

Voices of Dissent from Nineteenth Century Mussoorie

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In 2015, an exhibition was held in Mussoorie by Surabhi Agarwal, the proprietress of Mussoorie Heritage Centre, showcasing the role of the town in the Indian freedom struggle¹. It came as a surprise to many that a British bastion could also have spoken out against the colonial government. Hill stations of India like Shimla and Mussoorie have often been viewed by scholars as English havens in an alien land. In these towns, the British reimagined and reestablished the landscape and culture they had left behind at home.² However, as insulated as these spaces appeared to the prevailing political, social and economic conditions of the subcontinent, they could not remain unaffected by their surroundings.

Therefore, a few intellectuals from these towns not only took notice of the contemporary situation, but also chose to express their disapproval against the same. So far, historiographies of Indian hill stations have not taken such voices into account.³ Even if such a study is carried out, it is often limited to the visits, stays and speeches of Indian freedom fighters. This paper is an attempt to examine the early expressions of dissent which arose out of nineteenth century Mussoorie and were perhaps instrumental in creating an atmosphere where future freedom fighters like Mahatma Gandhi and Abbas Tyabji⁴ could speak out against the atrocities of the colonial government. What such leaders did, as the paper shall elucidate, could in fact be viewed as a legacy of dissent, born in the nineteenth century itself. For this purpose, the study shall take into account some of the earliest intellectuals from Mussoorie and their expressions of dissent recorded in print. The medium of print not only became a significant method of dissemination of ideas in the nineteenth century, but is also a reliable historical archive, containing contemporary records of dissent from Mussoorie.⁵

Mussoorie was developed as a hill station for the officials of the East India Company. Like its cousin Shimla, it symbolized respite, joy and freedom for the colonial rulers of India. In the town were built grand hotels and palaces, clubs and banks, gardens and breweries. Mussoorie boasted of some of the best educational institutions, churches and businesses, which looked after all the needs of the British.⁶ A library of great repute, with 'all the newest periodicals and newspapers' as well as 'books of every shade of literature' was established in 1843. Ironically, people also went to the library 'for gossip'.⁷ Like every other hill station, the town had its fair share of scandals, murder mysteries and clandestine affairs which evoked the interest of novelists like Agatha Christie and Arthur Conan Doyle.⁸ Between gospels and gossip, church and club and schools and scandals, Mussoorie became a strange medley of paradoxes.

H.C. Williams accurately put forth the dilemma of describing Mussoorie in 1936, 'Blotches grave and splashes gay, ascents to the sublime and tumbles to the ridiculous, contributors and contributions of more than hundred years to the making of modern Mussoorie. How can one correctly catalogue so diverse a conglomeration?'⁹ Despite these contrasts, it appeared to have all the ingredients of a perfect English heaven, quite different from the hellish reality of most of the Indian subcontinent. While most regions suffered oppression and poverty due to the colonial rule, Mussoorie imbued opulence, grandeur and prosperity.

Yet, trouble for the British stirred in paradise soon after it came into existence and found its way into the print culture of the town. The seeds of dissent in Mussoorie were perhaps sown by one of its earliest and most influential residents, an Irishman, Mr. John Mackinnon. According to a nineteenth century contemporary, 'Masuri owe[d] a good deal to his [Mackinnon's] energy and public spirit.'¹⁰ He constructed one of the earliest roads to Mussoorie, opened one of the earliest schools in the town called Masuri Seminary in 1834, in fact the first English medium school in the region and bought

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one of the earliest breweries in the hill station and made it immensely popular.¹¹ Mackinnon was an engineer, a businessman, an educationist, a journalist and a prominent voice of Mussoorie.

