is so sadly weak, that I feel very anxious. The Lucknow *ayah* is a great comfort. I hope you are busy with your " Beggar " article. Follow your own bent, and I doubt not that it will take immensely, and be very acceptable to the *Review*. Please have it ready by the end of February at latest, and any information you can give as to relief societies, and the effects of the great famine, will be very interesting.

Our Prince here has put down his papa, and has been giving me a lot of trouble. Last week they murdered (*killed, they call it*) sixteen of the opposition party, and all hands have now called the boy to the throne. Do give me a slight biographical sketch of Hakim Mhendi and Agameer, and the Treasurer, or Dewan—I forget his name—stating who and what each of them were.

Yours sincerely,

H. M. L.



NEPAL, *Feb. 11th*, 1845.

Chapter MY DEAR LOGIN,

IV.
1842-48.

My wife has been very ill, so ill that for a week I feared for her life. To-day she is better, and I hope out of danger, but terribly reduced.

I am sorry to hear that your dear wife has been so ill. I regret much that you did not make up your minds earlier to spend your hot season with us here; it is now, of course, too late for a delicate lady to travel through the Terai, but your brother Tom might still come if you and he like the idea, and you think it is for his good to do so. I shall be right pleased to have him. Write by return, and start him off without delay, so as to reach Segowlee by the 7th or 8th of March.

He must travel *dāk*, of course, and the less he brings with him the better, beyond his clothes. It is not safe to pass through the Terai after the 15th March. I repeat my offer to give him 100 rupees per mensem, and a *moonshee* to teach him the languages, on condition that he gives me (in my own room) his time for two hours a day to write letters for me. I have books of every kind, and will be glad to assist his studies in any way. My invitation is for the whole year for certain. After that we'll launch him, and if he is *your* brother he'll find his own legs!

If he agrees, give him a copy of what I have written, that there may be no mistake between us. I limit the time to a year, because I never feel sure that I will care to remain here longer than this year.

I have heard from Thomason; he does not like my saying that his post-office arrangements are not so good as they might be. Good as he is, he has crotchets, and not a few.

He says he finds it very difficult to do always as he would like.

My dear wife will gladly undertake the office of godmother to the last arrival (remember our compact, that the next boy is to be *my* godson).

When your wife's letter reached Honoria, she was so ill that I Chapter
 feared much you would have need to apply elsewhere. Her illness IV.
 seems very strange ; certainly Dr. C—— does not understand it. 1842-48.
 I called in Prince Waldemar's * doctor, and he was so far useful
 in supporting C——.

Yours,

H. M. L.

NEPAL, Aug. 9th, 1845.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

I am glad to hear you are all flourishing. . . . I was
 pleased that you approved of the Oude article in the *Calcutta*
Review. If I had known I would have been kept so long
 before printing, I would have sent the manuscript to you for
 revision, to be sure that I had grasped your meaning always ; as
 it is, there are some absurd misprints. You are mysterious in
 what you say about Shakespear's movements. I have no wish to
 get Lucknow unless I were allowed full swing to carry out my
 schemes for the amelioration of the people ; in that case I would
 undoubtedly accept, and as a matter of conscience consent to
 sacrifice my own comfort for the good of the country ; but if I
 were employed in Oude I should certainly stipulate to have the
 benefit of your services. Don't you think we could make some-
 thing of that fine country between us ? I certainly would not
 have men with me who are idle lie-a-beds like ——.

I hope your young brother likes his work. I hear from Thoma-
 son that he finds him well " worth his salt " on the Ganges
 Canal. I am very glad, although you would not accept my offer
 to help him.

How I wish we had your brother James here as doctor, and
 also for companionship, for my rides are very lonely—only fancy

* Prussian Prince then travelling in India.



Chapter IV. 1842-48. — never once has ridden with me since he came, though often asked! I fancy he and his wife dislike us, at least it looks like it. They are respectable people according to the fashion of the world's respectability, but their hearts are "gizzards." He has only three ideas in his head—there is no such thing as poverty in England—the English Church is purity and propriety personified, and—"Antigua." We have never any disagreement, simply we don't *milao* (assimilate); but, my dear old Login, I know you hate scandal, and I never meant to write any when I began. We don't like to see Tim grow so weedy and nervous; I don't want him to be girlish, but he has lost all courage of late. My wife begs I will give you the enclosed description of his state. Will you think it all over, and give us directions or prescriptions as you think best? My wife has such faith in you that if you take him in hand she will be at rest.

Yours,

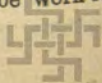
H. M. L.

When Lawrence was sent from Nepal to Lahore to be Resident, he still kept up a friendly correspondence. Here is a letter written when preparing to go home on leave to recruit his health, sadly broken down, leaving the Punjab, as he and Lord Hardinge believed, tranquil, if not quite settled down:—

LAHORE, Nov. 5th, 1847.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

Many thanks for your kind *chit* just received. I answer in a way at once, lest it get laid aside in the bustle. I want you to tell Tom to qualify as a surveyor, for there will be work for him hereafter in the Punjab:



I don't think it would do for Lord Hardinge to do anything just as he is leaving; but I think that his successor should do much what you propose, and I agree with you that John is the best man they could get to carry out the arrangement, and I shall tell the Court of Directors so when I get home. Chapter IV.
1842-48.

I leave Lahore on the 1st December, and go down to Calcutta. I am better, but very seedy and rickety, and want a thorough setting-up. I'll keep your secret, and advise you to write a great deal more of same sort for the *Delhi Gazette*. I thought the article *very good* and very like *you*—certainly not written by Delhi folks. The paper wants a little help; a little would enable it to floor that scoundrel at Meerut. I trust that Mrs. Login's health holds out. My kindest regards to her and you.

Yours,

H. LAWRENCE.

Previous to this Lawrence had succeeded in getting Login's brother, James Dryburgh, appointed to be Residency-Surgeon at Nepal, where he remained after Lawrence was appointed to the Punjab frontier on the breaking out of the war. The young surgeon's influence over the Minister, Jung Bahadoor, was remarkable. He inspired him with a great desire to go to England to judge for himself what sort of people they were who ruled India.

Jung Bahadoor applied for permission to Government, that Dr. James D. Login should be permitted to accompany him to England and to visit the Continent of Europe.

The permission was granted; but before the informa-

Chapter IV.
1842-48. tion reached James Login he was dead, having been attacked by cholera at Dinapore, and carried off after a few hours' illness. It was brought on by exposure to a fierce sun on the river, working and superintending the fitting-up of a boat to carry a patient, the wife of a friend, to Calcutta on her way to England.

It is satisfactory to know that although he was not permitted himself to carry out his desire to open Jung Bahadoor's eyes to the power and greatness of England, yet that the visit was productive of great results, and that it was the cause of making a friend of that astute and wily native, whose friendship proved so useful in the Mutiny.

It was expected that when Dr. Login's promotion to the grade of full surgeon took place that he also (like Dr. Stevenson, his predecessor) would be permitted to remain in the appointment of Residency-Surgeon until there was a vacancy for him as Postmaster-General. No doubt this would have been the case had either of his former chiefs, Low, Nott, Pollock, or Davidson, been the Resident, for they would have applied for him. Login himself, on principle, always acting on the belief that the Government knew best who was the fittest man for a particular office, had made it a rule never to *ask* for anything. It happened however, that the Resident and his first Assistant had taken offence at Dr. Login, because on public grounds he (as a member of the Council of Management and Secretary) opposed their wish to appoint a very unfit man

as the Sub-Assistant Surgeon in charge of the Martinière Dispensary. Colonel Richmond took the extraordinary step, as soon as he saw Login's promotion in the *Gazette*, of appointing another Assistant-Surgeon till his successor was gazetted, and ordered the native Sub-Assistant Surgeon to take charge at once of the King's hospitals, thus virtually ousting Dr. Login.

Chapter
IV.
1842-48.

This appointment, when sent up to the authorities for confirmation, brought down a severe rebuke on the Resident, who was told by the Governor-General that the appointment was a most improper one; he had, therefore, himself to pay to his nominees the allowances he tried to deduct from Dr. Login.

Login had arranged to send home his wife and children when he became full surgeon. And had it not been for the disturbed state of the Punjab at the time, he would have taken furlough and gone home with them; as it was, he applied to be sent on active service with the army then assembling.

He was again appointed to the charge of the Horse Artillery, and joined the 6th Battalion at Deenagur, under Brigadier Wheeler, in the autumn of 1848.



CHAPTER V.

THE SIKHS.

Chapter V. THE Punjab, or Land of the "Five Rivers,"* was first known to Western nations as the kingdom of Porus. The Greeks under Alexander, who defeated that monarch, gave to the country he ruled over the name of "India." This name later ages extended to those vast territories which lie betwixt the Indus and the Irrawaddy, and stretch from Cape Comorin to the farthest Himalayas.

The Punjab itself is about the size of the present kingdom of Prussia (including Hanover and Schleswig-Holstein), though its population is not quite so dense as that of northern Germany.† It enjoys every variety of climate, from the drifting snows of Ladakh to the dust-storms of Mooltan.‡ The products of the

* From *panch*, "five;" *āb*, "water."

† The total population of the Punjab, including the Native States, was, in 1881, 22,712,120. Exclusive of the Native States, it is 18,850,437. The population of Prussia is about 27,000,000.

‡ Cunningham's "*History of the Sikhs*," p. 2.



soil are equally varied, and though it is not so marvellously fertile as parts of Bengal and the basin of the Ganges, even, in the days of Runjeet Singh the revenues were estimated at two and a half millions sterling, while under British rule they have nearly doubled!* The wealth of the country, however, is largely owing to its trade in shawls, carpets, and silk goods (the shawls of Cashmere and carpets of Mooltan being almost equally famous), and to its export of salt—the salt-mines of the Jhelum district forming a valuable source of revenue to the British Government. The inhabitants are of many races, the most numerous in the central plain, about the cities of Lahore and Amritsur, being the Jats—a tribe of Central Asian origin—and it was amongst these people that the Sikh theism had its birth.

It must not be forgotten that the Sikhs in origin were a *religious body*, and not a *race*. They were banded together, not by the ties of kindred or common ancestry, but by the ardour and religious zeal of one earnest soul searching for Divine truth, who formed them into a brotherhood of enthusiastic disciples, sworn to carry on his mission to succeeding generations, and bring all who would accept their teaching, of whatever tribe, language, or religion, from the darkness of idolatry and debased superstition,

* Gross receipts for the year ending March 31st, 1884—£4,810,825.

Chapter V. which disgraced all the creeds of India, to the simple worship of the one Supreme Deity. Unlike the followers of Mahomed, the Sikhs made no converts by the sword.

1469. Nānuk, the founder of the Sikh religion, was born in the year 1469. The *Adi Grunt'h*, or sacred book of the Sikhs, which contains his writings, shows that the doctrines he taught breathe a high spirituality and truly exalted moral character. Here and there, indeed, they bear a strange and shadowy resemblance to some of the precepts of the Christian faith. Nānuk taught that God was One, Eternal, Incomprehensible, the Creator of all; that *all* creeds were to be tolerated, and *all* founders of religious systems honoured as teachers sent to reveal some portion of Divine truth; but they were on no account to be regarded as deities themselves. The Hindoo religion and that of Mahomed is thus placed on equal terms.

1695. Nānuk was succeeded by nine Gūrûs or teachers, whereof Govind* was the tenth and last. Govind proclaimed the foundation of the Khālsa† or sacred commonwealth of the Sikhs. Caste was to be done away, and all Sikhs were equally to receive the *pahul*,

* Govind assumed the Gūrûship in 1695.

† The word *Khālsa* signifies "pure, special, free." According to the teaching of Govind, every Sikh, as such, was equally a member of the Khālsa, which was regarded as the depository of Divine authority upon earth, and in whose collective body God Himself was held to be mystically present.

or initiatory rite;* the locks of the faithful were to remain unshorn, and they were told to assume the surname of "Singh" (lion). Chapter V. 1695.

Govind also formed the Sikhs into a military and political organization, and when he died, in 1708, told his followers that the mission of the appointed "Ten" was fulfilled; and henceforth the Gûrûship was absorbed in the general body of the Khâlâsa. 1708.

Politically the Sikhs were divided into a number of separate "Misls" or confederacies, each headed by a Sirdar or chief. These associations are peculiarly Sikh institutions, and the name being derived from an Arabic word signifying "alike or equal," implies that they were associations of *equals*, under chiefs of their own selection. The Sirdar's portion being first divided off, the remainder of the lands and property acquired by these bands of freebooters was parcelled out among his followers—whether relatives, friends, volunteers, or hired retainers—who had followed his banner in the field, and who each took his part as co-sharer, and held it in absolute independence.†

* The essentials for this were: 1st. The presence of five Sikhs (disciples). "Where five Sikhs are assembled," says Govind, "there is the Khâlâsa." 2nd. Some sugar and water stirred together in a vessel with a two-edged dagger or other iron weapon. The candidate repeats the articles of his faith, a portion of the water is sprinkled over him, and he drinks the remainder with the exclamation, "Hail Gûrû!" See Cunningham, *Note*, p. 76.

† Prinsep's "*History of the Sikhs*," p. 28. The principal Misls were twelve in number, viz:—1. Bhungee. 2. Kuncia or Ghunneya. 3. Sooker-Chukea. 4. Ramgurhea. 5. Phoolkea. 6. Nukeia. 7. Aloowalea. 8. Duleeala. 9. Nishanwalea. 10. Krorea Singhea. 11. Shudeed and Nihung. 12. Fyzoolapoorea or Singhpoorea.

Chapter
V.
1762.

It is in the year 1762 that the name of Churrut Singh, Chief of the Sooker-Chukea Misl, first rises into notice, he having then established a stronghold in his wife's village of Goojranwallah, famous in after years as the birth-place of his grandson, the renowned Runjeet Singh.

1774.

When, in 1774, Churrut Singh was killed by the bursting of his own matchlock, and was succeeded in his chieftainship by his son, Maha Singh, the revenues of his Misl were estimated at three lakhs of rupees (£30,000).*

Maha Singh overthrew and slew Jai Singh, the chief of the Kuneia Misl, who had become the most powerful amongst the Sikh Sirdars, and married the infant grand-daughter of Jai Singh to his only son Runjeet Singh. That youth, therefore, on his father's death, in

1792.

1792, found himself, at the early age of twelve years, paramount chief of the Sikh nation.

1799.

In the year 1799, in return for services rendered to the Afghan Shah Zuman, Runjeet Singh received a royal investiture of the city of Lahore. Thus was the first step gained towards the establishing of kingly power in the Punjab, though it was not until ten years later, that his predominance over the other Sirdars was firmly fixed, and a formal treaty entered into with the British (April 25th, 1809), in which he was acknowledged as ruler of all the Sikhs (except those of Malwa

* Prinsep, p. 39.



and Sirhind, south of the Sutlej, which were under British protection), and whereby perpetual friendship was secured between the British Government and the State of Lahore—an engagement faithfully kept throughout his life by the Maharajah.

Runjeet Singh left at his death (June 27th, 1839) six sons, of whom *four* were legitimate, or “acknowledged,” viz., (1) Khurruck Singh, born 1802; (2) Shere Singh, born 1807; (3) Tara Singh, said to be twin-brother of Shere Singh; (4) Duleep Singh, born September 4th, 1831.

There were also two illegitimate, or “adopted,” sons, viz., Cashmera Singh, born 1819; and Peshawura Singh, born 1823.

Of the “legitimate” sons, born of his wives, only two, however, Khurruck Singh and Duleep Singh, were fully acknowledged as such by the Maharajah; Shere Singh and Tara Singh having always been supposed by him, and generally believed, to have been substituted for a daughter by his first, or principal, wife, Mehtab Kōūr, daughter of Goorbuksh Singh, and heiress of the Kuneia chieftainship. To neither of them did the Maharajah ever show any parental affection.* Shere Singh was commonly reported to be the son of a carpenter, and Tara Singh that of a weaver.

* *Memorandum drawn up for Her Majesty by Sir John Login.* See also Cunningham, p. 186.

Chapter
V.
1839.

Runjeet Singh was succeeded by his eldest son, Khurruck Singh, whose reign lasted barely five and a half months. Khurruck Singh was of weak intellect, and the government rested entirely in the hands of his son, Nao-Nehal Singh. This Prince conspired with the famous three "Jummoo Brothers" * to murder one Cheit Singh, the favourite of the Maharajah, his father. The crime was perpetrated at daybreak on the 8th October, 1839, within a few paces of the terrified monarch, who himself died soon after (November 5th), prematurely old and careworn.

That same day retribution overtook Nao-Nehal Singh, for, as he was returning from the performance of the last rites at the funeral pyre of his father, the masonry of a gateway under which he was passing gave way, and he, together with the eldest son of Golâb Singh, who was at his side, was crushed under the ruins. The Jummoo Rajahs were, of course, suspected of causing his death, and it is possible that self-preservation may have been their motive, as they well knew that Nao-Nehal Singh had determined on their destruction.

For some time the government was assumed by Chund Koür, the widow of Khurruck Singh; but on

* Rajahs Golâb Singh (made afterwards Maharajah of Cashmere by the English), Dhyân Singh, and Suchet Singh, three brothers, who were powerful favourites of Runjeet Singh.

† See Cunningham, p. 244; also Smyth's "*Reigning Family of Lahore*," Steinbach. Henry Lawrence's "*Adventurer in the Punjab*," &c.



Ever affectionately
Dhruv Singh

the 18th January, 1841, through the influence of the Jummoo Rajahs and the army, Shere Singh, the reputed son of Runjeet Singh, was proclaimed Maharajah. Chapter V. 1841.

In 1843, Rajah Dhyan Singh, who was Wuzeer, finding that his influence with the Maharajah was on the wane, conspired with two Sirdars of the Sindhanwallah family,* named Ajeet Singh and Lena Singh, to murder both Shere Singh and his eldest son, Pertâb Singh, a boy of thirteen or fourteen years. Dhyan Singh, however, gained little by his treachery, for he was murdered by his accomplices within an hour or two of his master. His death was avenged by his son, the youthful Heera Singh, who made an appeal to the army; and Ajeet Singh and Lena Singh were slain in their turn.† 1843.

Duleep Singh was then proclaimed Maharajah (September 18th, 1843), and Heera Singh raised to the "high and fatal office" of Wuzeer.‡

Duleep Singh was born in the palace at Lahore on the 4th September, 1838, about three months before the interview at Ferozepore between Lord Auckland and the ruler of the Sikhs, which preceded the advance of the army of the Indus to Afghanistan. He was at

* Descendants of Nodha, an ancestor of Runjeet Singh.

† Smyth's "*Reigning Family of Lahore*," p. 76.

‡ Cunningham, p. 271. Shere Singh had left a son (Sheo Deo Singh), then an infant of four months, and also three adopted sons.—*Memo. by Sir J. Logan.*

Chapter
V.
1843.

once acknowledged by the Maharajah Runjeet Singh as his son, and much attention and kindness was shown to his mother, the Ranee Jinda, or Chunda. After the death of the "Great Maharajah," which occurred when the child was about ten months old, and during the reigns of Khurruck Singh and Shere Singh, the young prince continued to reside in the palace under his mother's care, receiving but little notice from either of his elder brothers, the reigning princes, or their ministers.

Since the death of Runjeet Singh and the dissolution of the Misl, the army had been the real power in the State. Claiming to represent the Khâlsa itself, it took upon it to discuss all national and important matters, and to have the selection of the occupant of the *guddee* (throne). It maintained a rigid internal discipline in itself, as far as drill and military duties were concerned; but its relation to the Executive Government was determined by a council or assemblage of committees, composed of delegates from each battalion or regiment. These committees were termed "Punchayets," from the word *panch* (five), the mystic number of the Khâlsa, and the system is a common one throughout Hindostan, where every section of a tribe or district has its *punchayet*, or village parliament.

The Maharanee Jinda was made Regent for her son. She was a woman of great capacity and strong will, who had considerable influence with the Punchayets, being a skilful intriguer and endowed with undoubted

courage, though her moral character left much to be desired. Chapter V. 1843.

Dissensions soon broke out among the Jummoo family. Suchet Singh, the youngest of the three "Jummoo Brothers," was mortified at the ascendancy of his nephew, Heera Singh, and determined to supplant him. He broke at length into open rebellion, but was overthrown, and died, fighting to the last. Suchet Singh left no heirs, and his immense estates and wealth were the cause of much dispute later on. He had buried about one and a half million rupees' worth of treasure at Ferozepore on British territory, and this the Lahore Government claimed, both as escheated property of a feudatory without male heirs, and as the confiscated property of a rebel in arms, while the British Government contended that the claim must be pleaded and proved in a British court of justice.*

Rajah Golâb Singh had supported his nephew Heera Singh. He was the eldest and most crafty of the "Jummoo Brothers"; his wealth and territories were enormous, and this overgrown vassal was a source of serious embarrassment to the central power. He was, however, reduced to submission by the army, and obliged to pay a fine of three and a half million rupees (£350,000), which was afterwards increased to six and three-quarter millions (£675,000).

* Cunningham, p. 278.



Chapter
V.
1845.

Jowahir Singh, the brother of the Maharanee, was now ambitious of power. He conspired against Heera Singh, caused him to be put to death, and himself became Wuzeer in his place; but falling under the displeasure of the Panchayets, was himself publicly shot by their order, in the presence of his sister and his nephew, the little Maharajah.

In the December of the same year (1845), the Sikh army crossed the Sutlej, and there followed what is known as the First Sikh War.

On the news reaching the capital, of the annihilation of his army at Sobraon, the young Maharajah set out for Kussoor, to offer his submission to the Governor-General, Sir Henry Hardinge.* Some days later, at another durbar held at Lahore, Sir Henry asked to be allowed to see the famed Koh-i-noor. It was produced for his inspection, and afterwards passed round to the other Europeans present. Colonel Balcarres Ramsay thus describes the incident :—

I arrived at the camp at Lahore, just as the Governor-General was going out with his *cortège* to meet the young Maharajah and receive his submission. There was a grand durbar afterwards, and when the Koh-i-noor was handed round for our inspection, Mr. Edwards, the Under-Secretary to Government in the Foreign Department, was put in charge of it. He was evidently extremely nervous, and carried it round himself from one staff officer to another. Just as he placed it in my hands, Sir Henry Hardinge

* Afterwards created Viscount Hardinge.

sent for him; I naturally passed it on to the next officer, but when Edwards hurried back and demanded the precious jewel, I never shall forget the agony depicted on his face, as he rushed down the ranks of staff officers, frantically demanding it! *

Chapter
V.
1845.

Sir Henry then, with a pleasant smile, fastened it himself on the arm of the little King, afterwards patting him on the back in a kindly manner.†

On the 20th February, 1846, the British troops entered Lahore, and the whole Punjab lay at their feet.‡ It was theirs by force of arms and the fortune of war, yet Sir Henry Hardinge had no thought of annexation. He contented himself with annexing the Jullundur Doab, or country between the Sutlej and the Beas, and demanding an indemnity from the Lahore State of a crore and a half of rupees (one and a half million sterling). This sum the Lahore Treasury was unable to produce, and the Governor-General took Cashmere and the Hill States, from the Beas to the Indus, in lieu of two-thirds of the indemnity, and transferred this territory to Rajah Golâb Singh, as a separate sovereign, for a sum of one million sterling. As, however, it was found advisable to retain

* "Life of Lord Lawrence," vol. i., p. 191.

† "Maharajah Duleep Singh and the Government," p. 71. See also "Life of Sir Herbert Edwardes," vol. i., p. 44.

‡ The war had cost the victors dearly in men and officers. Among fifty-six of the latter, who fell in the bloody fight of Ferozepore, was the noble-hearted D'Arcy Todd, Login's late chief at Herât, to whom he was attached by the closest bonds of intimacy and affection.

Chapter V. 1846. a portion of this territory in the hands of the East-India Company, this latter sum was reduced by one-fourth, and the liquidation was rendered still more easy to the Jummoo Prince, by considering him as heir to the money buried by his brother, Suchet Singh, at Ferozepore, and which was already in the possession of the East India Company.

When it is considered, says Cunningham,* that Golâb Singh had agreed to pay sixty-eight lakhs of rupees, as fine to his paramount (and had never done so) it appears that he ought to have paid the deficient million of money into the Lahore Treasury, as a Lahore subject, instead of being put in possession of Lahore provinces as an independent prince. His rise to sovereign power excited the ambition of others, and Tej Singh offered twenty-five lakhs of rupees, for a princely crown and another dismembered province.†

Later on (March 11th), an additional clause was added to the Treaty, to the effect that a British force should remain at Lahore till the close of the year, to protect the Maharajah and his Government while the reorganization of the Khâlsa army was in progress, but as the time approached when this force would be withdrawn, the uneasiness of the *durbar*, or council of ministers, prompted them to ask the Governor-General to continue to assist them in the administration of

* "*History of the Sikhs*," pp. 331-33. See also *ante*, p. 107.

† His offer, however, was rejected.



affairs, during the minority of the Maharajah, and the Treaty of Bhyrowal (December 16th, 1846) was the outcome of this request.*

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By this new Treaty, the Punjab was placed "under the dictatorship of a British Resident, who was to have full control over every department of the State. It provided for the continuance of a British force at Lahore until the Maharajah Duleep Singh should attain the full age of sixteen, which would happen on the 4th September, 1854. The sum of twenty-two lakhs annually was to be paid by the Lahore State for the expenses of the occupation. The administration of the affairs of the country was to be continued, under the direction of the Resident, by a Council of Regency. . . . The Ranee was to be provided with a fitting maintenance, but was by this new arrangement to be virtually excluded from any share in the government."†

By the selection of Henry Lawrence to fill the arduous and delicate position of Resident at Lahore, and virtual ruler of the Punjab, Lord Hardinge showed at once his foresight and desire to conciliate the Sikhs.

By the terms of the Treaty, the Resident was vested with supreme and despotic powers, subject only to the instructions of the Governor-General.‡ In a letter dated 3rd July, 1847, Lord Hardinge reminds the Resident that the articles of government "give to the

* See "*Treaty of Bhyrowal*." Appendix.

† Quoted from "*Maharajah Duleep Singh and the Government*," p. 30.

‡ "*Punjab Papers*," 1849, pp. 35, 48, 53.



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1846. Government of India, represented at Lahore by its Resident, full power to direct and control all matters in every department of the State. It is politic," he says, "that the Resident should carry the native Council with him, the members of which are, however, entirely under his control and guidance; he can change them and appoint others; and in military affairs his powers are as unlimited as in the civil administration; he can withdraw Sikh garrisons, replacing them by British troops, in any and every part of the Punjab." * In a subsequent letter Lord Hardinge again urged on Henry Lawrence the advisability of keeping a tight hand on all native officials, and making his own personality felt in every department of the government.† The following extract from another letter of his will show what the real scope of the Treaty was, and that the Resident was to be entirely responsible for the administration of the country :—

October 23rd, 1847.

1847. In all our measures taken during the minority, we must bear in mind that by the Treaty of Lahore, March, 1846, the Punjab never was intended to be an independent State. By the clause, I added, the Chief of the State can neither make war nor peace, nor exchange nor sell an acre of territory, nor admit an European officer, nor refuse us a thoroughfare through his territories, nor, in fact, perform any act (except its own internal administration)

* "*Punjab Papers*," 1849, p. 18.

† Dated October 23rd, 1847.

without our permission. In fact, the native prince is in fetters, and under our protection, and must do our bidding. I advert hastily to this point because, if I have any difference of opinion with you, it consists in your liberality in attempting at too early a period to train the Sikh authorities to walk alone; I wish them to feel and to like our direct interference by the benefits conferred.*

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The Resident thus describes the practical working of the Council of Regency (August 1847):—

On the whole, the durbar gives me as much support as I can reasonably expect; there has been a quiet struggle for mastery, but as, though I am polite to all, I allow nothing that appears to me wrong to pass unnoticed, the members of the Council are gradually falling into the proper train, and refer most questions to me, and, in words at least, allow, more fully even than I wish, that they are only executive officers—to do as they are bid.†

Although the Maharajah was too young to share the councils of those who ruled in his name, he was always present in state at the durbars, and all dignities and honours were conferred by his hand.

It chanced that at a grand durbar held on the 7th August, 1847, it was arranged that distinctions should be given to various Sirdars who had rendered important services. Amongst other dignities, the title of "Rajah" was to be conferred on Tej Singh, Commander-in-Chief

* "*Life of Sir Henry Lawrence, K.C.B.*," vol. ii., p. 100.

† "*Punjab Papers*," 1849, p. 32.



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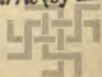
of the Lahore army, betwixt whom and the Maharanee Jinda there reigned a bitter enmity. The latter, therefore, delayed her son's arrival at the durbar for upwards of an hour, though all the Sikh Sirdars and English officers were assembled and waiting. When at length he did appear, the Maharajah refused to put out his hand to mark the forehead of the new Rajah on his investiture, and by Colonel Lawrence's orders the ceremony had to be performed by a Sikh priest.

The scene is thus described in a private letter from Lord Hardinge to Sir Frederick Currie* :—

He resolutely played his part, tucked his little hands behind him, threw himself back in his chair, and one of the priests performed the ceremony. In the evening she (the Maharanee) would not allow the Prince to be dressed to see the fireworks. In short she is breeding him up systematically to thwart the Govt., and the English connection. I am now in *confidential* correspondence with L., and I see no remedy but to remove her from Lahore Sooner or later it must come to this, as he grows older it is our duty as his Guardians to remove him from her evil example.

For this open insult to the Resident and durbar, for which she was known to be responsible, the Maharanee was consequently separated from her son, and removed to Sheikopoor, about twenty-five miles from Lahore (August 19th, 1847).

* Dated August 19th, 1847. *Private Papers of the late Sir F. Currie* (by kind permission of Lady Currie.)



The constant strain of work at the Lahore Residency was too much for Henry Lawrence's health, and he was obliged to return to England on sick leave, in company with his friend Lord Hardinge, whose period of office had just expired, and who was succeeded as Governor-General, by the Earl of Dalhousie, on the 21st of January, 1848.

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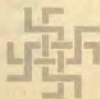
Owing to Henry Lawrence's absence, the post of Resident at Lahore was temporarily filled by Sir Frederick Currie, but as he was not able to assume his duties till March, 1848, the affairs of the Punjab remained, in the interim, in the able hands of Henry Lawrence's younger brother, John.

Sir Henry Lawrence had left the Punjab, as he believed, in a condition of internal peace; and so little anticipation was generally felt of any serious outbreak in that quarter, that Lord Hardinge had assured his successor, on handing over the reins of government, that, so far as he could see, "it would not be necessary to fire a gun in India for seven years to come!"* How speedily was this fair prediction to be falsified, and these bright hopes dashed to the ground!

"The thunder-bolt fell, as it were, out of the blue sky."† Towards the end of April, the Punjab was ringing from end to end with the intelligence of the murder of Vans Agnew and Anderson at Mooltan, and

* "*Life of Lord Lawrence*," by Bosworth Smith, vol. i., p. 245.

† "*India under Victoria*," by Captain Trotter, vol. i., p. 171.



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the revolt of Moolraj, the Dewan and Governor of the province, who had raised once more the standard of the Khalsa, calling on all true Sikhs to join him in freeing their country from the rule of the foreigner.

There is no need to tell over again the story of that revolt. Had the military authorities, either at Lahore or Simla, shown only one tithe of the energy displayed by Lieutenant Herbert Edwardes, who, with a single native infantry regiment, 300 horse, and a couple of horse-artillery guns as a nucleus, set about collecting and raising troops, defeated the Dewan in two pitched battles, and finally confined him within the walls of his own city and fortress of Mooltan, the whole rebellion might have been suppressed as rapidly as it rose, and the necessity for the Second Sikh War have never existed.*

Although by the terms of the Treaty of Bhyrowal (see Articles vii., viii., ix.), a British force was specially provided "for the preservation of the peace of the country," for whose services the Lahore Government were annually to pay the sum of twenty-two lakhs of rupees,† and although Lord Hardinge had specially arranged

* Alone, unsupported, he (Edwardes) achieved a result of which a British army might have been proud. And it is not too much to affirm, that had he been then and there supported by a few British troops and guns, placed under his own orders, he might have taken the fortress, and possibly have nipped the rising in the bud.—Malleon's "*Decisive Battles*," pp. 351, 352.

