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The Conversion and "Education" of Duleep Singh in Navtej Sarna's *The Exile* and Lady Login's *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*

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Abstract

Duleep Singh (1838–1893), the youngest son of Ranjit Singh (1780–1839) and the last king of Punjab was deposed as a child King by the British in 1849 as a prequel to complete annexation of Punjab. He has mostly been seen as the inconsequential child king whose reign was significant in political terms only to the extent that it marked the beginning of colonisation of Punjab. This near amnesia with regard to Duleep Singh and his mother, Jind Kaur, was well orchestrated in historiography by the British because any attention paid to the duo would only expose their deep dark secret with regard to managing the twin fates of the mother and son. This essay attempts to expose the educational and evangelical project tied to the strings of Duleep's tenuous life that needs a fresh exposition from a Postcolonial perspective. Lady Login's *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh* (1890) and Navtej Sarna's *The Exile* (2008) are the two texts through which an attempt is made to do a close study of the strategies employed to control and 'civilise' the child Maharaja Duleep Singh.

Keywords: Postcolonial, Duleep Singh, Jind Kaur, Punjab, Colonisation, Evangelism.

Introduction

> Oh you *firanghees!* To what a miserable, hot place
> you have flung our Duleep!
>
> Sarna *In Exile* 114

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> Kingdom taken away, mother sent to exile, culture and religion switched. It was all very neat. And my tractable character, gentle disposition and pleasing ways would go a long way in making me a perfect example that could be followed by many in India. And of course, I played right into Dalhousie's hands.
>
> Sarna *In Exile 147*

> He had forgotten nothing of his life at Lahore. He loved to talk of his old days and his eyes were filled with tears, as he spoke of his old playmates, his *tahlias* (attendants), his favourite horse and the gorgeously uniformed regiment of infants constituting of cadets coming of the noblest houses in the Punjab.
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> Obituary on the death of Duleep Singh in *The Tribune*, October 25, 1893. Qtd. in Ballantyne 154

Duleep Singh (1838–1893), the youngest son of Ranjit Singh (1780–1839) and the last king of Punjab was deposed as a child King by the British in 1849 as a prequel to complete annexation of Punjab. He has mostly been seen as the inconsequential child king whose reign was significant in political terms only to the extent that it marked the beginning of colonisation of Punjab. This near amnesia with regard to Duleep Singh and his mother, Jind Kaur, was well orchestrated in historiography by the British because any attention paid to the duo would only expose their deep dark secret with regard to managing the twin fates of the mother and son. In a manipulative move, the East India Company separated Duleep from his mother, Jind Kaur and in 1850, whisked him away from the Lahore Fort under heavy security cover, to a sleepy town called Fattehgarh, on the banks of the Ganges. By now the lone child was under the firm thumb of the East India Company and moved under the care of new foster parents, Scotsman John Spenser Login, a doctor with East India Company and his wife, Lena Login. His impressionable age of 9 years at the time of his

separation from her mother and his subsequent rearing and education under the strategic policy implemented personally by the Governor General Lord Dalhousie and Dr Login fashioned him into a vulnerable character riddled with many contradictions. When evaluated for the stereotypical Punjabi masculine characteristics like bravery and audacity, of which his father was an embodiment, he comes off as incredibly naive and weak. While it is convenient to broad-brush his life as "most tragic and pathetic" and leave it at that, there was a whole educational and evangelical project tied to the strings of his tenuous life that needs a new exposition from a Postcolonial perspective. Lady Login's *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh* (1890) and Navtej Sarna's *The Exile* (2008) are the two texts (One colonial and the other post-independence) through which an attempt is made to do a close study of the strategies employed to control and 'civilise' the child Maharaja Duleep Singh.

Navtej Sarna's narrative technique in *The Exile* is one of exposition through multiple points of view, which brings a rare intimacy in telling a tale that had been nearly expunged from history, a deep dark secret of the British which could be brought to the daylight only by giving first person narration to the hitherto powerless witnesses of his life. He uses the first person point of view of five characters: Duleep's own perspective, who, while dying alone in a far flung decrepit Paris hotel room, recounts his life story as a painful flashback, Mangla, the old trusted maid of Jind Kaur who had known Duleep since he was a baby and was subsequently thrown out of service by the British after the expulsion of the Queen, Arur Singh – Duleep's trusted valet, his foster parents, the Logins and General Charles Carrol –Tevis, an American soldier, who became a confidante of Duleep Singh in Paris. By alternating the thread of the story between different voices, a more holistic exposition of Duleep's life takes place.