He was also the first one to introduce a newspaper to the town, *The Hills*. Established in 1842 in Mussoorie, the paper was 'well edited and well supported' and therefore 'made its mark and became well known.'¹²The paper's circulation apparently remained strong until it was discontinued after eight years. It was then resurrected by a Dr. Smith in 1860 and remained in circulation till 1865.¹³Interestingly, despite Mackinnon's role in the development of a hill station for the East India Company's officials, his newspaper apparently reflected radical, anti-government views. It was believed that the radical tone of the newspaper was on the account of its proprietor's Irish nationality.¹⁴His political views, as was the common notion, were 'agin the Guv'ment anyhow'.¹⁵ Thus, the very first newspaper published from Mussoorie was critical of the colonial government in India. Needless to say, the newspaper, despite causing uneasiness to the residents of Mussoorie, would have carried significant influence as it was run for almost a decade by one of the most prominent residents of the town, John Mackinnon.

Further, Mackinnon himself appears as a paradox, speaking out against the same government he serves in India. Yet, he was not an exception in doing so. As Michael Silvestri points out, it was not unusual for an Irish to share an ambivalent relationship with the British project of colonisation.¹⁶ Ireland had been treated as a colony by England even before the latter's colonial ventures into other parts of the world. At the same time, with the colonization of other regions like Africa and the Indian subcontinent, the Irish were provided with more opportunities to partake in these colonial projects. Therefore, while some defended the British Empire, others wished to dismantle it and yet others shared a more ambivalent relationship with it. Mackinnon clearly belonged to the third category.

However, his case is further complicated because he might have also belonged to the Mackinnon clan of Scotland. Although nothing substantial is known about the personal life of the man except that he was an Irish, his last name gives away his Scottish descendancy. The Mackinnons were known to have opposed the Act of Union of 1707 and also supported Prince Charles Edward's claim to the English throne during the Jacobite rebellion. Their uprisings against the predominance of England over Scotland and Ireland and open support for the Bonnie Prince resulted in loss of their ancestral lands. As a result, several members of the Mackinnon clan were said to have emigrated from Scotland and Ireland in the nineteenth century to British colonies.¹⁷

Perhaps, Mr. Mackinnon of Mussoorie too was one such immigrant, which would explain why the critics felt that he was always against the English government, given the traditional apathy of the Mackinnons towards the English.

It could very well be possible that the views his newspaper reflected were borne out of his complicated relationship with the British Empire. And yet, it would be wrong to conclude that his personal prejudice was the only reason for his quarrel with the English. As has been historically proven, the East India Company gave several reasons to its critics to speak out against it. Also, *The Hills* was run by him but with 'the assistance of able writers.'¹⁸Mr. Mackinnon could not therefore have been the only one responsible for the anti-government views of the newspaper. Nevertheless, Mr. Mackinnon and his newspaper were the first ones to initiate a tradition of dissent in a town predominated by British colonisers.

Perhaps an equally prominent and most vocal dissident from Mussoorie was John Lang, fondly remembered by Indians as the lawyer who fought Rani of Jhansi's succession suit against the East India Company in 1854. John Lang was one of the most significant non-Indians to fight the British colonial rule through his pen and legal practice in the nineteenth century. He was critical of the military and civil administration exercised by the East India Company in India and saw it as corrupt and exploitative. He not only voiced his concerns in India but also made the British readers aware of the shortcomings of their leaders by publishing several works in England. It was not for nothing that the British feared the man.

John Lang was born in New South Wales, Australia in 1816. After his initial education in Australia, where he showed extraordinary intellectual capability, he went to Cambridge for matriculation and thereafter practiced law in Middle Temple.¹⁹ In 1842, he came to India and subsequently spent most of his life in the subcontinent. He established a press under the name Mofussilite²⁰ in Meerut in 1845 and stated a paper by the same name. Through this newspaper, he spoke out against the East India Company's oppression in India. He also fought the succession case of Rani of Jhansi against the East India Company but lost it. Having previously won a case for an Indian, Lallah Jooteepersâd, who had been cheated by the EIC during the Sikh campaign, Lang was chosen by the queen of Jhansi to fight for the injustices doled out to her by the British. Unfortunately, Lang lost the case and the queen decided to take the matter in her own hand thereafter. Lang attacked the East India Company through his legal practice, his journalism and his literary works. As Rory Medcalf pointed out, 'He was a nuisance to the power of the day, the East India Company, whose rule he damned in print as 'despotic and arbitrary.'²¹