† If this sum was *not* paid annually into the Calcutta Treasury, the matter was entirely in the hands of the British Resident, who had supreme control over the revenues and finances of the Punjab. See Articles ii. and vi. of the Treaty of Bhyrowal.—Appendix.

for such an emergency, by providing a British movable brigade to be kept always in readiness at Lahore, Sir Frederick Currie hesitated on his own responsibility to order the march of that brigade. Sending instead for the Sikh Sirdars, he told them that they must put down the rebellion and bring the offenders to justice, by their own means, as their only hope of saving their Government. The astonished Sirdars, "after much discussion, declared themselves unable, without British aid, to coerce Dewan Moolraj in Mooltan, and bring the perpetrators of the outrage to justice."*

Some little light is thrown on this seemingly unaccountable action of Sir Frederick Currie, when we recollect that, as Foreign Secretary to the Government of India and as Member of Council, he was doubtless cognizant of many considerations then influencing the new Cabinet at home, but which were unknown to the general public; and we find from a perusal of certain private letters which passed between him and Lord Hardinge,† that, as far back as April, 1847, Currie was aware that matters at home pointed more and more "decidedly to eventual annexation of the Punjab."

Believing, therefore, that any serious revolt among the Sikhs, which should necessitate the employment of British arms to suppress it, would only hasten this

* "*Punjab Papers*," 1849, p. 140.

† *Unpublished Correspondence of Sir Frederick Currie.*



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measure, Currie, in thus sending for the Sirdars, had apparently in his mind, the desire to offer them another chance for the continuance of the native Government, so far as it then existed.

The Sikh Durbar having acknowledged their incapability of coping unaided with the rebellion, Sir Frederick Currie strongly urged on the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief the advisability of the interposition of the British Government, and the immediate despatch of a sufficient force of troops and siege-guns from Ferozepore; but to this Lord Gough would not agree, and the only support given to Edwardes was a force of 5,000 Sikh troops, under Rajah Shere Singh Atareewalah.

Meanwhile, on the 8th May, a plot against the Resident and British officials was discovered at Lahore; in which the Queen-Mother was implicated. Her *vakeel*,* Ganga Ram, was one of the chief conspirators, and, together with one Kanh Singh, late a Colonel of Sikh Artillery, was convicted and hanged.† On the 15th of May the Maharanee was removed from the fort of Sheikopoor by the Resident's orders, and conveyed under escort to Ferozepore on her way to Benares. Here she remained a State prisoner for nearly a year, until removed for greater security to the fortress of Chunar. Not long after her arrival at this last place, however, she, on the 18th of April,

* Ambassador, or accredited agent. † Trotter.

1849, managed to effect her escape in the disguise of a *fakeernee*, and took refuge in Nepal, where she came under the charge of Dr. James Dryburgh Login, who was then Acting-Assistant Resident at Khatmandoo.

The order for the removal of the Maharanee Jinda was signed by three members of the Council of Regency, and by Golâb Singh, on behalf of his absent brother, Rajah Shere Singh Atareewalah. "The venerable Fakeer Noor-ood-deen, personal friend and adviser of the late Maharajah Runjeet Singh, and a person greatly respected by the Sikhs generally,"* personally saw to the order being carried out.

So urgent was Major Edwardes in appealing to Lahore for a few regular regiments, heavy guns, &c., offering with the help of these "to close Moolraj's accounts in a fortnight, and obviate the necessity of assembling 50,000 men in October,"† that Currie, on the 1st July, on his own responsibility, and against the advice of the Commander-in-Chief, ordered the march of the movable brigade under his orders; yet

* "*Punjab Papers*," 1849, p. 169. On her removal to Sheikopoor the Ranee's stipend had been reduced to 48,000 rupees (£4,800); on her banishment to Benares it was made 12,000 rupees (£1,200).

† "*Punjab Papers*," p. 223. I am one of those who believe to this day, and perhaps ever shall, that had that brigade, under a fine soldier like Brigadier Campbell, marched AT ONCE upon Mooltan (say on April 25th) the rebellion would have been nipped in the bud by the escape and surrender of Moolraj. . . . Moolraj did not rebel because the Sikhs were ready to back him up. The Sikhs backed up Moolraj because the British Government did not put him down. . . . The Sikh insurrection was created out of the materials collected to put down the Mooltan rebellion. —Remarks of Sir Herbert Edwardes (see his "*Life*," by Lady Edwardes, 1886, vol. i., p. 145, 147).

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so many delays ensued, owing to want of carriage, and references back and forwards between Simla and Lahore, that it was not until the 24th of the month that the brigade left Lahore under General Whish, and it did not reach Mooltan till the 18th August—the siege-guns only coming into camp on the 4th of the following month.

On the 14th September the siege was raised, owing to the defection of the Durbar troops under Rajah Shere Singh,* and was not resumed until the 26th December, after more than three months and a half of inaction. On the 2nd January 1849 (seven days after the siege was undertaken in earnest), the city was taken by assault; while on the 22nd the citadel was breached, and Moolraj had surrendered unconditionally.

But by this time the Punjab was in a blaze, and Shere Singh defiant at the head of 30,000 men!

This is not the place to tell over again the history of the Second Sikh War, with its surprising blunderings and bloody victories—victories won at the point of the sword, from an heroic foe driven to desperation, the Sikh Khâlsa at bay, and battling for its very existence! Suffice it to say, that on the 18th December Lord Gough crossed the Chenab with his army; that on the 13th January, 1849, with 15,000 men, he

* When Currie consulted the Sirdars, they warned him then that these troops were disaffected, and not to be depended on. — "*Punjab Papers*," p 140.

fought the battle of Chillianwallah, late in the afternoon, with darkness creeping up, and with troops who had been under arms since early day-break.* On the 21st February, having on the previous day been joined by General Whish's force, set free by the fall of Mooltan, Lord Gough retrieved all the previous errors of the campaign, by gaining the crowning victory of Goojerat, driving the Sikh army of 34,000 men, totally routed and in confusion, across the Jhelum. On the 14th March, Shere Singh, Chuttur Singh, and the rest of the Sirdars, gave up their swords, and the last remains of the Khâlsa army—to the number of 16,000 men—flung down their arms at the summons of General Gilbert, on the upland plains of Rawul Pindee.†

Thus ended the Second Sikh War, whose origin and motive we must look for in the ranks of that residue of the Khâlsa army which, contrary to the advice of the Sikh Commander-in-Chief, we retained as the standing army of the Punjab,‡ while at the same time we took from them the authority and influence they had arrogated to themselves in the government of the

* Trotter.

† Malleeson. Trotter, p 221. See also the description of this scene in Mr. Bosworth Smith's "*Life of Lord Lawrence*," vol i., p. 276.

‡ "Rajah Tej Singh said, *two years ago*, and has always adhered to the opinion, that it was less dangerous, and would prove less embarrassing, to disband them all and raise a new army, than to continue a man of them in service."—*Sir F. Currie to Government*, September, 1848.

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country, and reduced the pay and privileges they had been accustomed to fix for themselves at their "own sweet will." Discontented, sullen, and revengeful, they formed a tempting instrument, ready to hand for any turbulent and intriguing spirit, desirous of upsetting the present state of affairs, and involving the Punjab in general confusion for their own advantage.*

On this subject Major Edwardes thus wrote to the Resident† :—

The people of the Punjab repose contentedly under the protection our courts of justice afford them against the great; and our only enemies are the Sikh army whom we spared in 1846.

A proof that the discontent was not universal is seen in the fact that the rebellion spread very slowly. Up to October 4th, no Sirdar had joined Chuttur Singh, "who was in despair at the refusals he had received from the Sikh officers at Peshawur." It was not until October, when Moolraj had been six months in rebellion, that the troops at Bunnoo and Peshawur broke into mutiny. The disaffection was throughout mainly confined to the Sikhs, who were dreading the extinction of the Khâlsa; and "a large proportion of the inhabitants, especially the Mahomedans," as Lord

* June 22nd the Resident wrote :—The Sirdars are true, I believe; the soldiers are all false, I know.—"*Punjab Papers*," p. 220.

† August 27th, 1848. *Unpublished Correspondence of Sir F. Currie.*

Dalhousie says in one of his despatches, "took no part in the hostilities, and had no sympathy with the Khâlsa army." Even among the Sikhs, *who form but one-sixth of the population*, there were thirty-four Sirdars, who with their relatives and dependants took no part in the rebellion. Six out of eight members of the Council of Regency remained loyal, and one of these was Bhaie Nidhan Singh, called in the official despatches "head of the Sikh religion." Sirdar Khan Singh (whom Vans Agnew was to instal as Dewan in Moolraj's place), and Guldeep Singh, the commandant of the escort, openly defied Moolraj, and were put in irons and most cruelly treated; both died in confinement. Several Sirdars and officers of the Durbar did good service throughout the war, on the British side, notably Sheikh Imam-ood-deen and Misr Sahib Dyal, who co-operated with Lord Gough's army, the latter being attached to the Commander-in-Chief's headquarters as "chief officer on the part of the Durbar;"* and the Resident, writing to the Governor-General on the 16th August, assured him that "the conduct of the Durbar, collectively and individually," had been "entirely satisfactory in everything connected with this outbreak, and indeed in all other respects for the last two months."

* "Punjab Papers," p. 444. These Sikh forces are said to have numbered 20,000.—"Maharajah Duleep Singh and the Government."

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Whilst the Second Sikh War was in progress, matters remained in *statu quo* at Lahore, the city being perfectly quiet and unaffected by the disturbances in the northern and western provinces. The Resident continued to exercise supreme authority, assisted by the Durbar (except that one member who had gone into open rebellion), and the little Maharajah remained in profound ignorance that any unusual events which could affect him or his sovereignty were passing in the country without.

He knew only that Golâb Singh, the son of Chuttur Singh, and his own personal companion, was suddenly removed from his attendance and placed in confinement, and that later on, the palace itself was guarded by a British regiment.*

The insurgents were proclaimed as rebels "against the Government of the Maharajah Duleep Singh," and the Resident, on the 18th November, issued a proclamation (approved by the Governor-General), telling "all loyal subjects to the Maharajah" that the British army "has entered the Lahore territories, not as an enemy to the constituted Government, but to restore order and obedience." It is addressed "to the subjects,

* This was in consequence of information received from Mooltan. "Look well," says Major Edwardes, writing on the 29th August to the Resident, "to the person of the Maharajah, for Shum Shere Singh says, Chuttur Singh will try to get him carried off while out riding, or at the Shalamar Gardens, and then ask us to account for fighting against Duleep Singh, with whom we made a Treaty!"—*Unpublished Correspondence of the late Sir F. Currie.*

servants, and dependents of the Lahore State," and all "who have remained faithful in their obedience to the Government of the Maharajah Duleep Singh . . . who are not concerned, directly or indirectly, in the present disturbances, are assured that they have nothing to fear from the coming of the British army."*

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It will serve to give some notion of the contradictory opinions, and confusion of theories, then prevailing in the official world, if we compare this proclamation with a sentence from a despatch of the Secretary to the Government of India, written to the Resident on October 3rd of the same year, *i.e.*, six weeks previously.†

I am desired to intimate to you that the Governor-General in Council considers the State of Lahore to be, to all intents and purposes, directly at war with the British Government, and he expects that those who may be, directly or indirectly, concerned in these proceedings will be treated accordingly by yourself and your officers.

At length, on the 30th of March, 1849, from the camp at Ferozepore, the Governor-General issued the famous manifesto, which announced that the Government of India was now resolved "on the entire subjection of a people whom their own Government has long been unable to control, and whom no punishment can deter from violence, no acts of friendship

* "*Punjab Papers*," pp. 260, 438, 449, 562.

† *Ibid*, p. 374.



Chapter V. 1849. conciliate to peace;" and it then became known that Mr. Henry Elliot, the Secretary to the Government of India, had been despatched to Lahore, where he arrived on the 28th of the month, commissioned by Lord Dalhousie to offer terms to the Council of Regency, on the annexation of the country to the British dominions.

LAST TREATY OF LAHORE.

LAHORE, *March 29th, 1849.*

Terms granted to the Maharajah Duleep Singh Bahadoor, on the part of the Honourable East India Company, by Henry Miers Elliot, Esq., Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, and Lieut.-Colonel Sir Henry Montgomery Lawrence, K.C.B., Resident, in virtue of the power vested in them, by the Right Honourable James, Earl of Dalhousie, Knight of the Most Ancient Order of the Thistle, one of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Governor-General, appointed by the Honourable East India Company, to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies; and accepted, on the part of His Highness the Maharajah, by Rajah Tej Singh, Rajah Deena Nath, Bhaee Nidhan Singh, Fakeer Nooroodeen, Gundur Singh, agent of Sirdar Shere Singh Sindunwallah, and Sirdar Lal Singh, agent and son of Sirdar Uttur Singh Kaleewallah, members of the Council of Regency, invested with full powers and authority on the part of His Highness.

I. His Highness the Maharajah Duleep Singh shall resign for himself, his heirs, and his successors all right, title, and claim to the sovereignty of the Punjab, or to any sovereign power whatever.

II. 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.

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

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

V. His Highness shall be treated with respect and honour. He shall retain the title of Maharajah Duleep Singh Bahadoor, 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.

Granted and accepted at Lahore on the 29th of March, 1849, and ratified by the Right Honourable the Governor-General on the 5th of April, 1849.

(Signed)

DALHOUSIE—MAHARAJAH DULEEP SINGH.

H. M. ELLIOT—RAJAH TEJ SINGH.

H. M. LAWRENCE—RAJAH DEENA NATH.

BHAAE NIDHAN SINGH.*

FAKEER NOOROODEEN.

GUNDUR SINGH

(Agent to SIRDAR SHERE SINGH, Sindunwallah).

SIRDAR LAL SINGH

(Agent and son of SIRDAR UTTUR SINGH, Kaleewallah).

* Head of the Sikh religion.

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Sir Henry Lawrence had by this time returned to his post at Lahore, having hurried out from England in hot haste on receipt of the news of the outbreak at Mooltan. Landing at Bombay in December, he lost no time in joining the camp of the besiegers—was present at the capture of the city of Mooltan, and on the 9th of January took the news of that event to the Governor-General. He then joined Lord Gough's headquarters, witnessed the battle of Chillianwallah, and proceeded on the 18th to take up his duties at the Residency.

It would be affectation to conceal the fact, that Lord Dalhousie's views and Sir Henry Lawrence's did not coincide as regards the policy of annexation, and indeed, the Governor-General's decision was a sore grief to the generous-hearted Resident, and a reversal of many cherished hopes and projects. Speaking in vindication of this dearly-loved friend of his, in after years, Login says :—

Lawrence acted in the best faith for the interests of both Governments; and so far from desiring the annexation of the country, on finding that it could not be avoided, and that all his efforts to uphold the native Government were unavailing, he was only prevented from resigning his high position, and returning to his regiment as a Captain of Artillery, by the earnest entreaty of his friends. He remained at Lahore with the sole object of exerting his influence to conciliate the chiefs and people of the Punjab to our rule.*

* Ferrier's "*Caravan Journey*."—Note by J. S. L., p. 359.

When John Lawrence's counsel was sought as to whether the annexation *determined on* should be carried out *now*, when the people were depressed by recent defeat, or later, when they had been more perfectly subdued, he gave it without hesitation—"No delay! The Khâlsa must not be allowed again to raise its head."

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His advice was taken, and Mr. Henry Elliot was sent to announce the decision of the Governor-General to the Maharajah and his people.

We will leave Mr. Elliot to tell, in his own words, the manner and purport of his mission* :—

Immediately on my arrival, he says, I communicated to Sir H. M. Lawrence and Mr. J. Lawrence the instructions with which I was charged, and regretted to find that both those officers were fully persuaded that the Council of Regency would on no account be induced to accede to the terms which were offered for their acceptance, inasmuch as they had already incurred great odium amongst their countrymen for what were considered to be their former concessions. I, however, requested that the two most influential members of the Council might be at once summoned to a private conference at the Residency; and Rajah Tej Singh and Dewan Deena Nath were accordingly sent for. The Rajah, at first, excused himself on the ground of sickness; and I should have, consequently, gone to his house, had I not been apprehensive that any exhibition of undue eagerness might have been interpreted into too great a desire to obtain his concurrence. It was then intimated to him that, as my mission was urgent, and could not

* Note and Report by Mr. H. Elliot.



Chapter V. 1849. be accomplished without him, he should come to the Residency, unless he really was seriously ill. Upon this, he came, his looks giving no warrant for his excuses, and was accompanied by Dewan Deena Nath.

After the first compliments had been exchanged, I explained to them the purpose for which I had come, that the Punjab would be annexed to the British dominions at all events, but that it was for them to decide whether this should be done in an unqualified manner, or whether they would subscribe to the conditions which I was about to lay before them.

The Rajah, who was more than usually nervous and garrulous, opened out in a strain of invective against Rajah Shere Singh and all the rebellious Sirdars, who had brought the Council to this pass, acknowledged that the British Government had acquired a perfect right to dispose of the country as it saw fit, and recommended that it should declare its will, without calling upon the Council to sign any conditions. I replied that, if they refused to accept the terms which the Governor-General offered, the Maharajah and themselves would be entirely at his mercy, and I had no authority to say that they would be entitled to receive any allowance whatever.

The Dewan, who was much more deliberate and reserved than his colleague, commented on the severity of the conditions, and particularly on the expatriation of the Maharajah; and when I told him it was intended to exclude also the female relatives of the Maharajah from the palace, in order that the citadel might be exclusively in British occupation, he remarked that, immediately they were relieved from the restraints which their present residence subjected them to, they would begin leading licentious lives, and bring scandal upon the memory of Runjeet Singh and his descendants.

After many inquiries from them about the distance to which the Maharajah was to be removed, I observed that his destination would not improbably be the Deccan, but, after they had

requested reconsideration, on account of the remoteness of that country, "where," said they, "God knows whether the people are Hindoos or Mahomedans," I promised that the Maharajah should not be sent anywhere to the east of the Ganges, pointing out Hurdwar, Gurhmuktesir, Bithoor, and Allahabad as being all of them places of high sanctity in their religion. They seemed to be thankful for this as a concession. But they had no definite notion of the exact position of any of these places except Hurdwar. The Rajah, indeed, was astonished to discover that Lahore was not so far from Allahabad as from Benares.

They seemed fully satisfied with the personal allowance assigned to the Maharajah, which I told them would be about 10,000 rupees per mensem.

Other subjects were then discussed, and they enquired anxiously about their own future position. I told them that it was not intended to deprive them of their *jagheers* or salaries, and that, for this indulgence they would be expected to yield the British Government the benefit of their advice and assistance whenever they were called upon to do so; that, if they did not subscribe to the conditions, I could not promise that any consideration would be shown to them. The Dewan enquired whether the *jagheers* would be continued to future generations. I replied, certainly not, unless the grants conveyed a perpetual title; and that would be left to the decision of the officers, who would shortly be appointed to investigate the validity of all rent-free tenures.

After much more parley, during which, while I told them that they were at perfect liberty to decline, or to accede to, the conditions I had been instructed to lay before them—at the same time I convinced them of my resolute determination to yield no point, they expressed their willingness to sign the paper, and signed it accordingly, not without evident sorrow and repugnance on the part of the Dewan.

Upon this I requested that Fakeer Nooroodeen and Bhaoe Nidhan Singh, the only other members of the Regency resident

Chapter at Lahore, might be sent for ; and upon informing them of what
V. had passed, they said they would abide by whatever their
1849. colleagues were prepared to do.

They then affixed their seals and signatures to the paper in duplicate, and Sir H. M. Lawrence and myself then added our counter-signatures. It was agreed that next morning a Durbar should be held at seven o'clock, a.m., in order to promulgate the Articles subscribed to, and to obtain the Maharajah's ratification.

The members then took their leave, after the conference had lasted about two hours.

Sir J. Login, commenting on the above report in 1860, remarks :—

“ It indicates feelings more creditable to the members of the Lahore Durbar (whose personal interests were separately worked upon) than to the British official, who describes the scene with so much undignified exultation.”

To continue Mr. Elliot's report :—

Next day at the appointed hour,* after the troops had been prepared against possible tumult, I proceeded to the Durbar, accompanied by Sir H. M. Lawrence, K.C.B., and the gentlemen of the Residency, and escorted by a squadron of the body-guard, which Major Mayne had brought over by forced marches from Ferozepore. We were met by the Maharajah Duleep Singh outside the gate of the citadel. After the usual

* Report by Mr. Elliot, March 29th, 1849.

salutations, and giving and taking of presents, we conducted the Maharajah to a seat at the end of the Hall of Audience, and took our places on either side of him. The Maharajah, who is endued with an intelligence beyond his years, and cannot be supposed to have been ignorant of the purpose for which the Durbar was now convened for the last time, conducted himself throughout with cheerfulness and self-composure.

The hall was filled with spectators, who ranged themselves on each side of the centre seats—the Europeans on the right, the natives on the left. The latter were in such numbers as almost to give cause that, with a view of courting popularity, the Council of Regency might refuse to abide by the terms which they had signed the evening before.

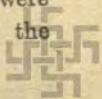
After we were seated, the following note, declaratory of the intentions of the Government to assume the sovereignty of the Punjab, was read out in Persian, and afterwards translated into Hindostani, for the comprehension of every one present :—

MANIFESTO TO THE LAHORE DURBAR.

For many years, while the wisdom of Maharajah Runjeet Singh ruled the people of the Punjab, friendships and unbroken peace prevailed between the British nation and the Sikhs.

The British Government desired to maintain with the heirs of Runjeet Singh the same friendly relations which they had held with him. But the Sirdars and Sikh army, forgetful of the policy which the Maharajah's prudence had enjoined, and departing from the friendly example he had set, suddenly crossed the frontier, and, without any provocation, made war upon the British power.

They were met by the British army—four times they were defeated—they were driven back with ignominy across the Sutlej, and pursued to the walls of Lahore.



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The Maharajah Duleep Singh tendered there, to the Governor-General of India, the submission of himself and his chiefs, and implored the clemency of the British Government.

The Government of India had acquired, by its conquest, an absolute right to subvert the Government of the Sikhs, by which it had been so grossly injured. But, in that time of victory, it showed the sincerity of its declarations, and gave signal proof of the moderation and forbearance by which its policy was directed.

The kingdom of the Punjab was spared; the Maharajah was replaced on the throne of Runjeet Singh; and treaties of friendship were formed between the States.

How have the obligations of these treaties been fulfilled?

The British Government has, with scrupulous fidelity, observed every promise which was made, and has discharged every obligation which the treaties imposed upon it.

It gave to the Maharajah the service of its troops. It afforded him the aid of its treasures in his difficulties. It meddled with none of the institutions or customs of the people. By its advice to the Council it improved the condition of the army; and it laboured to lessen the burdens and to promote the prosperity of every class of the Maharajah's people. It left nothing undone which it had promised to perform; it engaged in nothing from which it had promised to abstain. But there is not one of the main provisions of those treaties which the Sikh Government and Sikh people have not, on their part, faithlessly and flagrantly violated. They bound themselves to pay an annual subsidy of twenty-two lakhs of rupees. No portion whatever has at any time been paid.

The whole debt due by the State of Lahore has increased to more than fifty lakhs of rupees; and crores have been added by the charges of the present war. The control of the British Government, which the Sirdars themselves invited, and to which they bound themselves to submit, has been rejected and resisted by force.

The peace and friendship which were promised by the treaties have been thrown aside. British officers in the discharge of their duty have treacherously been thrown into captivity, with women and children.

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Other British officers, when acting for the Maharajah's interests, were murdered by the Maharajah's servants, after having been deserted by the Maharajah's troops.

Yet, for these things, the Government of Lahore neither inflicted punishment on the offender, nor made reparation for the offence. It confessed itself unable to control its subjects. It formally declared to the British Resident that its troops would not obey its command, and would not act against the chief who had committed this outrage against the Government of India.

Not only did the army of the State refuse thus to act, but it everywhere openly rose in arms against the British. The whole people of the Sikhs joined in its hostility. The high Sirdars of the State have been its leaders; those of them who signed the treaties of peace were the most conspicuous in its ranks; and the chief by whom it was commanded was a member of the Council of Regency itself. They proclaimed their purpose to be the extirpation of the British power, and the destruction of the British people; and they have struggled fiercely to effect it.

But the Government of India has put forth the vast resources of its power. The Army of the Sikhs has been utterly discomfited; their artillery has been captured, the allies they invited have been driven from the Punjab with shame; the Sikh Sirdars, with their troops, have surrendered, and been disarmed, and the Punjab is occupied by the British troops.

The Government of India repeatedly declared that it desired no further conquest; and it gave to the Maharajah, by its acts, a proof of the sincerity of its declarations.

The Government of India has sought and desires no conquest now.



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But when unprovoked and costly war has again been wantonly renewed, the Government of India is bound by its duty to provide for its own security for the future, and to guard effectually the the interests and tranquillity of its own people.

Punishment and benefit alike have failed to remove the inveterate hostility of the Sikhs. Wherefore, the Governor-General, as the only effectual mode which now remains of preventing the recurrence of national outrage, and the renewal of perpetual wars, has resolved upon declaring the British Sovereignty in the Punjab, and upon the entire subjection of the Sikh nation, whom their own rulers have long been unable to control, who are equally insensible to punishment or forbearance, and who, as past events have now shown, will never desist from war so long as they possess the power of an independent kingdom.

The Governor-General of India unfeignedly regrets that he should feel himself compelled to depose from his throne a descendant of Maharajah Runjeet Singh, while he is yet in his early youth.

But the Sovereign of every State is responsible for, and must be affected by, the acts of his people over whom he reigns.

As in the former war, the Maharajah, because of the lawless violence of his subjects, whom his Government was unable to control, was made to pay the penalty of their offence in the loss of his richest provinces ; so must he now be involved in all the consequences of their further violence, and of the deep national injury they have again committed.

When a renewal of formidable war by the army and the great body of Sikhs has forced upon the Government of India the conviction that a continuance of Sikh domination in the Punjab is incompatible with the security of the British territories, the Governor-General cannot permit that mere compassion for the Prince should deter him from the adoption of such measures against the nation as alone can be effectual for the future

maintenance of peace, and for protecting the interests of the British people.

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Upon the conclusion of this Manifesto, silence was observed for a few minutes, when Dewan Deena Nath observed, that the decision of the British Government was just, and should be obeyed; but he trusted that the Maharajah and servants of the State would receive consideration at the hands of the British Government, and that some allowance would be granted to maintain them in comfort and respectability.

"If France," he observed, "after the defeat and captivity of Buonaparte, had been restored to its legitimate ruler, though the country yielded thirty crores of revenue, it would be no very extraordinary act of British clemency if the Punjab, which yielded less than three crores, should be restored to the Maharajah. However, let the Governor-General's will be done."

I replied, that the time of concession and clemency was gone; that I was ready, on the part of the Governor-General, to confirm the conditions to which the Council had subscribed yesterday, and which should be read out in Persian and Hindostani, for general information.

This was listened to with the deepest attention, but it called forth no observation. To the former signatures were then added those of Gundur Singh, the accredited Agent of Sirdar Shere Singh, Sindunwallah, and Sirdar Lal Singh, Agent and son of Sirdar Uttur Singh, Kaleewallah, thus completing the entire number of the members of the Council of Regency, who have remained nominally faithful to their engagements. The paper was then handed in duplicate by Rajah Tej Singh to the Maharajah, who immediately affixed his signature, by tracing the initials of his name in English letters. The alacrity with which he took the papers when offered to him, was a matter of remark to all, and suggested the idea that, possibly, he had been instructed by his advisers that any show of hesitation might lead to the substitution of terms less favourable than those which had been offered.

Chapter V. When the document had thus been fully ratified, I directed the proclamation to be read aloud in the native languages.

1849. I then handed one copy of the terms to the Maharajah; and having thus fulfilled the object of my mission, I took my leave with the usual etiquette, and dissolved the Durbar.

The whole 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, were now thrown aside. I did not observe the slightest sign of wonder, sorrow, anger, or even dissatisfaction, upon the countenance of any one present, except that of Dewan Deena Nath; and from the nice inquiries he had made during the private conference, respecting his own interests, it would not be uncharitable to suppose, that his sadness arose more from the loss of the immense influence he possesses in every department of the State, than from regret at the subversion of his master's dynasty. But neither did I observe any signs of gladness. The whole announcement appeared to be received with a degree of indifference bordering on apathy, and not a word or whisper escaped, to betray the real feelings pervading the hearts of that solemn assembly, which had met to witness the ratified dissolution of the great empire established by the fraud and violence of Runjeet Singh.

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 Khālsa Raj!

"That the annexation of the Punjab was a politic measure," says Sir John Login,* "*few were inclined to question, but, inasmuch as it involved the deposition*

* *Memorandum* published (for private circulation) in 1860.

of a young Prince whom the British Government had solemnly engaged to protect in his position during his minority, and who had throughout evinced the utmost confidence in us, it was, to say the least, a harsh proceeding, and one which demanded from our Government towards the person whom our policy had despoiled, the most liberal and generous consideration.

“Unfortunately, however, in the Maharajah’s case, there were circumstances which had the effect of placing the position of His Highness in unfavourable contrast to that of his ministers and chiefs, and which, *unless obviated in a liberal spirit*, necessarily led to the conclusion, that, in accepting the terms offered by the British Government, his ministers had consented to *sacrifice his interests to their own*.

“Having, so far as respects *their* claims upon him, been considered by the British Government, *notwithstanding the full control* exercised by *their* officials over his *person, power, and resources*, to be in the position of a *Sovereign and despotic Prince*, every article of property in the possession of the Maharajah was declared to be State property, and appropriated by the British Government, under the terms which had been granted to him; his Highness being merely permitted to retain, by the courtesy of the Governor-General and the local authorities, such articles as were considered necessary for his personal use.

“He was thus made entirely dependent upon the allowance assigned to him, under Article v., by the

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British Government, amounting during his minority to £12,000 per annum; another portion of the State pension being granted to his relatives and dependents, at the discretion of the British Government, and a balance retained by them for future appropriation.

"No stipulation was made for the benefit of his heirs and descendants, the pension granted to him being apparently terminable with his life. He was required to remove from the Punjab, and from all his early associations, and to reside wherever the Government of India might appoint.

"To His Highness's ministers, Sirdars, and chiefs, the annexation of the Punjab was attended with more favourable circumstances.

"They were relieved from the claims of a Native Government, as feudatories of a despotic Prince, liable to contributions for State purposes—secured in all their private property, real and personal, under British laws—confirmed in possession of their several *jagheers*, some in perpetuity, others rent-free for their own lives, and with deductions of one-half and one-quarter in two succeeding generations; and they were exempted from much personal service to their Prince.

"Having seen that, in 1846, Golâb Singh, one of their number, was not only made independent of Lahore, but was allowed to purchase the Province of Cashmere,* the chiefs who remained faithful were naturally not

* See *ante* pp. 109-10.



indisposed to enter into terms with a Government which could act so liberally, and relieve them from demands frequently made by their natives princes.

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“To Rajah Tej Singh in particular the arrangement must have been very satisfactory, as it secured to him and his heirs all his accumulations (amounting in 1846, as shown by his offer for an independent territory like Golab Singh, to not less than twenty-five lakhs of rupees), besides confirming him and his family *for three generations* in large estates, very lightly assessed, it is believed, at two and three lakhs of rupees, and yearly increasing in value.

“In the same manner, the other chiefs had more or less cause to be satisfied. Even those who had been in arms against us, though deprived of such property *as could not be concealed*, were doubtless able to secure very large sums among their friends. In the case of Rajah Shere Singh, the writer of this was told, by himself, that such was the case, when he wished to obtain permission to go to England, instead of being sent to Calcutta.

“It was not considered expedient at the time to be too particular, and I think it will be found, on reference to Treasury receipts from forfeited estates, that very little was obtained, compared with the wealth of which, a short time before, the chiefs were known to have been in possession.

