Translation

of the

Title Page of Gulabnama

Thanks to the High and Holy God

that during this Auspicious Moment, this bouquet of the meadow of eloquence, the rose-bed of the rose-garden of rhetoric, that is, the pracious book of the Annals of the Exalted Lineage of

Srī Hazūr Mahārājā Gulāb Singh *sāhib bahādur*

known as

GULĀBNĀMĀ

compiled on the orders of the benevolent and exalted, the diamond of the diadem of Government, the lustre of the sword of kingship, the decorator of the crown and throne, the ferocious lion of battle and war

Srī Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh *sāhib*, G.C.S.I., the Ruler of Jammu and Kashmir State (May his forture last for ever !), in the Samvat 1932 Bikarami,

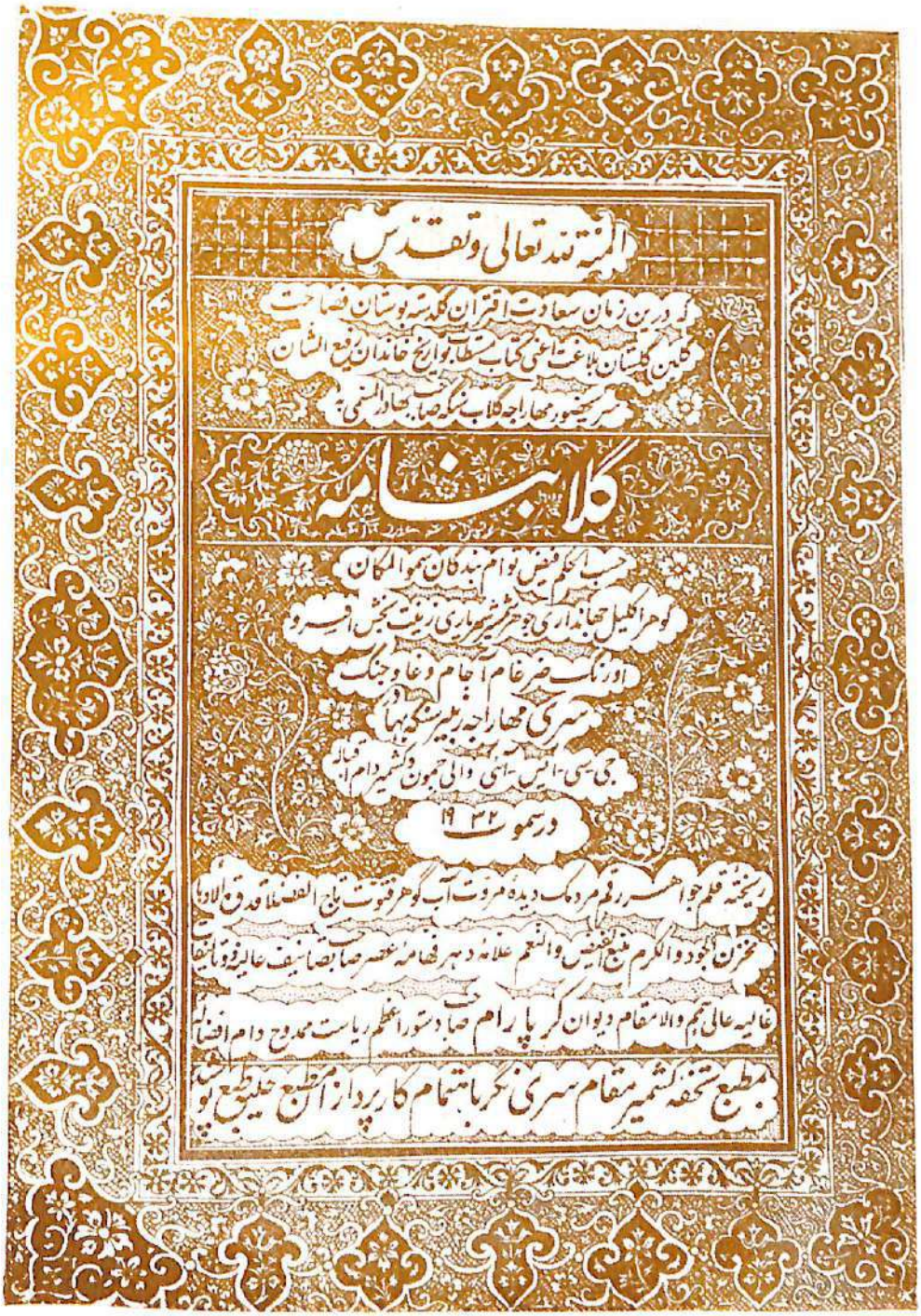
written by the pearl-ejecting pen of the eye of humanity, sparkle of the gem of liberality, the leader of the learned, the chief of scholars, the treasure of generosity and kindness, the spring of mercy and bounty, the great among the scholars of his age, the most wise, the writer of great master-pieces, a compiler of high water-mark, magnanimous and dignified