While some scholars have focused on his newspaper and legal services to Indians, his fiction has often been neglected or criticized. John Earnshaw believed Lang's 'talent as a novelist was melodramatic and indifferent, except when he wrote of the scenes of his youth.'²² Yet, his semi-autobiographical novels and short stories carry some of his sharpest attacks on the colonial rule.²³ He travelled across India but finally settled down in Mussoorie, where he stayed for five years before he passed away in 1864. While staying in a hill-station which was developed primarily for the British officials, he authored books and articles which attacked these very people and their government. He also set some of his stories in Mussoorie.

He was also a reporter for Charles Dicken's *Household Words*. His article entitled 'The Himalaya Club' appeared in the journal in March 1857. Not only is its date of publication significant since this was two months prior to the famous revolt of 1857, but it also forebodes a catastrophe due to the degeneration of the officials of the East India Company. Lang lampoons the EIC's officials who go to Mussoorie for a vacation because they 'are all sick, or supposed to be.'²⁴ Instead they gamble, indulge in secret affairs and even enter into fights for petty reasons. The mall for them 'is a great place for flirtations.'²⁵ They are all 'decorated with medals and ribbons' but hardly seem dignified.²⁶ After involving themselves in numerous flirtations, the narrator swears that their hearts are 'true' and 'loya' to the queen of England, ironically reminding the readers that these officials have been deputed to India for a national duty.

His book *Wanderings in India*, which was published in 1859, the same year he moved to Mussoorie, contains several semi-fictional stories from all across the Indian subcontinent. It also republished some of his earlier published works. In *Wanderings in India*, 'The Himalaya Club' is followed by the story 'The Mahommedan Mother' which examines the unjust treatment of the Indians at the hands of the British and the suffering of Indians due to colonial intervention. Set in Mussoorie, this story acts as a contrast to the previous one in many ways. While 'The Himalaya Club' is a satire, the tone of 'The Mahommedan Mother' is chiefly tragic; while the former depicts degenerate English soldiers, the latter is about an intelligent but unfortunate Indian woman whose suffering is caused by the colonial officials. The story focuses upon the wish of a mother to meet her son who had been taken away from her and kept under the guardianship of an Englishman in Mussoorie. The mother was forbidden to see her only child and sought the help of the narrator to meet her son, who not only did not recognize her, but to whom she could not reveal her identity. While the story might appear melodramatic to its critics, it could be seen as carrying a dangerous plot in

the context of the nineteenth century. It draws parallels with another true story which had exposed the British oppression on the Indians and evoked sympathy in many a million hearts, that of Maharaja Duleep Singh and his mother Rani Jind Kaur.

After the death of the great Sikh king Maharaja Ranjit Singh, a series of assassinations and conspiracies resulted in the accession of Ranjit Singh's young son Duleep Singh on the throne. Aged five, the child was unable to dispense his duties and therefore Rani Jind Kaur, his mother acted as a regent. However, in trying to save her son and the kingdom, she found herself standing against the British, who not only snatched the kingdom, but also took her son away from her. She was denounced as vile and dangerous and called 'Messalina of the Punjab.'²⁷ Although she managed to escape the British captivity, she could not reunite with her young son for several years despite all her efforts. The East India Company put Duleep Singh under the tutorship of Dr. John Login.²⁸ He stayed in Mussoorie for some years before he was taken to England. Throughout his life and even after his death, the British tried their best to erase Duleep Singh from the memory of Indians. Duleep Singh and his mother became a symbol of British injustice and cruelty, causing a stir in India and Britain alike. Therefore, it was not just courageous but also extremely radical of John Lang to invoke the mother and the son in his works, which he did most explicitly in 'The Mahommedan Mother.'