“This leniency has not been without its good effects, and the security with which Sikh chiefs have been

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“But it must not be overlooked, that all this liberality was shown at the expense of the claims of their Sovereign Prince, on both feudatories and rebels.”

“*Although the young Maharajah could not but feel that the terms which had been imposed on him were hard and severe, especially when the loss of his throne was occasioned by no fault on his part, but *entirely* from the treachery of those whom we had placed in power around him, the difficulties with which he had been surrounded in his precarious position, before he was received under the protection of the British Government, were too strongly impressed on his mind to cause any hesitation on his part to retire into private life, and he accordingly submitted to the force of circumstances with very becoming dignity.”

CHAPTER VI.

LAHORE.

Letters from DR. LOGIN to his WIFE.

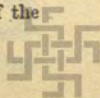
CAMP BEFORE KALEEWALLAH, Nov. 22nd, 1848.

. . . . With only the loss of one man killed on our side, we have been able to cut off and disperse a large body of Sikhs who had collected at this place, and were making great depredations. A party of them still hold the fort, and, while I write, are still keeping up a fire upon us, but it is expected, as in other instances, that they will endeavour to escape during the night, and that in the morning we shall find it evacuated. Our guns were ordered down at half-past three in the afternoon, and opened fire within 500 yards with good effect for a couple of hours,* but as the Brigadier did not wish to expose his men to the danger of an assault, or to throw away ammunition uselessly, we were called back to camp about seven p.m., intending to resume proceedings to-morrow.

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Many of our young officers had hand-to-hand encounters, and some narrow escapes were made—Westcott Davidson, Sam

* It was a current joke among Login's brother officers, that he equally distinguished himself in *laying the guns* during a fight, as in carrying off the wounded afterwards.



Chapter VI. 1849. Fisher, Swinton, Jackson, Christie, and others of the Cavalry, and a young lad, Mackell, of the Artillery, have been among the most successful. I cannot say that I heard with much pleasure the various accounts of how their opponents were "skewered" (the favourite slang expression); by all accounts, about 200 Sikhs were cut up, and a very few made prisoners. To-morrow I trust I may be successful in getting hold of some at least of the poor wounded wretches, if any have been left alive, as soon as we get possession of the fort, so as to make it possible to prosecute a search for them. We came on the Sikhs so as to take them by surprise. This could not have happened had the country people generally been friendly to them, so as to have given them information. You will be amused at the share of loot that has fallen to my lot—a little boy about four, deserted by his parents, found in a small hut behind the battery where I was stationed! My *doolie* bearers brought him to me, and I have told them to take good care of him for me.

November 23rd. Well; it is as we expected, a shell of ours set the place on fire; the men in the fort made off in all directions, the darkness favouring their escape; still many were cut up, or else severely wounded. At daylight I sent to the Brigadier to ask permission to go and pick up all the wounded I could, taking all the litters I could collect with me. "Certainly, certainly, an excellent proposition!" So off I started, with a train of litters behind me, a supply of water, and some brandy. We soon found all that were alive in the fort or village. Some desperately cut-up, poor fellows, had been brought into hospital, where Beatson of the Horse Artillery and I have been working all day, doing all we can for them. We shall take care of them while we remain here, and leave them in charge of some villagers when we march. The first man I picked up was an Akali in the ditch of the fort. He had almost bled to death, and when he saw us evidently only expected his *coup de grâce*. He was greatly, and no doubt agreeably, surprised when I gave him a little brandy and after-

wards water, and, raising him carefully, placed him on a litter and dressed his wounds before he was carried off to our hospital tent. Some of our people doubt the wisdom or propriety of treating them in this way, but I tell them that we can only teach the poor ignorant creatures the difference between Christians and Hindoos by showing mercy and kindness to our enemies. I feel sure they will not fight against us with such bitter determination again. I am glad that, from having so few wounded of our own, I am able to look after these poor fellows properly. I must stop, as I must go to amputate the arm of one of the Sikhs we brought in.

I hear that James has passed a good examination, and is returning to Nepal. We have captured a great quantity of grain in the fort, and commissariat supplies of all sorts. The owner of the fort of Kaleewallah is Goordas Singh, a wealthy man; he has evidently a large family of small children, for it was touching to see yesterday, when walking through the place, lots of children's toys, swings, horses and carts, all lying as they had thrown them down; it seems he sent them off at once when he made up his mind to hold the place against us.

A good copy of the Grunt'h was found here, and as no one else attaches value to it, I shall take it. I have also, as a relic of the fight, my friend the Akali's "quoits," as sharp as a razor; he had them in his turban when I picked him up in the ditch, also a jingall ball, which passed close by me and lodged in the *doolie*. I believe that I and my bearers were as much exposed as any, the fellows in the fort fired so high that the shots fell among us, but happily no one was hit.

WITH WHEELER'S FORCE AT MOOKEEZAN, JULLUNDUR DOAB.

December 2nd, 1848.

It is past four p.m., and I have only just reached my tent after a long march from Deena-nuggur; yesterday we crossed the Rayee

Chapter and made a long march, Delaspoor to Deena-nuggur, and to-day
VI. we have had an equally long and tedious one to this place.
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The Brigadier is anxious to get to Hoshearpoor, where part of the force will halt for some time.

Since I wrote you last, we have taken and destroyed another fort, which had been evacuated just before we arrived by the insurgent Sikhs, and an hour after, when our rear guard came up, and when all the Sepoys were busy cooking at their *chulahs*, an alarm was given that the Sikhs were upon us.

The whole force turned out in double quick time, and out we marched for nearly two miles in their direction, when we found that it was only the fellows who had been in the fort, who had ventured near us in the hopes of picking off some of our camels at graze. The Irregulars were sent in pursuit, and came up with a party, of whom, it is reported, they killed and wounded twenty, having five or six of their own men wounded.

A couple of hospital *doolies* had been destroyed by some Sikhs, who had hidden themselves in the neighbouring villages when the cavalry went past. Dr. Wallich lost his surgical instruments in them. So we have only my case now to depend on.

After we crossed the Ravee, Hodson of the Guides followed up the chase, and found that they made for some jungle in the direction of Neroli, where the party broke up and divided, dispersing to their homes, leaving their chief with a following of only twenty-five horsemen. They are nothing better than dacoits. John Lawrence is out in the district after some fellow near Noorpoor, who has managed to put the Jullundur people in a great fright, and it is in consequence of the alarm he has excited that the Brigadier is anxious to get the force quietly to Hoshearpoor, to set their minds at rest. This is only a night's *dák* from Jullundur, and if you recollect, I wrote you from here on my way to join the force at Deena-nuggur. We expect to reach Hoshearpoor in two marches, and it is not unlikely that we may afterwards return to Jullundur.

I endeavour to make myself quite easy anyway, and to believe that all is for the best. I am determined never to be a grumbler, and to try to make grumblers look on the sunny side, if possible. Chapter VI. 1849.

We have just heard that Uttur Singh has given himself up, to save Lal Singh, his son, from being hanged, and that all the insurgent chiefs, except Chuttur Singh, have expressed themselves ready to come to terms. The answer sent them is, that we do not treat with *armed* rebels!

Altogether we are in a very curious position in this country. We are supposed, and believed, to represent the Government of the country, and yet the very men who are in arms against us are, or rather were, the instruments who were selected by us, and by whom we ruled!

God grant that we act wisely and justly when putting all resistance down. You would be amused at the Oude article in the *Delhi Gazette*; I wrote it hurriedly, but it seems to have been approved of.

LAHORE, March 18th, 1849.

I am only in from Jullundur for a few days, to visit Henry Lawrence, and you may be sure he has not allowed me to be idle. He is busy enough himself, and I am doing my best to help him. He is hard at work arranging his new Government in the Punjab. Owing to God's good providence, we now have Mrs. George Lawrence back safe, with her little ones, from captivity. I have just been walking with her in the garden for half an hour. George is expected to-day. Moolraj is in jail; Chuttur Singh, Shere Singh, and all the other rebel chiefs, on the way to Lahore. Forty-one guns and 16,000 stand of arms surrendered to Gilbert beyond the Jhelum, and Dost Mahomed and his Afghans are taking themselves off to Cabul as fast as they can. No proclamations out yet regarding our future policy, but no doubt Lord Dalhousie will report all his arrangements to the Court of Directors by this

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mail, so that probably you may know it in England before it is announced here. I am not, of course, at liberty to tell you *all I know*, but Lawrence says that as it will be public in England soon, I may tell you this much—that *annexation is determined on* by the Governor-General; a large local force to be raised; Henry is to be Commissioner of the new province, with his brother John and another civilian as Revenue Board and Council; and the whole country parcelled out into districts, as in the Saugur and Nerbuddah territories. Had not the chiefs been permitted to come in and submit, on a promise of not being deported from the Punjab, I think Lawrence would have sent some of them to England under my charge. He is still anxious that some of the young lads may go to England, but of course now they could not be sent as hostages. Another plan he has, is to get the Punjab separated from the North-West Provinces in all that concerns Post-office arrangements, and make me his Postmaster-General, and see what we can do in this line. But he fears that the Governor-General will sanction nothing that would be a risk of expense, as he dreads the Punjab not turning out a financial success.

The work on which I am engaged at present, is an estimate of military expenditure—several Irregular Cavalry corps to be raised at once. I tell him that all the doctors who have been employed on active service in the Punjab must be rewarded before he thinks of *me*, such as Dempster, Macrae, and others. He says, “Never fear, something will turn up for which *you* alone are specially fitted, which will prevent you running off home.” I believe this will be the case, and if not, I shall feel that it is my best course to go home. Lady Lawrence not arrived, but expected, *via* Mooltan, in a few days.

March 28th, finished 31st.

... Still at Lahore with Lawrence. I have had a busy time helping him, but I have laid my *dák* to return to my duties at Jullundur.

I told you in my last that Lawrence was anxious to get me something that would keep me here permanently with him.

I showed both Henry and John the paper I drew up, and of which I sent you a copy, and I believe they have come to the resolution to recommend me very strongly to Government for the charge of the young Maharajah Duleep Singh, when the Punjab is annexed to these territories. George Lawrence has arrived since they came to this determination, and strongly supports them in their decision that I am the fittest man they know for the office; at the same time George is disappointed, for he came full of the resolution to apply for, and get me appointed to civil employ with him at Peshawur, and will not give it up unless I myself would prefer the charge of the young King.

The recommendation is to be made when the disposition of Duleep Singh comes under consideration, in the meantime I shall go back to my military duties at Jullundur. I leave the whole matter to be settled, as I know it will be, by One who is wiser than I. At the same time, I have put all in training to be ready to start for England to rejoin you, and have applied for my leave to Calcutta, preparatory to applying for furlough to England.

If Government decides that I am to be put in charge of the young Maharajah, as the best man for the post, I can easily get my leave cancelled, if not, then I shall joyfully take myself off on my homeward journey.

Had I consulted my own feelings alone, I should at once have determined to go home, but I feel it my duty, as long as my health continues so good, not to neglect, or rather, decline, an opportunity of making your circumstances more comfortable if I can.

I gave John Lawrence, who is a thorough man of business, and even more consulted by Lord Dalhousie than Henry, my paper to read, with the request in writing that he would give me his candid opinion as to whether he thought it likely that I would, at the present conjunction, be selected for employment out of the

Chapter VI. 1849. strict line of my profession (such as my previous duties may have qualified me for), or whether the probabilities were that my future service would be strictly professional, such as I could always obtain on returning to India from furlough? As my standing in the profession is high, I am told by those whose opinion is worth having, and who stand at the top of it, such as Ranald Martin and others, that unless I get a good opening in the political department, I should not give up my chances in the medical line.

I consulted John first, rather than Henry, because I knew he was less likely to be influenced by our friendship and intimacy, and would be more unbiassed than Henry, who had known me so long. I afterwards showed it to Henry, and the resolution both have come to is what I mentioned above. I know that you will agree with me that I have done all that is required of me in the matter. I now leave my "sentence to come forth from His presence," and am satisfied that He will dispose of me as "seemeth best to Him."

I think that the Governor-General is not unfavourably disposed towards me, if I may judge from letters I received to-day regarding the balance of my Lucknow pay. I have received it *in full*, instead of part being deducted to pay Dr. Glennie, whom Colonel Richmond appointed to take over charge from me. Colonel Richmond's application for these allowances has been refused, on the ground that the appointment was an *improper* one, so he has had to pay Glennie out of his own pocket, and pocket the snub instead!

I thought my proper course was to state my just claims, but express my readiness to submit to whatever decision (after due consideration) the Civil Auditor might arrive at.

Goodwyn of the Engineers tells me that Tom has pleased Cautley so much by his work and his zeal on the Ganges Canal, that he spoke of him in the highest terms as one of his most promising engineers. This is a great comfort to me. I now can

feel that neither of my brothers have proved one of "John Chapter
Company's bad bargains." VI.
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Last night we heard of the occupation of Peshawur, and the flight to Cabul of the Dost and his Douranis.

I went with Henry Lawrence to visit Moolraj. To-morrow we go to see Chuttur Singh and his son.

I have seen a good deal of Fakeer Nooroodeen and Dewan Deena Nath during my stay at Lahore.

When I think of all the responsibility and anxiety that will devolve upon you, in your delicate health, having to arrange all about the children's school, &c., I feel inclined to throw it all up, and be off to join you. It is only for your sake I care to make a name for myself.

Your brother Charles is appointed Paymaster in the Punjab, I am told, and is to remain.

JULLUNDUR, *April 31st*, 1849.

Left Lahore on Wednesday, and returned here. The day before, Mr. Elliot arrived—sent by the Governor-General to communicate to the little Maharajah the intention of Government. I saw Elliot at the Residency, and had some talk with him. Well, all is over! the Punjab is annexed, and from the Khyber to the Sutlej is now a British province. Strange, is it not, that this has been brought about almost against one's will? The interview I spoke of in my last, with Chuttur Singh, Shere Singh, and the other prisoner chiefs, took place—I saw them with Henry Lawrence, and afterwards alone in private. I have heard all they severally had to say. They all declare that the insurrection was quite unpremeditated, and only gathered strength as it went on, until almost every chief of note in the Punjab had been more or less involved. Rajah Tej Singh and old Nooroodeen were the only two, I believe, whom Shere Singh spoke of, as not having communicated with him at some time or other; and he gave up

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a letter which he had received from the Ranee, which implicates her very decidedly, and corroborates two others which had been intercepted; *so that you see that if the insurrection had been crushed in the bud,—which it might most easily have been, as they themselves admit,—why then, few chiefs would have been compromised or implicated, and we could not have annexed the country without great injustice.* But what we have looked upon as our reverses and mismanagement, have in the end been overruled for good. Such is it always with us, even with regard to Peshawur and the districts beyond the Indus. Had Dost Mahomed not acted like a fool in the matter, they would have been offered to him; but as matters have turned out, we must ourselves take them.

This I do honestly believe, that there has been a strong desire on our part to act justly, and not to grasp this country from the Sikhs, as no doubt our enemies will say; but it has been, as it were, forced upon us. I know that Lawrence would give anything if it could have been averted.

Now I trust we may look forward to a lasting peace, with, I hope, attendant blessings in its train, that is, if we now do our duty as becomes a Christian nation, seeking guidance from God in all we do.

Do you remember Herbert of the 18th at Lucknow, coming to see Henry L—— and his wife, when they were with us? He is the man who defended Attok so long. A gallant fellow he is, and has proved himself so, and his courage is of the right sort too, which is all the more pleasing.

When he told me at Lahore of all his feelings, and his desire to attribute all his confidence to its right source, and his anxiety to acquit himself as became a Christian, I was sincerely rejoiced.

April 2nd. The order for my return to Lahore has just come, the Governor-General having approved of my appointment, and I have laid my *dāk* and start to-morrow.

I do not yet know exactly how I shall be employed. Henry Lawrence intends me to be Governor of the Citadel and all it con-

tains, *including* the young King; but it is possible that he may be removed from the Punjab, and I may have to accompany him elsewhere; how nice it would be if I were told to take him to England!

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I scarcely know what to think of this appointment: may God strengthen me to do my duty whatever it may be. I cannot bear to give up the hope of seeing you soon. . . .

RESIDENCY, LAHORE, *Easter-day, April 20th, 1849.*

The service to-day and Holy Communion were very impressive. I wish you had been with us, for it is the first time that Holy Communion has been celebrated here. It was even the more impressive from the service being held in the great hall of the Residency, for of course we have no church. The Communion Service was of no ordinary character, many of those who partook of it had lately been in great peril. It was the first that George Lawrence and his wife, Herbert Edwardes, and others with him, had been able to attend since they had passed through great dangers, and had been safely delivered from them; and many of those present were about to commence their new labours in this new country, where probably many years must elapse before every part of these new dominions may hear the sound of the Gospel!

I know that many of those present were in earnest in seeking God's blessing on their work.

I wrote you that I was installed by Sir Henry Lawrence on the 6th, as Governor of the Citadel and its contents; and he took me to the Palace, and introduced me in the character of his future Governor to the young dethroned King, Duleep Singh. The little fellow seemed very well pleased with me, and we got on swimmingly. I told him that now you had gone to take my little ones to England, I was left alone, and wanted some one to care for, and be kind to, so that I was all the more

Chapter VI.
1849. disposed to take pleasure in the duty which had been assigned me by the Governor-General and Sir Henry Lawrence, and would do all in my power to make him happy. He seems a very fine-tempered boy, intelligent, and handsome. He writes and reads Persian very well, and showed me his last copy; he has also made a little progress in English, which I hope to make him like better. After conversing with him for some time, I went to look at the place intended for my residence—in a very beautiful garden within the Palace, not far from the Maharajah's apartments, fine marble *baradurries*,* fountains, &c.; in fact, far beyond anything of the kind elsewhere at Lahore, and reminding me somewhat of the Shah Munzil at Lucknow, only the buildings, being of marble, are richer. I then took a glance over the different establishments of the little man—enormous they are indeed, and in his fallen and altered circumstances will require great reductions, which I shall endeavour to manage as well as I can, by finding other employment for the people, and conciliating them as far as I can by patient inquiry into their cases. I have to commence to-day with the establishment of orderlies, or *bayas*, and go on through the whole, recommending reductions in each for the approval of Government.

I trust, with God's blessing, to manage pretty well, for I have had experience to some extent.

You will see the names of all those who are to have civil charge in the papers. No one can say that Lawrence's selection is not good. Men of the stamp of Montgomery, Macleod, Tucker, Thornton, to be Commissioners!

I shall be among friends, you see, good, hard-working fellows, who have their hearts in the right place—it is no little pleasure to be with them. I feel much this separation from you, but who knows what may come? Sir Henry would only be too glad

* Hall, reception-room.

to have the little boy go to England, and Lord Dalhousie may Chapter
ordain it. Lady Lawrence is here, not looking strong. She is VI.
always saying she wishes you were here with me. Harry 1849.
promises to turn out a strong, sturdy boy, a little like Tim in his
old-fashioned ways. Herbert Edwardes is here in the house, from
Mooltan.

CITADEL OF LAHORE, *April 10th.*

I am very busy drawing out my statements and lists, but I fear it will be many weeks, if not months, before I can complete them. I have to make out a list in English for the Governor-General, of all the jewels and valuables belonging to the Sikh Government, and now transferred to ours; among them is the Koh-i-noor.

Besides this, which is pressing on me, I have to pay up and discharge all the old establishments of Runjeet Singh. I take care to look after the interests of my young charge, and, as far as I can, see that he has his luxuries and comforts as before; I have also to see that he is not robbed by people about him, who only think of themselves in the universal "burst up" that has taken place!

Poor, dear little fellow! 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. 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 robbery or pilfering. What he does not require to take with him I shall have sold for his benefit, and purchase Company's paper for him. His studies at present are Persian and English. For amusements, he is passionately fond of hawking, and thinks of nothing else. He is busy getting up a book on the subject, in Persian, with drawings and paintings of all the various species of hawks; this takes up his whole attention, and renders him indifferent to all else for the time being. The book is to treat of all the most approved ways of

Chapter VI. 1849. training and managing hawks. He has painters constantly employed near him at this work, which he watches with the deepest interest, 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 good mechanical toys to amuse him, also geographical puzzles or dissected maps, plates of animals, &c., fit for a boy of his age, to amuse and interest him.

I hope the likeness he is having taken for you will be ready to go with this, also the sketch of the Palace and its surroundings. Strange the vicissitudes of Indian life! I am now writing in the room which Jowahir Singh (the Ranee's brother) always occupied, and there is a beautiful little garden adjoining the house.

I have no idea yet whether Lord Dalhousie wishes me to go with the Maharajah, if he is sent away from Lahore, or whether I am to remain here as Assistant to the Board of Government, and to be in charge of all civil pensioners. I have had no time to look at a paper, so I know nothing of what is going on around.

Dr. Sprenger writes from Lucknow, congratulating me on the very laudatory article on my appointment, in the editorial of the *Delhi Gazette*! I never saw it. Dr. Sprenger says that since I left, B. has not been "over-bearing," but "beyond bearing!" Hollings is on his way here; I shall see him shortly. Lucknow is nearly denuded of all our old party. The little Maharajah has just been in with the portrait of himself, which I am to send you with his salaam! He says he wrote his name below, that you might know it was genuine. If I remain here for good, I shall send for Khalipha Ali Bux and some of our old servants; I shall then have the pleasure of talking to them of the Mem Sahib and *Baba-log*. You would be pleased if you saw how gentle and patient I am with Meah Jan, poor lad! He was your favourite *khidmutgar*, though I always thought him rather slow; indeed, I am afraid that he will now believe that my temper must

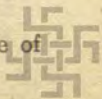
be that of a turkey cock (or perhaps a gander!), who only flares up before his mate and little ones! I think the Maharajah shows a great desire to hear about England. Sir H. Lawrence wishes he could be educated there, and not left to grow up idle and debauched in India, with nothing to do.

He will surely have as much to live on as any of our nobles, considering what *he* has lost, and *we* have gained! 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.

CITADEL OF LAHORE, *April 29th, 1849.*

My occupations continue to multiply. I am now known as the "Killah-ki-Malik"—Lord or Master of Lahore Citadel. I have just been placing some sergeants of Artillery in charge of the magazine under my orders, to write out lists of all the arms of all kinds. Another set I have appointed, in the same way, in Runjeet Singh's camp establishment, including ever so many splendid Cashmere tents, carpets, *purdahs*, &c., while I myself take the jewel department in the Toshkhana, and overlook the whole. The extraordinary way in which jewels of the greatest value are packed away would amuse you. Yesterday, when looking over some splendid diamond rings, with the Treasurer and his man, which were all huddled together in a bag—one of them being a very beautiful likeness of Queen Victoria—I suggested that, until the velvet rolls I had ordered for them were ready, they should tie a label to each with a bit of thread or string, to which they agreed. To my amusement, I find that they had misunderstood me, for they strung them all on a string like so many buttons, dozen by dozen! The first ring I took out of the bag was a diamond valued at 6,000 rupees! and some of them were very valuable.

I cannot yet arrive at a valuation of the jewels (exclusive of



Chapter the Koh-i-noor), but I don't think it will be far short of a million ! and the other valuable property as much more.

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Lawrence seems to think that Lord D—— intends, after making over what may be thought proper for the use of the deposed King, to send the rest to England. If so, I hope under Lawrence's charge ; at least, he should have the option.

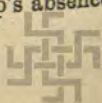
With my little charge I get on very well. I have had a communication door opened between my room and his apartments. As soon as he heard the announcement made to me that the opening had been made, he proposed to go with me to see it, and off we went. The opening could only, as yet, be got through by stooping, and then a drop of some feet into my room. I leapt down, and he called out to me to catch him, and jumped into my arms ; followed, of course, punctiliously, by his whole retinue ! some of them elderly stout courtiers, who were quite serious about it, looking upon it as all in the way of duty. It was a droll scene ! I think that he and I shall be very good friends.

He told me gravely that he won't trust himself among the Sikhs again, and declines to go out for a ride or drive unless I accompany him.

There is a rumour current that his mother has escaped from the fort at Chunar. I trust she won't come this way.

I think Duleep a remarkably intelligent boy, he seems to understand thoroughly the characters of all those about him, in a way that an English boy would be incapable of doing. When he brought me the two pictures finished and ready to send to you, he was quite proud of the signatures on them, one in Persian, the other in English. He wishes me to tell you that he did it all himself, without any help. I don't think the likenesses are good enough, for he is really a handsome little fellow.

Dryburgh writes me from Nepal that he has been appointed to officiate as first Assistant to the Resident in Cripp's absence, and it may probably be permanent.



Strange, is it not? that we two are the *only* medicos in political employment in India just now, except Campbell at Darjeeling.

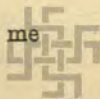
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CITADEL, LAHORE, *May 6th and 8th, 1849.*

I continue very busy, paying off all the Durbar establishments, taking lists of jewels and treasure collected by Runjeet, collecting ordnance stores into the magazine in the citadel from all quarters, looking over the vast camp-equipage of the late rulers of the Punjab. I have at last got some European assistants under me, Cooke of the Horse Artillery, and two Horse Artillery sergeants, and four European writers have been placed at my disposal, besides ever so many *moonshees* (writers), and *mutsuddies* (native), to bother me from morning to night. I have wheeled them into line, as Todd would say, and now I can get along swimmingly.

To-day is Sunday, and I have had the little Maharajah over with me for a couple of hours; he brought his Urdu teacher with him. I have got rid of all other work for the day and enjoy the rest, but I feel I am doing a good work to teach him any good I can. It is an amusement to him to have an English writing lesson with me, so I give him a precept to write out and translate, "Do unto others as you would they should do unto you." I intend, as I cannot put the Bible in his hands yet, to let him have such principles as these to season his studies with, and I hope to see more of him as I get rid of duties that are pressing. He continues to be very frank and confiding with me, and I am getting really fond of him. Hollings and Drake turned up, just as I was engaged superintending the removal of the Koh-i-noor and the State jewels from the old Toshkhana to the place in which all the other treasure is kept, in the Motee Munden, so they were fortunate in having an opportunity of seeing them, before they were shut up for a time.

One of the Maharajah's painters has just made a sketch for me



Chapter VI. 1849. of the "Summun Boorj," and of my residence in the Khab Gha, but he has left out the finest part of the building, the marble *baradurrie* which adjoins my rooms, and opens into the garden. You would delight in the view, it is magnificent. The racecourse and grand parade in front, and the Ravee with its numerous lovely gardens in the distance.

The little Maharajah has been busy collecting for me drawings and paintings done by his best painters. Some are very curious and interesting indeed, representing domestic life in the Punjab, and various trades and professions. He has also selected authentic likenesses of the great chiefs and men of note.

I have just had a letter from ——— asking me to set him up with some furniture, &c., from the Toshkhana! I don't think he will much relish the reply I have sent him; indeed, I have some hesitation in using these things in my own rooms (though I *do* live in the Palace), and I am most careful not to take any advantage of my position in any way, for it is a most delicate one with respect to my little charge.

I have continued to ride my own grey Cabul horse, "Robin Hood," daily, with plain English saddle, in the midst of the gorgeous calvacade, or royal Sowarree, when I accompany the little boy; but, as he has stumbled badly several times, I am looking out for another horse, as it would not be dignified to have a fall!

The little fellow, and also several of his courtiers, express astonishment that I do not order out the best horse in the stable for myself, and both Mansel and John Lawrence, who rode with me last time, said I was too scrupulous in this matter. Yet I have determined that I shall ride a horse of *my own*.

The Maharajah sent me yesterday three splendid Arabs to choose from, and, of course, I was then obliged to order one of them to be prepared for me to ride out with him that day, but at the same time I have fixed on another horse to purchase, *not* one of those ordered to be sold from the royal stables *under my*

charge! I may be too scrupulous, but I feel happier in my independence. Chapter VI.

I am very indifferent as to my fate. I shall be rejoiced at the opportunity of taking furlough and rejoining you in England, but I want to do my duty, whatever it is. 1849.

Many would regret losing such an appointment as this, but I have not yet acquired much relish for acting the "Bahadoor," although I have that distinguished rank, thanks to the King of Oude!

You will doubtless see by the papers, that the Ranee Jinda (Duleep's mother) has made her escape from the fort at Chunar, near Benares, where she was imprisoned. I have just heard from Dryburgh that she is in *his* custody at Nepal (I told you he was Acting-Assistant Resident).

He says she arrived there in disguise as a Fakeernee, and Jung Bahadoor at once sent her to the Resident.

Is it not a strange turn of events that has brought the son under my charge, and the mother under his? I trust he will keep her safe, so that she won't come here to complicate matters. A connection of the Ranee's, a brother-in-law, is one of my attendants. He has just been telling me strange stories about her. He says that her affection for the handsome young Rajah Heera Singh was the cause of her not offering to perform *suttee* with old Runjeet, that she made proposals to Heera Singh, which he declined, but recommended Lal Singh to her attention, which proposal was accepted; that after Heera's refusal, her love turned to hate, and she at last compassed his death. I daresay you remember reading the account of it at the time.

The Ranee Jinda is, even by her own relatives, looked upon as *exceptionally* bad, even among these licentious people.

CITADEL, LAHORE, May 22nd, 1849.

No more known yet of our future destination. Sir Henry tells me that as soon as I can get clear of paying off the Civil

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Establishment and the Toshkhana, that he wants me to take the Post-office in hand, as Postmaster-General in the Punjab. I tell him I must get through some of my pressing work before I undertake anything new. I am getting a return from Bowring of all the lame, blind, old, and infirm in the city, so as to give away some of the Maharajah's regular charity to them, instead of the indiscriminate almsgiving to professional beggars. I wish to show his people whom we consider proper objects of his bounty.

I do so long to join you in England, that I feel quite indifferent as to whether this is to be a permanent appointment or not. When I feel myself longing for your presence, I try to comfort myself by thinking that at all events you are safe from all the discomforts that many other military men's wives are liable to here,—take poor "Dismal Johnnie" as an example! He took his wife with him to Wuzeerabad, and was ordered to send her back immediately. He writes me in despair, and throws himself on my mercy, begs me to take charge of her, and give her a room here in the Khab Gha! I have managed a place for her elsewhere.

I was much amused yesterday, when giving some directions to the Havildar of the Guards at the Toshkhana, to find that he belonged to the 56th Native Infantry, and had been with Colonel Hope Dick at Lucknow, remembered the "Mem-Sahib" and the "Mem-Sahib-ki-Bain," who had married the "Residency Doctor Sahib,"—and that she was "essah khoopsurut." I could not help wondering if the rogue was poking fun, but he was as grave as a judge, and apparently had no idea that he was talking to the identical Doctor Sahib, for, as I said before, I am only known here as the "Killah-ki-Malik."

Sir H. and Lady Lawrence, and their dear little boy, have started for Simla. I daresay the fate of my little charge will soon be known now. The dear little man has just been with me for a couple of hours to-day; he seems always so glad to come,

that I feel so sorry I have not more time to spare to receive him oftener, but I am so occupied. I have taken care to select some of the best tents for his use, before any are made over for sale, and I have ordered that those that are to be used for his servants and establishment, be at once pitched on the parade ground in front, and have given his people a plan of encampment to which they are always to adhere, and of which they highly approve. I send you a sketch of it.

Now when you are told that the tents for the little man himself are all lined, some with rich Cashmere shawls, and some with satin and velvet embroidered with gold, *semianas*, carpets, *pardahs*, and floor-cloths to match, and that the tent-poles are encased in gold and silver (like a *chobedar's* mace), you may fancy that we shall look rather smart! I should say that for camp-equipage, old Runjeet's camp was the very finest and most sumptuous among all the Princes of India. It is very pleasant to look out at the pretty little encampment, and feel that we shall soon start *somewhere*—a report is current that the Mahabuleshwar Hills, near Poona, is to be the boy's destination.

I heard from Lamb from Lucknow; he says it is reported on good authority, that Colonel Richmond was jealous of my influence with the natives, and reported to Government that I had influenced them in political matters!

CITADEL, June 10th, 1849.