Diwān Kirpā Rām *sāhib*, the Dastūr-i-Azam of the said State, (May he ever remain in favours) has put on the ornament of print at the

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Maharaja Gulab Singh on horse back, (Painting in Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu)

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GULABNAMA

OF

DIWAN KIRPA RAM

a history of

MAHARAJA GULAB SINGH

of Jammu & Kashmir



Foreword by

Dr. Karan Singh

Translated

from Persian &

annotated by

Sukhdev Singh Charak

LIGHT & LIFE PUBLISHERS

NEW DELHI JAMMU ROHTAK

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वेदाहमेतं पुरुषं महान्तं आदित्यवर्णम्

FOREWORD

In his short biography of Maharaja Gulab Singh published in 1930, K. M. Panikkar drew attention to the interesting fact that while the eighteenth century had thrown up a number of outstanding men such as Haider Ali and Maharajah Scindia, who had founded Kingdom and dynasties, Gulab Singh's was the only case in nineteenth century India of a man, beginning as a small official in a court, who "conquered kingdoms and established himself as a Sovereign". Panikkar added that even if Gulab Singh had died before the Treaty of Amritsar had guaranteed to him his State of Jammu and transferred to him the Sikh rights in Kashmir and its dependencies, he would have been "justly regarded as one of the most remarkable men of his time in India". Bawa Satinder Singh in his recent biography of Maharaja Gulab Singh entitled The Jammu Fox says "His successful career indeed invokes admiration. Born into a princely but petty hill family in Jammu, he rose to be the founder of the Dogra dynasty of the state of Kashmir. Through his commander, Zorawar Singh, he conquered Ladakh and, for the first time in India's long history, made it a part of the subcontinent. One of the shrewdest diplomats that India has produced in recent times, he practised this art in so masterly a fashion that his contemporaries were led to characterize him as the 'Ulysses of the hills' and 'the Talleyrand of the East'. It is surely this skill, combined with his sharp wit and remarkable levelheadedness, which helped him survive both physically and politically in the very bloody and turbulent times in which he lived."

During the first half of this century, when princely India was a bone of contention between British imperialism and Indian nationalism, Maharaja Gulab Singh's career and achievements tended to be obscured by the dust of controversy. However, thirty years after the integration of the States into the Indian Union, it should be possible now to see men and events of that period in their proper perspective.

Maharaja Gulab Singh's career has an aura of romance. He was just sixteen years old when he distinguished himself in the defence

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of Jammu against a force despatched by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Imbued with the spirit of adventure, this restless boy left Jammu soon afterwards and sought his fortunes in the army of the Khalsa. He rose rapidly and, while still in his early twenties, made a name for himself as a brilliant commander. He accompanied Ranjit Singh on important campaigns, and played a prominent part in the consolidation and extension of the Lahore State by crushing local rebellions and repelling inroads from the north-west. His services received striking recognition in 1822 when Maharaja Ranjit Singh personally installed him as the Raja of Jammu. The Punjab hills suffered from chronic feuds of petty princes and consequent disorder; Ranjit Singh was thus not only rewarding one of his best generals but also insuring a troubled part of his kingdom against anarchy. Gulab Singh took his responsibilities as the Raja of Jammu seriously. He resisted the temptation of moving to Lahore and basking in the sunshine of royal favour. He restored order in his territories, reduced refractory chiefs and through remarkable campaigns which will remain enshrined in the annals of military history, annexed Kishtwar, Baltistan, western Tibet and Gilgit.