The narrator of the story in 'The Mahommedan Mother' is fascinated by a mysterious native woman in Mussoorie who appears miserable and secludes herself from the society. She appears as a contrast to the otherwise gay atmosphere of Mussoorie, a contrast also between the oppressed natives of the Indian subcontinent and the English paradise built upon the oppression of the former. Lang also portrays this woman hiding behind some rocks and looking longingly at Duleep Singh, a scene not just heart wrenching but also exposing the cruelty of the British colonial officers who would not let a mother see her child. Jind Kaur, Duleep Singh's mother had been demonized by the English but Lang's admiration for her emerges in the story when the narrator, mistaking this woman for Jind Kaur, utters to himself, 'Could she, I wondered, be the famous Ranee Chunda [Jinda], the mother of Dulleep Singh, and the wife of Runjeet? Ranee Chunda had courage which was superhuman; so had this woman.'²⁹ Although it is made clear later that she is not Jind Kaur, the parallels the narrator draws between the two from the very beginning of the story, force the readers to think of the former queen of Punjab throughout the story and recognize her suffering through that of the woman in the story. Lang also sympathises with the estranged son of the lady in the story, and indirectly

Duleep Singh, who strangely pervades the story without being a major part of it. By setting the story in Mussoorie, Lang perhaps wishes to remind the residents of the town the uncomfortable truth that a former king, who was unjustly disposed of by the British, is as much a part of the history of this hill-station as the colonisers who settled here, and that the English paradise was not insulated from the oppression and pain of the natives caused due to the English imperialistic ambitions.

To understand the significance of Lang's fiction further, one must investigate into his readership. Lang mentions in the preface to *Wanderings in India* that most of the works in the book had already been published in Charles Dickens' *Household Words*, a popular journal of the nineteenth century. The book itself was published by an influential publishing house, George Routledge, Warne and Routledge, which published several famous works like Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and cheap editions of works by Benjamin Disraeli, Washington Irving and others. So, his readership would mostly consist of British readers, who have been fed the English narrative of colonization. The narrative of "white man's burden" to civilise the barbarians, however, falls short when in Lang's works, those who have come to India to civilize the natives themselves act like barbarians. They are corrupt, base and cruel. What is more significant is that the writer is exposing East India Company's exploitative actions and policies at its initial phase when even the Indians had only begun to realize the effects of colonisation.

Lang's works also contest the prevailing narrative held by the British government and the East India Company regarding the revolt of 1857. The events of 1857 came as a shock to the British. But these events also changed their perspective of the Indians. As Grace Moore affirms, 'Suddenly Indians were re-imagined as violent, ruthless and highly dangerous.'³⁰ The pre-Revolt image of the Indians as a 'simple race, little inclined to war and unconcerned as to who ruled them,' was transformed into that of 'murderous fiends and bloodthirsty' for the British.³¹ It was also believed that caste and religious factors prompted the mutiny of the soldiers. So, numerous harsh steps were taken to check the power of the native soldiers while the Europeans were made more powerful. Artillery department, for example, was reserved only for the British units. The number of native troops decreased while more Europeans were encouraged to recruit in the military. The commanding officers too were given more power over the natives.³²

The British government and East India Company not only misunderstood the situation of India pre-1857, because of which they were shocked by the events of the revolt, but also misunderstood its causes after their investigations post mutiny. John Lang was one of the

many to point out the shortcomings of the military and civil administration of the East India Company which he believed was the prime cause of the revolt of 1857. Even his pre-mutiny articles for Dickens' *Household Words* should have conveyed to the readers as well as the publishers that all was not well in India. It was not just Lang but a few other reporters for *Household Words* too who shared similar perspective. As Grace Moore asserts, 'Indeed, by the mid-1850s *Household Words* had taken up the Indian cause in earnest, carrying a number of articles on both Indian customs and abuses by the East India Company.'³³ Lang was thus not wrong in advocating against the exploitative policies and maladministration of the Company, his ideas, though not in line with those of the British government, were echoed by several others.