Lady Login, wife of Dr Login, was urged to write the book *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh* " . . . in the interests of the Maharaja, in the interest of truth and justice, of writing from the stores of documents in her possession, a connected history of the Maharaja's life from the date of connection with him of the late Sir John Login to the time of the cessation of the connection" (Login xvi).The book,

apart from her personal commentary, includes personal letters and documents, sometimes revealing details that the veneer of her outward commentary belies.

This paper makes an attempt to unravel the dark secret of the Empire whereby a mother and her child were separated, and child Duleep, through a combination of evangelism and Western education, was cast in the mould of an Anglicised Christian aristocrat. Further an attempt is made to unravel the strategies employed by the East India Company to fashion him in the way that best represented the interests of the Empire, while claiming a high moral ground for themselves all the while. The blatant hypocrisy of their civilising and evangelising mission as a handmaiden in the Imperial project is exposed. Duleep Singh can be seen as an early example of the colonial education project, the great advocate of which, Macaulay had written the famous treatise about fifteen years before the annexation of Punjab. Further, Duleep was rendered incapable of rebelling against the Crown because he encountered it in the guise of the ostensibly kindly Logins whom he lovingly addressed as 'my Ma-Baap.' This was along the lines of fulfilling Macaulay's ambition of creating "a class (of people) who would, in fact, protect British interests and help them rule a vast and potentially unruly land" (Macaulay; qtd.in Loomba 75). The price Duleep paid was a highly fraught life where he lost all sense of belonging to his beloved Lahore, while never being fully accepted by the English society in which he was supplanted. While the robbery of the *Koh-i-Noor* is a legend well known, the robbery of the child King is way lesser known but many times more tragic. An attempt is made in this paper to examine the ostensibly kind but extremely problematic approach in fashioning him into a character fit for the Imperial project at a religious, social and cultural level. Ballantyne says in this regard that 'the meaning of individual lives are not fixed, rather they are shaped, contested, and reformed through stories, graphic images, biographies, works of fiction and various forms of private and public performance . . . Dalip Singh is a rich case for a study of the constructive and uneven work of memory, especially given his mobility and uneven fortunes (153).

Events Leading to Annexation of Punjab

Duleep Singh was 5 years old, when he ascended the throne in September 1843. His father, Maharaja Ranjit Singh who had stretched the boundaries of the Sikh Empire to include parts of Tibet in North and touched Peshawar in the West, had died in 1839. His death was followed by a decade of internecine violence and a series of brutal murders of his line of successors beginning with Kharak Singh whose reign barely lasted for five and a half months. His son, Nau Nihal Singh, a great favourite of Ranjit Singh, was 'accidentally' killed when the masonry of a gateway under which he was passing gave way on the very day he was returning from performance of the last rites at the funeral pyre of his father. Excessive factionalism of the Dogras on the one hand and the Sikh nobility on the other, had shattered Punjab and the British who were already stationed in Ludhiana were waiting for an opportune time to take over Punjab. Ranjit Singh, close to his death, had remarked in his prescience,"Sab lal ho jayega" prophesising the imminent take-over of Punjab by the East India Company after his death. Nau Nihal Singh's death was followed by an interregnum when Maharani Chand Kaur, the widow of Kharak Singh claimed the throne for her yet unborn grandson. She, therefore, was made regent. Her short reign ended in her brutal murder when she was stoned by her servant girls in a community bath and her grandchild turned out to be still born. Ranjit Singh's other son, Sher Singh, son of his first Queen Mehtab Kaur then took on the reigns upon returning from his post in Batala. The stylish Sikh, a connoisseur of French perfumes also met a brutal end when he and his minor child Partap Singh were murdered by the Sandhawalia Sardars in 1843. On the same day, Dhian Singh, the veteran Prime Minister of Ranjit Singh, who was still calling the shots, was also murdered (Bance 17–25).

It is against this gory landscape of Punjab, on 18 September 1843, with gun shots resounding and canons booming, that Duleep, was elevated as the King, with his mother Maharani Jind Kaur, the last Queen of Ranjit Singh, as the regent.