I am at present occupied with the pensions and settlements for the wives, or rather widows, of Runjeet Singh; twenty-two in all—seventeen Hindoo, and five Mahomedan!

At first they made all sorts of difficulties as to their communications with me, sending their *malidas* with their messages; but they soon gave that up, and I am now overpowered with their personal attentions. My great help and factotum in all matters connected with the Ranees is old Amlah Singh, a white-bearded,

Chapter VI. 1849. tough old Sikh, who has been with every Sikh Maharajah ever since their commencement.

He told me—sitting at my feet the other night—of all that occurred at the death, or rather the assassination, of Maharajah Shere Singh (Duleep's predecessor), to whom he was actually speaking when he was shot by Ajeet Singh six years ago, and also of his being one of the five of Heera Singh's party who escaped, when that poor lad was cut up. Don't you remember my reading an account of it to you at the time?

Meah Kheema, the confidential personal attendant of Duleep Singh, also occasionally gives me *his* account of various matters. He says he was the only one left with the boy, when his mother sent the troops in pursuit of Rajah Heera Singh and his party.

I wish I had the pen of a ready writer. I might bring out some very interesting facts connected with the history of the Punjab and Afghanistan during the last fifty years.

The principal topic of the day is the commencement of the trial of Moolraj. I have fitted up the Dewan-i-Aum of the Citadel for the occasion, to the admiration and satisfaction of the Commissioners, John Lawrence and Mansel. Herbert Edwardes and Montgomery have been in, expressing their delight at the handsome appearance I have contrived to give the building; everything handsome, and no gaudy display; it certainly added dignity to the solemn occasion for which they were assembled.

When I was appointed Governor of the Citadel, I found that this included charge of all the State prisoners, and thus Moolraj became my ward; and it would amuse you if you saw me, twice a day, walking across the quadrangle of the Citadel, to and from the prison to the court, with Moolraj in friendly conversation (but with a European guard close by), when I make him over and receive him back.

I told him that Vans Agnew was my dear friend, and that his death was a great grief to me. He expressed himself as more grieved than ever at the event since he heard this, and he

solemnly avers he never authorized it. Nor had he ever encouraged his people to attack Agnew. He expressed great regret for what had occurred, but said he was helpless, and so far I believe the evidence does not implicate him.

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Colonel Hamilton, of the 34th Native Infantry, a Deputy Commissioner here, is appointed to act for him, and takes up the case *con amore*. I do not wonder that Moolraj is loud in his praise of our justice and love of fair play, when he sees how Hamilton sticks up for him against Bowring, the Government prosecutor.

I told John Lawrence that if they expect to get a verdict against Moolraj, they had made a mistake when they gave him a Scotchman to defend him! Hamilton comes of a legal family; Mr. R. Hamilton, the Clerk of Sessions, is his uncle. His brother Jock, is a great friend of your brother Charles; they came out as cadets together.

Certainly Indian life is full of romance! I never dreamt of having to do with such strange and historic characters as are now accumulated under my charge, for I have *all* the political prisoners now. It is very amusing the requests I get from friends and acquaintances. One asks me to get him appointed to carry the Koh-i-noor to England; several to get them appointments in the Punjab under the Lawrences; another asks to get a civil engineer's appointment; but there is no end to the absurd requests. Many I have been able to help to get quarters, for they are very difficult to be had. I have been able to take Colonel Hamilton and E. Prinsep into the Citadel, as they could get no place anywhere. My duties are certainly multifarious. I was first appointed Governor of the Citadel, and in charge of the Maharajah; then Pension Paymaster to all State pensioners. I have to pay off and discharge all public establishments of the former Government, which I did not think necessary to retain, to recommend all persons who were to receive pensions and gratuities; then I received charge of all the magazines, receiving all military stores, guns, arms, &c., collected throughout the whole country,

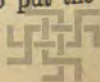
Chapter VI. 1849. in consequence of the general disarming. I was formally made Keeper of the State Toshkhana, or Treasury, with the State jewels; and the Koh-i-noor was placed in my hands. All the artillery workshops throughout the city, and the guards at the city gates, were made over to me; the great stud establishments for breeding horses throughout the Punjab also, which entailed a great deal of work. But I have forgotten the most troublesome of all, the Ranees, the wives and concubines of *all* the Maharajahs! I am now trying to find houses for them, to get them out of the Citadel. So if I have not work enough, I am surprised! By-the-bye, I am also Postmaster-General of the Punjab, at Henry Lawrence's special request; he knows I like the work. I should not object, when all these various duties are fulfilled, to remain Postmaster-General of the Punjab, if Cashmere could be added to my beat! I often wish you were here, to help me with your suggestions in many things. I would like, above all things, to be able to show you the gorgeous State jewels, as I have now arranged them in the fine box I have had made and lined.

You would have laughed to see how they were kept before, by the native treasurers, rolled up in bits of rags, and stowed away in such queer places.

TRIAL OF MOOLRAJ.

LAHORE, *June 17th to 22nd.*

The trial of Moolraj still going on. I don't think the old fellow is anything of the hero they would make him out to be, but rather a weak, chicken-hearted fellow, afraid to do what was right, and entirely in the hands of some resolute villains around him. I don't think he really intended any harm to dear Pat Vans Agnew; but he had not moral courage enough to put the fellows down.



I have not heard yet whether Tom has succeeded in turning the river from its course three-quarters of a mile, as he has undertaken to do! he does not stick at trifles, and I hear he is highly thought of at Roorkee, so I think I may consider him safely launched, and that he will prove himself worth the Company's salt. Well; Moolraj's trial is over, poor wretch! Hamilton made an excellent defence for him, and spoke the sentiments of most people who understand the whole matter from the beginning. Moolraj is, however, found guilty; but from having been the victim of circumstances is most earnestly "recommended to mercy." I had a long talk with him the other day; he spoke highly of the endeavours which had been made to ensure him justice. He said it was this love of justice which had made us so powerful, and would continue to make us more so. Until we came forward, he said, and offered him the assistance of an officer qualified to undertake his defence, no one had dared to speak a word in his favour; but now he was not a little surprised to find that Colonel Hamilton had succeeded in getting four witnesses to speak favourably for him. He told me that from the day of Agnew's death, he had never gone to visit his own family at his own house, though some of them had been to speak to him. I daresay we may soon look for Henry Lawrence and his wife back from the hills. They have both derived benefit from the change, but I fear it will be the old thing again with him—he will overwork himself as before.

CITADEL, LAHORE, *July 12th, 1849.*

I wish you were here to enjoy the lovely view from the window of my sitting-room, the little garden in front, with its marble fountain, the vinery, the gallery leading to the Summun Boorj, which would make a splendid conservatory, the marble hall outside, with the fountain in the centre, and its beautiful mosaic

Chapter VI. 1849. pavement. You may form an idea of its beauties, by a remark I heard from a lady (who was sketching it), to a friend, "It is a place just made to pass the honeymoon in!" (This was not intended for my ear!) I have been far too busy to go out much, but Lady Lawrence was determined that I should be with them at the only large party she has been able to give in the Residency this season, and as I have been unable to return visits or calls, it was a good opportunity to meet everybody at once.

It is very amusing the number of lady visitors I have, they all come to call on Mrs. Login, but they are all eager to see the pretty things I have to show. Mrs. John Lawrence, Miss Willson and Mrs. Napier, came yesterday to help me with their advice and assistance, as to the arranging of the State jewels in the handsome box I have had prepared for them, and they promise to come again till all is finished.

How amused you would have been with the odd things that come under my inspection. Such a queer conglomeration of odds and ends has never before been seen, I do believe!

I found a fine picture of the Queen in a go-down, among a heap of other valuables, all covered with dust, and among other curiosities I have unearthed from the same place, were a lot of valuable drawings of different kinds and fine old engravings, and a little wax-cloth bag, containing a copy of Henry Martyn's Persian Testament, presented (so the inscription says) by good "Lady William Bentinck to Joseph Wolff." *How* came it here? The medley of articles in that Toshkhana is indescribable!

I have told the little Maharajah that I am in anxiety to hear from you of your safe arrival, as there are reports of several deaths on board your ship on the voyage, and it is nice to see how the little man's sympathy has been aroused, and how eagerly he asks, the first thing, if I have heard of you and Edwy.

I am overwhelmed with applications by my old writers, &c., at Lucknow for situations. I have been able to give one in my office to Mr. Sequera, but I can do no more.

There is every prospect of fine crops this year, better than for many years back; this will have more effect in keeping the country quiet than an army of 20,000 men.

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The immense number thrown out of employment by the breaking up of the Sikh army, and all the Court establishments, was naturally a severe and great anxiety to the Government, and endeavours are being made to turn their attention to agricultural pursuits as far as possible. Almost the first thing done, on our taking possession, was to send out engineers and workmen to open canals for irrigation throughout the Doab, and I did all in my power to urge it on, by keeping the matter constantly before Lawrence and his two coadjutors; so that I believe it was the very first order issued, on assuming full power. In consequence, we are now working hard in the magazine, breaking up old arms as fast as we can, and converting them into *powráhs* and pick-axes, and already I have supplied Napier with many tons of them, for his work on the canals. I had the pleasure of having the first swords brought in, converted into capital scythes for mowing the grass in the soldiers' gardens, which was coming as near "pruning hooks" as circumstances permitted! I am now trying my ingenuity in breaking up cannon shot, without going to the expense of heating them, and I think I shall succeed pretty well; as they are all made of hammered iron, and beautifully finished; the expense of shot made this way must have been enormous. I am setting aside those that may suit our six and nine pounders, for trial during the artillery practice season. I have little doubt that the range of hammered shot, when well made, will be found greater than cast iron.

I have just sent in to the Governor-General a list of jewels, amounting in value to about sixteen and a half lakhs of rupees, and I daresay I shall soon have his orders as to the disposal of them. By-the-bye, I met a Madras officer the other day who knew your two brothers, John and Colin, there. He told me that on his arrival he met an officer, whom, from his extraordinary likeness to

Chapter VI. 1849. John in face, figure, manners, and in every way, even to his beard, must be a brother of his, whom he heard was here. It turned out to be Herbert Edwardes, of Mooltan celebrity. There must be, as I told Edwardes, a strong resemblance; his nose is certainly big enough for a *pair* of Campbells!

CITADEL, *July 21st, 1849.*

Moolraj is always so pleased to see me, when I have time to go in and say a kind word to him. I tell him, he can see that it is not the wish of our Government to treat him harshly, but that the only fear was that, by treating him too leniently others might be induced to do as he did, and thus the lives of many of our people may be sacrificed. He seemed perfectly to see the justice of this view of the matter, and asked me what I thought would be his punishment. I said, probably imprisonment for life. "Oh," said he, in true Oriental style, "under *your* care that would be *no* punishment!"

I have sent some letters for his son through Mr. Edgworth, the Commissioner; and I supply him with a few books and newspapers to read, as well as a Persian Testament, which, with God's blessing, may be useful to him.

He begged me to allow his "Said" (Hindoo priest) to visit him, which I did at once. But the man does not care to repeat his visits often.

Moolraj passes almost his whole time in prayer, and in writing out couplets to invoke the Deity, and propitiate Him in the way he has been taught. As his mind is so disposed that he only thinks of religion, he is anxious I should get him another copy of the Testament, in a character he can read more easily than the one I gave him, which is the Arabic character. I hope to be able to do so. He is, for a native of these parts, a well-educated man. I enclose as a curiosity for you, a paper he wrote and sent to me

yesterday, covered over with the word "*Ram-Ram-Ram*" which serves as a prayer. His own signature is on the back.

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As soon as the Governor-General's decision on the fate of Moolraj was made known to the Board, Mansel wrote to Login as follows :—

ANARKULLAH, *July 21st, 1849.*

MY DEAR LOGIN,

I have just heard by to-day's post from the Governor-General, that he has remitted the capital sentence on Moolraj, but that his punishment will be severe.

Will you kindly see him (Moolraj), and communicate to him privately, that this is the word of the Governor-General: "That he will not be executed."

I have received no authority to make it public, but if Moolraj is informed of it, he may be expected to tell his friends and visitors, and so the matter is no longer a secret. I have not seen you for an age. Come to dinner at eight to-morrow, and bring Wakefield. If he can't come, not being quite recovered, mind you come

Yours,

C. G. MANSEL.



CHAPTER VII.

LAHORE.

LOGIN to his WIFE.

CITADEL, LAHORE, *Sept. 3rd, 1849.*

Chapter VII. 1849. I am rather anxious about Sir Henry's state of health ; he is far from well, and I fear will have to go to the Cape to recruit, for he cannot afford to go home. By scraping all together, he cannot make more than £700 to live on, for himself, wife, and children, and he would feel miserable at having nothing to give away to others.

I cannot but feel gratified at the entire confidence reposed in me by the Board of Administration (Henry and John Lawrence and Mansel). Almost the only instructions I get from them, when I appeal to them are, "Just do what you think right and proper, and we will support you."

Now when you consider how much must be left to my discretion in an appointment of this kind, where I am put in charge of property of all kinds, of which neither the Government (nor indeed any one else) can have any idea of the value, nor any check to enable them to judge of the amount, and it is so entirely left to me to make over this or that to the Maharajah as being, in my opinion, necessary for his use,—I think I may take it for granted that I stand high in their opinion for conscientiousness, integrity, and honesty, even

Lord Dalhousie, in acknowledging the receipt of the list of jewels, to the amount of sixteen and a half lakhs, which I sent in, thinks it necessary to express his sense of the way in which I have proved myself worthy of the Lawrences' high recommendation. He expresses himself also highly pleased with the careful manner in which the lists have been prepared. I feel that this is greatly owing to Jowahir Misr's assistance, so I do not plume myself on this or any other flattering remarks. God knows, I shall be right glad when I can get all the property safely made over, without loss or detriment to Government. I only fear that I will find myself a poorer man by having this charge laid on me; if, as I foresee, the accounts may not balance exactly, from the innumerable detailed payments that have been made, I shall of course be answerable.

I feel the disadvantage often, of not having been trained to the regular work, as civilians are, when cases are brought up to me to decide and judge, but on the whole, I think I get on very well, and decide the cases impartially.

Login was very anxious to make his birthday as pleasant as possible to the little dethroned King, so he proposed to the Lawrences, in the following letter, that a sort of *fête* should be given on the occasion :—

MY DEAR LAWRENCE,

The little Maharajah's birthday is to take place on Tuesday or Wednesday (the Pundits have not yet decided which, as it all depends on his *star*), but I will let you know. Don't you think it would be proper to make up a party from the Residency to offer him their good wishes?

I can have the Summun put in order, to make it look well, and if Lady L. and Mrs. John will give me help with *khidmutgars*, you can all have tea in my garden afterwards. We shall not be

Chapter VII. 1849. able to have a very large party, and I should like to see as many children as possible, on the little fellow's account. All the Ranees are, as usual, to pay their respects, and present their *nuzzurs* on that day. We can arrange matters easily, if the European party comes early, so as not to interfere with them. I think we should fix sunrise as the time.

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 dress in their best to do him honour, I think our party should *not* sport *solah* hats and shooting jackets on this occasion!

Don't you agree with me? Tell me what you think of my proposal as soon as you can, that I may make arrangements.

Yours very truly,

J. S. L.

August 31st, CITADEL, 1849.

On the back of this letter, in Indian fashion is scribbled this characteristic reply:—

MY DEAR LOGIN,

We are agreeable to *all* you propose (my brother John included). Let's know the day fixed.

Yours always,

H. LAWRENCE.

The following letter to his wife written the day after the *fête*, describes the proceedings:—

CITADEL, Sep. 5th, 1849.

Yesterday was the birthday of the little Maharajah: he is now eleven, and entering his twelfth year.

Everything was done that was in my power, to give the anniversary due honour, so that he should feel the difference in his position as little as possible, and not contrast unpleasantly with the last, when he was a reigning King. No doubt, in spite of all, he did see and feel a great difference, poor little man ! but nevertheless he thoroughly enjoyed himself, and was as delighted with the fireworks as any boy of his age could be. Luckily the evening was fine, though the deluge of rain in the morning was dreadful, and upset all my grand arrangements.

I had the great pleasure of presenting to the Maharajah, on the morning of his birthday, a lakh of rupees' worth of his own jewels from the Toshkhana which I had been empowered by Government to select and present to him.

He appeared, therefore, dressed most splendidly ; wearing, besides other jewels, the diamond aigrette and star I had selected. When I congratulated him on his appearance, he innocently remarked, that on his *last birthday* he had worn the Koh-i-noor on his arm !

The rain was so heavy, that to prevent the poor Ranees getting drenched in their finery, I ordered the wall of the Palace to be broken through, to admit them direct from their apartments, instead of going round in the rain to the ordinary entrance. They all came early, very smartly got up, to present their *nuzzurs* to their little Sovereign, and to see and speak to him a while, when offering their congratulations. I had *purdahs* put up to screen the Mahomedan ladies from observation ; but the Sikh Ranees are not so particular, and were quite ready to chat with me. The little fellow gave himself up to enjoyment for the rest of the day, like a boy as he is.

I shall be truly glad when it is settled what is to be the future destination of Duleep Singh. Sir Henry and Mansel both advise his being sent to England at once ; but Lord D. is not fond of suggestions, so we all wait for his decision. Sir Henry says that the Dhoon, with a large estate or Jagheer, might not be a bad thing.

Chapter VII. 1849. Either of these plans would suit me ; but if it is decided to send him to some place in Central India, and to bring him up with no other expectation than to be a mere pensioner, debauched and worthless like so many others, then I feel it is no work for me, and I'll wash my hands of the charge, take my furlough, and join you in England ; but all this is in wiser hands than mine, and I leave it there contentedly.

October 4th, 1849.

THE SAME to THE SAME.

No particular news, except that Chuttur Singh, Shere Singh, and eight other chief Sirdars, have been added to my collection of curiosities in the Citadel. They have been suspected, on pretty good evidence, of holding communication with several disaffected chiefs who are still in hiding, and of having in this way broken through the agreement made with them, when they were allowed to return to their homes. Some of them are, I daresay, guilty, but against others there is little evidence. However, their arrest will be useful in putting down little intrigues which were going on, and which have required us to be on the alert.

Shere Singh wishes to be thought (as indeed he is) a devil-may-care sort of fellow, and makes himself quite at home anywhere.

His first request was for a pack of cards, and something good to eat and drink.

Old Chuttur Singh I feel most for. I shall make them as comfortable as I can ; they affect to look upon it as a piece of rare good fortune to be sent to me. You see what a good name I have got for all sorts of virtues ! Knowing me as you do, only think how people can be humbugged ! I ought to be vain, if flattery could make me so, for I don't think anybody has had such a pat of butter administered, as I have lately. Henry Lawrence gave me a letter he had received from Macleod, as he said *you* would be pleased to know what such a man said of your husband.

It now lies before me, so I shall enclose it. I trust the effect on me will be to make me more humble, and strive to *be* what such a man as Donald Macleod believes me to be already.*

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CITADEL, Oct. 24th, 1849.

There is a report going about since last mail that, much to the honour of "our dear little Queen," she has declined to accept the Koh-i-noor as a gift, under the circumstances in which it has been offered her; indeed, I shall rejoice to hear that this is true, and I am sure that many of her subjects will rejoice with me.

I think I told you that I had urged Henry Lawrence to propose to Lord Dalhousie that the Queen's subjects all over the Empire should be allowed to embrace the opportunity of showing their love and goodwill, by offering it to her. I feel certain that it would be easy to raise a sufficient sum to purchase it,† and it would have more value in her eyes, given her in this way by her people, as a token of their respect and honour, the money to be spent for the good and benefit of her new subjects here, by making the Punjab to bloom like a garden. This may easily be done, by giving employment to the 100,000 men who have been cast adrift, making roads, bridges, and canals, and establishing schools among them, and thus showing that we are above taking anything from them in a shabby way.

This would be one way of converting the possession of the Koh-i-noor into a blessing instead of a curse, which the natives say it

* Extract of a letter from Mr.—afterwards Sir Donald—Macleod to Sir Henry Lawrence :—

DEAR LAWRENCE,

It is truly a happy thing that the young Maharajah has been entrusted to one who will so favourably impress him in respect to the uprightness, benevolence, and intellectual superiority of the European race.

D. MACLEOD.

† "Of course, it would be absurd to fix a price that would be near its intrinsic value, but I think £200,000 would meet the purpose."—J. S. L.

Chapter VII. 1849. has been. But there! I've no doubt you will say that, as usual, my romance is running away with me.

LAHORE, Nov. 6th, 1849.

. . . . My work is increased just now by the seizure of Shere Singh's papers, and those of others, and the inquiries and examinations of witnesses necessary to be made in consequence, which may yet lead to important results.

I was present at a very interesting conversation the other day, between Chuttur Singh and Shere Singh with John Lawrence and Herbert Edwardes.*

* "In the autumn of 1849 . . . in attendance on Mr. John Lawrence, who was conducting a political investigation, I had one or two very interesting interviews with the Rajah in confinement; and in the presence of Mr. Lawrence and Dr. Login, the Superintendent of the Palace, I took the opportunity of asking the Rajah his reasons for going over to the enemy. He replied, throwing up his hands, "My evil destiny! It all took place in one night. My mind was distressed by the Sikh force being ordered away from Mooltan. More pressing letters than ever came in the very next day from my father, imploring me to join the movement; and *I wrote off to Moolraj, for the first time, to say that I would march to him next morning.*"

This is the Rajah's account of his own defection. Now let us have Moolraj's.

Moolraj's religious adviser and private secretary (his Jesuit, in short) was one Mistr Kool Juss, a high caste Brahmin. This man's trial succeeded his master's, and was conducted by me. Amongst other questions, I asked him how long Rajah Shere Singh had been in correspondence with Moolraj before going over. He replied, "That the Rajah never wrote but one letter to the Dewan, all the time he was at Mooltan, and that was *the night before he came over.* We were astonished; for, though we knew all the Rajah's soldiers were our friends, we believed the Rajah himself was our enemy. He had previously rejected all overtures, punished all traitors in his camp, and fired upon our troops. When, therefore, all at once he proposed to join us, we suspected treachery, and would not admit him within the walls, but made him encamp under the guns of the fort; and up to the very day when he marched away again to join his father in Hazaruh, the Dewan and the Rajah never came to a good understanding."

The power of evidence cannot go further than this; and impartial history is, in my opinion, bound to record this verdict: that Rajah Shere Singh Atareewallah was opposed to the rebellion of Mooltan and the second Sikh war; did what he could to stop them both; but failing, sided with his family and nation.

For my own part, I pity him for giving way at last, as much as I execrate his father for leading him astray."—From Sir Herbert Edwardes's "*Fear in the Punjab*," vol. ii., pp. 506-7.

I had to take notes of all that was said, and shall have to give evidence on the subject when the Governor-General arrives. It may possibly result in our settling accounts afresh with our Cashmere friend, Golâb Singh.

I shall not be surprised, if certain things are proved against him, to see him ordered to countermarch a little, and take up his position beyond the Indus, giving him Peshawur and Derajet in exchange for Cashmere. He is the sort of man to hold such a country, and save us a vast deal of trouble.

Dr. McCosh is anxious to take daguerreotypes here, and begs to be allowed to come to-morrow to take likenesses of all the notabilities collected here, myself included among the number, he says! I have told him he cannot take any of the prisoners.

You would laugh if you saw me in the midst of my work trying to snatch a moment to write this. I have *moonshees* on one side, reading *purwanas* and *roobookarees* for my edification, old pensioners in front receiving their pay; on the other side, Misr Makraj, the Treasurer, asking for and receiving my orders. We are all seated in the verandah of the Toshkhana. I must stop now, for I am told John Lawrence is in sight, bearing down upon me with papers in his hand. Something wanted to be done, no doubt.

LETTER *from* ROBERT ADAMS.

CITADEL, LAHORE, Nov. 2nd, 1849.

MY DEAR COUSIN,

Login will have told you that, through his kind offices with Sir H. Lawrence, I am here on my way to join the Guide Corps at Peshawur, as second in command. I scarcely regret that I have been detained here by illness a few days, as it has given me an opportunity of seeing all the multifarious wonders, animal and mineral, over which your worthy husband keeps guard within

Chapter VII.
1849. the Citadel, and of telling you before I leave this, how well his really *responsible* duties have agreed with him.

I must try and give you some idea of his daily work and of all he has to look after, but as I shall start by *dāk* in an hour I have little time to do it. To give human nature precedence, there is first the little Maharajah, the care of whose small person is his *specific* appointment. The little bit of Royalty himself gives little trouble, and he seems much attached to Login, looks on him as his "Ma-Bap," and won't even go out to ride in the morning, or drive in the evening, unless he will go with him. But the establishments of the King, vast and entangled as they were, must have cost him no little trouble; the cutting them down to due dimensions, the task of striking out the names of those who were entitled to no consideration, fixing the amount of the just claims of others, settling the pensions of all whose services deserved to be recognized, and retaining those whose services were required, with the preparation of lists, reports, and descriptive rolls, must have been very harassing. But the Ranees! How would you have felt if you had known that he was busily employed inspecting some hundred of queens and their female attendants, examining and noting down all the warts, moles, and freckles on their dingy countenances and fingers? Coaxing the dark beauties to unveil their faces to his prying gaze, that he might the better write down their portraits, and fix the rates of their future allowances! What fascinations they must have employed to induce him to take a liberal view of their wants, and make the paltry twenty-five a clear half hundred.

It is said, I know not with what truth, that the young and pretty Ranees have little reason to complain! I only hope the old and ugly have no grounds to bewail their scrimp allowances! Moolraj, another of the wild beasts of his menagerie, I was introduced to yesterday, and never was more disappointed in any man. Prepared to see a weak, attenuated frame, I did expect to see something of the hero visible on his face; but not a bit! he

looks an ordinary shrewd *buniah* with little energy. Certainly his was not the bold pluck to enter on a contest with the armies of British India, nor was his the enduring fortitude that held Mooltan against us for so long; he could only have been the tool in the hands of braver men. Chapter VII. 1849.

One cannot help being persuaded, when looking at him, that however just the sentence of death is on Moolraj as Dewan of Mooltan, he personally is guiltless of the blood of Agnew and Anderson.

Login manages to make time to visit him daily, and chats with him, and it is only by his kind coaxing that he can be induced to take enough to keep body and soul together. Poor wretch! one cannot help feeling pity for him, and I am glad he has fallen into such kind hands.

Chuttur Singh, Shere Singh, and ten others of less note, are in Login's custody at present, making thirteen State prisoners.

Login is now hard at work with his staff of assistants, in getting the Toshkhana of kingly valuables into order against the coming of the Governor-General, which is expected about the 20th.

I wish you could walk through that same Toshkhana and see its wonders! the vast quantities of gold and silver, the jewels not to be valued, so many and so rich! the Koh-i-noor, far beyond what I had imagined, and, perhaps above all, the immense collection of magnificent Cashmere shawls, rooms full of them, laid out on shelves, and heaped up in bales—it is not to be described! And all this made over to him, without any list, or public document of any sort, all put in his hands to set in order, value, sell, &c.; that speaks volumes, does it not, for the character he bears with those whose good opinions are worth having? Few men, I fancy, would have been so implicitly trusted.

He will come out of it all none the richer, but probably poorer, for his pay is not quite so much as he had at Lucknow. I hear he is constantly bothered by people coming to beg he will show them the jewels, &c., and he is too kind-hearted to refuse.

Chapter but now he says he must fix one day in the week to let them
 VII. be exhibited, and thus secure peace on other days. My *dák* is
 1849. ready, I must stop.*

Your affectionate cousin,

ROBERT R. ADAMS.

P.S.—The enclosed rough memorandum will amuse you.†

*The writer of this letter, after having served in the Guides (as second in command), was made an Assistant-Commissioner by John Lawrence, and afterwards Deputy-Commissioner in Hazara. He was assassinated at Peshawur in 1864, when Deputy-Commissioner of that city, being cut down by a fanatic as he was riding near the Cabuli Gate.

† Memorandum of Memorabilia, under charge of
 JOHN SPENCER LOGIN,
 in the Citadel of Lahore,
 April 6th, 1849.

The young RULER of the Sikhs.

The FAMILIES of Runjeet Singh and of all the successive Maharajahs of the Punjab, including thirty-three Ranees and 130 concubines.

The PRINCES of the Abdalee family, rulers of Afghanistan and Cashmere.

The *Court Establishment* of all the Lahore Maharajahs, including six sets of courtizans, natives of Cashmere, and five full bands of musicians.

The NAWABS of Mooltan and their families.

State Prisoners.

Moolraj, ex-Nazim of Mooltan.

Rajah Chuttur Singh.

Rajah Shere Singh.

Rajah Lal Singh,

and ten other men of note, including Hakim Rai and his two sons.

The female attendants of Ranee Jinda, from Chunar, were added to this list.

The keys and royal seals of the Motee Munden and of Govindghur (royal treasuries).

THE DIAMOND (KOH-I-NOOR).

The State jewels and treasures in gold, silver, and precious stones; dishes, plates, cups, cooking pots, and *gurrahs* of gold and silver.

The vast store of Cashmere shawls, *chogas*, &c.



LOGIN to his WIFE.

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CITADEL, Nov. 22nd, 1849.

. . . . Still busy; I shall be glad when I can give a "good account of my stewardship." Not that I have any wish whatever that by doing my work well here I may get something higher, but merely to satisfy my own conscience that I have done my duty.

I have sent in my pension lists, and was not a little gratified at what Burn told me. The Board sent them up to Government with high commendations, and drew attention to the fact (which I did not particularly notice), that by exercising a sound discretion, and paying off the establishments *promptly*, with and without gratuities, I had saved a large sum to Government. Mr. P. Melvill, the new Secretary (who is much in Lord Dalhousie's confidence), told me that I am much too useful to part with just now, and that I am far more likely to be kept at Lahore by Lord Dalhousie, than to be sent away with the little boy. I only tell *you* this because you will be pleased to hear that I give satisfac-

Runjeet's golden chair of State; his silver summer-house, gold and silver poled; tents and camp-equipage of rich Cashmere; arms and armour, very magnificent.

Shah Sooja's State pavilion, gorgeously embroidered.

Relics of the Prophet: his shoes, walking-stick, shirt, cap, and pyjamas; his book of prayers in the Kufic character; several locks of his hair.

The Kulgee "plume" of the last Gûrû (Govind).

The sword of the Persian hero Roostum, taken from Shah Sooja by Runjeet Singh.

The sword of Wuzeer Fathie Khan, founder of the Baruksye family at Cabul and Candahar.

The sword of Holkar (an old Spanish blade).

The armour worn by the warriors and Sirdars of note, many of them stained with their blood.

The wedding garment of Maha Singh;

Besides these, many valuable curiosities and relics of all kinds, too numerous to note.



Chapter VII. 849. tion. I have no desire for distinction ; I am much more anxious "to be content with such things as I have."

I am now in my fortieth year, and have seen probably the largest half of my pilgrimage ; and while full of health and energy, would like to devote what remains of it to higher duties than this world's ambition ; but God knows what is in store for me, and will make all work together for my good, if I only seek Him earnestly.

I saw Lady Lawrence yesterday ; she looks better than she has done for years. I shall not feel at all surprised if Henry makes up his mind to go home and settle down on his £700 a year, and bring up his boys. He is harassed and worried a good deal, and can't take disappointments easily.

If he does go, what do you say to my following his example, and living in his neighbourhood ? Lady L. and you get on quite as well as Sir Henry and I. We often talk over this idea when he gets depressed over his work.

Lady L. seems much pleased with the composition of the civil staff in the Punjab, and hopes great things from them. I still expect to see Tucker here, and then with Montgomery, Donald Macleod, and Edgworth we shall be excellently well set up with Commissioners, whom it would be a real pleasure to work with.

This is certainly a noble country in climate and productions, far beyond any other part of our dominions in Hindostan. The hot weather is certainly trying, but the cold weather more than makes up for it, and it is delightful to see the rosy cheeks of the children now.

I have a large party of officials coming to inspect arrangements, and must break off. My ideas on the subject of retirement are as strong as ever, and I shall not be easily tempted to give them up ; it appears to me to be a duty I owe to my children. It all resolves itself into contentment with the means we possess.