Even after 1857, Lang insisted that it was not just the religious sentiments of the Indians which led to the Revolt. He believed that it was wrong to blame the Indian soldiers. He reminded his English readers of the contributions of the native Indian troops in Anglo-Afghan war where they fought valiantly for the British, casting away their caste and setting aside their religions. Lang in *Wanderings of India*, through the persona of a British official admits, 'they [Indian soldiers] not only proved themselves as brave as the European soldiers' but also 'showed themselves superior to prejudices most intimately connected with their religion- their caste. 'He also wrote against the injustice of the East India Company towards the native rulers. As recounted earlier, through a fictional short story, he sympathised with the former king of Punjab and his mother. Regarding the wrongs done to the queen of Jhansi he wrote, 'That the treaty (for such it purported to be) of Lord William Bentinck was violated without the slightest shadow of a pretence, there cannot be any sort of doubt. As I travelled from Jhansi, I sympathized with the woman.'³⁴ He was also full of admiration for the Nawab of Oudh, Wazid Ali Shah, who was put to exile by the British on account of his maladministration in his kingdom. Lang states, 'His manners were refined, his address charming, and his bearing altogether that of a well-bred gentleman. Of his talents there could be no question; he was, moreover, a learned and well-informed man.'³⁵

While Lang did not go so far as to blame the entire concept of colonialism, he did point to the failures of the East India Company even when entire Britain was incensed at the events of 1857. Vindicating the native troops and rulers and criticising the East India Company to the British readers would have been a radical feat at the very least.

The third and lesser-known dissident from Mussoorie, who raised his voice against the British government and its oppressive rule in India, was John Northam. Although

not as popular as Lang and Mackinnon, and not as radical either, Northam was not oblivious to the harm caused by the colonial rule and expressed his mild dissent through his works. His work *Guide to Masuri* remains one of the most referred works on the history of the town. Despite this, not much is known about him except for the fact that he was the editor and proprietor of *Himalaya Chronicle*, published twice a week from Mussoorie in the late nineteenth century.

In *Guide to Masuri* which was published in 1884, Northam depicts a picture of a nineteenth century hill station which flourishes on the hardships of the natives who are employed to do menial jobs for their colonial masters. He sympathises with the poor Indians who are forced to go to Mussoorie to look for employment but could not even climb uphill because they were malnourished and hungry, 'poor creatures nearly dead with thirst and fatigue.'³⁶ Readers cannot help but contrast this picture with those of Europeans travelling to Mussoorie, either going on horse backs or in 'jampan's' or 'dandies', both being carried by coolies. Almost half a century later when Mahatma Gandhi visited Mussoorie, he too noticed what Northam had noticed decades back and was moved by the condition of the Indians in the town. During his visit in 1946, he asked for better treatment of the coolies and rickshaw pullers.³⁷

Northam was also the proprietor of *Himalaya Chronicle*. In an advertisement for the newspaper, Northam announces that through the newspaper, 'the Proprietor hopes to re-engage the pens, which until recently, contributed articles to expose the flaws in the land-revenue system in many parts of the country, and the fallacies of recent precipitately projected legislation on matters connected with the land.' He further adds that the journal will 'defend the interests of Planters and independent Europeans and Natives who wish to add to the development of new industries in India.'³⁸ His concerns seem to be quite different from Lang's; while the latter focused on several impediments of the colonial rule, he did not focus on the system of land revenue. Yet, Northam, in his own manner, wished to engage with the policies and customs of the British Indian government harming the Indian populace.