Duleep Singh's short reign saw the two Anglo-Sikh wars and the complete annexation of Punjab by 1849. Jind Kaur was exiled, first

to Sanman Burj, then to Sheikhupura Fort and finally to Chunar Fort in Benaras in 1848 on trumped up charges of conspiracy. It was an alibi to disconnect her from the *durbar* because her relentless contestations with the British coupled with a guileless stance had unnerved them. Subsequently through the propaganda mills, she was labelled *Messelina of Punjab*, derided as a woman of low character, separated from her son Duleep and never allowed to set foot on Lahore again. She, on her part, managed to flee from Chunar in disguise as a servant girl and walked all the way to Nepal where she was accorded refuge. In accordance with the Last Treaty of Lahore (1849), Maharaja was declared a "state property and appropriated by the British Government . . . further . . . every article of property in possession of the Maharaja was declared state property" (Login 139). Duleep Singh was already separated from mother and now made a ward of Dr John Spenser Login and his wife Lena Login. He was then removed to faraway Fattehgarh and subsequently England under the constant supervision of Dr Login and given an anglicised Christian upbringing.

Duleep and the Logins in Lahore Fort

The first contact of child Duleep Singh with his foster father, Dr John Spencer Login took place in 1849 when the latter entered the Lahore fort with twin charge as *Killah-i-Malik,* caretaker of the *Toshakhana*, the treasury, fort and 'all that it contains' including the deposed child King, Maharaja Duleep Singh. Login had taken charge of his appointment, ruminating over "the opulence of his new residence as compared to the rough camps in Kabul and Herat" (Sarna-Login110). On one evening he witnesses Duleep playing in the rain:

> I was about to go indoors when a sudden burst of activity from the Shish Mahal caught my eye. Duleep in full dress, complete with his turban and pearls, burst forth from between the carved pillars. I was mesmerised by the sight of the boy and his grown up companions playing in the rain. They didn't seem to have any care in the world. I wondered whether I or my countrymen would have been able to give ourselves up with such abandon if

> we had been in the position that the Sikh king and courtiers were in. A Kingdom lost, the Sikh Empire ended forever, the British incharge of Lahore and the *toshakhana* and they could still dance in the rain. (Sarna-Login 111)

Login was a Scotsman and a deeply driven Evangelist. Mrs Login relates the incident when he got local women in Herat, where he was earlier posted, to make embroidered velvet covers for Bible. According to her, "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, he offered to exchange it for a volume of Hafiz's poems, which offer was eagerly accepted" (Login 37).

This instance exemplifies the following:

> – Login's assiduous evangelical aims in the colonies.
> – The use of indirect, covert means in influencing the target communities in appreciating Christianity.
> – Presenting an excellent personal example through his own bearing and conduct by exhibiting high morals, ostensible morality, honesty and high family ideals. In this case if he had directly tried to influence the women by distributing free Bibles, he would not be so valued, as it was, when given in exchange for a volume of Hafiz poems.

In "gently" cajoling Duleep towards Christianity, all these means are adopted by the Logins. This new "job" that involved overseeing the education of Duleep was accepted with him a rare Christian devotion and he and his wife remained connected to the 'wellbeing' of Duleep for a lifetime. It is to be underlined that Empire and Christianity worked hand in hand in these times of the high noon of Imperialism. Upon meeting Duleep, he announced that he found him very intelligent and also courteous. This assessment is repeated again and again by him and later his wife, Lena with two express purposes: One, to distinguish him from his mother, Rani Jind Kaur who is unceremoniously thrown into exile and labelled "Messelina of Punjab," who like the Ancient Roman Queen Messalina, was labelled as a woman of a loose moral character, a liar and a lunatic. This

outright condemnation becomes the very justification of throwing her out of Lahore. Needs to be said that she was a single parent to Duleep, Maharaja Ranjit Singh having already died in 1839 when Duleep was barely ten months old. As opposed to the mother's character, son Duleep is espoused as the one whose intelligence is the foundation on which the edifice of 'good Christian' upbringing can be erected. Despite the fact that they labelled her a lunatic and duty informed Duleep that the mother had abandoned him. His quest for his missing mother led him to make several attempts to get in touch with her later.