I have promised the Maharajah to take him to see the races to-day.

We have just returned, and I confess that in spite of my telling your brother Charles I hoped he would lose the race—to make him give up racing—as soon as I saw his and your clan tartan (Campbell) on his jockey, I could not help wishing it success. Duleep Singh was much excited about Charles's horses, and was delighted when he won a good race. The General (Gilbert) rode his own horse and won his own cup, and was vastly pleased about it; he came up to the carriage after the race and had a long talk with me. I try to make the Maharajah understand the difference between enjoying a race for the sport's sake, and enjoying it for the purpose of betting and gambling, but as he has few amusements now, I don't like to refuse him a little pleasure, and he is delighted to come. I am very anxious to get in my lists, and statements, and accounts of public property before the Governor-General arrives, and thus grudge every moment that is not given to my work. I think what I have done will show him that I am not idle, and that he has got an industrious and honest man here in charge, and one whom as a public servant he must respect.

The fellows under me work very hard, seeing that I do not spare myself. I have now got orders as to where all the State prisoners are to be sent, and who are to be let off, and I am making private arrangements to carry this out, and enquiring among their families as to whom they would like best to have with them. Poor wretches! they are to be pitied after all. I rather think if I had been a Sikh I should have been out in the '48! But still we must take care of ourselves, and not let them loose at present.

Sir Charles Napier is coming next week, and I shall have little peace while he and the Governor-General remain, as I shall have to show them all the lions of the Punjab, and answer such heaps of questions. The pat of butter from Lord D., which I told you of, has been as satisfactory to the Lawrences as it has been to me.

It is amusing, going the rounds of the guards, as sometimes I

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Chapter do, to hear the different titles they give me, the favourite one is
 VII. Killah-ki-Malik Bahadoor. The little Maharajah has been to
 1849. play in my garden; he is really a fine boy, and I know you would like him much.

I am having his place of residence put in thorough order before the Governor-General sees it, and I think when he *does* see the home the boy has had, he could never have it in his heart to send him to a shabby one.

I am told it is not unlikely that the old Begum Sumroo's palace near Meerut (Sirdanah) may be fixed upon.

I am writing this at four a.m. I cannot for the life of me sleep more than five hours, but these I do well, and I am in perfect health.

I have just had another addition to my responsibilities, in the shape of sixteen women, the Ranee Jinda's attendants, whom she left behind when she escaped from Chunar; I must try and distribute them among the other Khaneem. They are mostly hill women, and much better looking than the others here.

Sir C. Napier writes me to show him the litters *first*, before anything else, so I must get them ready. . . .

In the little garden in front of the marble hall, on a handsome marble platform, I have erected a silver summer-house, 16 feet square, made some years ago for Runjeet Singh in Cashmere. It is really beautiful work, and it will look perfectly lovely and unique, the more so from the excellent site and background I have chosen for it. Standing in the marble hall the effect is enchanting, with its background of orange trees in full bearing, the dark-green foliage, and the sparkling fountains.

I intend to have a party of children down on Saturday to have a little play with the Maharajah, and to eat fruit in it. By showing it off in this way, I have some hope that the Governor-General will make it over to the young Maharajah, or, if he will not consent to this, at least allow *him* to make a present of it to the young Prince of Wales, along with some

of his handsome Sikh armour and dresses, there being some of a splendid description made for himself, and only suitable for a young boy. I do not know how the Governor-General may take the suggestion, so I shall say nothing until I see Elliot on the subject.

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Octavius Anson is still with me. I like him very much. A fine, gentlemanly, right-minded man. I am glad of the opportunity of knowing him, as well as you did his poor young wife. He seems to like me also. At this moment, he is writing to his cousin, Lady Rosebery, to ask her to invite you out to Dalmeny, near Edinburgh, for change of air after your illness. He says he is sure you would like her, that she is a very pleasant creature.

At the races this morning the little Maharajah was quite excited. Some wag had entered a horse under the name of "Dr. Login," which caused much amusement! I could not wait till the race was ended, as I had an appointment, but the boy was delighted that he was a winner of some small stakes.

Herbert Edwardes announces the approach of the Governor-General.

RESIDENCY, LAHORE, Nov. 27th, 1849.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

Will you render Fagan any assistance in you power to water the roads on which the Governor-General will enter to-morrow? You might spare a party of men for the purpose. He is expected at eight a.m. John Lawrence and the Sirdars go out about seven a.m. to meet him, and your company is requested, but, of course, *not* your ward's. Please join us on the Parade.

Yours sincerely,

HERBERT EDWARDES.



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The following letter from Login to his wife was written under sadder auspices, he having just received the news of the death of his brother James :—

LAHORE, Nov. 28th, 1849.

You will be little prepared for the sad intelligence I have to send you, of the sudden death of my poor dear brother, James; it occurred at Dinapore, on the 13th, from cholera, after twelve hours' illness. He had come down from Khatmandoo in high health, to pass his examination at Calcutta, and was suddenly struck down on his way back, at Dinapore. . . . For the last two days I have not had a moment's leisure, preparing for the coming of the Governor-General, who arrived this morning. If, under the circumstances, I could derive much pleasure from any worldly praise, I have had sufficient to satisfy me.

I was introduced by John Lawrence to Lord Dalhousie with much warmth of commendation. His lordship said that, "he had heard on all sides how much satisfaction I had given in discharging my duties, which were of no ordinary delicacy, and that I had acquitted myself well." He said he wished to have a long conversation with me, and appointed twelve to-day.

I have just returned from him (two p.m.). He told me that, after much consideration, it had been determined to remove the little Maharajah to Futtehghur, and that he wished much that I should continue in charge of him there on my present allowances, and do all that I could to make him comfortable and happy.

He said "it had been quite a relief to the Government, and to him, to have me in charge of the Maharajah, and that the way I had done my duty towards the Maharajah, and the Government, was in every way satisfactory to both." He was really very kind and cordial indeed; told me that he did not wish to restrict me to Futtehghur, but that I might take him to Agra or Delhi, or any of the neighbouring places, whenever I liked, and eventually

to *England* in course of a year or two. I then had an opportunity of giving him my-ideas regarding the advantages of sending some young Sikh nobles to England, and showing them something of our power and resources. And then what came next? Poor Dryburgh was to have been appointed this day to the charge of the Nepalese Mission to England! I told Lord Dalhousie what had occurred, and he was much shocked, and sympathized with me most cordially.

P.S.—Lord Dalhousie also approves of an estate for the Maharajah after a few years.

CITADEL, LAHORE, Dec. 7th, 1849.

After Lord Dalhousie had inspected all my work in the Citadel, and had witnessed how happy the young Maharajah was with me, he said that he did not *compliment* me, but congratulated me, most heartily, on the success with which I had performed a most delicate and difficult duty, and that I had effected far more than could have been expected from *any one*. He then thanked me, and shook hands with me warmly.

That very night, however, as if to show me the emptiness of human praise, and perhaps to bring down any little pride I may have felt in showing all my work to the Governor-General, at midnight my Toshkhana was robbed, and property to the amount of 20,000 rupees carried off (this out of some thirteen or fourteen lakhs was not very much); but in what way was greater loss prevented? Why, by the providential circumstance of the place catching fire accidentally, by the light brought in by the thieves! Had this not occurred and caused the discovery, I should have been ruined! Immediately on the fire being discovered I was called, broke open the door and got the fire out, which had done little damage, and found that a breach had been made in the wall, by which the thieves had entered. This, with sentries all around, was rather

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Chapter strange. What if it should turn out that it was with their
VII. connivance, and that the European sentry then on duty had a
1849. hand in it? Can any foresight provide against that?

The native sentry, it is true, is posted in the same court, but he is not exactly in the same position, and the European can easily manage to keep him at a distance, when he wishes to do so.

On the discovery being made, I promptly sent orders to all the gates not to let a soul pass out without a written pass from me; put all the sentries on the alert; and commenced a strict search all round (it had occurred before one in the morning) in case the thieves might still be in hiding; got the Kotwal and his people from the city, and the assistant-magistrates, to set to work, offering a reward of 1,000 rupees, diminishing by one hundred daily until the property was discovered.

I also shut up every person in the Citadel in their respective quarters, placing sentries to prevent communications, until our search was made. Nothing was found until five p.m. on Sunday, when a box was brought in which had contained a pistol, and bore my Toshkhana mark. This had been detected under some rubbish near the European Artillery Barracks. I may mention that the Barracks had been searched, but not satisfactorily; and the officer commanding (Money, you remember him at Lucknow) had thrown obstacles in the way, for which he has been well "wiggled."

This, with the circumstance that some lucifer matches were found near the breach in the wall, gave me a clue to further discovery, and the result has been, that I have recovered already eight-tenths of the articles stolen (chiefly gold vessels), and I hope to get the remainder before very long. They have all been dug up in the little houses adjoining, and in the loose earth at the roadside.

I felt certain that the property must still be within the walls, as such prompt action had been taken, and there was no time to

carry them off; I kept a strict watch and search at all the gates. Chapter VII. 1849.

It unfortunately happened, however, that the Governor-General had fixed to return in State* the Maharajah's visit, and to pass on at the gate in procession, and through the Citadel; therefore, I had to take measures to prevent any of the Citadel people getting out when Lord Dalhousie's party left, or from carrying off any property under the *jules* of the *howdahs*, in the crowd. My measures were crowned with success. I shut up every avenue leading to the main street, which the troops were to line, an hour before the procession came, gave orders to confine all camp-followers to their quarters, and prevented the people in the Citadel from joining in the procession, telling them to see as much as they could from the house-tops. Well, all went off splendidly. The orderly arrangement and the appearance of my Durbar was greatly admired; and on accompanying the Governor-General to his tent, he expressed again his acknowledgments, and assured me that, seeing all my arrangements were so perfect, no blame could possibly attach to me.

** Copy of Official Notification of Governor-General's Visit.*

On Monday, at four o'clock, the Governor-General will proceed in State, and under a salute of twenty-one guns from the artillery in the camp, to return the visit of the Maharajah Duleep Singh. The members of the Board, all the secretaries and the personal staff will be in attendance.

Some one on the part of the Maharajah will come to the Governor-General's camp, for *istigbal*—probably Maharajah Shere Singh's son.

The Maharajah with his Governor will come out of the fort on an elephant to receive and conduct the Governor-General.

The Governor-General and his party will sit on the right, and that of the Maharajah on the left.

The Governor-General will present a *serwana* of 5,000 rupees, as usual. After a few minutes' conversation, fifty-one trays of articles, with seven horses and one elephant with gold *howdah*, should be presented by the Maharajah, and also the usual trays to all the secretaries and aide-de-camps in attendance.

Uttur will then be served, and the Governor-General will take leave.

The Maharajah will conduct His Lordship as far as the place where His Lordship will mount his elephant.

A salute of twenty-one guns to be fired in the fort on the arrival and departure of the Governor-General.

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I had not *then* recovered any of the missing articles, but felt assured in my own mind that I should have them before long.

He *ap*proved highly of all the steps I had taken, and of the reward offered. I dined with Lord Dalhousie that evening, and attended Lady Dalhousie's reception afterwards. At the conclusion, Lord Dalhousie took me into his private tent for an hour to talk over matters. He told me that if he mentioned the affair of the robbery to the Court of Directors, it would only be with the intention of showing them the debt of gratitude owing to me for my wonderful arrangements, which had prevented any greater loss than this, which was a mere trifle to what it might have been. I asked him to bestow some mark of his approval on my great helper and assistant, Misr Makraj, the old State Treasurer, as being in my belief *an honest man*. He has made him a noble of the land, and I feel more pleased than if I had got honours myself!

Sir Charles Napier has been very kind indeed, and claimed me as an old acquaintance. His daughter, Mrs. McMurdo, has been sketching up at my quarters several times with Mrs. Colin McKenzie. She managed to take a sketch of the young boy surreptitiously.

I have been with Lord Dalhousie again all this morning, taking his instructions regarding the boy, to whom he has taken a great fancy, and I am now expecting him here at the Toshkhana, as he is coming up quietly for a private view, and again to-morrow morning.

Since writing the former part of this letter, I have had the good fortune to recover more of the stolen property—indeed I may say all—and besides I have secured the very men concerned in the robbery, one of them having come to me and voluntarily confessed it. They are European artillerymen, I am sorry and ashamed to say. Four of them are in custody, and a woman connected with the affair is by this time arrested in Ferozepore. There will be no difficulty in bringing it home to them, the evidence we have is so complete.

When the Governor-General met me, after he heard of my success, he clapped me on the back and congratulated me most heartily !' (Certainly there is a great deal of cordiality about him.)

When I was with Duleep Singh at the Garden *Fête* given to the soldiers by Lawrence, the boy's fancy was much taken by some Highlanders in full dress. Lord Dalhousie said, "Login, tell him they are my countrymen."

I was much amused at his admiration of the way I had turned out the Maharajah's equipage; he declares he has "seen nothing so smart out of England." After all, it is only the old carriage with the box taken off, and made to sit gracefully on its springs; he said, "Why don't you take Lawrence's turn-out in hand!"

I have taken the Governor-General to visit Moolraj, also Chuttur Singh and Shere Singh, afterwards he came in to call on Duleep, in a friendly way.

I get little time to myself, as he comes again at four p.m., and I have to dine with him again; however, he has told me to bring this letter with me to go in his bag, otherwise it will be too late. He is writing by this mail to the Queen, an account of his visit to the Maharajah, and how pleased he is with everything. Mrs. John Lawrence is sending home her children under Herbert Edwardes's charge; mind you go to see them, that I may give her your report. Tell me if you think Edwardes like your brother John.

So much romance being attached to the famous Koh-i-noor, of which Login had charge at this time, some account of it here may be of interest. The following extract is from the "*Life of Lord Lawrence*":—

Shortly before the decree of annexation went forth, Lord Dalhousie had written to Henry Lawrence to make every

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disposition for the safe custody of the State jewels, which were about to fall into the lap of the English. In a letter dated April 27th, on the subject of the Maharanee, who had just escaped from our hands, he remarks, "This incident three months ago would have been inconvenient, now it does not so much signify, at the same time it is discreditable, and I have been annoyed by the occurrence. As guardians seem so little to be trusted, I hope you have taken proper precautions in providing full security for the jewels and Crown property at Lahore, whose removal would be a more serious affair than that of the Maharanee." It had, in fact, been found more than once on the enrolment of some new province in our Empire, which, whether by cession, by lapse, or forcible annexation was growing, or about to grow, so rapidly, that the State jewels or money had had a knack of disappearing; it is amusing to read the expressions of virtuous indignation which bubble over from our officers at the extravagance or rapacity or carelessness of the former owners, when, on entering a palace which they deemed would be stocked with valuables ready for English use, they found that the treasury was empty and the jewels were gone. Great care was therefore needful, especially as among the Punjab jewels was the matchless Koh-i-noor, the "mountain of light," which it was intended should be expressly surrendered by the young Maharajah to the English Queen.

The origin of this peerless jewel is lost in the mists of antiquity. It had fallen into the hands of the early Turkish invaders of India, and from them it had passed to the Moguls. "My son Humayoun," says the illustrious Baber, one of the most lovable of all Eastern monarchs, "has won a jewel from the Raja, which is valued at half the daily expenses of the whole world."

A century or two later the Persian conqueror, Nadir Shah, seeing it glitter in the turban of Baber's conquered descendant, exclaimed with rough and somewhat costly humour, "We will be friends, let us change turbans in pledge of friendship," and the exchange of course took place.

The Afghan conqueror, Ahmed Shah, wrested it in his turn from the feeble hand of Nadir Shah's successor, and so it came into the possession of Shah Sooja, who was by turn the pensioner and the puppet of the English, and the miserable pretext of the first disastrous Afghan war. Half prisoner and half guest of Runjeet Singh, he had, of course, been relieved by the one-eyed, money-loving Sikh of the responsibility of keeping such a valuable treasure. Runjeet, listening on his death-bed to the suggestions of a wily Brahmin, had been half disposed, like many other death-bed penitents, to make his peace with the other world by sending the beautiful jewel to adorn the idol of Juggernaut; but fate reserved it for the ultimate possession of the English Crown.

To this we may add the following statement, obtained by Login at the request of Lord Dalhousie :—

STATEMENT OF MISR MAKRAJ,

Treasurer to H.M. the Maharajah Duleep Singh

(for upwards of thirty-two years employed in the Toshkhana at Lahore), with regard to the Koh-i-noor, from the time that it came into Runjeet's possession.

Shah Sooja-Ool-Moolk, at the time the Koh-i-noor was taken from him by Runjeet Singh, was in confinement with his family in the house of the Dewan Lukput Rai, near the Shah Alum Gate, or Putree Durwaza. The Maharajah sent to him Dewan Motee Ram, Fakeer Azizodeen, and others, to demand the jewel from him, and he sent by their hands a large *pookraj* (topaz) of a yellow colour, which the Shah stated to be the Koh-i-noor. On this being shown to the Maharajah, who was then in the Summun, he sent for jewellers to ascertain whether this were the Koh-i-noor or not; and on being told by them it

Chapter VII. 1849. was *not* the Koh-i-noor, he kept the topaz, but sent immediate orders to place the Shah under restraint (*tungai*), and to prevent him from eating or drinking until the Koh-i-noor demanded was given up, as he had attempted to impose upon the Maharajah by sending a topaz instead. After this restraint had been continued about eight hours, the Shah gave up the Koh-i-noor to the Vakeels above named, who immediately brought it to the Maharajah in the Summun, where it was shown to the jewellers who had remained with the Maharajah at the palace until the return of the Vakeels. The Maharajah had dressed for the evening Durbar, and was seated in his chair, when the jewel was brought to him. It was brought in a box lined with crimson velvet, into which it had been fitted, and was presented to the Maharajah, who expressed great satisfaction.

It was at that time set alone (singly) in an enamelled setting, with strings to be worn as an armlet. He placed it on his arm, and admired it, then, after a time, replaced in its box, which, with the topaz, he made over to Belee Ram, to be placed in the Toshkhana, under the charge of Misr Bustee Ram Toshkhaneaa. The Toshkhana being then in the Motee Bazaar, at the house of Ramsaker Gurwai (now Lal Singh's Toshkhana), who placed it in a chest there. After a little while it was taken by the Maharajah to Amritsur under charge of Belee Ram, along with other articles of the Toshkhana, and carried along with the Maharajah, wherever he went, under a strong guard.

It was always carried in a large camel trunk, placed on the *leading* camel (but this was known only to the people of the Toshkhana). The whole string of camels, which generally consisted of about one hundred, being well guarded by troops. In camp, this box was placed between two others alike, close to the pole of the tent, Misr Belee Ram's bed very close to it, none but his relatives and confidential servants having access to the place.

For four or five years it was worn as an armlet, then fitted up as a *sirpesh* for the turban, with a diamond drop of a *tolah* weight (now in the Toshkhana) attached to it. It was worn in this manner for about a year, on three or four occasions, when it was again made up as an armlet, with a diamond on each side, *as at present*. It has now been used as an armlet for upwards of twenty years.

Shah Sooja remained at Lahore after this for ten months or a year, and then made his escape with his family, taking the guard with him. The Koh-i-noor remained under the charge of Belee Ram, as above stated.

Shortly before the death of Runjeet Singh, Rajah Dhyan Singh, Wuzeer, sent for Belee Ram, and stated that the Maharajah had expressed, by signs, that he wished the Koh-i-noor to be given away in charity (the Maharajah being then speechless). Misr Belee Ram objected, saying, that "it was only fit to be possessed by a king! and to whom could it be given in charity?" Rajah Dhyan Singh said "to the Brahmins at Juggernaut." But Belee Ram objected to this, stating that it ought to remain with the Maharajah's descendants, and that already twenty-one lakhs of rupees, and jewels, and gold, &c., had been given away to the Brahmins. He thus exposed himself to the greatest enmity on the part of Rajah Dhyan Singh, and after the accession of Maharajah Khurruck Singh, and the assassination of Cheyt Singh, Rajah Dhyan Singh obtained uncontrolled power, and threw Misr Belee Ram into prison, where he was kept for four months, the keys of the Toshkhana having been handed over to Tej Chund.

However, on the accession of Maharajah Shere Singh, Misr Belee Ram was once again called into office, and continued during his reign.

On the day after Shere Singh's death, Belee Ram was seized by Heera Singh's people and sent to the house of Nawab Sheik Imamoodeen, by whom he was *disposed* of in the *Tykhana*.

Chapter VII. 1849. (underground room) of his house, along with his brother, Ram Kissen, and Bhaee Goormukee Singh.

At the time of Belee Ram's seizure the keys of the Toshkhana and of the jewels were with his nephew, Gunesh Doss, who was with his uncle, and from him the keys were taken by Rajah Lal Singh, who, at the same time, put him in confinement, along with six others of Belee Ram's family, including Misr Makraj,* but still making them perform their duties in the Toshkhana, though the keys were given to Bowanee Doss and Kurrum Singh.

On the death of Heera Singh they were released, and after the removal of Lal Singh from power, the charge of the Toshkhana and Koh-i-noor again came into the hands of Misr Makraj, with whom it has continued without intermission until made over to the undersigned on 6th May, 1849, when taken possession of by the British Government.

(Signed) J. S. LOGIN.

The Koh-i-noor was brought from the old Toshkhana by Dr. Login, and placed with the other valuables in the Citadel, under guard.

The old treasurer, Misr Makraj, gave him every assistance, and said "the relief to his mind was great at being free of responsibility." He said that the Koh-i-noor had been the cause of so many deaths, having been fatal to so many of his own family, that he never expected to be spared !

* Belee Ram's younger brother.



Login followed the advice given him by Misr Chapter VII. 1849.
Makraj—when showing the jewel to visitors, to keep it
in his *own* hand, with the ribbon cords that tied it as
an armlet twisted round his fingers. It was still
set, as before described, as an armlet, with a diamond
on each side of the Koh-i-noor as a contrast of size.



CHAPTER VIII.

FUTTEHGUR.

Chapter VIII. 1850. THAT the removal of the young ex-King from the Punjab was contemplated with no little anxiety by the Government at Calcutta ; that most elaborate precautions were taken to prevent his abduction on the road ; and that the protection of a very strong escort of troops was deemed necessary to guard against surprise, will appear from the following official despatches :—

From SIR HENRY ELLIOT, K.C.B., SECRETARY, to the GOVERNMENT of INDIA, with the GOVERNOR-GENERAL; to the BOARD of ADMINISTRATION for the affairs of the PUNJAB.

(Dated) CAMP BULLOKHEE, Dec. 11th, 1849.

SIRS,

The Governor-General has from the first considered it essential that Maharajah Duleep Singh should not continue to reside in the Punjab after its annexation to the British Empire.

2. The lateness of the season in April last, and His Lordship's unwillingness to expose him to the fatigue of a long journey in the hot weather, induced the Governor-General to defer his removal until the end of the year.



3. The Governor-General having had an opportunity of showing all due respect and courtesy to His Highness at Lahore, conceives that his departure should no longer be delayed.

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4. Preparations for this purpose have already been made. A residence has been provided for the Maharajah at Futteghur, befitting his rank and station.

5. The troops which were to escort the Maharajah have been provided. A squadron of the Body Guard will arrive at Lahore in a few days, and two companies of Her Majesty's 18th Regiment are waiting there also.

6. The Governor-General lately requested His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to give orders for the escort of a regiment of native infantry being added to the troops already mentioned. Application should be made to the Major-General commanding in the Punjab for the further arrangements of this escort, His Excellency's intentions having no doubt been communicated to him.

7. The Governor-General, I am further directed to state, is entirely satisfied with the past services of Dr. Login, in the position he has occupied towards the Maharajah. His Lordship thinks that nothing better could be desired by the Government, and nothing could be more advantageous to the future comfort and happiness of the *boy*, than that Dr. Login should continue for the present to have charge of him and of all his affairs.

8. The Governor-General begs that the full approbation of the Government for his past services may be conveyed to Dr. Login, and His Lordship's confidence that in the future discharge of his duties he will continue to merit the praise of the Government, and will confer lasting and real benefit on the young Maharajah.

9. Dr. Login will continue to draw a consolidated salary of 1,200 rupees a month. It is not just that the whole of this salary should be defrayed by the Government, and His Lordship considers that a fair division should be made, and that one-half should be

Chapter VIII. 1850. paid by the British Government, the other half defrayed from the annual income of His Highness.

10. Dr. Login will have entire authority over His Highness's household during his boyhood. He will be placed under the direct control of the Governor-General, after leaving the jurisdiction of the Board of Administration in the Punjab. Monthly diaries or reports should be made by him to the Secretary to the Government of India in this department, and copies of his accounts should be rendered quarterly in the same department.

11. Doctor Login will, as soon as practicable after his arrival, report on the precautions to be taken for His Highness's security in the event—which His Lordship thinks an improbable one—of any design being entertained for carrying him off; and he will suggest such measures as he may consider necessary. Care must be taken to guard against any intrigues on the part of his mother, the Maharanee, who is now residing under guard at Khatmandoo, and who has refused to return to the British territories, but whose avowed intention is to regain possession of her son, the Maharajah.

12. The Governor-General conceives it to be desirable to remove at the same time from the Punjab the child who is, it is believed, the only legitimate son of the Maharajah Shere Singh. He can, for the present, occupy the same residence as the Maharajah, under such regulations as may be thought right. He should be treated as a companion of the Maharajah, but as in all respects his inferior.

13. In both cases a very careful selection should be made of the attendants who are to accompany them. In the case of the child, especially, there can be no reason for taking almost any servant from Lahore,* and both should be prevented from having

* In an official letter to Secretary to Government, dated February 6th, 1850, Login says, that owing to the Shahzadah's tender age (six and a half years), and

any one about them, except such persons as Dr. Login may consider from his experience to be worthy of trust.

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14. The Governor-General finally requests that a report may be forwarded of the arrangements made by the Board in pursuance of the foregoing instructions, and of the servants, property, &c. . . . to be taken, after the departure of the Maharajah.

I have, &c.,

H. M. ELLIOT, *Sec. to the Government of India.*

In forwarding a copy of the above to Dr. Login, Major H. P. Burn, Deputy Secretary to the Punjab Board of Administration, after some remarks on the earlier portion of it, adds by direction of the Board that—

No man of doubtful character should be permitted to accompany the camp. You should keep, he says, two or three trusty persons at all times with the Maharajah in addition to the armed guard. Care should be taken against his being inveigled away at night, quite as much as against armed violence. The Board have much pleasure in being the medium of conveying to you the present handsome tribute of the approbation of the Government, in which they cordially join.

the suddenness of the order for his removal, he had thought it advisable, to prevent any appearance of undue harshness, to permit the mother to accompany the child, in the hope that afterwards, "when the boy could dispense with female attendance . . . she might more easily be induced to leave him" in Dr. Login's care, and return to her own family at Kangra. In thus departing from his instructions he acted with the approval of Sir H. Lawrence.



Chapter VIII. 1850. *From MAJOR H. P. BURN, Deputy Secretary to the BOARD of ADMINISTRATION, to J. S. LOGIN, Esq., M.D., Agent to the GOVERNOR-GENERAL, in charge of the EX-MAHARAJAH; by direction of Sir H. M. Lawrence, K.C.B., President.*

LAHORE, Dec. 21st, 1849—7 a.m.

SIR,

1. I am directed by the Board to call upon you for a reply to my letter of the 14th inst. . . . detailing the arrangements you propose to make for the safety of Maharajah Duleep Singh during the march to Futtehghur, and forwarding a list of servants and establishment accompanying the camp.

2. The Board cannot too strongly impress on you the necessity of the utmost watchfulness. The strong escort will prevent all chance of open rescue; your chief care should, therefore, be against secret abstraction, especially at night.

3. Major-General Sir Walter Gilbert has been requested to inform the officer commanding the escort that you, as Agent of the Governor-General, are responsible for the Maharajah, and that therefore your instructions are to be attended to. This, of course, merely refers to guards, hours of marching, &c. . . . and will not in any way interfere with the authority of the commanding officer, in the event of the troops being called on to act. Cordiality and free intercourse with the military will, of course, be observed.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

H. P. BURN, *Major.*

P.S.—4. Since this letter was written, the President has witnessed your departure at nine a.m., although the hour of seven was fixed. He was surprised to perceive that you were only accompanied by twenty of the Body Guard, without an officer.

5. The Board wish to impress on your mind that your chief danger is an attempt at rescue *on the road*, on which account you should be accompanied on the march by at least one hundred horsemen, and a portion of the infantry should be ready to receive you on the new ground, and one company or so should leave the old encampment, so as to be fallen in with by the Maharajah's party about midway of the march. It is not the attack of an army that you have to guard against, but of a hundred or more desperadoes ready to sell their lives.

6. Lights should be kept in the Maharajah's tent, and a double sentry at each door. The Europeans should be saved as much as possible during the day, and employed at night.

H. P. BURN, *Major*.

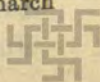
From MAJOR H. P. BURN, &c., &c., *to* DR. LOGIN, &c., &c.,
Ferozepore.

LAHORE, Dec. 23rd, 1849.

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd inst., No. 2, and to inform you that the Board consider your arrangements judicious and proper. The plan of European orderlies is very good. Your explanation regarding the absence of the European officer when leaving Lahore, is satisfactory as far as he is concerned, but the Board would observe that the whole of the Body Guard, excepting those required with their baggage, should march with the Maharajah.

2. The Board desire me to repeat the expression of their sense of the value of your services while employed under them, and trust implicitly to your continued attention and good management, for the safety and comfort of the Maharajah on his march to Futtehghur.



Chapter VIII. 1850. 3. Copy of a circular to the Commissioners of Ferozepore, Loodiana, and Umballa is herewith enclosed for your information ; and also of one to the magistrates of Saharunpore, Mozuffer-nuggur, Bolundshuhur, and Furruckabad.

4. You are requested to briefly post progress *daily* until you cross the Jumna, and then weekly until arrival at Futtehghur.

I have the honour, &c.,

H. P. BURN, *Major*.

The circular referred to requires the above-named Commissioners to "attend the camp of Maharajah Duleep Singh through their jurisdiction, instruct their police to be alert, and themselves take such measures as will ensure the comfort and safety of the Maharajah and party. Every respect was to be paid the Maharajah by all holding intercourse with him, but visits and public ceremonies are not to be permitted. Salutes of courtesy are (also) not required." The magistrates are informed of the approach of the camp of the ex-King, and desired to "attend to all the requisitions of Dr. Login, and in every way exert themselves for the comfort and safety of the Maharajah."

Login's own letters to his wife at home, will best describe the last days at Lahore, the incidents of the march, and the daily life and surroundings of the young Prince and his nephew, in their new home at Futtehghur.

Jan. 2nd, 1850.

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. . . . It was a great relief to me to get away from Lahore. After Macgregor (who took over charge from me) had given me a receipt for the *bodies* of Moolraj, Chuttur Singh, Shere Singh, and Co., it occurred to me that it would be a bit of a curiosity in after days, if I could get them all to sign their names together on a single document as a souvenir. So I drew up a *Razeenama* in Persian, which they all signed in duplicate with great readiness. This gives me a spare copy to give away, as well as one to keep. I shall deposit it along with the receipt for the Koh-i-noor, which was written by Lord Dalhousie himself, in the presence of Sir H. Elliot, Sir H. Lawrence, Mansel, and John Lawrence, and countersigned by them all. They also affixed their seals, as well as my own, to the State jewels, when I delivered them over. This document will be worth keeping I think, and something for my children to look at when I am gone.