Nineteenth century India, especially in the latter half, saw several agrarian revolts as the ill-effects of British land-revenue systems came forth gradually. The Indigo Revolt of 1859-60 in Bengal, the Kuka Rebellion in 1872 in Punjab, another major uprising in Poona and Ahmednagar, Maharashtra in 1875, were just a few of several agrarian movements which engulfed India post 1857. Similarly, as Eric Stokes argues, 'the force of subconscious ideology and the practical need to stabilise the tax system within an impersonal bureaucratic form

of rule' motivated the British to 'introduce a modern form of private property right.'³⁹ But such legislations had irreversible repercussions in the Indian subcontinent against which, the discontent in those associated with agrarian economy, rose. Stokes also affirms that despite the problems which arose due to land-revenue systems introduced by the British, there was an increasing intellectual sanction to these cadastral laws.⁴⁰ Northam, through his journal *Himalaya Chronicle*, thus, seeks to address an extremely pressing contemporary issue. Contrary to those who approved of the British cadastral legislations in India, whose number, as Eric Stokes points out, increased in the nineteenth century, Northam tries to generate a discourse which does not submit to this narrative. Such a step from an English journalist would not be taken kindly by his countrymen. Yet, he chose to disseminate a discourse on the controversial and dangerous legislations related to land-revenue systems of British India through his newspaper.

The works and efforts of the abovementioned writers and journalists did not explicitly call for expulsion of the colonisers from India but their criticism of the British administration and policies in the subcontinent must not be ignored. They did not outrightly reject the British rule in India but they were not blind to the defects and challenges of such a rule. Their perspective, at a time, when most Europeans justified and hailed their colonial enterprises, is significant, not only because these are some of the earliest printed non-Indian records of discontent with the English but also because they come from a space least expected. Historiographies on Indian freedom struggle have so far not taken into account such narratives. However, investigating such narratives shall not only help in understanding the colonial hill stations better, but also complicate discourses on post-colonial studies which often try to classify writers and texts into the colonial-anticolonial dichotomy. Most importantly, the story of the Indian freedom struggle and the journey of India towards its independence, would be incomplete without the story of such writers and journalists.

Notes

1. Situated at a height of about 7,500 feet, Mussoorie was developed as a hill station by the British in 1820s after their victory in the Anglo-Gurkha War (1814-1816). It soon became a treasured destination among the Europeans, especially the British; in the words of John Northam, "A place so favoured by nature could not fail to attract when her beauties were unveiled" (*Guide to Masuri*, 1884). Much has been written about the town, for example, Northam's and Bodycot's guides to Mussoorie (1884 and 1908 respectively), Ganesh Sali and Ruskin Bond's *Mussoorie and Landaur: Days of Wine and Roses* (1992) and Amanda