To endear themselves to Duleep and to nip his rebellious tendencies in the bud, they seemed to care for his every need, big and small. Dr Login celebrated his birthday in Lahore Fort (first without the mother Jind Kaur) with a lot of pomp, for which he invited the other widows of Ranjit Singh who were still living in the *zenana* (Sarna 113). He began the day by sending his special clothes and jewels to wear, ironically from his own *toshakhana* which was now under the thumb of the British. The gullible, innocent child Maharaja remarked that he had worn the *Koh-i-Noor* on his arm on his last birthday. (Sarna Login 113) The famed diamond, had by then gone into the treasury of the Crown (Bance 29). A box of toys arrived from England and "both the little Maharaja and his servants were anxiously waiting to see its contents" (Bance 28). They were advancing these baubles to win him over, while pocketing the spoils of the Sikh Kingdom. Every day, the contents of the *toshakhana* were being emptied into British treasury.

Fattehgarh Days

> I cannot put a Bible in his hands yet . . . Login to his wife Lena. (Bance 35)
>
> Fattehgarh camp had grown around the remnants of a mud fort and three villages. A small settlement of Englishmen and indigo planters lived their lives around the theatre with its tamarind trees . . . and when they died of malaria, cholera or the heat they were buried in the two cemeteries shaded with neem and shisham trees. (Sarna-Login114)

In 1850, Duleep was moved to Fattehgarh, a cantonment town in what was then United Provinces, so as to sever all connection with Lahore. His few valets from Lahore who had accompanied him were subsequently sent back home to avoid any possible rebellion or contact with Jind Kaur. A strict vigil was maintained to ensure that Duleep was under the firm control of the British. He was 'escorted' from Lahore by 'a selection of the best men of the 6th Light Cavalry, 18th European infantry, 15th Native Infantry and Horse Artillery' . . . 'they were to guard us against any attempt by any bunch of desperados to rescue the Maharaja' (Sarna-Login116). What followed was a meticulously controlled conspiracy to introduce Duleep to the precepts of Christianity to covertly encourage him to adopt the faith so as to create a rift with his own heritage that he would never be able to fill. Further that would make him unfit to ever claim Punjab as its ruler. Lena Login includes a letter dispatch written by Henry Elliot, Secretary to the Government of India that points to the meticulous control exercised in this regard:

> Dr Login will have the 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 Punjab. Monthly diaries or reports should be made by him to the Secretary to the Government of India . . . and copies of his accounts should be rendered quarterly in the same Department. (Login 202)

Besides, successfully converting Duleep would be a huge symbolic victory for the British as he would become the first Indian royal to adopt the faith of the colonisers.

Login claims that when the retinue of Duleep Singh was to move to Fattehgarh, none of the Sikh priests accompanied him though they were offered accommodation and facilities. Thus Duleep left Lahore without any local teacher who could have instructed him in his tongue and without a single copy of the Guru Granth Sahib. According to Login, despite his exhortations, none was ready to accompany the child Maharaja and 'I being from a different religion . . . would not

give them orders on the subject' (Qtd.in Bance 30). The Maharaja, thus reached Fattehgarh without a credible connection with his Sikh heritage. Login's explanation here has to be taken with a pinch of salt. Henry Eliott, had earlier instructed him that "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 anyone about them except such persons as Dr Login may consider from his experience to be worthy of trust" (Login 203).While his every action was being remote controlled from Calcutta personally by Lord Dalhousie, it would not have been difficult for them to have a Sikh teacher accompany Duleep. This has to be seen in the chain of events, where the enthusiasm to have Duleep take to Christianity and western style education served the dual purpose of having him cut all ties with Lahore and become more amenable to accepting the British Raj as opposed to rebelling against his ouster as a rebel. His impressionable age only helped matters. He was being put into a mould. His old retainer Mian Kheema who had been with Duleep since early childhood "quietly carrying me, putting me on a horse, helping me dress, putting food in front of me, talking to me as I fall to sleep' was promptly sent back to Lahore. I wonder did he want to leave me or that too was part of the plan? . . . I needed him, he must have known that, and but still he left" (Sarna-Duleep 120).

Duleep was exposed to Western style education under a dubious tutor by the name of Bhajan Lal who was a Christian convert (having studied in mission schools in Farukhhabad) and a wily, servile man. And he replaced Mian Kheema "perhaps in their minds, perhaps in Login's mind or Dalhousie's or in some despatch of the secret committee this plan was already in place . . . then the reason for Mian Kheema's return to Lahore is clear to me: he could not read the Bible to me like Bhajan Lal would" (Sarna-Duleep 120).