On my birthday the Maharajah sent me as *his* present, a large chesnut Arab, a fine powerful animal; it was much admired by everybody. Of course I could not refuse his gift, and shall ride him occasionally on the march, paying for his keep myself from that day; but he is, and shall remain, the property of the little man to all intents and purposes. I have written Major Scott, to ask him to let me have his boy Tommy as companion for the Maharajah, and to be educated with him when I can get a good tutor sent out from England. I have asked Henry Lawrence to consult Dr. Duff when he arrives at Lahore as to the best way to set about getting one; he is sure to be able to help us, as he goes to England shortly; in the meantime I must find some one to carry on the boy a bit, to fit him for a good tutor. I must not forget to tell you that, before leaving, I made over the "*Blessières*" to Sir C. Napier, after having had him *trotted up and down* in one! They are to be tried in headquarter's camp, and must sink or swim now. Sir Charles is in great admiration of them himself, and he is no bad judge. I assisted him at an interesting interview he

Chapter had with Shere Singh and his father. Sir Charles questioned
 .VIII. them closely on various matters, particularly the battles of
 1850. Gujerat and Chillianwallah, and the reasons for this and that
 movement. Not being a military man, I proposed making over
 the office of interpreter to the Commander-in-Chief's interpreter;
 but he made rather a poor show at the work, so I had to go at it
 again, and was complimented on my success. I am considered a
 good hand at understanding "these Punjabis;" their dialect is
 a little strange to men unaccustomed to it.

It is rather amusing to me, to have to receive regular military
 reports from the officers with the escort, with a salute "Any
 change in the guard, sir?" "Have you any fresh orders, sir?"
 How you would laugh at my demure face! but all the same, we
 have to be very wide awake during the march, as it is well known
 that there are designs on foot to carry off the boy. I think, how-
 ever, that I shall foil them; at least, if they succeed, it won't be for
 want of vigilance on my part.

SEHARUNPOOR, Jan. 20th, 1850.

. . . . Just returned from the public gardens here, where I
 took the boy: he has a great love for plants and seeds of all kinds
 for his garden, and I like to encourage the taste. Mr. Kane has
 promised him a good gardener, and some waggon-loads of plants
 and shrubs; they are to start at once. We have also been to visit
 the Government stud. I am rather thinking of getting a pair
 of strong grey wheelers from here, for the Maharajah's carriage;
 but people admire it so much as it is, with the four grey Arabs,
 and think it perfect, that I hesitate. I think they are too light;
 but there is no question of their beauty. We look very smart
 when we are in our show dress at the different stations, with this
 smart equipage, escorted by the Governor-General's Body Guard
 and Skinner's "Canaries."

We are near Deobund to-day, where we lost my poor Hinghan.

I don't find this sort of life good for my pocket, though very pleasant. As, of course, the Maharajah's table is quite distinct from mine, *I* have to entertain constantly; we have the escort officers, of course, and many guests as we go through the stations. I have also to provide for young Barlow, and soon I shall have Tommy Scott, and a tutor; and this I shall continue to do till you arrive, when we shall take up our abode (as I told Lord Dalhousie) in a separate house from the Maharajah. I can then establish a separate table for the others, which can be kept up at the Maharajah's expense. So do come out as soon as you can.

MEERUT, Jan. 29th, 1850. (*On the road to Futtehghur.*)

Since we crossed the Jumna our escort has been reduced a little by the withdrawal of the Horse Artillery guns, but we still have—

A squadron of the Body Guard,
Wing of 6th Light Cavalry,
Squadron of Skinner's Horse,
Party of 18th European Infantry,
Wing of 50th Native Infantry.

So we still form rather an imposing camp. We shall pass through no other station now till we reach our destination.

Just received my English box. Am so pleased with the likenesses. The Maharajah is so charmed with the children's, and hopes you are to bring them out with you! He is much delighted with all the fine things you have sent him, and has begun his painting already. I have been purchasing some furniture here, and sending it on under Bhugwan Doss's charge; he is very anxious to make a good appearance at Futtehghur, as the first of the Maharajah's servants to arrive, so I have sent him to the Toshkhana to be rigged out smartly.

February 13th. I met, while at Meerut, Walter Guise, a younger brother of Dr. Guise, and he is now travelling with us.

Chapter VIII. 1850. I want to try him as tutor for the young Maharajah for a time, to prepare him for a better, when I can hear of one. I have written to England to enquire for a suitable man. I think Guise will be able to do all that can be done for the present. Scott writes me to say that he will send Tommy as soon as we are all settled.

The Ganges Canal is not very far from our camp; it is a noble work, and I trust if all is well with us, to be able to accept Thomason's invitation and go with him to see it opened. It is the greatest of our works in India, and any one may be proud of having had a hand in it. Tom's whole heart is in the work. He now sees that he is better off than any lieutenant in the army as to pay and prospects, and thanks me for making him fit himself for the position.

The Maharajah attracts great attention and curiosity among the people at every station, and is much admired; he certainly does look handsome, and rides gracefully. I took him to see the the Artillery Review at Meerut, and he was a great attraction. On leaving the ground, a soldierly-looking Field Officer of the Royal Irish rode for some time near the carriage, seeming anxious to have a good look at the boy. So I spoke to him, saying how much the Maharajah had enjoyed the review. He asked if he had the pleasure of speaking to Dr. Login, and then told me that he had met you at Allahabad last year, on your way home with the children. He asked after you all most kindly (as Col. Grattan he introduced himself). Sir Joseph and Lady Thackwell also asked after you.

CAMP, Feb. 15th, 1850

I expect, if all goes well with us, to reach Futtehghur in two or three days, and I shall be able to describe to you your future home. Your last letters were truly delightful and cheering as to your health. I shall be so miserably disappointed if Rana Martin forbids your returning to me in October. I do so need you to assist me. 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 amongst his countrymen, and dispose them to think better of our ladies than they do. Unless you are with me it will be impossible for me to give him any idea of what we are in our families; and we have so few opportunities such as I may now have, that I should be exceedingly sorry to lose it. There is much in our social habits which, to say the least, must appear equivocal to any native, and which requires a knowledge of us in our domestic circle, to understand. Just think what their ideas of ladies dancing the polka and drinking healths must be, if they had no opportunity of knowing them better and acquiring respect for them! So you see, dearest, you have a mission to perform—to establish the character of your countrywomen, and to acquire respect for them, of which they have little yet, I am afraid. Mrs. George Lawrence has certainly done much in this way—it was quite pleasing to hear her spoken of by the Sikh chiefs; but *you* may have much more in your power.

I suppose I must have told you all about the young Shahzadah, Duleep's nephew, who was placed under my charge at the last moment by the Governor-General, in addition. He would probably be looked upon as next in succession, being the only son of Shere Singh, the last Maharajah. Sheo Deo's mother has elected to accompany her son, and is now in our camp. She is the youngest wife of Shere Singh, selected from among the Rajpootnees of the hill country after he came to the throne, so you may judge if she is not likely to be handsome. I cannot describe her to you, as I have not yet had the pleasure of seeing her!

FUTTEGHUR, Feb. 21st.

I am much pleased with the *situation* of the house selected. It must have been a very delectable residence in Mr. Shore's

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1850. time (Lord Teignmouth's son), though the grounds are not large enough for the Maharajah; but I shall remedy that by buying up the neighbouring bungalows and their compounds, and, throwing them all into one, make it like a small park, extending along the banks of the Ganges. The drawing-room window is within fifty yards of the fine broad stream, with a sloping bank down to it. I have not seen in India more undulating grounds or more capable of being made picturesque—walks in all directions, and some fine shady trees, and I shall set about making a beautiful garden; but it looks forlorn and neglected, having been so long empty. I must do my best to get it soon to look bright and cheerful. I am 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 unsuited for the Maharajah, who has lost his own splendid home through no fault of his own.

The residents here are Allen (Judge), Smith Cunninghame (Collector), you remember him at Lucknow; Raikes (Deputy-Collector); Col. Alexander (Gun-Carriage Agency); Tucker (Clothing Department); Padre Carshore, Doctor Gerrard, Halkett Craigie, Doran, John Bean—all of these are married except the last two.

FUTTEHGHUR, *March 6th*, 1850.

I was disappointed at having to leave Lahore before Dr. Duff's arrival, after having had so much to do these last few years in urging him to take up the Punjab. He was much pleased at my sending him my subscription, as it showed him I was in earnest.

. . . . A number of the Punjabi servants are to return to their homes soon, and I am trying hard to fill their places with respectable, steady men. I am getting over some few of our old people from Lucknow who can be depended on, but I have refused a great many who might not be exactly the sort to be placed near the young boy. Bhugwan Doss I have got, also

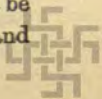
Gulzar Syed (our Gharib-khana boy), Davee (Sirdar-bearer), and his brother Nidhan, and good Khalipha Ali Bux is coming from the Gharib-khana, to be placed in responsible charge, and then I can feel I have a man I can trust.

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Hotspur, the chestnut Arab, carries me well, and deserves to be named after your favourite. I am out a great deal in the sun, looking after the works, but as I have got into the frontier fashion of wearing a large muslin *puggarree* round my helmet *topee*, I scarcely feel its power. Do you remember Hollings's coachman? You used to wonder how he kept his turban *on*, he wore it so on the slant and looked so rakish. Well, I have made him coachman of the two mule teams of four-in-hand. They are splendid jet-black creatures, very large and handsome. The fellow breaks them in splendidly, and they go like the wind! I wish I could make a sketch of them for you, with Hassan Beg *standing* up on the box, holding the reins, and *laying on* with his long whip, his turban clapped on *one ear*—looking like a very fiend with his long beard flying! I have told him that you ~~will~~ never bear the sight of him unless he wears his turban straight, and it amuses the two little fellows, Duleep and Sheo Deo, to watch his efforts to get it to remain straight. I think his head must be a queer shape, for though he starts with it quite straight, he always comes back with it in the old position!

The two lads are very happy together. They had scarcely ever seen each other before, and were rather awkward at first, the nephew standing in awe of the uncle. They are looking forward to the arrival of Tommy Scott, who is expected with his mother soon.

I shall be glad when you join me, for I cannot expect to have more than two or three years in which we can influence the young Maharajah's mind favourably towards our domestic life, and I must not lose them on any account. He will have an opportunity of seeing how we live in our homes, and he will be one of us, and will look upon you as a mother, and respect and



Chapter VIII. 1850. esteem you. Is it not worth running *some* risk to health, by coming back so soon, when it is to occupy a position of so much usefulness, towards one who may yet influence so many thousands of people? You can have no idea of the interest shown in him by the natives everywhere. Then there is the little Shahzadah, and the Ranee, his mother, for you to interest yourself in, and occupy your time and thoughts. So come away as soon as you feel able, and help me, for I need you sorely. You may turn all your excellent qualities to good account here. Thomason wrote me the other day, saying that *you* would now be more than ever a *helpmeet* for me. I was so pleased with the Maharajah on the occasion of the grand day of the Hoolie Festival. He showed such self-denial and self-restraint in not exhibiting any desire to participate in the undignified and, indeed, objectionable frolics of the people, that I arranged something more harmless for him in the evening, to his great enjoyment and delight. The large centre rooms are splendid places for hide-and-seek, blind-man's buff, &c. All these games are new to him and the Shahzadah. Imagine the scene! The ruler of the Sikhs, the young Shahzadah, Sirdar Boor Singh Butaliwallah, Dewan Ajoodea Pershad, Fakeer Zehoorudin, Mr. Guise, Mr. Barlow, and myself, all engaged in the game. The Maharajah's shouts of glee ringing all over the place as each was caught in turn. I was glad indeed that you sent him that book of games, "*The Boy's Own Book*." It is seldom out of his hand, and it has added to his eagerness to learn English. I am prepared to find it the book of all others he prefers to study!

FUTTEHGHUR, April 21st, 1850.

The Governor-General passes through the boundary end of my postal division in a few days, and I have sent a tent out to Kanoge to be ready for me on the 24th, as I wish particularly to see him, to ask leave to go to Calcutta to meet you. He may

refuse, as he is so anxious I should always be on the spot with the Maharajah, in case of any plot; but I hope I may be able to persuade him that it will be safe. Allen, the Commissioner, has promised to look after him carefully in my absence. I wish I could give the little fellow a taste for learning—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 at a time. Poor Guise has a lively time of it, and needs great patience—a virtue he certainly possesses in a high degree—and for this reason he is invaluable as a first tutor, to coax the boy over the drudgery a little. No man of high attainments could be expected to begin at the beginning; and such a small beginning too!

May 14th.

I think I told you that I resisted the blandishments of the young officers here, and refused to transform the party I had issued invitations for, at the Maharajah's house, into a *ball* as they wished. I told both Doran and Bean that I would not have *dancing*, but that the arrangements should be as elastic and pleasant as could be managed. D. turned sulky, and would not come, and silly Mrs. — took the same course; but her husband had more sense, and approved of my reasons. I did my very best to make the Maharajah's first party a success; but I did wish you were here to help me. It went off well, and everybody declared it far exceeded their expectations—and they had been high—for the station was in great excitement about it! The fireworks were splendid; *one* feature of them was much admired. I called the Ganges to my aid, and had the Maharajah's little yacht rigged out with bamboos to represent a ship, yards, mast-heads, and ropes all illuminated. She moved up and down the river gracefully, and had such a pretty effect that it delighted everybody. I took some wrinkles from our old

Chapter VIII. 1850. Lucknow illuminations, which were so effective on the Goomtee. I had all the European children of the station—ten in number—present, as well as all the grown-ups. I gave this first party to celebrate the birthday of the Shahzadah, May 14th, he is fourteen days younger than Edwy. The Maharajah was grievously disappointed at not getting a letter from you; he is quite eager to keep up a correspondence with you.

FUTTEHGHUR, *May 16th, 1850.*

Since last writing I have seen the Governor-General, who was most friendly, and expressed himself highly satisfied with all I had done. He opened his mind very freely, particularly about the late transactions in Oude, and the difficulties in which they had placed him. He seems much annoyed at what has occurred, and which certainly appears to have been brought on most inconsiderately. Both Sleeman and Bird stand very low in his books at present, and I should not be surprised to hear of some changes there. I am very grieved about it all myself.

All that has been done in the Punjab has delighted him greatly during this first year. Again and again he expressed his pleasure with it, and John Lawrence stands prime favourite. He is not so fond of dear old Henry, as we all know; but he could not help acknowledging his admiration of his character. I have spoken strongly about getting a good tutor looked out for in England, for the boy; but I see that he thinks it would not be prudent to get Dr. Duff to recommend one, as it might be misrepresented, and people might think it was with the intention of making the lad a Christian, so I must do it through another channel. I am sorry Robert Adams must go home for his health. He has been ill, but I think that now he has shown what he is worth, there will be no difficulty in his getting a good berth when he comes back, though I am sorry he has to throw up the Guides. Lawrence tells me that Lumsden thinks highly of him, and

regrets losing him; so we need not repent bringing him into notice. I see that the newspapers are full of expectation of getting the Lahore State property as prize money, and they propose the Queen's *native* subjects should purchase the Koh-i-noor, and present it to Her. My idea in another form! But I don't like it so well as mine. They do not go as far as I do, for they do not propose to lay out the money in the improvement of the country from whence the Koh-i-noor came. However, Lord Dalhousie does not like the idea, and would not thank me for originating it. He told me that Her Majesty was most anxious to see the jewels, and that it was all stuff about Her refusal to accept them.

If you see Dr. Duff in Edinburgh, you can explain to him that Lord Dalhousie is afraid if he were asked to recommend a tutor that it might imply an interference with the boy's religious faith; I trust, however, 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 is a strange little fellow, and shows an intelligence at times beyond his years. Observing that Guise, Barlow, Tommy Scott, and I have morning and evening prayer together, he asked me to order his *porohut* (priest) to come to him also at a fixed hour daily to read in his holy book (the Grunt'h). This I think indicates a devotional feeling, that may hereafter be directed aright; indeed, he shows a strong desire to walk according to the light which God has given him, and a wish to know His will.

FUTTEGHUR, May 19th, 1850.

With regard to expenses, I told you it is not good for my pocket to live as I do; but having such complete control over the Maharajah's establishment and expenditure, my first study appears to me, to be most scrupulous on the subject of my personal expenses, and to set a good example to others. I there-

Chapter fore keep my own establishment quite separate from the
VIII. Maharajah's, and intend to continue to do so. At present my
1850. personal staff of servants cost me fifty rupees per mensem, and I have my own separate table and bedroom furniture, bedroom candles, &c. I bought Henry Lawrence's horse, and this I also keep myself, as well as the chesnut Arab (cost 2,000 rupees) which the boy sent me on my birthday, and which, for the sake of appearances and courtesy, I could not return; yet I pay for his keep and *syce* myself.

The truth is, I am in a position that I must and will show, that I am above personal paltry considerations in my anxiety to do justice to my charge. So long as I am most careful not to expend money of *his* on my own personal comforts, or those of my family, I feel very independent indeed, and can carry matters with a high hand. I trust I shall be able to show the Maharajah and his people, in after years, that they have been no losers by falling into the hands of a Christian gentleman, and that I have done no discredit to the name.

I have, it is true, all the pleasure which I could desire, from the expenditure of the Maharajah's money, quite as much as if it were my own. So much has been left to my discretion in the way of applying it. After putting his house and grounds in order, I intend to get up a school for the children all round Futtehghur, in which he can take an interest, and also find other ways to give him a taste for benefiting the poor, and making the people round him happy.* I think it is only by acting in this way, and avoiding all thought of self, that I can prove myself at all worthy of the confidence placed in me.

I always forgot to tell you that I sold your Arab, Sultan (or

* Within the last three months we have started a day-school for girls of respectable caste, as an experiment. The Rev. Gopee Nath Nundy's zealous and exemplary wife and daughter superintend it (vernacular and industrial). I look for great results eventually.

rather John Lawrence did for me), to Brigadier Wheeler for his daughter for 800 rupees. He was a lovely creature, but was too light for my weight.

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You will probably meet Herbert Edwardes at Clifton, and renew your acquaintance with him. You will find that he has turned out exactly what you would expect—viz., a clever and intelligent man, as little elevated with the honours and attention that have been shown him, as it is possible for a young man to be. He has a great leaning towards that which will enable him to bear worldly honours well, and to count them at their true value. As he becomes more confirmed in his Christian course, he will lose all the little natural haughtiness of manner which some people attribute to him; I am certain it is only natural to him, and not put on. I only wish we had many "Herbert Edwardeses" in India!

Mrs. Scott brought her son Tom herself, and we are all greatly pleased with the lad. I think he will be of great use as a companion for the Maharajah.

Duleep Singh was greatly delighted to receive the subjoined from Sir Henry Lawrence, who with his native kindliness of heart, although immersed in work, took the trouble himself to write it carefully in large text-hand, on lines, in the hope that the boy would be able to read it without assistance.

LAHORE, Feb. 28th, 1850.

MY DEAR MAHARAJAH,

I am glad to hear that you are *Khoosh*. I hope you like your house and grounds, and that "Gunga Jee" is as near as I

Chapter VIII, 1850. told you. I very often think of you; I hope you read and write every day. Wishing you health and all happiness,

Believe me, your sincere friend,

HENRY LAWRENCE.

This was the first of several from Sir Henry; Mr. John Lawrence also wrote him several times, evincing a warm interest in him.

In another letter from Futtehghur, July 16th, 1850, Login says :—

. . . . The Maharajah was so pleased to get Edwy's* letter in reply to his; he had been quite impatient for its arrival. I forgot to tell you that I was told by the Governor-General that the hint I had thrown out last year, when at Lahore, of the Maharajah sending a present to the Prince of Wales, might now be acted upon. So I shall pick out something suitable from amongst his boyish arms and armour, though I could have had a better choice *then*. (You will remember that I made the suggestion about the silver summer-house at the same time!) I have been making inquiries about a wife for my little boy. He says I am his "Ma-Bap," and he trusts to me to do what may be necessary for his happiness. He will have nothing to do, he says, with Shere Singh's sister, to whom he was betrothed, so I am left quite at liberty to choose for him. I have heard of a little daughter of the Rajah of Coorg, at Benares. She is being educated like an English child, and her father has asked, and obtained permission, to take her to England to have her education completed. She is only eight years of age, described as fair and good-looking, and also intelligent, with decided marks of good blood and lineage about her. The father is not yet aware of my inquiries. My informant is Major Stewart, the Governor-General's

* Login's eldest boy.



Agent at Benares, who says that altogether he does not think my young *protégé* could anywhere get a more suitable wife! When I have heard from Macgregor and others who know her, I shall send on my information to Lord Dalhousie privately. Possibly matters may be so far arranged by the time you come out, that you may see her as the Maharajah's *fiancee* as you pass through Benares. There will be four years between their ages nearly. I have an idea, however, that young Duleep would prefer some one *nearer* his own age, and I may have some difficulty in the matter. I am glad to tell you that I have been fortunate enough to engage a good English manservant for the Maharajah, to take charge of the stables and the camp-equipage; he is to drive the Maharajah's four-in-hand. Thornton is a particularly nice-looking, respectable man. He came out to India as servant to an officer in one of our cavalry regiments, and does not wish to go back with him. His master speaks highly of him, says he has had charge of his small racing stud, and is an *honest man*. He thoroughly understands horses, and I trust he will do credit to the Maharajah's establishment. He came over from Cawnpore to see me, and I have engaged him on 150 rupees per mensem; good wages, no doubt; but if he is all they say he is, he is worth it. He is married, and his wife is said to be a thoroughly respectable Englishwoman.

I have just been looking at my account at the Cawnpore Bank, and find it rather low. I have had rather unusual expenses since you left—I mean more than I calculated on. Besides paying my necessary subscriptions to the Funds (Bengal Military and Orphan), which, as you know, are specially heavy in my case, I have had to pay, for instance,—

	RUPEES.
Dr. Duff's Mission to Punjab	500
Brian Hodgson's children (left destitute)... ..	250
Poor Fagan (when cashiered)	250
Dr. Atkinson (to save him from dismissal)	500
Lahore Mission	100
Church at Lahore	150

Chapter Of course, this is besides our various subscriptions as usual,
VIII. such as—
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The Lawrence Asylum,
The Free Church Mission,
The C. M. Society.

I do not grudge this ; nor will you, I know. I only tell you, that you may know all we have to count on. I think it is incumbent on us to show that we are no seekers after gain ; that it is for our national honour, as well as our Christian name, that the little Maharajah and his numerous dependents should have rather a high standard of honesty and uprightness placed before them, from which to form their ideas of the character of their Christian rulers ; and that it therefore becomes the more necessary that we should exert the utmost vigilance, to avoid the smallest imputation of avariciousness from being attached to us. For my own part, I would rather prefer that, at the coming of age of the little boy, I should make over all his fortune to him, with the consciousness that I had fulfilled my stewardship, and was myself a poorer man than when I received the charge, than that I should have, in the very least degree, advanced my own fortune at his expense.

But why proceed with this digression ?

I have had a letter from poor A., to whom, you may recollect, I advanced 300 rupees some time ago. He is in sad distress. He accepted a bill for 1,000 rupees to save his poor brother from jail, and now is unable to meet it, and asks me, with the fear of Sir Charles Napier and a court-martial before his eyes, to lend him 500 rupees. I must help him, though I shall be in difficulties by it for a time ; but, for my dear friend Paton's sake, I shall do what I can. A. is a strange fellow, rather foolish, but I believe of good principles, and kind-hearted. I feel sorry indeed that I cannot engage the tutor, so highly recommended by Dr. Duff. I comfort myself for the loss, by the knowledge that my charge is not yet quite ready for a highly-qualified tutor, and one who could only speak English

to him. He manages to read a *little* English fairly well, and understands it, but is afraid to begin to speak it; but I trust he will soon get over that. He is really intelligent, and can learn his lessons fast enough when he likes, but he has no power of application. The wonder is that we get him to do as much as he does, considering his former position, and the absence of any restraint. I am really fond of him, and we get on famously; but I need to be very firm with him. The other day he became rather rebellious, and I had my first difficulty with him. He had run out during heavy rain into the garden, and got thoroughly drenched. I wished him to change his clothes, but he first, *in play*, said he would do so at the regular hour for dressing; and when I urged him to change at once, he got stubborn: so it became in a small way a trial of will. Who is to yield?

I gave him half an hour to go to his own room and do it of himself without being obliged; but he still held out. So I told him I very much regretted that he forced me to employ coercion, but that I must be obeyed, and I advised him as a friend not to make it necessary that I should expose him to it. Poor little fellow! I was so sorry for him! In a few minutes he came himself to my room and sobbed at a great rate, and appealed to the *Treaty*! that he was to be allowed to do as he liked! I told him I did not think that was one of the conditions; that I was placed over him, and that at present I was his "Ma-Bap," and knew what was best for him. I think that had you seen us, you would have been satisfied that I could come the "*suaviter in modo*" as well as "*fortiter in re*." I conquered—and from the way I did so, I saved his pride, and prevented any annoyance being felt by him as regards exposure before his people, and now we are even greater friends than before. Walter Guise is a very good fellow, rather slow perhaps, and not altogether the man who would suit later on; but he is very amiable, patient, and attentive, of mild manners, and gentlemanly appearance and demeanour, and has, I think, been more useful in winning the boy round to apply him

Chapter VIII. 1850. self to study than a more accomplished tutor would have been. I should like to find him employment hereafter in charge of the Maharajah's *zemindaree*, when he gets one. I am sure he is a most trustworthy man. The English manservant, Thornton, will, I think, prove a valuable acquisition.

I see by the papers that the Koh-i-noor has arrived in England, and that *Mackeson*, not Ramsay, gets all the credit of having brought it safely. This will not be exactly as Lord Dalhousie wished, as he was rather anxious on that score ; but no doubt the Court of Directors had their own ideas about it. I was one of the *very few* entrusted with the secret of its disposal. Indeed, they could not have got access to it without my knowledge, seeing that it never left my possession from the day I received it in charge ! I may tell you now that it is safe, that Lord Dalhousie came to my quarters before he left Lahore, bringing with him a small bag, made by Lady Dalhousie to hold it ; and after I had formally made it over to him, he went into my room and fastened it round his waist, under his clothes, in my presence. Lord Dalhousie himself wrote out the formal receipt for the jewel, and there my responsibility ended, and I felt it a great load taken off me ! All the members of the Board of Administration were present, and countersigned the document. The other jewels were also sealed up and made over.

Thus Runjeet Singh's famous Toshkhana of jewels is a thing of the past !

CAWNPORE, *July 27th*, 1850.

I am here on my way back to Futtehghur, after a flying visit to Lucknow, and hope to get back to-morrow.

July 28th.—Here I am, finishing my letter in the *dak* bungalow. I came out from Cawnpore by water, in a pretty pleasure-boat I am going to buy for the Maharajah's use. I could not help being reminded of our little trips in the pinnace in '48 when

you were so ill. I left the boat at the Magazine Ghât, and came on in one of Thuntee Mull's carriages, for which horses had been laid for two stages; there I found my own palanquin with a double set of bearers, ready to take me on here, forty-five miles, and well they did it I think in twelve hours! I shall start this evening, when it is cool, for Futtehghur, and in the meantime try to give you a full account of my visit to old Lucknow, while it is all fresh in my memory. When I reached the Ghât, to cross the river, I met Mr. Brandon, who accompanied me, giving me an account of all that has been done since I left. All as bad as can be, between the Palace and the Residency, and, by all accounts, not much to our credit. On getting near the Char-Bagh and passing through the city, I recognized all the old places we knew so well, and not a few familiar faces. They all recognized me, and by the time I reached the Residency I had quite a tail! There the whole Post-office establishment turned out, and after hearty greetings and salaams, I drove on towards the cantonments, where I was bound, to visit Lamb, taking a good look at our dear old home in the Residency as I passed. Your dressing-room windows seen from the Bailey Guard gate, the portico, the drawing-room, all that was visible from the road. Moonshee Purshad Narain was not at the Post-office, but hearing of my visit, he lost sight of his dignity and tore after me a couple of miles along the cantonment road! The tigers on each side of Mohsumoodowlah's gates were a familiar sight, but I cared little for anything till I caught sight of our old home (in cantonments)—the place not so well kept as it was.

Next day I went over all the rooms—drawing-room, your little green dressing-room and bedroom. I had your face before me as you lay so calmly and resignedly awaiting God's will, and there seemed so little earthly hope!

The little arbour outside, the dovecot, everything I looked upon "forbade me to forget." After visiting one or two of our old haunts, I started with Lamb for the city; could not see much of



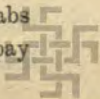
Chapter VIII. 1850. our house, as Mrs. Bell is laid up. Sadoo, the old carpenter, the blacksmith, and many others patiently waiting to see me; indeed I was soon surrounded by old servants, all asking for you and Edwy Baba. Padre Hamilton was out, but I saw Mrs. H. The Derogah, Ahmed Ali, and Azimoolah's son were waiting for me. I told you, I think, that when at Lahore, I had a letter from Lucknow, telling me of my old friend Azimoolah's death; he had written me only a few days before, asking my advice whether he should accept an appointment offered him by the King. I advised him "No," that he had plenty already of this world's goods, and should now take rest and time to think of and prepare for the fate that must befall all men; that I wished him to compare what is written in his own holy books with what our Bible says (I had given him one), and ask God to give him *light* to understand and do His will. His son tells me that he declined the King's offer on getting my letter, and that he died very suddenly soon after, good, kind old man! To resume. In the afternoon Nawab Mohsumoodowlah's carriage came to fetch me, as I had promised to go to his garden house (half way to the city). Here I found quite a posse of royalties and nobles waiting to meet me, with my host—Monowroodowlah, Momtazoodowlah, the Prime Minister, and others with too long names to write, all evidently very much pleased to see me again! Next morning, Nawab Ameenoodowlah's carriage came for me to come to his Palace. On the way, just opposite the large tree at *our* gate (in cantonments), I found a crowd of people (native friends) all waiting for a *moolaquat*; among others Nanuck Chind, the banker, and Ram Churn. I had to halt for a while, and afterwards *all* followed me in a long procession through the city, much to my discomfort! but there was no getting out of it without hurting their feelings. Arrived at the Minister's, he met me, and was most kind and civil. The Begum and *our* daughter making all sorts of inquiries after you and your boy; the Minister over and over repeating, that he owed his life to me, and (what he seemed *most* grateful for) the power of using his rifle arm again in *shikar*. He had a

splendid breakfast prepared for me, and we (for Lamb was with me) did ample justice to it after our long drive. The carriage was placed at my disposal for the day—not the famous white horses with the red tails!—and I found, waiting beside it, Mr. Hyde, my old assistant, and Syed Enayet Hossein, my sub-assistant surgeon, anxious to give me their welcome.

I drove out to Constantia (La Martinière), and went all over it with Mr. Crank and Mr. Archer. I recognized in the classrooms many of our old friends among the boys, whom we used to have for a holiday. Drove to Beebeepore Palace, where we spent our honeymoon, Dil Khooshar Palace, and then back to the city to call on the Begum Malika Geytee, the old King's favourite wife. I found her *tonjon* and bearers ready waiting at the old spot, as in old times, to pick me up as I passed. The good Begum said she had not been able to sleep, nor her two boys to eat, since they heard of my arrival at Lucknow. They were very kind indeed, and I had to sit a long time telling them all about you and the Sahibzadah, as they call Edwy.

Shereefoodowlah, Ahmed Ali, and Shah Beharee Lal, the banker, came to call on me in cantonments before I left. Ahmed Ali told me, with great satisfaction, that at last the ditch has been allowed to be cut through the Residency kitchen-garden, by Colonel Sleeman, as I had proposed and designed when at Lucknow, and which Colonel Richmond and Bird had refused to sanction. He says that, in consequence, houses are springing up all along the new road, which is now a grand feature in the city. I think I have now told you of all my rambles through Lucknow; it was very pleasant and satisfactory, though I heard a good deal, not only from the natives, but from Sleeman, the Resident, which saddened me, and makes me fear for the future of the little kingdom. I fear *some* of our people have not upheld the honour of our nation in the eyes of the natives. By the way, both Nawabs Mohsumoodowlah and Monowroodowlah, have promised to pay me a visit at Futteghur after your return.

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. . . . Did I say that I had dined at the Residency, the first evening, with the Sleemans, who were—exceedingly kind? . . .