- G. Thrift and Roger Evan's *Mussoorie Beyond the Mall* (2015). An interesting historical account of the town in its early years is provided in *Letters of a Mussoorie Merchant: Mauger Fitzhugh Monk (1828-1849)*, edited by Ganesh Saili. While these works provide significant historical accounts of Mussoorie, some of them are highly nostalgic, thereby offering little critical insights into the colonial culture of the town.
2. Dane Kennedy's *The Magic Mountains: Hill Stations and the British Raj* (1996) gives a thorough history of the colonial hill stations of India and their political, social and psychological relevance for the British.
 3. Initial studies on colonial hill stations viewed them in terms of their topographic and climatic significance as they offered respite to the Europeans from the tropical heat; see, for example, Robert Reed's "The Colonial Genesis of Hill Stations: The Genting Exception" (*Geographical Review*, 1979, pp. 463-468), J.E. Spencer and W.L. Thomas' 'The Hill Stations and Summer Resorts of the Orient' (*Geographical Review*, 1948, pp. 637-651) and Judith T. Kenny's 'Climate, Race, and Imperial Authority: The Symbolic Landscape of the British Hill Station in India' (*Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 1995, pp. 694-714). Later studies like Dane Kennedy's *The Magic Mountains: Hill Stations and the British Raj* (1996), Pamela Kanwar's 'The Changing Profile of the Summer Capital of the British India: Simla 1864-1947' (*Modern Asian Studies*, 1984, pp. 215-236) and Queeny Pradhan's 'Empire in the Hills: The Making of Hill Stations in Colonial India' (*Studies in History*, 2007, pp. 23-33) reflected upon the political significance of these towns. Kanwar, one of the earliest scholars to point out the political significance of hill stations affirmed, '[A]fter the middle of the nineteenth century, once an organized administrative framework was fashioned to govern the colony, their transformation from holiday resorts and sanatoriums to the summer headquarters of district, provincial or imperial government, steadily altered their urban character' (pp. 216). Yet, all of them explore these hill stations as essentially British hegemonic spaces.
 4. Abbas Tyabji (1854-1936), a freedom fighter from Gujarat, served as the Chief Justice of Baroda state. He spent his last few years in a cottage 'Southwood' in Mussoorie where he was visited by several Indian leaders like Nehru and Azad.
 5. The nineteenth century print culture of India and its relevance has been explored by several scholars like Robert Darnton in 'Book Production in British India, 1850-1900' (*Book History*, Vol. 5, 2002, pp. 239-262), Anindita Ghosh in 'An Uncertain 'Coming of the Book': Early Print Cultures in Colonial India' (*Book History*, Vol. 6, 2003, pp. 23-55), Francesca Orsini in 'Present Absence: Book Circulation, Indian Vernaculars and World Literature in the Nineteenth Century' (*Interventions*, 2019, DOI:10.1080/1369801X.2019.1659169), *Print and Pleasure: Popular Literature and Entertaining Fictions in Colonial North India* (2009) and Ulrike Stark in *An Empire of Books: The Naval Kishore Press and the Diffusion of the Printed Word in Colonial India* (2007). Although almost all of these works chiefly discuss the vernacular print of the Indian subcontinent, they also delve into the production, dissemination and significance of print in the nineteenth century India.
 6. John Northam's *Guide to Masuri* (1884) and F. Bodycot's *Guide to Mussoorie* (1908), a compilation of earlier accounts of the town, provide a glimpse into nineteenth century Mussoorie, its history, institutions, residents and entertainments.
 7. John Northam, *Guide to Masuri, Landaur, Dehra Dun and the Hills North of Dehra* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1884), 54-55
 8. Ganesh Saili quotes this doggerel from Civil and Military Gazette, 'I had a little husband/Who gave me all his pay/I left him for Mussoorie/A hundred miles away.' *The Doon Valley Across the Years* (Delhi:Rupa & Co., 2007, pp. 10-42) pp. xiii.
 9. Williams, H.C. 'A Mussoorie Miscellany.' *The Doon Valley Across the Years*, edited by Ganesh Saili (New Delhi:Rupa & Co., 2007, pp. 10-42), 10.
 10. Northam, *Guide to Masuri*, 34.
 11. F. Bodycot, *Guide to Mussoorie with Notes on Adjacent Districts and routes into the Interior*. (Mussoorie: Mafasilite Printing Works, 1908), 32
 12. F. Bodycot, *Guide to Mussoorie*, 35
 13. Northam, *Guide*, 35
 14. For a history of Irish colonization, see Stephen Howe's chapter "Colonized and Colonizers: Ireland in the British Empire" in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History* (2014). For Ireland's contribution towards Indian nationalism, see 'Indian Nationalist Development and the Influence of Irish Home Rule, 1870-1886' (1980) by Howard Brasted.
 15. Bodycot, *Guide*, 35
 16. Silvestri discusses the life of an Irish soldier Henry Kavanagh who was awarded the Victoria Cross for his bravery during the 1857. Kavanagh, despite his services to the East India Company during 1857, spoke out against the latter's brutality towards the Indians. *Ireland and India: Nationalism, Empire and Memory* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009) 1-4. Mackinnon too can be said to belong to the same category as Kavanagh, who on the one hand aided the project of British imperialism by developing the hill station of Mussoorie for them, and on the other hand, wrote against the British government in his periodical.
 17. Eyre-Todd, George. *The Highland Clans of Scotland: Their History and Traditions, Vol II*. (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1923), 332-33.
 18. Northam, *Guide*, 35.
 19. He was expelled from Cambridge for composing a litany which was 'blasphemous' in nature.
 20. Mofussilite, according to Medcalf, 'became an enduring vehicle for scandal, gossip and satire. Lang used it, along with a stint as an editor in London, to advocate equal employment rights for Indians as well as to expose the East India Company's callous incompetence in the years leading up to the uprising of 1857.' Venkat Ananth, 'The Story of John Lang,' *Mint*, 19 November 2014, <https://www.>