The death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1839 ushered in a period of extreme instability in the Punjab. His successors were not men of the same calibre; his own family was riven by bitter feuds; the court was honeycombed with intrigue and the army lacked competent leadership and discipline. This was unfortunate because the British, who had already consolidated their position in the rest of the country, could not tolerate a rival power on the sub-continent and were biding their time. Gulab Singh has been blamed for not rescuing the Lahore State from internal turmoil and external dangers. The fact is that after Ranjit Singh's death, his kingdom was most ill-equipped to stop the British juggernaut. In the ensuing confusion and anarchy at Lahore, Gulab Singh's own family was practically decimated and in retrospect it seems a miracle that he should have survived and founded a dynasty. He had to reckon with intense jealousy and hatred of his enemies in the Lahore Durbar. The British attitude to him was also ambivalent; if they let him have the Jammu and Kashmir State in 1846, it was largely because, with the Sikh power still unbroken, they felt they could not hold and govern these territories. We know now from the confidential correspondence of high British dignitaries that, after the annexation of the Punjab, many of them had second thoughts and a lingering regret at having signed away Kashmir to Maharaja Gulab Singh.

The history of Jammu and Kashmir is now part of the history of India. With the passage of time and continuing research new perspectives on past events are bound to develop. Prof. Sukhdev

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Singh Charak has been engaged in work on the history of Jammu and Kashmir. His English translation of the *Gulabnama* is timely as well as important. The *Gulabnama* was the first biography of Gulab Singh. Its author, Diwan Kirpa Ram, had special qualifications to write it. The office of the Diwan—chief officer and confidant—had been hereditary in his family; his father, Jawala Sahai and grandfather, Amir Chand had both served Gulab Singh. Kirpa Ram supplemented his own personal knowledge with information from contemporary sources. He had access to letters, parvanas, *sanads* and other documents, some of which are no longer available to the historian today. It is true that his prose suffers from the characteristic faults of Persian panegyrists, but it was a hard core of factual data on political, social and economic history which is of great value. His ornate style, his superfluous synonyms, his strings of quotations from Persian classics and his *obiter dicta* clog his narrative. Prof. Charak's translation, however, spares the reader some of this tedium. With his editorial skill he has pruned away some of the excrescences, and yet retained in translation something of the original flavour of the Persian narrative. The scholarly footnotes which Prof. Charak has provided are a mine of useful information. They help the reader in identifying places, dates and the persons mentioned by Diwan Kirpa Ram. By correcting and supplementing the information in *Gulabnama*, Prof. Charak has not only made this work accessible to a wide audience, but has provided a valuable compendium on the history of Jammu and Kashmir and indeed of northern India in the first half of the nineteenth century.

New Delhi
August 1977

Karan Singh

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1875ء

محمد ذکاء اللہ حسن
1954ء
سرشار کالج

Introduction

(a) *The Diwans of Eminabad and their services to Jammu & Kashmir State*

Diwan Kirpa Ram, the author of Gulab-nama, belonged to the eminent family of the great Diwans of Eminabad, well-known all over northern India by reason of their close connection with the Jammu and Kashmir State. In the words of Sir Lepel Griffin[1] : "They have from the commencement of Maharaja Gulab Singh's reign practically monopolised the office of Diwan or Prime Minister, and are therefore responsible for much of the good or evil repute attaching to the rule of the Dogras in Kashmir."