Bhajan Lal played a crucial role in exposing child Duleep to Christian precepts and Biblical fables while deriding the superstitions of Hindu faith. Subtly and by degrees, he was able to establish the binary—one the one hand was Christian reason, and honesty and high morals and on the other—between Hindu superstition, ludicrous

rituals and treachery. Indian religions were presented as an antithesis of the morally uplifting Christian worldview. Besides, the stories told by Bhajan Lal evoked in the child Duleep an alternate world of imagination, which became a refuge of sorts:

> And then every night he read the Bible to me. A chapter or two as I lay in bed, just before falling to sleep, in his gentle, sweet voice, it kept me from thinking of my mother and from wondering why I had been separated from her." (Sarna-Duleep120)

Later in life, it became clear to Duleep that Bhajan Lal had, indeed, spied on him and reported his movements to Login (Bance 31).

Two more teachers subsequently played a role: Walter Guise and Reverend Carshore, who too, as tutors, were trained in the same mould to encourage Duleep towards Christianity. About Guise, Login claims in a letter to Lena that he "is a very good fellow, rather slow perhaps and not altogether the man who would suit later on but he is amiable, patient, and attentive . . . and has I think been more useful in winning the boy round to apply himself to study than a more accomplished tutor would have been" (Login 224).

Added to this was the atmosphere of Fattehgarh, which was a Christian missionary town and Duleep's desire to belong to the ostensibly kind Logins who were severe practicing missionaries and would not miss their Sunday Church for anything. Somewhere Duleep's desire to be one of them was a strong undercurrent in his attraction towards Christianity:

> I was very keen to speak English like Tommy Scott and Robby Carshore, not sound so much like a native Prince but an English Sahib. I wanted to be like them in so many other ways too, have their uncomplicated carefree attitude, play cricket and football like they could, even get into the kind of clothes that they wore- shorts and shirts and stockings (Sarna-Duleep119).

John Login wrote to his wife Lena:

> I trust however, 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. I have this morning and evening prayer together, he asked me to order his purohit (priest) to come also at a fixed hour daily to read to him in his holy book. This, I think indicates a devotional feeling that may hereafter be directed aright (Bance 32).

And, then:

> I shall be glad when you join me, for I cannot expect to have more than two to three years in which to influence the young Maharaja's mind favourably towards our domestic life and I must not lose them on any account . . . 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 (Sarna-Login 117).

Lord Dalhousie, always mindful of the furore the conversion of the Child King could lead to, especially in Lahore wrote to Login: "If Duleep Singh is to go to England, let him be quietly baptised before he goes and by his own name Duleep Singh" (Bance 34). Lady Login, however, noted that Duleep was anxious to convert sooner and prove he was no longer a Sikh by "cutting off his long tress of hair which, he in common with all Sikhs wore twisted into a ball above the brow . . . " (Bance 34).

The child's decision to embrace Christianity was projected as being one of his own volition where, Logins' and Lord Dalhousie, the then Governor General's involvement in ensuring that Duleep moves in this direction is evident in their intricate planning and several exchanges of correspondence. He was formally baptised on 8 March 1853 in his own Fattehgarh bungalow. Dalhousie, expressing satisfaction in the matter, wrote to his friend George Couper: "This is the first Indian Prince of many who have succumbed to our power or have acknowledged it that has adopted the faith of the stranger" (Bance 35).

It took the English men a few weeks to sort things out. It was not a small thing- to handle the conversion of a native prince to Christianity. The men of East India Company had to be very careful of what people thought of them, how history judged them. All the paperwork had to be complete. The file had to be correct, with all the notings in place. Nothing should show that undue influence had been used, that a position of trust had been abused (Sarna 127).

Just before Duleep's departure to England in 1854, Dalhousie also presented him with a Bible, a present that he claimed " . . . which in future years might sometimes remind you of me . . . the volume which I should offer to my own child, as the best of all gifts since in it alone is to be found the secret of real happiness either in this world or in that world which is yet to come" (Bance 35).

But Dalhousie's duplicity in the matter was later clear to Duleep: "What he actually thought of me, I discovered when I read his letter to his friend Hobhouse. He called me a 'child notoriously surreptitious,' a brat begotten of a *bhishti,* and no more a son of Ranjit than Queen Victoria is. This is what he really thought of me, the rest was deception and fraud" (Sarna-Duleep 156).