- livemint.com/Politics/PqYPVP2CjuoEoxmnHonWkN/The-story-of-John-Lang.html), Accessed 24 September 2020
21. Venkat Ananth, 'The Story of John Lang.'
 22. John Earnshaw, 'Lang, John (1816-1864),' *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australia National university, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/lang-john-3985>, Accessed 4 October 2020.
 23. Some of his fictional works include, *Too Clever by Half* (1853), *Too Much Alike; or, the Three Calendars* (1855), *The Forger's Wife* (1855), *Botany Bay; or, True Tales of Early Australia* (1859). John Earnshaw believed him to be Australia's first native-born novelist.
 24. John Lang, 'The Himalaya Club.' (*Household Words*, vol 15, 1857, pp. 265-272), 265
 25. Ibid, 267
 26. Ibid, 271
 27. Messalina, after the third wife of Roman emperor Claudius, Valeria Messaline, is used for a promiscuous and clever woman. Lady Lena Login, *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, (London: W.H. Allen & Co., 1890), 458.
 28. John Spencer Login was a Scottish surgeon who was asked to become Duleep Singh's guardian after the British annexed Punjab. He was also put in charge of all the administration of fort of Lahore and all of king's jewels including the Koh-i-noor until the British government and the East India Company decided their future. After controversial statements of Duleep Singh against the injustices of the British government, Login's wife compiled a book on John Login and his relationship with Duleep Singh (*Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*) in order to vindicate her husband whose guardianship was questioned after Duleep Singh began rebelling against the British. The book, consisting mainly of official documents and correspondences between John Login, Duleep Singh and various British officials as well as Queen Victoria, provides valuable insights into various significant events of nineteenth century India and Britain like the Anglo-Sikh Wars, the Revolt of 1857 and Britain's domestic policies and relations with other countries.
 29. John Lang, *Wanderings in India: And Other Sketches of Life in Hindostan*. (Routledge, Warne, and Routledge, 1859), pp. 36-37
 30. Grace Moore, *Dickens and Empire: Discourses of Class, Race and Colonialism in the Works of Charles Dickens*, (New York: Routledge, 2016), 95
 31. Belmekki, Belkacem. 'A Wind of Change: The New British Colonial Policy in Post-Revolt India.' (*Atlantis*, vol. 30, 2008, pp.111-124), 111
 32. Ibid, 112-13.
 33. Moore, *Dickens and Empire*, 52.
 34. Ibid, 85-86
 35. Ibid, 102-03. One of the few native rulers Lang did not sympathise was Nana Saheb, not out of prejudice but because he found Nana Saheb pretentious and always eager to please Europeans. (Ibid,108-115)
 36. Northam, *Guide*, 27-28
 37. Mahatma Gandhi visited Mussoorie thrice, in 1929, 1935 and 1946. Agarwal, Surbhi. 'The Mahatma in Mussoorie.' (The Chakkar, <https://www.thechakkar.com/home/gandhimussoorie>), Accessed 1 October 2020.
 38. Northam, *Guide*, 9
 39. Stokes, Eric. *The Peasant and the Raj: Studies in agrarian society and peasant rebellion in colonial India* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 1
 40. Ibid, 4