The family assumed a historical character when its ancestor Rai Ugarsen of Bikaner became Peshkar or Secretary to the Emperor Babur (A.D. 1526-1530). Once he accompanied the Emperor on a visit to Punjab, and marrying amongst the Kanungo Khatris of Eminabad in the Gujranwala district, settled there. One of his descendants, Bisham Dass, great grandfather of Kirpa Ram, was "employed as a writer" under Sardar Mahan Singh Sukarchakiya (d. A.D. 1794), father of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.[2]

Diwan Kirpa Ram's grandfather, Diwan Amir Chand, was a man of pluck and wisdom. He became eminent by his loyal attach-

1. L. Griffin, *Chiefs*, p. 131.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 131.

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ment to Gulab Singh's interests who made him his Karkun or Managing Agent in the Beol and Kharoti jagir which Gulab Singh got from Ranjit Singh in recognition of his services during the Kashmir campaign of A.D. 1813. The Karkun then accompanied the Chief and had to storm the Sangani fort before occupying Beoi.[3]

Afterwards, when Jammu was granted as an hereditary principality to Gulab Singh and he was recognised as Raja of Jammu[4] by Maharaja Ranjit Singh in the month of Har, v.s. 1879 (A.D. 1822), Amir Chand was designated as the Madar ul-Maham[5] or Chief Minister of Jammu. He was made Diwan by Raja Gulab Singh. During the v.s. 1874 Gulab Singh had to make strenuous efforts for the supression of disturbances in Riasi area. On the advice of Diwan Amir Chand, he laid the foundation of a fort there for the residence and refuge of his troops and named it Bhimgarh.[6] Soon Khasali leaders like Mian Bhup Singh and Mian Diwan Singh raised rebellion and invested Riasi fort which was garrisoned by Wazir Zorawar Singh Kahluria. Diwan Amir Chand was then halting at Jammu. He took money on credit from Bhawani Shah Bhabra, purchased led and gun-powder and marched towards Riasi with only 50 men. At Dansal some 100 persons joined him. By fabricated parvaras the Diwan induced Mians of Chanas, Urlian and Jandrah[7] to join his arms. His swelling numbers forced the rebels to lift the seige. Then with Zorawar Singh's help the rebels were defeated and the Riasi territory was subjugated.

In v.s. 1876 Pandit Birbal Dar left Kashmir as a result of the religious persecution by its fanatic chief Azim Khan. On order from Gulab Singh, Diwan Amir Chand escorted the Pandit to the presence of Raja Dhian Singh at Lahore. When in v.s. 1881 (A.D. 1824) the conquest of Samarat fort was contemplated by Gulab Singh, he held useful consultation with the Diwan culminating in the successful reduction of that fort and the occupation of the surrounding territory.[9] At the same time Sardar Budha Singh, who was in-charge of Ranjit Singh's frontier districts, was hard pressed by Afghan Mujjahids and Barkzai chiefs. Gulab Singh, who was at Jammu, received orders to go for his rescue. He immediately sent his forces under Diwan Amir Chand and himself joined them latter. The Diwan was with his master all through these frontier campaigns which came to

3. *Gulabnama*, p. 117.
4. Griffin, *Chiefs and Families of Note*, p. 131.
5. *Gulabnama*, p. 160.
6. *Gulabnama*, p. 125.
7. *Gulabnama*, pp. 126-7.
8. *Gulabnama*, pp. 136-7.
9. *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, p. 738; *Gulabnama*, p. 136.

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a successful close as a result of clever political manoeuvres by Gulab Singh.

Diwan Amir Chand was thus the most important influence which moulded the career of Gulab Singh to the heights of success and prestige. The management of Gulab Singh's jagirs of Jammu, Riasi, Kishtwar, Bhadarwah, Padar, Chaneni, Akhnur and Rajauri was so ably done with the help of the Diwan as was unknown in any other part of Ranjit Singh's empire. The result was that the king of Lahore farmed out salt mines of Pind Dadan Khan, Bhera-Miani, Qadirabad and Dangi to Gulab Singh in 1887 v.s., Jehlam and Rotas in v.s. 1890, and Gujrat the next year.[10] The managerial responsibilities of the Diwan also increased immensely. He had to do much of the spade work in giving organised management to these ill-administered territories. In this pioneering task of uniting up the newly acquired principality into a political nucleus for the future Jammu & Kashmir State, he achieved singular success. The credit of laying the sound foundation of administration must justly be shared by Diwan Amir Chand, whose services to the State did not cease with his death in A.D. 1836 at Kadirabad when on tour with Gulab Singh.[11] He left behind three sons whom he had given necessary training in the art of politics and the administration of revenue and civil affairs. These three youngmen served Gulab Singh in their turn in various capacities and brought to completion the task so well begun by their father.