FUTTEHGHUR, *July 29th, 1850.*

On reaching home last night, I found all well except poor Khalipha, who is in a very doubtful state indeed, and I almost fear he will not pull through. He has been suffering for some time from a carbuncle on the back, similar to that of which the King of Oude died. There seemed every prospect of its going on well when I left for Lucknow, but it suddenly increased, and although the doctor has done all that was possible, I fear his strength may not hold out to carry him through, poor man! Need I say to you that it will be a great grief to me to lose my faithful old friend? However, I am not going to despair, but take the case into my own hands, and do all that can be done, seeking God's blessing.

I am so sorry that I did not receive, while at Lucknow, a letter which the little Maharajah himself wrote me during my absence, and which has followed me back. I should have liked to show it to the King's sons (Malika Geytee's boys), who have not kept up their English since I left.

Dr. Login now urged Lord Dalhousie to provide the Maharajah with further educational advantages. He said, that though Mr. Walter Guise had up to that time been of more use than a more experienced teacher ignorant of the vernacular would have been, yet that now the Maharajah's knowledge of English was sufficient for him to derive benefit from a well-qualified tutor, who would know how to interest the boy, and lead him on to the study of natural science. He asked

also for instructions about the Maharajah's betrothal, concerning which there was some little anxiety among the native gentlemen of his suite.

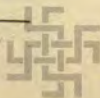
In reply he received an official letter (dated April 13th, 1850), from which an extract is here given :—

The Governor-General in Council conceives that it is the duty of the British Government to do all that is within its power to train up the boy in such a manner as that when *the date of his majority arrives he may take possession of the heritage which has been secured to him**—a well-principled and accomplished gentleman, versed in the knowledge which usually is sought by the higher ranks in the East, and instructed also in the English language and literature. The same principles which are observed in the education furnished by Government to the natives of India generally, should, His Lordship in Council thinks, guide the Government in the training of the young Maharajah, both as regards the culture of his understanding and the guidance of his moral character.

These objects, it appears to His Lordship in Council, may be secured by the agency of gentlemen in India, without having recourse to the expedient suggested by you; and he therefore declines to authorize your applying to Dr. Duff, or sending to England at all, for a tutor for the Maharajah.

Mr. Guise, who is at present affording instruction to His Highness is described by you, His Lordship in Council observes, to be well-qualified in many respects, but wanting in experience as a teacher. If, on further observation of him, you should still think that a gentleman of higher attainments is desirable, His Lordship in Council requests that you will address the Government again

* The italics are not in the original.



Chapter upon the subject. His Lordship in Council sanctions the salary,
VIII. 250 rupees per mensem, which you have proposed for Mr. Guise.
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I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

FRED. JAS. HALLIDAY,

Officiating Secretary to the Government of India.

At the same time Lord Dalhousie writes :—

My official letter, lately despatched to you, would apprise you that I think your plans for the Maharajah are all on too large a scale, and that you seem to have contemplated for him a future much more royal than is intended. Another letter will have informed you that the Court decidedly object to his coming to England, and, as they desire that his wish to do so may be discouraged, we must hold their instructions in view. Such of His Highness's views as have been influenced by the prospect of visiting Europe, will therefore, in all probability, undergo a change. His education will proceed as far as His Highness will consent to carry it, and a tutor sufficiently qualified should be found; but if Mr. Guise commands his respect and affection, as you say, it is very much to be desired that he should continue in his present position; and I apprehend that if his acquirements are at present insufficient, he would find no difficulty in qualifying himself as a teacher fully capable of instructing the Maharajah, during his boyhood. The marriage of the Maharajah is a more difficult matter for us to arrange. I should object decidedly, and do not wish to countenance any relations henceforth between the Maharajah and the Sikhs, either by alliance with a Sikh family, or sympathy with Sikh feeling. The Maharajah having personally desired to break off his betrothal with Chuttur Singh's daughter, appears to have opinions of his own as to marriage.

If he chooses to marry one of the Rajah of Coorg's daughters, after having had everything about her explained to him, I can't see why he should not. There are two. One that His Highness wants to send to England, another about seven or eight, for whom he does not propose English education; both are good-looking, the second one very pretty, and, as far as birth is concerned, both are his equals and more.

The first part of this letter refers to Col. Goodwyn's (of the Engineers) plans for improvements necessary to His Highness's residence at Futtehghur, which Lord Dalhousie considered as on too *regal* a scale; and also to the great anxiety expressed by the Maharajah to visit England.

When making arrangements for the departure from Lahore, Login, in order to secure that the personal attendants should be men of tried fidelity, suggested to the Maharajah that he should himself select them, and prove their attachment by explaining that he was leaving the Punjab for India, and that only those who cared to accompany him should go. The little fellow rather entered into the spirit of this sifting process, and amused himself at the expense of some of his people. In a memorandum on this subject Login writes :—

The effect of this, as I had foreseen, was to detach a great many Sikhs from attendance on him. His retinue consisted principally of Mahomedans; and even the Sikh priests and many of the Brahmins, whose duty it was to remain near him

Chapter VIII. 1850. under all circumstances, declined to accompany him, although facilities were offered them for doing so, and accommodation provided for them in camp. Accordingly, His Highness left Lahore for Hindostan without taking with him a copy of the Grunt'h (their holy book) or a single reader of it, and with only one Brahmin *porohut*, or family priest, who, before leaving, arranged that his tour of duty should not exceed six months, when he was to be relieved by one of his brethren. As I was particularly careful to explain to the Sikh priests (whose allowances were all secured to them by Jageers), that one of the copies of the Grunt'h in use at the Palace was at their disposal, and that ample accommodation would be provided for them in camp in the event of their accompanying the Maharajah, but that I, being of a different religion from them, would give them *no orders* on the subject, no blame could be attached to us for their indifference to the Maharajah's instruction in the tenets of their faith.

Soon after the Maharajah's arrival at Futtehghur, his old servant Meah Kheema, a Mahomedan who had been with him ever since his birth, and was much attached to him (the same who advised him to sign the Treaty with a good grace), claimed his promise to let him return to his family and country; it became necessary, therefore, that I should appoint a trustworthy successor. Bhajun Lal, a young Brahmin of Furruckabad, was recommended, as being of excellent moral character, and having received a good education at one of the schools of the American Mission at Furruckabad. He could read and speak English fairly, which was a great recommendation to the young Maharajah, who was anxious to learn the language. He was therefore installed as confidential personal attendant on the boy, who became much attached to him.

When I appointed him to the duty, although he had high recommendations as to his moral character and steadiness, I was unaware of the depth of his convictions on religious subjects, and as he continued to adhere to the ceremonial observances of a

Brahmin, in all that related to his food and clothing, he was received by all the other Hindoos as perfectly orthodox.

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It was a strangely constituted household, or rather series of households, which Mrs. Login, on her return from Europe, found living within the confines of "Futtehghur Park"—the name given to the Maharajah's small estate.

The property originally consisted of several bungalows and residences, belonging to various owners, each surrounded by its own compound. The Maharajah, the Ranee Duknoo, Dr. Login, and the native gentlemen in attendance, all occupied separate houses, and the mixture of European and Oriental arrangements was often curious.

The drawing-room reception of an evening, was an amusing sight to a lady fresh from England. During the day the young Prince was supposed to be at his studies or taking his outdoor exercise; therefore, the gentlemen of his suite were free to follow their own devices; but in the evening the Dewan, Fakeer, Sirdar, &c., made their appearance in full dress to pay their respects to their little King, and hold themselves at his disposal for a few hours.

Duleep Singh was then to be seen, seated in State on a couch or chair, with his attendants grouped around him. Each of his suite, as he entered, made low obeisance, then stood erect with folded hands, while he gave vent to the single word "Maharaj!" with the

Chapter suddenness of a pistol-shot. This was invariably the
VIII. salutation given on arrival and departure, the Maha-
1850. rajah receiving it—according to native ideas of
proper kingly dignity—with scarcely any sign of
acknowledgment. His manner, however, soon took a
more gracious tone, after a little intercourse with
Europeans.

Of course, the arrival of an English lady upon the scene, was an event to these worthy gentlemen, and she became an object of great interest to them. They were so courteous, and anxious to hear all she could tell them, and so ready to give her information in return, that many agreeable evenings were spent in their society. Often a round game was got up by the Maharajah and his young companions, and the Sikh chiefs were dragged into it willy-nilly; but they were so good-humoured, that if they did not actually enjoy the Maharajah's teasing, they effectually disguised their feelings, and entered into the fun like children.

They used often to express their admiration at the consideration shown to the Sikh prejudices by Login, who never allowed *beef* to be used in his own household. This delicacy of feeling on his part, they fully appreciated, and spoke of the hold it gave him on the affections of the Sikhs in attendance. The Dewan, in particular, often alluded to the relief they experienced, from the confidence that, within his gates, they were safe from any outrage to their feelings of religious veneration for the sacred animal.

Mrs. Login's colloquial knowledge of the language gave her great advantage, and was a source of much pleasure, as well as influence. She was able to explain to the mother of the Shahzadah all the advantages that education would give her boy, and to convince her that a system of pampering and indulgence would be fatal to mind and 'body. It was a constant cause of amazement to the Ranee, that a mother should be able to do as Mrs. Login had done—part from her son for years, for his own good, and leave him among strangers at school.

Ranee Duknoo was of an old Rajpoot family from the Kangra Hills. She had been selected for her beauty by Shere Singh—Runjeet's adopted son—on his coming to the throne, and little Sheo Deo was only a few months old when his father was murdered, and Duleep Singh, the acknowledged son of the "Great Maharajah," was elected by the Khâlsa in his room.

It is not therefore surprising that the Ranee looked upon her boy as a veritable *prince*, "born in the purple," and was never so happy as when encouraged to talk about him.

Mrs. Login was a frequent visitor at the pretty house within the park, where the Ranee resided with her faithful uncle and brother, who had shared her fortunes, and accompanied her into what, to them, was exile.

The Ranee herself was indeed a lovely young woman, tall and slender, graceful and very fair, with a pecu-

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liarily gentle and winning expression of countenance. Clothed, as befitted a widow, in subdued colours, without ornament or jewel, the soft white muslin *doputta* draped about her head, its transparent folds shrouding the lower part of the beautiful face, while her large beseeching eyes wore a look of appeal and innocence, she might have passed for a living representation of the traditional conception of the Madonna, so often to be seen depicted by the old Italian masters.

The little Shahzadah, at this time, slept at his mother's house and took his meals there, but during the day was with the Maharajah in study and at play. He was a charming little fellow, with very pretty manners and great personal beauty, inheriting the delicate, refined features and aristocratic bearing of the Rajpoots, rather than the coarser beauty of the Sikhs.

It was very amusing to see him making his daily short progress from his mother's house to the Maharajah's ; to note, on the one hand, the dignified bearing of the little Prince, stepping daintily along in his beautiful and picturesque national costume, his snowy turban fringed with gold (a becoming spot of colour being given by the crimson under-turban, which confines the knot of long hair peculiar to the Sikhs), and on the other, the reverential demeanour of the *uncle* and *granduncle in attendance*, walking respectfully one step in the rear, answering dutifully the remarks which the child vouchsafed to them over his shoulder, and always careful to address him as "Shah-

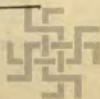
zadah-jee," while the little man accepted, as his due, the admiration he excited.

He was always ready to escort Mrs. Login on her visits to his mother, and made use of her to corroborate the wonderful stories with which he entertained the Ranee, regarding all the strange things he saw at the English lady's house, and which she had brought with her from England. Some of these latter he would insist on carrying over for his mother's inspection.

It was a pleasure to try and cheer the lonely life of this young widow, for she seldom or never went out, but lived very quietly and simply with her relatives. The Maharajah paid her stated visits, and, as the head of her family, was received by her *unveiled* in the presence of her relatives—his retinue, of course, remaining outside. It was pretty well understood by the members of the Maharajah's household, that hopes were entertained by the Ranee's people that Duleep Singh might take his brother's widow to wife—this being permitted by Sikh custom. His behaviour certainly gave no colour to this rumour, for, although he acknowledged her beauty, he did not seem attracted to her, and was chary of his visits.

One of the prettiest sights at Futtehghur of an early morning, or in the cool of the evening, was the perfectly-appointed *sowarree** of the young Sikh Maharajah out for his daily ride. So often in the case of

* Cavalcade.



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even the best-arranged cavalcades of native Princes, the splendour of one attendant is spoiled by the dirty and untidy appearance of his fellow. One man is, perhaps, mounted on a splendid Arab, while the next is on a wretched *tat*; the gorgeous dresses of the leaders of the party, give place to the squalor of a rag-tag-and-bobtail following, so that the good taste which distinguished young Duleep Singh's *cortège* was all the more remarkable. He himself looked to great advantage on horseback, and though not what would be called a *daring* horseman, like many of his countrymen, yet he rode with ease and grace. When he turned out for his customary ride, accompanied by the Shahzadah and his English friends, with his retinue of war-like Sikh attendants, handsomely-dressed and well-mounted, followed by a detachment of the Governor-General's Body Guard* in their scarlet, and Skinner's Irregulars in their saffron uniforms (which gave them their cognomen of "Canaries"), the whole effect was both picturesque and brilliant. If, instead, the Maharajah went out on his elephant, with its splendid trappings and silver *howdah*, or in his carriage with its four grey Arabs, driven by his English coachman, the same finish in every detail was observable.

There were frequent reports from the Nepal Resi-

* By an order of the Governor-General in Council, a detachment of the Body Guard, consisting of "twenty-five good men and two trusty native officers," remained with His Highness at Futteghur, "so as to lessen the duty of the Irregular Corps."

dent of secret emissaries from the Ranee Jinda, but, as the vigilance was close, her spies were generally seized and escorted back to the frontier.

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It was known that the Ranee's design was to get possession of her son, though the latter showed not the least inclination to fall in with her schemes, or even to hold any communication with her, as will appear from the following extracts from an official letter of Login's:—

FUTTEHGUR, April 4th, 1850.

As far as I can judge, not the least desire exists on the part of the Maharajah to communicate with his mother. From all the information I could collect at Lahore from those likely to know his feelings, he appeared to dislike any reference being made to the Ranee, and never mentioned her name, though he spoke readily of his uncle Jowahir Singh, and his affection for him; but as I was anxious to ascertain his sentiments on this point myself, for my own guidance, I took a favourable opportunity to ask him regarding it. He told me he had heard nothing of her since he left Lahore, and that she had only disgraced him, "*Serif humka bud nam deah*;" and on being asked if she had not been kind to him, he said she used to strike him daily!

. . . . In explanation of her severity to him, his confidential servant told me that he was old enough to be aware of her improper conduct with Lal Singh, and had remonstrated with her, and that this had caused her harsh treatment of him. . . .

Having lately, in the course of reading history with him, met with an allusion to his being the acknowledged, though not the reputed, son of Runjeet Singh, I told him that the conduct of the Maharanee, and the character she had acquired, exposed him to

Chapter VIII. 1850. this imputation; he said "Ah, yes; it was all too true!" And he had frequently made up his mind, while at Lahore, that he should have his mother killed, that she might not disgrace him!

It not yet being considered prudent to allow the Maharajah to reside in the hills during the hot weather, owing to the difficulty of providing for his safety, and as the boy seemed rather to suffer from the heat of Futtehghur, Login secured for him a change of residence at the Rukha, about three miles off; and he used to go out there for several days at a time, with his tutor and companions, taking with him his gun and hawks to have some sport.

His passion for the national sport of hawking was great. He entered into all the details of training and feeding the birds with absorbing interest; but as the necessary process entailed great cruelty to animals, it was not relished by his young companions, and was, as far as possible, discouraged by Login, who dreaded lest the indifference to suffering which it engendered, might develop that tendency to barbarity which is so inherent in the Oriental character.



CHAPTER IX.

THE NEOPHYTE.

IN November, 1850, Login, who was anxious to be in Chapter
Calcutta to receive his wife on her landing, obtained a IX.
month's leave of absence from the Governor-General, 1850.
with permission to appoint Captain Campbell as his
substitute *pro tem.* at Futtehghur. It was whilst
Login was away from his charge on this occasion, that
the Maharajah took an important step, by suddenly
announcing his intention of embracing the Christian
religion.

The first intimation of such a resolve on the part of
the young Prince, was received by Login at Calcutta
in a letter from the Maharajah himself.

The whole subject at once gave rise to an extensive
official correspondence, of which want of space permits
only a very few extracts.

On the 20th December, 1850, Captain J. Campbell
(7th Madras Cavalry) thus reports the fact to the
Government :—

. . . . On Sunday the 8th inst., His Highness the Maharajah
communicated to me, through Master Thomas Scott, his desire to

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become a Christian, as he termed it. In an hour or so after this abrupt disclosure, I took His Highness aside, and carefully questioned him on the subject; the substance of his answer was, that he had for a long time been convinced of the falsehoods put forth by the Pundits, that he could no longer restrain himself from professing his belief in our Bible (which he had of late caused one of his attendants to read to him), and that he was determined to embrace the Christian faith. At His Highness's request, I next day communicated the intelligence to Dr. Login. His reply, received this morning, is to the effect that he wishes His Highness to make no change in his mode of life or religious observances which is likely to offend the prejudice of his Sikh attendants, and that any declaration of his sentiments at present is altogether premature. . . . The avowed change in His Highness's religious sentiments, I may add, is regarded by the Dewan Ajoodhea Pershad (himself a Brahmin, but an honest old soldier) with a most impartial eye. . . . I cannot see how, without exercising a restraint over him, which I conceive would have been foreign to the declared intention of Government—"always to stand *neuter* in religious matters as regards the natives of the country"—I could have prevented his expressing and conducting himself as he has done. . . . I purposely delayed communicating His Highness's change of sentiments, the more surely to ascertain the probability of their permanence. . . . I have arrived at the conclusion, that he is more deeply impressed with the subject than his years would seem to render likely.

On receipt of this intelligence, Sir H. Elliot, the Secretary to the Government, desired Login, on resuming his duties, to furnish the Government with full and explicit information, on all points likely to throw light on "an act so singular in a boy of such

tender years, and so placed as His Highness the Maharajah still is."

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The Governor-General desires to be informed, says this despatch, 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, 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 (Mr. Barlow or Mr. Scott) have talked to him, or 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?

Letter to LORD DALHOUSIE from J. S. LOGIN.

FUTTEGHUR, Jan. 20th, 1851.

MY LORD,

. . . . I send for your Lordship's perusal, a statement furnished to me by Bhajun Lal, the Maharajah's Brahmin attendant, who has been in His Highness's confidence ever since he began to entertain any intention of renouncing his own faith, and whose account of the circumstances, though rather quaintly expressed, may, I believe, be fully depended on. I was at first disposed to consider the Maharajah's desire to embrace Christianity as a mere sentiment, arising from the feelings of friendship and goodwill which he entertains towards us Christians; and I endeavoured to dissuade him by letter, from making any

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change in his mode of life with reference to his observance of caste, which would be likely to give offence to his Sikh attendants, until he could explain to them fully his reasons for withdrawing from them. But from the conversations I have held with him since my return to Futtehhur, the shrewdness and intelligence of his remarks on religious subjects, as well as from the whole account of the manner in which the conviction has arisen in his mind, I am now led to think that his impressions are much more deeply seated, and I should be incurring a greater responsibility than I am prepared, or willing, to undertake, in denying him the wished-for instruction in our faith and doctrine. Although only a boy in years, and in all the freshness with which he enjoys his play and amusements, he is by no means so in judgment and understanding; and it is almost impossible for any one who has not had an opportunity of conversing with him, to give the weight to his opinions which they deserve. Although this impression of his character is shared by many here, I am anxious that your Lordship should not incur the risk of being misled by any prejudice which I may have been led to entertain towards him, and I would therefore respectfully solicit your Lordship to request Mr. Thomason, when passing through the station, to take an opportunity of conversing with His Highness, and to acquaint you with his opinion on the subject. The official report which I am about to submit to your Lordship will be accompanied by statements of the Dewan Ajoodhea Pershad, the Fakeer Zehoorodeen, and Sirdar Boor Singh, regarding the circumstances under which the Maharajah's determination to embrace Christianity took place, and will all, I believe, tend to prove to your Lordship's satisfaction, that no improper influence has been made use of to induce him to renounce the religion of his people.

LORD DALHOUSIE'S *Reply*.

Just received your letter of 20th, enclosing statement of the Maharajah's Brahmin attendant. It contains a very singular

narrative, which will no doubt be further illustrated by the official papers you mention, but which have not yet reached me. Chapte
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I have written to Mr. Thomason, requesting him to visit the Maharajah if he should pass near Futtehghur, but I doubt whether he goes in that direction.

Yours very truly,

DALHOUSIE.

Statement of LALA BHAJUN LAL to DR. LOGIN.

FUTTEHGHUR, Jan. 17th, 1851.

SIR,

As you want to know the circumstances of His Highness Maharaj's breaking his caste 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 few words about Christian religion. You once said to Maharaj, "These are records about our religion; if you want to read them, then read, and if you don't want, you can leave them;" but His Highness say 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 by bathing in Gunga Jee? Would it take us into heaven if we still do other wicked works and bathe in Gunga? I replied, and said, "Maharaj, it is written in our Shastras, but I do not know whether we would go into heaven or hell." Then he said, "Yes, but it depends on our works." And so on he would speak.

In the month of Barsakh (May), 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

Chapter IX. 1851. the said Maharajah used his 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 servants without knowing it, and the Rajah made his alms of that cow again, by this he was cast into hell. Now when the Katha was over, and the Pundit gone, His Highness's servant Jewindah said to Maharaj, "See, is it not impossible that now the Rajah could get so much new cow every day?" Maharajah answered and said, "Yes! it is quite nonsense; and that's why I doubt many things what the Pundit do say."

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

Now, Sahib, after some time you went to Calcutta, Maharaj saw one copy of Holy Bible into my hand, and asked of me, "Will you sell 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 assistance." So he did read, and I presented him my Bible. After some short time, he asked me to read to him, and let him hear it, and according to his orders I did read. First day I read 6th chapter St. Matthew, and few others during whole week. Sometimes Bible, sometimes a few tricks,* then sometimes out of "Boy's Own Book"; but I am sure I never heard any Englishman, talking or reading him any of their religious things.

After this week, then Maharaj disclosed his designs to Captain Campbell and to Mr. Guise, that he approves the Christian religion is true, and that of his own is *not* true. Then the gentlemen said, "Well, Maharaj, if you understand it with your conscience, it is far better, and we would be only very happy if you would understand it." But I well know and can certify that whatever

* Legerdemain and improvising tales, were resorted to by his attendants to amuse him.

Maharaj did say or do, he did it by his pleasure and opinion, but not by any man's beguiling.

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When I did ask Maharaj, "Do you really believe, or merely joking?" he then answered, and said, "I really do believe, and I will embrace the Christian religion, because long before mine designation was to do this."

After two or three days, on Sunday, I came back from my city house at twelve (because I often go to city on Saturday evening, and come back on Sunday at midday). Maharaj told to me, "Bhajun Lal, I have become a Christian." I then say, "What did you eat?" He answered and said, "I have not eaten anything, but my heart is changed. See now, I have not gone to play, nor like to play, on this day." But when cool of evening came, he went out hawking with his favourite hawk. When he came back into the house I asked him, "Maharaj, how is it that you told me that you would no more play on this day, but you went and played with your hawks?" He answered, and said, "I forgôt, and am very sorry for that." After two days more he began to say that he would take tea with Tommy Scott and Robbie Carshore. I said, "Very well, do whatever you like, but do only that thing which you well know will do good for you at the end." On Wednesday I had some work in the city, and I took his leave at twelve and went; and when I came back at evening, I found Maharaj, T. Scott, and R. Carshore, in Maharaj's room, sitting at a table, and all tea plates were arranged on the 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 take 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

Chapter IX. 1851. and B. 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, as far as I know, I have related with justice.

Your most obedient, humble servant,

BHAJUN LAL.

Extracts from J. S. LOGIN's Official Report.

FUTTEHGHUR, Jan. 27th, 1851.

. . . . Previous to my departure from Calcutta, on the 15th November last, I had no reason to suppose that His Highness had given any attention to matters connected with the Christian faith, although I had certainly observed that neither the Sikh nor the Hindoo religion had taken any firm hold of his mind. On several occasions he has expressed his doubts of the truth of the stories read, or related to him, by his Pundits, from their Shastras, and made some very shrewd remarks on the superstitious observances both of Sikhs and Hindoos, and on the selfishness and ignorance of their priesthood. As an indication of the bent of his mind, I may particularly mention one instance:—

About a fortnight before I left for Calcutta, he came to my room with his attendant, early one morning, as was frequently his custom, while I was reading by candle-light, and the conversation happening to turn upon the subject of the position of the earth in the solar system, . . . he asked me to show him how an eclipse of the moon took place. This I attempted to do in a very simple way . . . and apparently succeeded so much to his satisfaction, that he exclaimed in Hindostani, “Wait for two or three years, until I have learnt all about it. Won't I puzzle the Pundits!”

As I carefully abstained from encouraging or objecting to any remarks of the kind, nothing more was, I believe, said on the subject.

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During my absence at Calcutta, His Highness frequently wrote to me, both in English and in Urdu.

In the note of the 2nd December, herewith submitted* in original, he first made known to me, that his Brahmin attendant, Bhajun Lal, had been reading the Holy Scriptures to him, and he desired that I would bring him a copy of the Bible.

On the 7th December, His Highness again wrote to me,† that

* FUTTEGHUR, 2nd Dec., 1850.

MY DEAR GOOD FRIEND,

I hope you continue quite well, and that I shall soon receive another letter from you.

We are all well here. Captain Campbell presided at our examination, and I got twenty-three marks; but Shahzadah only got ten, Tommy seventeen, and Robby eighteen.

Will you kindly send me a nice Bible, for I like very much to read, because yesterday Bhajun Lal was reading to me; and also do send me a chest of fine tools, for carpenter's work.

Yours very sincerely,

DULEEP SINGH,

Maharajah.

P.S. Bhajun Lal's most respectful compliments, may reach to my master's honour.

† FUTTEGHUR, Dec. 7th, 1850.

MY DEAR GOOD FRIEND,

I was very glad to receive your kind letter. I am quite well, and I hope that you found Mrs. Login quite recovered, on her arrival in Calcutta. I amuse myself every evening by making Bhajun Lal read to me.

I have begun the Bible, and generally hear one or two chapters.

Yours very sincerely,

DULEEP SINGH,

Maharajah.

Bhajun Lal's best service to his master; prays for his master's safety and good health. Everything is going on rightly. His attention towards the hawks is not as you left, but it is increasing towards his lessons.

He has been so much pleased upon his servant, that he has presented a *safah* of *jhallers* (muslin turban with gold fringe).

Excuse me if anything incorrectly written.



Chapter IX. 1851. he continued to hear the Bible read by his attendant, Bhajun Lal, and he enclosed a note from the latter on the subject.

This was followed on the 9th inst. by another note* in his own handwriting, in which His Highness declares his determination to embrace the Christian religion, as he had long doubted the truth of the one he had been brought up in, and was convinced of the truth of the religion of the Bible, which he had lately made his attendant Bhajun Lal read to him. This note was enclosed in a letter from Captain Campbell, acquainting me that a similar declaration had been made by the Maharajah to him, and that the servants were aware of the avowal.

In reply to Captain Campbell's letter, I expressed my regret that the avowal should have been made known so hastily, and before sufficient time had elapsed to ascertain the depth and permanence of the Maharajah's impressions on the subject; as, from the suddenness of the announcement, I couldn't at the time consider them other than a mere sentiment arising from the feelings of friendship and goodwill which he entertained towards us Christians. I, at the same time, wrote to the Maharajah, advising him to make no change in his mode of life, with respect to the

* FUTTEGHUR, Dec. 9th, 1850.

MY DEAR GOOD FRIEND,

I hope you are quite well, and Mrs Login also. I am well and happy. 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 am convinced of the truth of the religion of the Bible, which I have of late made Bhajun Lal read portions of to me.

I have asked Captain Campbell to write to you on this subject.

Yours very sincerely,

DULEEP SINGH,
Maharajah.

Bhajun Lal, who acted as secretary to his master, has added, it will be seen, some quaint postscripts of his own to these letters. Their English is in somewhat odd contrast to that of the letters themselves, which were dictated to him by the Maharajah.

observances of caste, which would be likely to give offence to his Sikh attendants, until he was able fully to explain his reasons for withdrawing from them. . . .

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From the conversations I have held with the Maharajah he appears from a very early age to have been led to entertain doubts of the truth of the Sikh and Hindoo religions, and to have been led to consider Mahomedanism or Christianity in a more favourable light. As his age increased, and he was brought more into communication with Christians, his prejudices in favour of their religion became gradually stronger, although he was but very imperfectly acquainted with the doctrines which they held, and indeed had given but little consideration to the subject.

Since his arrival at Futtehghur these sentiments have continued to gain strength, and have certainly not been discouraged by his Brahmin attendant, Bhajun Lal, a young man of very respectable connections in the city of Furruckabad, who has been educated at the public school in the city under charge of the Rev. Messrs. Macaulay and Scott of the American Presbyterian Mission, and whom, from his intelligence, good character, and knowledge of the English language, I was led to place near the Maharajah on the departure of his old servant Kurreem Bux Meah Kheema, not knowing at the time his sentiments were so favourably disposed towards Christianity, as he continued, and still continues, to live in the strict observance of Hindooism.

Although previous to my departure for Calcutta no indications had been observed by myself or Mr. Guise, or the native gentlemen who are in attendance upon His Highness, of his intention to embrace the Christian faith, unless the casual remark made by him to Mr. Guise, and his desire to read the portion of his book bearing upon the doctrines of Christianity, may be so considered, I find that the Maharajah had upwards of a month before, under a promise of secrecy, mentioned to his playfellow, Thomas Scott, that it was his desire "to become a Christian, as he did not believe the Hindoo religion! and that if I, as his guardian, made any

Chapter IX. 1851. objections just now, he would wait until he embarked for England, when he would tell me, that as his caste had been broken, I could not refuse him permission!" but up to that time, his mind does not appear to have been perfectly made up, and it was only after he heard some portions of Scripture read to him by his Brahmin attendant, that he was led to declare his desire to adopt the Christian faith.

In some respects it is a fortunate circumstance that the Mahārajah's determination should have been expressed at a time when his knowledge of the English language was so imperfect as to render it impossible for any instruction on religious subjects to be conveyed to him through that medium, without being at the same time explained in Hindostani, and that the native gentlemen who have been in attendance on His Highness, as well as all his native servants, have thus been enabled to judge whether any attempts have been made to interfere with his belief in an improper way. I therefore enclose statements* written in the vernacular by the three native gentlemen in attendance, and by His Highness's own family priest, or *porohut*, testifying that in their opinion no undue influence has been exerted, and His Highness's resolution is entirely spontaneous.

The Brahmin, Bhajun Lal, though still professing Hindooism,

* In the above report were also enclosed statements from—

The Dewan Ajoodhea Pershad ;

The Fakeer Zehooroodeen (Urdu and Persian tutor to His Highness) ;

The Sirdar Boor Singh ;

The Porohut Golāb Rai, family priest of the Maharajahs of Lahore ;

Bhajun Lal, Brahmin attendant of His Highness.

Mr. Walter Guise, the Maharajah's English tutor, in his statement, remarks (after saying that neither he nor any European having access to him had ever held conversations with him on the subject of the Christian religion): "That His Highness was actuated by any such motive as the desire of pleasing those placed over him, is highly improbable, when it is considered that he studiously sought to conceal from them his determination . . . long after he had communicated it to Master Scott, whom he bound not to reveal it."

is evidently well disposed towards the Christian faith, and, I believe, anxious to speak the truth without reserve.

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The Fakeer Zehoorooden is equally honest and straightforward in his statement, and, being a Mahomedan, by no means disposed to view the change in an unfavourable light. I had made arrangements to allow him to return to his family at Lahore, on my return from Calcutta, and he was naturally very anxious to rejoin his friends there, one of his children having died in his absence; but in consequence of what has occurred, he has voluntarily, and without the least hint from me, requested permission to remain for some time longer with the Maharajah, in order that he may show the opinion which he entertains on the subject.