The Question of Marriage

The question of Duleep Singh's marriage was also accorded an unusual importance. Login wrote to his wife about the matter of finding a suitable bride for Duleep as his topmost priority (Bance 32). First off, they unilaterally called off the engagement of Duleep with Sardar Chhattar Singh Attariwala's daughter that had been fixed since he was an infant. That, of course, was to prevent any connection with Lahore.

Lord Dalhousie, in a letter to Login had written:

> I should object decidedly and do not wish to countenance any relations henceforth between the Maharaj and the Sikh, either by alliance with a Sikh family or sympathy with Sikh feeling. (Bance 32)

This clearly revealed that the British were using Duleep's marriage too as a means of tightening their grip on Lahore. He was then presented with two proposals, at different points in time: One, a proposal for him to marry the widow of Maharaja Sher Singh, his half-brother who had been murdered by the Sandhawalias. His wife Rani Dukhno, though many times his senior was presented as a possible match under the ceremony of *Chadar Chadana* that allows the widow to marry the brother of the deceased husband, a custom amongst the *jatts* of Punjab. However, Duleep showed no inclination to this match whatsoever. Second, which was personally pushed by Queen Victoria, was a proposal for him to marry Princess Gauramma of Coorg, a royal who was in somewhat similar circumstances as Duleep, having been deposed and brought to England. However, Duleep declined the match:

> I know what you are thinking. That she is suited in so many ways for someone in my position. Otherwise, whom will I marry? Some heathen Indian who will be forced to become a Christian only to please me? Or some European with whom I will produce half castes? (Sarna Duleep 161)

On the other hand, when he was attracted to one of the relatives of Logins, a young pretty British girl, he was outright discouraged to proceed. The real face of the guardians then was revealed, and he could see beyond the projected kindness of his benefactors. Inter-racial marriage was an anathema in the Victorian times and 'sexuality was thus a means for the maintenance or erosion of sexual difference.' (Loomba 135). There was a consistent effort on the part of the British to ensure that he marry within the race and secondly, he ought not 'cross the line' by romancing a white British woman. The racial divide between them was clearly exposed and at this point he began to have second thoughts:

> Even you, for so many years the only parents I have known, are not going to accept me as your own. You took me away from what I have known, my country, my people, even my faith. I lost all chance of ever being one with my own race and if I still cannot be

> treated as one of our own then I do not know where to turn to." (Sarna Duleep 162)

Eventually in 1864, he married Bamba Muller, daughter of an Abyssinian woman and a German father from a mission school in Cairo. In being a bit of an outsider, but nevertheless, a devout Christian, she fitted the ideal that Duleep had in mind for a wife.

Post Script

The famous portrait of Duleep Singh made by Francis Xavier Winterhalter and commissioned by Queen Victoria herself in 1854, is a sordid commentary on the actual circumstances of Duleep. He stands there in an Oriental regalia – trousers, brocades and a turban decked with pearly strings. The painter himself confessed that he painted him tad taller so as to make him look aristocratic. He wore a pendant with the painting of Queen Victoria around his neck, looking much like a loyal subject. The Queen herself was overseeing this session being conducted in Buckingham Palace. What leaps out of this is the complete delineation of a man who was completely fractured in psyche, his education mirroring the colonial project of creating loyal subjects, who progressively become hateful of their own heritage and servile to the new masters but never fully accepted by them as their own. CA Bayly, a prominent South Asian historian who curated the landmark exhibition "The Raj: India and British 1600-1947" for which he used this portrait as the central image, says: "The image suggests the vigourously exotic; the reality was defeat and dispossession" (qtd. in Ballantyne 159). Similarly, Nina Poovaya-Smith calls it a "studied exercise in presenting or mimicking the veneer of power and authority, a gloss as superficial as the varnish that overlays the painting" (qtd. in Ballantyne 159).

That voice come back to me now as I lie in this bed, preparing to fall into eternal sleep. I wish someone would come and read me something to soothe my soul and I would not care if it was Bible or the Guru Granth or even the fantastic tales from Hindu Shastras . . . I have believed in everything and nothing . . . sometimes I feel I have no conviction at all (Sarna-Duleep 120).

Endnote

Since Navtej Sarna's book employs multiple Points of View, I have used the following structure in the in-text citation: (Sarna/name of character/page number). This makes the perspective of the speaker clear.

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