Diwan Jawala Sahai

Diwan Amir Chand was followed in his office by his son Jawala Sahai in A D. 1836. Jawala Sahai accompanied Gulab Singh in almost all military expeditions as assistant and adviser. He became Gulab Singh's chief officer, and for 30 years remained the confidential Minister of the rulers of Jammu and Kashmir State, rendering important service both to the State and the British Government as the Maharaja's accredited agent in all diplomatic business. Owing to Gulab Singh's constant absence from Jammu on military exploits the burden of administration mainly rested on his shoulders. In reality, Jawala Sahai was Gulab Singh's ulter-ego.

He captured the Gakhar chiefs by strategem, and walked on foot 30 'krohs' in a day to reach Jammu where Gulab Singh embraced him affectionately.[12] During the action against Shamash, the rebel of Punch, he accompanied his master as assistant and adviser. He

10. *Gulabnama*, p. 179.
11. Griffin, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*, p. 131.
12. *Gulabnama*, p. 195.

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was also the chief military helper of Gulab Singh during the seige of Lahore fort by Sher Singh. Gulab Singh had taken up the cause of Rani Chand Kaur. Diwan Jawala Sahai defended the Saman palace against the onslaught of beseigers even when they have succeeded in blowing up the Deodhi.

But it was in the diplomatic and administrative field that Jawala Sahai served his master the best. He served as Gulab Singh's personal representative with General Pollock and Sir Henry Lawrence at Peshawar in 1841-2.[13] He raised the personal prestige among the British officers there. The good relations so established with British authorities were warmed up from time to time by Jawala Sahai, and ultimately he succeeded in winning over British support for his master. In 1844 he went as emissary to Lahore to patch up the difference between Raja Hira Singh and his uncle Gulab Singh which had developed regarding estates and property of Raja Suchet Singh.[14]

When in 1845 Sikhs conquered all jagirs and farms of Gulab Singh, beseiged Jammu, and even threatened to plunder and annihilate that city, Jawala Sahai, alongwith his younger brothers, remained unswerved in his fidelity towards his master. He rendered the most loyal personal services to Gulab Singh in his adversity. He bore privations and suffered risks for his sake. He fought out Sikh forces in the defence of Jammu; he out-witted Sikh chiefs and Gulab Singh's enemies at Lahore Court when the latter was carried a prisoner to that place, and at last he was instrumental in the liberation of Gulab Singh from imprisonment at Lahore.[15] He made frantic moves and counter-moves to win over soldiers and chiefs in favour of his master by allurement of gold. His master-mind ultimately extricated Gulab Singh from gloomy perils, and Gulab Singh was once again restored to his principality of Jammu, though not to his former grandeur. His opportunity came when Lahore Court opened peace negotiations with the victorious British Government through the mediation of Gulab Singh. The Diwan had already befriended British officers during his stay at Peshawar in 1842. Now as accredited agent of Gulab Singh he was mainly responsible for the negotiations in connection with the transfer of Kashmir and installation of Gulab Singh as an independent Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir State.[16] For this service he was granted extensive jagirs and a Rasum of four rupees in every thousand on all State incomes in perpetuity.

13. *Gulabnama*, pp. 238-9.
14. *Gulabnama*, p. 286.
15. *Gulabnama*, pp. 319-20.
16. Panikkar, *The Founding of the Kashmir State*, p. 166; *Gulabnama*, p. 339.