The Dewan Ajoodhea Pershad, though also a man of as much moral courage and honesty as I have ever met with among Brahmins, and certainly by no means bigoted in his creed, still continues to profess the Hindoo religion, and it is but natural that he should be less disposed to notice the maturity of the Maharajah's judgment on such matters, than the Fakeer has been, and should be more guarded in his statements. . . .

The Sirdar Boor Singh's statement is as explicit on the subject as could be desired. I understand that, when the Maharajah's Punjabi servants asked him to join in a petition to Captain Campbell, he told them that had any compulsion been used towards the Maharajah, in regard to his change of creed, or any undue influence been exerted, he would have considered it his duty to have remonstrated, but as the declaration had been made of the Maharajah's own free will, and his whole heart was set upon carrying out his determination, he could not in any way interfere.

It must not, however, be overlooked that the Sirdar, on account of his more intimate connection with the Shahzadah Sheo Deo Singh, may not be disposed to regret the step taken by the Maharajah; but at the same time, in proof of his confidence that no

Chapter IX. 1851. undue advantage is taken by us, as Christians, in the instruction of either the Maharajah or Shahzadah, he continues to be in every respect satisfied with the manner in which the latter is instructed.

In expressing his satisfaction at the manner in which facilities have been afforded to him and to the Ranee, the mother of the Shahzadah Sheo Deo Singh, in the exercise of their religious rites, he has, I need scarcely remark, somewhat overstated the case.

The Pundit Goláb Rai, the family *porohut* of the Maharajahs of Lahore, though naturally disappointed at the Maharajah's renunciation of Hindooism, bears testimony to the absence of any attempt to influence His Highness on the subject.

From a perusal of the whole evidence, I trust it will appear to the satisfaction of his Lordship that no improper influence has been used by myself, or any one who has had access to His Highness, to induce him to adopt the Christian faith.

While I have been fully sensible of the responsibility of my position with respect to His Highness, and earnestly desirous that he should be educated in such a manner as to reflect no discredit upon me as a Christian, I have not been forgetful of the delicate nature of the duties entrusted to me by the Government, but have constantly borne in mind that in his case the principles of Christian morality, which it was my desire he should acquire during his tender years, could only be set before him by a consistent example. This I have endeavoured to do so far as my infirmities of temper and judgment have permitted, trusting that God would do the rest.

I have often felt the constraint imposed on me in being unable to point out the true and only source of every good, and in being obliged to content myself with instructing him, so far as I could, in the principles of true morality, without reference to the source from whence they came.

I have, I believe, answered briefly and incidentally any questions he, or his attendants in his hearing, have casually asked me on

points connected with the Christian faith, but I cannot recall to mind any particular instance; and the only occasions on which I remember to have touched on the subject of our Scriptures in the Maharajah's presence were shortly after I received charge of His Highness at Lahore, and again about three months since.

On the former occasion, the Maharajah had come to my room with his attendant, Meah Kheema, and other Mahomedan and Hindoo servants, one Sunday morning, and the conversation happening to turn, on the subject of the extent and greatness of the British power and dominions, I took occasion to say that "it was not from any superiority in ourselves, as men, that this took place, but solely from the goodness of God towards us, as a nation, and that so long as we acknowledged this with all our hearts, and acted as men who felt the responsibility of our position, as stewards of God's bounty, we should continue to prosper;" and with reference to the increase of population in England, as compared with the Eastern nations, and to our own particular position in India, I pointed out to Meah Kheema and the other Mahomedans that the Prophet Noah had said, "God shall enlarge Japhet, he shall dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant;" and I told them, that I believed it to be in fulfilment of that prophecy that we were now among them. I remember that those who were present seemed much pleased with the conversation, and that Meah Kheema asked to be allowed to take the Persian Bible, in which I had pointed out the passage, to have it read to him; but whether he explained any portion of it to the Maharajah, who did not understand Persian, I do not know.

With respect to the book, the "English Instructor" mentioned by Bhajun Lal, in which some pages at the end refer to the tenets of Christianity, the book in question was one used in the school here by Bhajun Lal and his brother. I have also allowed the Maharajah, and Shahzadah, to use the books of the Scottish School Book Association, along with their schoolfellows,

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Chapter IX. 1851. Masters Scott and Carshore, as being extremely well suited to beginners ; and in these also, some portions, having reference to Christianity, occur, which the Maharajah has voluntarily read, but from all I can learn, up to the time at which he commenced having the Bible read to him, he had not paid any attention to their purport, and they have not in any way influenced his mind towards the step he has taken.

I must confess, however, that had the Maharajah asked my permission to read the Bible, I should have offered no objection, and that I would have given him equal permission to read the Koran, the Grunt'h, the Shastras, or any other book of the kind, which is not considered immoral, in the same way as he had read the Mahomedan Kureema with his Urdu teacher, before I took charge of him.

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 but consider the latter to have been 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.

In all that relates to the religious ceremonies of His Highness, I have uniformly observed the strictest neutrality, and have left him and his people to the free exercise of their own wishes on the subject.

When on one occasion, in May last, His Highness expressed a wish to have his Pundit to read prayers to him daily, as he observed was customary with us, this was at once arranged ; and it was during the attendance of the Pundit for that purpose that the circumstances occurred, which are related by B̥hajun Lal. I had been equally careful to avoid giving offence to the prejudices of the Maharajah and his Sikh attendants, in so far as lay in my

power, in other matters, forbidding the use of beef at my table, or the practice of smoking tobacco near the house; and from all I can learn, the care which I had taken in this respect has been fully appreciated by them.

I have, on several occasions, proposed to the Maharajah to inquire for a native boy of respectable rank, to be educated along with him, but he has uniformly declined any offer of the kind, preferring to have only English boys with him. . . .

Ever since the assassination, in his presence, of his uncle, the Sirdar Jowahir Singh, at Meean Meer, by the Sikh soldiery, the Maharajah has entertained a dread of his own countrymen, and a dislike to their religion and all connected with them. This feeling towards them he was, of course, obliged to conceal, until circumstances enabled him to declare his sentiments; but ever since I have taken charge of him, he has spoken out freely on the subject, and on every opportunity has shown his prejudice against them.

For several years past, little care appears to have been taken to instruct him in the principles of the Sikh religion; for, excepting what he might pick up when the Grunt'h was read to him occasionally (to which he gave but little attention), he has been left very much to chance for information on the subject. He, however, continued to be regular in the observance of such Hindoo ceremonies as are customary among the Sikhs, and to hear portions of their sacred books read to him by his Pundits.

After these occasions, it not infrequently happened that the subject of the stories read to him were discussed in private with his favourite attendant, Meah Kheema, and his son, who as Mussulmaun, could not always conceal their disbelief in them, or avoid giving encouragement to the doubts which arose in His Highness's mind on the subject.

While his prejudices against his own people and their faith were thus gaining strength, circumstances had occurred in his outward position to lead him to consider the English his most sincere friends, and the kindness and consideration which he

Chapter IX. 1851. experienced from Lord Hardinge, Sir Henry Lawrence, Lord Gough, and Sir Frederick Currie, disposed him most favourably towards them, and to other Englishmen who had access to him; and he fully appreciated their cordiality and friendly feelings, although sometimes expressed with less ceremony than he had been accustomed to.

These sentiments of friendly confidence have been confirmed, and, I am happy to think, rendered permanent, by the cordial and kindly reception which His Highness met with from the Most Noble the Governor-General at Lahore, and by the kind interest which his Lordship has always taken in his welfare; and I do not think that there is a single person within Her Majesty's dominions who is at present more convinced that the annexation of the Punjab was forced on us by circumstances than the Maharajah, or more satisfied as to the friendly sincerity of the English Government towards him.

By far the greater number of the old servants who accompanied him to Futtehghur were Mussulmaun, only a very few Sikhs, who were necessary on the establishment, being apparently disposed to come.

Among those who had the option of accompanying the Maharajah were the four or five Sikhs priests, *Grunt'hees*, in regular attendance upon His Highness.

Before leaving Lahore, I sent for them, and explained, that they were at liberty to join His Highness if they wished, and to take a copy of the *Grunt'h* with them, which was left in their charge for the purpose, and I stated that I would make arrangements for their comfortable accommodation in the event of their doing so. They did not, however, avail themselves of the opportunity afforded them, and His Highness left the Punjab without any religious attendant of his own sect, or any copy of their sacred book, nor had he expressed the least desire, since he left Lahore, to have the want supplied.

One of the four Brahmin *porohuts*, or family priests, did,

however, remain in attendance on His Highness, after making arrangements with the other three—who conjointly hold *jagheers* for the performance of the duty—that they should relieve each other every six months. On the expiry of that time, the priest in attendance, Golâb Rai, wrote to the others to relieve him as had been arranged among them, but they very decidedly refused to do so, and he has, in consequence, had to remain in Hindostan, much longer than he at first intended.

. . . . Ever since the Maharajah's determination has been openly avowed, he has been most anxious to obtain Christian instruction, and he has even requested to join us at family prayers, which I have not considered myself justified in preventing.

That his desire to embrace Christianity is ardent and sincere, no one who has had an opportunity of conversing with him on the subject can have any doubt; while the manner in which he has refused any longer to conform to Hindoo ceremonies, and the reasons which he has given for the step he has taken, evince a maturity of judgment far beyond his age.

Though anxious to lay aside all observances of caste, and to adopt European customs, he has not done so, in consequence of the advice which I gave him in the first instance—not to give unnecessary offence to his Hindoo attendants. But he only requires to know that no objection will be offered on the part of Government, to do this at once.

Letter from J. S. LOGIN to LORD DALHOUSIE, accompanying the Official Report.

FUTTEGHUR, Jan., 1851.

MY LORD,

. . . . I regret to find that your Lordship supposes, from the circumstance that I forwarded Colonel Goodwyn's estimate and plans, that I contemplate for the Maharajah a future much more royal than is intended. So far as it has been in my power,

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I have endeavoured gradually to wean his mind from any desire for royal state, and to render him happy and contented under his altered circumstances. Under the impression that it was desirable to lead His Highness to consider Futtehghur as his permanent residence, and knowing, from my experience at Lucknow, that the amount was far below the sum frequently expended by *private* native gentlemen on their residences (the property adjoining that of His Highness at Futtehghur, formerly occupied by the late Hakim Mhendi, having cost nearly double the amount), I certainly so far approved of Colonel Goodwyn's designs as to submit them to your Lordship; but now that your Lordship's wishes are made known to me, I have at once pointed out to His Highness the kind consideration shown by your Lordship, in desiring that no expensive improvements be made on his residence at present, in order that he may, when he comes of age, have it in his power, without much loss, to change his residence, should he choose to do so.

Regarding the wish of His Highness to visit England, I have, in accordance with your instructions, endeavoured to wean him from the idea at present, by pointing out to him that during his state of pupilage a visit would scarcely be considered *voluntary* by the people of India, and that even among ourselves it would be viewed in a much more complimentary light, if postponed until he came of age, and able to exercise his own free will in the matter. Although he quite agreed in the reasonableness of the objection, he is still as eager as ever to carry out his intention, and frequently speaks of his visit; and no later than yesterday he told me of a dream he had on the subject, and described all that had occurred to him on landing in England! With regard to the very important subject of his marriage, I think that it is likely, owing to his altered position, from what has lately occurred, that he may be more desirous to consult his own wishes and inclination, on the subject of the selection of a wife, than he was before, so it may be dropped for the present.

I had the pleasure of seeing the Rajah of Coorg and his daughter, at Benares, on my way up, and although I did not make the least allusion to the connection, I could perceive that it was not likely to be displeasing to him. The Rajah had just had an offer of marriage for her, from Jung Bahadoor, and was rather curious to ascertain how he stood in the estimation of the people of England; and from what he said, I did not gather that he was favourably disposed to him.

The Lieut.-Governor N.W.P. (Mr. Thomason) has just arrived at this station, and I have asked him to take an opportunity of conversing freely with His Highness on the subject of the wish he has expressed, to become a Christian.

I remain,

Yours, etc.,

J. S. LOGIN.

LORD DALHOUSIE to DR. LOGIN.

CAMP, JUBBEE, *Feb. 10th, 1851.*

I have not been able to reply before. Under all the circumstances, communication must be made to the Court of Directors, and until I get their reply, no final instructions can be given you. I shall be happy to attend to any proposals that may come for building at Futtehghur. Whatever may be done, must be regulated by what will be the future amount of the Maharajah's income, and not by any reference to what may have been done by wealthy gentlemen from Lucknow. With respect to marriage, I agree with you, that there is no necessity for haste in concluding a betrothal with an unmarriageable child, in the singular circumstances in which the Maharajah now stands. I am glad you have asked Mr. Thomason to see the boy.

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*Extract from despatch of SECRETARY to GOVERNMENT acknowledging
J. S. LOGIN's Official Report.*

CAMP, MURUM, Feb. 17th, 1851.

The Governor-General is entirely satisfied by this statement, and by the documents transmitted in support of it, that no improper influence had, either directly or indirectly, been used by you, or by any of the English gentlemen who have been connected with His Highness's establishment, to induce His Highness to abjure his original faith and to profess Christianity. His Lordship requests that his conviction on this head may be made known to you, and may by you be communicated to the others.

In a matter of so much moment, and one so singular, as the adoption of the Christian faith by a native Prince under our immediate guardianship, the final instructions to which the Governor-General has alluded, cannot be issued without a reference to the Home authorities. A communication will be addressed to them by the next mail, and an immediate reply will be solicited.

In the meantime, you will be so good as to acquaint the Maharajah, that His Highness's desire to embrace the Christian faith has been communicated to the Governor-General. You will represent to His Highness, that to relinquish the faith of his own people, and to adopt another creed, is a step of so great importance, that at his early age it is the duty of the Government of India, which is charged with the care and nurture of his youth, to see that whatever His Highness may do, shall be done deliberately, and with a full knowledge of the nature and effect of his acts. You are to add that, under these circumstances, his Lordship desires to acquaint the highest authorities in England of the intention which His Highness has expressed, and to obtain their instructions for his guidance.

Until these instructions shall be received, and until they shall be made known to the Maharajah, his Lordship trusts that His Highness will not make any public declaration of his wishes, that he will not throw aside the restrictions of caste, or needlessly disregard the religious observances he has hitherto respected.

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. . . . Should the Maharajah continue to express an earnest desire to read the Bible, as a portion of his daily instruction, the Governor-General does not consider himself justified in directing that his wish shall be opposed, if it be manifestly sincere and earnest. But instruction in the tenets of the Christian faith should not at present be thrust upon him, if he should appear indifferent on the subject. For the same reason you will advise the Maharajah to discontinue his attendance at worship in your family, of which His Highness forms no part.

You will understand that, in communicating these instructions, the Governor-General does not convey any intimation of an intention to oppose the adoption of the Christian faith by the Maharajah, if his Lordship should be left free to proceed on his own judgment. The Governor-General's object is to prevent the risk of His Highness acting in this matter precipitately, and on the mere impulse intelligible in a boy of good capacity and strong will, who has been placed in the peculiar circumstances which you have well described in your statement, now before his Lordship.

At the same time, the Governor-General feels it his duty not to act finally on his own judgment, in a case so important and so novel, without submitting it for the consideration of the Honourable Court of Directors in the first instance.

Extract from a letter to LORD DALHOUSIE.

The Maharajah quite agrees that it is wise and proper that he should, at present, make no changes that could possibly offend his people, until he has proved the strength and reality of his con-

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On the last occasion of the Sinkrat, he distinctly and emphatically, in my presence, and that of the Dewan, refused to give the usual order to the Brahmin treasurer, to pay his customary offering, and desired that the amount (500 rupees) should be set aside, on the first of every month, for charitable purposes.

Since he declared his intention to be a Christian, a marked change has taken place in his habits; he tries to apply his mind to his studies, and shows a wish to acquire knowledge. No desire has been shown by him to attract notoriety by the step he has taken, on the contrary, every circumstance connected with his determination to embrace Christianity tends to show the absence of any unworthy motive in doing so; and he is equally free from any display of his sentiments, as from a desire to conceal them, although he does not hesitate to express them with sufficient boldness when occasions arise.

J. S. L.

On the 11th June an official letter from Sir Henry Elliot conveyed to Dr. Login the acquiescence of the Court of Directors in the desire of the Maharajah, which was couched in the following terms :—

We concur entirely in the views expressed by Lord Dalhousie on this occasion, and we authorize him at his discretion, appreciating most fully the wisdom of his Lordship's resolution, that in following out these views no undue publicity, no ostentatious announcement would be permitted.

Commenting on this letter of the Court, Sir H. Elliot says :—

It is the Governor-General's wish, that if the Maharajah's declared desire shall not have been a transient fancy, he should henceforth receive every aid and guidance which can be given to him in following out the happy choice to which he has been led by the light his heart has received.

But it is his Lordship's positive command, that this object shall be carried into effect without any parade or publicity, without any circumstances of excitement or notoriety, which may either lead the boy to fancy himself an object of extraordinary interest, or may admit of his being made so by others among us.

The introduction of any such circumstances as these, in connection with the step which the Maharajah has taken, could only be injurious to himself, and tend to qualify our assurance of his singleness of purpose, and of the reality of his convictions.

His Lordship relies on your prudence and judgment for giving effect to these views of the Government of India, respecting the future religious education of Maharajah Duleep Singh, by conducting it in a manner marked only by its earnestness and simplicity. There is nothing which requires to be concealed. At the same time the Governor-General trusts that all newspaper paragraphs, all communications to religious periodicals, which are likely to be put forth, announcing the conversion of a native Prince, may, so far as in you lies, be discouraged and prevented.

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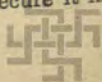
It is his Lordship's earnest hope that the boy's spontaneous wish may prove to be rooted and stable, and that he may imbibe with eagerness and perseverance that knowledge of Christian truth which he has thus early and unexpectedly sought. To that end our best and faithful exertions should now be steadily directed. We should content ourselves with the consciousness that we are labouring for good, and with the hope that it will in the end be fully and permanently secured. But in the meantime, his Lordship enjoins upon all concerned that they abstain from trumpeting abroad either the nature of their labours or anticipations of their issue.

LORD DALHOUSIE to MAHARAJAH DULEEP SINGH.

SIMLA, *Aug. 2nd, 1851.*

I had the honour of receiving the letter which your Highness addressed to me lately, and learnt, with sincere pleasure, the satisfaction your Highness had experienced, on receiving the reply of the Court of Directors to your wish for full instruction in the truths of the Christian religion.

Your Highness will readily understand that my wish to refer the subject to the Court of Directors did not proceed from any reluctance on my part to meet your views, still less from any doubt of the wisdom of the step you wished to take. I was desirous only that it should be clearly seen that the act was your own, springing from your own heart, and that you had not been led into it hastily, and while you were yet too young to have deeply considered the importance of your act. I rejoice to learn that your Highness remains firm in your desire to be instructed in the doctrines of the Bible, and that you have resolved to embrace a faith, whose teaching, if duly practised by the help of God, will tend to increase your happiness in this life, and will secure it in another that is to come.



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During the next cold weather I propose to return to Calcutta. On my way I hope to have the pleasure of meeting your Highness again, and I will not fail to make known to Dr. Login, when I am likely to be in the neighbourhood of Futtehghur. Your desire to visit Agra and Delhi is very proper ; they are both of them noble cities, containing some works unsurpassed in beauty in any country in the world. The sight of them will afford your Highness great pleasure. Your Highness has much to see in your own country before the visit to England, which your Highness so earnestly desires to accomplish, can be undertaken with full advantage to yourself.

With every good wish for your health and happiness,

I have the honour to be, very respectfully,

Your Highness's faithful friend,

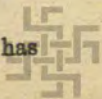
DALHOUSIE

Letter to LORD DALHOUSIE.

MY LORD,

At the request of His Highness the Maharajah Duleep Singh, I have the honour to enclose an autograph letter to your Lordship's address, which the Maharajah has drawn up with the assistance of his Brahmin attendant. I have been anxious that the letter should be as much as possible his own production, and have left him to express his own sentiments as far as he could. I have every reason to believe that the satisfaction he has expressed at the permission being granted to him to be educated in the Christian faith is most cordial and sincere, and that he is fully determined, under the blessing of God, to avail himself of every opportunity afforded him of acquiring knowledge on the subject.

Although, as I have already reported, the Maharajah has



Chapter IX. 1851. naturally shown a preference for the ministerial visits of the Rev. Gopee Nauth Nundy, he has, since I explained to him your Lordship's desire that every ostentatious publicity on the subject of his religious instruction should be avoided, requested that the chaplain at this station (Dr. Carshore) should be invited to visit him, and he has accordingly done so.

His principal reason for selecting Dr. Carshore, in preference to the other clergy here, has been that the latter are supported by an American missionary society, and could not well have avoided reference to his progress in their periodical reports. There is also another advantage in this arrangement, inasmuch as it will enable the Lord Bishop, at any time, to select a judicious and well-qualified successor to Dr. Carshore, when he leaves Futtehghur. With reference to the future training of His Highness in our Christian faith, your Lordship will excuse me for stating how cordially I shall endeavour to act in the spirit of the instructions which I have received on the subject, as they are in every respect such as I have wished them to be. Your Lordship may rest assured that it is my anxious desire to avoid all ostentatious publicity in everything relating to the Christian education of His Highness, and to conduct it in a manner "marked only by its earnestness and simplicity," as your Lordship requires that it should be done. To enable me, however, to carry out these views effectually, it may be desirable that I should in the first instance make known, to the Lord Bishop the whole circumstances of the case, by sending, for his private perusal, a copy of my report and of the commands I have received on the subject, and thus ensure his advice and assistance. As I have for many years been personally known to the Bishop, and have frequently corresponded with him, I can do this now the more easily and without attracting any notice. I shall be glad to receive instructions on this point, as I hear from Dr. Carshore that inquiries have already been made by the Archdeacon on the subject.

Having requested the Maharajah to state fully all his wishes to your Lordship, he has not omitted the opportunity of making known his anxiety to go to the hills next hot season, or his wish to visit England a short time hence.

I have tried to restrain his wishes in both these cases ; in the former, by telling him that no such comfortable accommodation can be available for him at any of the hill stations as he now has at Futtehghur, and that if permitted to go, he could only take with him a very small establishment. But he readily enough makes up his mind to this, as he rather takes pleasure in dispensing with a large retinue, and in adopting European habits. The reasons he assigns for his wish to go to the hills are, that he can apply more steadily to his studies in a cooler climate, and can have more English boys for playfellows. Although, in deference to the prejudices of his Hindoo attendants, he continues to eat only such food as he has hitherto been accustomed to, cooked by his Brahmin servants, he is anxious to have it served up in the European manner, and has asked me to allow a Mahomedan table-attendant to instruct his people, and be present to point out what is required at his meals. The Punjabi servants who remain in his kitchen, show no objections to these innovations, and readily adopt them, being much less prejudiced than the Hindostani bearers.

The Maharajah himself is quite aware that particular rules in respect to meats and drinks are not essential to Christianity ; but, seeing how much importance is attached to these matters by the Hindoos, he does not wish to give them offence unnecessarily, and refrains from the use of beef.

The Maharajah is very anxious to have the opportunity of meeting your Lordship, when passing down the country next cold season, and hopes you will give him the pleasure of receiving you at Futtehghur.

J. S. L.



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LORD DALHOUSIE to DR. LOGIN.

SIMLA, *July 31st*, 1851.

. . . . The Bishop's *advice* is all very well, but I pray you to observe, that I will not allow any authoritative interference in the direction of the Maharajah's religious education, either by the Chaplain or by the Bishop, whether directly over the boy or over you. Whatever is done, must be done *through* you, as the responsible superintendent of His Highness in all respects, and must be reported to Government.

If His Highness strongly urges going to the hills next hot weather, I do not know that it need be refused, but he can't have such guards and escort there as at Futtehghur, and I should certainly object to this station, with its large community.

I do not know whether my march downwards will bring me actually to Futtehghur, but it will give me great pleasure to arrange so that I may meet His Highness somewhere. There can be no objection to his visiting Agra and Delhi, or travelling somewhere next cold season.

Many letters, at this time, passed between the Governor-General and Dr. Login, regarding the Maharajah's progress, and on Lord Dalhousie notifying his intention of visiting Futtehghur, in order to meet His Highness, preparations were made to receive the Governor-General and Lady Dalhousie with due honour.

Up to that time, Duleep Singh had made no change in his custom of having his meals served to him separately, but he now expressed a wish to sit at table with

Lord and Lady Dalhousie, on the occasion of the ladies and gentlemen of the station being invited to dine at his house, in order to meet the Viceregal party. He was also very anxious to be excused from attendance at the public durbar, or *levée*, held by the Governor-General for the reception of natives of rank, as he wished to attract as little notice as possible. Special arrangements were therefore made for him to be received privately and without ceremony.

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LORD DALHOUSIE to J. S. LOGIN:

CAMP, ALLAHGUNGA, Dec. 20th, 1851.

MY DEAR LOGIN,

I shall be happy to see you in camp on the 24th. On the 25th (Christmas Day) we shall reach Futtehghur. I shall be very happy to receive the Maharajah privately, if he prefers it, and we shall be equally happy to dine with you as you propose. The question of his presence at table I leave entirely to his own wishes and feelings; whatever conclusion he may form, I shall be equally content.

Yours very truly,

DALHOUSIE.

P.S. I expect to meet at Futtehghur, M. Rochussen, late Governor-General of Java. Lord Stanley may probably be there also. If either of them should arrive before me, you would very greatly oblige me by rendering them any attention you can.

Yours, &c.,

D.



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LORD DALHOUSIE *to the* MAHARAJAH DULEEP SINGH.

CAMP, ALLAHGUNGA, *Dec. 24th, 1851.*

It has given me sincere pleasure to hear from Dr. Login of your Highness's good health, and to receive from him the very kind and friendly letter which you have done me the favour of addressing to me. It will afford great pleasure both to Lady Dalhousie and myself to dine with your Highness on Saturday next; and during the time we remain at Futtehghur I shall hope to have the honour of seeing you at the time and in the manner most agreeable to your Highness, and of visiting the improvements you have been making around your residence. In the hope of soon having the pleasure of meeting your Highness again,

I have the honour to be, with much respect,

Your Highness's very faithful friend,

DALHOUSIE.

It could not fail to have been touching to the Governor-General to observe the almost filial confidence reposed in him, by the boy whom he now saw dethroned and exiled by his decree, and Lord Dalhousie's thoughtful care for the comfort and happiness of the Maharajah, was very perceptible. He inspected, personally, the various arrangements of the establishment, and the laying out of the grounds, &c., expressing his cordial approval of all he saw. He showed himself throughout so thoroughly kind-hearted and genial in

manner, that it was hard to realize this was the man whom his detractors regard as uncompromisingly frigid and autocratic.

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The Dewan and Fakeer, having received permission to return to the Punjab, took their departure, followed by the good wishes of all. The Maharajah presented the Dewan with a handsome Arab horse, as a mark of his favour and regard, and the Fakeer with a set of tents and 500 rupees. The Brahmin *porohut* (priest) had already left, by the Maharajah's wish.

Before leaving, he placed in Login's hands the horoscope, or nativity, which had been cast at Duleep Singh's birth, and which had been in his charge.

The Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces (Mr. James Thomason) had visited the Maharajah some time previously, and, after several conversations with His Highness, had been most favourably impressed with the earnestness of his convictions and his steady purpose to be educated in the Christian faith.

During all this time of probation, he continued inflexible in his resolve, and never tired of the restraints of study, *when the subject was religion*; but his natural disposition to shirk anything in the shape of steady application was often most amusingly displayed when other branches of education were in question. Every sort of expedient had to be resorted to in order to keep alive his interest; he would struggle manfully for a time, gradually grow hopelessly confused and stupified,

Chapter IX. 1851. and end by suddenly falling sound asleep amongst his books !

He had great natural acuteness, and it was wonderful how he imbibed information, when he could obtain it in a pleasant form, without the trouble of applying his mind. To effect this, it became usual to have games on general knowledge, history, geography, &c. . . . in the evenings, when the Maharajah was present. The questions and answers were on cards ; whoever answered correctly being the winner of a prize. Mrs. Login was provided with constant occupation in the preparation of fresh series of these, as the Maharajah progressed in knowledge, and the prizes and forfeits were a source of much amusement to her visitors and guests, some of whom may remember the excitement and eagerness of the boy to show his proficiency.

Before his shyness in speaking English could be got over, a system of fines was established for every word of Hindostani spoken in his presence by any person, the amount to go to some particular charity. The Maharajah's boyish delight at this scheme was great. To be revenged for the constant fines levied on himself at first, he set himself cunningly to entrap the unwary, by feigning not to comprehend some particular word in a sentence addressed to him ; the Hindostani word was then politely supplied, and the victim was only made aware of his slip by the shout of laughter and demand for the fine which instantly followed from the delighted boy. The amount of

pocket-money allowed to him, and his companions in study, was regulated by the number of marks gained, and this naturally aroused emulation amongst them.

When Lord and Lady Dalhousie came to Futtehghur during Christmastide, 1851, it was a great surprise to the Governor-General to observe the change that a year had wrought on the boy he had seen for the first time at Lahore. From constant association with English ladies and gentlemen, he had rapidly acquired the usages of society, and his chivalrous courtesy to ladies became remarkable. The following occurrence is one instance in point :—

There was a subdued excitement among the Ranee's people when it became noised about that Duleep Singh was forsaking the Sikh religion, and seeking to learn the new faith ; of course, if it were so, then the Shahzadah would naturally become of more importance, and would be looked upon by all Sikhs as the true representative of the Khâlsa Raj ! It was reported that the Ranee encouraged these ideas, and it was observed that the little boy had begun to take upon himself consequential airs, and to make remarks derogatory to his uncle.* There was an avoidance

* On its coming to the knowledge of the Governor-General that the Shahzadah had been assuming airs of importance and announcing, unchecked by his relatives and attendants, "that he would be placed on the *guddee* by the Khâlsa, as soon

Chapter IX. 1851. of his society also perceptible of late, which was very unusual.

The Sikhs attach little importance to the strict preservation of caste, but the Rajpoots are very punctilious; and no doubt the Ranee wished to ascertain for certain if the rumours she heard were true, for she had asked Mrs. Login more than once why the Maharajah had discontinued his visits to her?

One day, when on her way to visit the Ranee, Mrs. Login met the Maharajah and his party hawking in the park. On learning whither she was bent, he asked with some eagerness if he might accompany her, as he did not care to go alone. She agreed, and sent a *chobedar* to announce the coming visit.

They were received, and announced, by the little Shahzadah and the Ranee's handsome young brother, Meah Ootum. There was unusual constraint observable during the visit; even the little Shahzadah seemed not at ease, as if expectant of something about to happen. The Ranee offered refreshments,

as Duleep Singh went to England as a Christian," Sir H. Elliot was directed to inform Dr. Login that the Ranee must be warned of the consequences of permitting the child to hold such language.

"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 of 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. . . ."—*Official letter, dated Simla, July, 23rd, 1851.*

and called for fruit-sherbet, for which she was famous. The tray appeared with only *one* glass upon it; this the Ranee filled and offered with deep reverence to her Sovereign; but the Maharajah, who, amongst other lessons, had lately learnt courtesy to women, handed the glass to Mrs. Login instead. Expecting that a second glass would be brought for the Maharajah presently, Mrs Login accepted it, drank part of the contents, and replaced it on the tray. Immediately it was refilled, and once more presented by the Ranee to the Maharajah, while significant glances passed between the brother and sister. Perceiving at once that a premeditated insult was intended, Mrs. Login said quietly, in English, "Don't drink it, Maharaj!" To her surprise he rose, and turning to her with a courteous salutation, he took the glass in his hand and drank off the contents, then, turning on his heel, he abruptly left the house, with the slightest possible gesture of farewell to his sister-in-law, who gazed after him alarmed at the result of her experiment!

On taking her leave directly afterwards, Mrs. Login found the young Maharajah waiting outside to escort her home. She then asked him why he took the glass, when he saw that an insult was intended by forcing him to drink *after her*? "What?" he replied, his eyes flashing with indignation, "you would have me let them *insult you too*! Now they will see that I honour you, and am not ashamed to show that I have broken caste!"