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Soon after, the Diwan went all the way to Simla and prevailed upon the British Governor-General to send forces to help Gulab Singh crush the Sikh-induced revolt of the Kashmir Governor, Sheikh Imam-ud-Din.[17] The Diwan helped the Court of Enquiry prove the implication of Raja Lal Singh, Prime Minister of Lahore, in the revolt.[18]

Diwan Jawala Sahai played a very important role in the arrangement with regard to the boundary question in collaboration with Major Abbott. His sagacious intellect saw through the impossibility of holding Hazara territories beyond the river Jehlam. He prevailed upon Sir F. Currie and carried out by an agreement with Lahore Government the exchange of that territory with districts of Manawar and Khari.[19] He also very considerately brought to an amicable settlement the Punch trouble, and his constitutional understanding foiled all the false claims of Raja Jawahir Singh and Raja Moti Singh.[20].

He faithfully helped British authorities as Maharaja's confidential agent with Sir F. Currie during Sardar Chatar Singh's revolt in 1848-49. 'His loyal service during the Mutiny of 1857 received the special acknowledgement of the Viceroy.'[21]

He continued to serve the State even after the death of Maharaja Gulab Singh in 1857, and remained Maharaja Ranbir Singh's Diwan upto 1865 when he was obliged by a stroke of paralysis to make over that office to his son, Kirpa Ram. But he continued to serve the State in the capacity of Governor of Jammu.[22] He was made the Companion of Star of India in 1876.[23] According to Tarikh-i-Hassan (p. 866) he died on 11th Maghar, 1295 Hirji, that is A.D. 1878.

Diwan Hari Chand

Diwan Hari Chand, the second son of Diwan Amir Chand, was mainly employed in military expeditions.[24] Maharaja Gulab Singh gave him the command of his troops in 1836, and in that capacity he served the State usefully for many years, extending and consolidating the Maharaja's authority northwards beyond Ladakh, and to

17. *Gulabnama*, p. 357.
18. *Gulabnama*, p. 359.
19. *Gulabnama*, pp. 360-1.
20. *Gulabnama*, pp. 363-72.
21. Griffin & Massy, *Chiefs*, p. 131, Vol. II.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. Panikkar, *The Founding of Jammu and Kashmir State*, p. 166.

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the west as far as Yasin and Chilas.[25]

In v.s. 1897 (A.D. 1840-41) Diwan Hari Chand was deputed by Gulab Singh for the conquest of Khari and Khariali districts. The Diwan reduced the fort of Sarai Aurangabad and stormed Qila Sukhchainpur and Kot Qandhari fortresses. At last the Mangla fort was invested. It could only be taken by stratagem.[26]

After the death of Zorawar Singh, on 12 December 1841, all the Ladakhi and Tibetan conquests were lost. Gulab Singh got this intelligence at Jalalabad where he was helping British forces enter the Khaibar Pass. He sent the Diwan from Hazara to reconquer Ladakh and to meet the Tibetan invasion.[27] In haste Hari Chand left Hasan Abdal, reached Kashmir by forced marches, and headed for Ladakh at the head of 6,000 soldiers. Whole of Ladakh had risen in revolt and the Tibetans had sent a force to help them. Diwan Hari Chand, ably assisted by Wazir Ratnu, reconquered whole of the Ladakh territories. In about three months' time he occupied Leh and drove the Tibetans in the direction of Shyok. At last, at Drangtse he destroyed the Tibetan force and compelled the Lhasa authorities sign a Treaty on 15 August 1842 by which they acknowledged Gulab Singh's sovereignty over Ladakh. Thus the Diwan was successful in his mission and the Tibetan Treaty bears his name.[28]

When Raja Hira Singh's position as Prime Minister of Lahore had become very precarious, Gulab Singh stationed a force under Diwan Hari Chand at Shahdara to help the Raja in any eventuality.[29] Soon after, the Diwan left for Sialkot to help Gulab Singh take that city from Prince Peshaora Singh.[30] It took them two months, after which time the Diwan again went to Shahdara but was recalled to Jammu alongwith his troops when differences between Gulab Singh and Raja Hira Singh widened. The Diwan raised fresh armies and strengthened defences against expected military action by Raja Hira Singh.[31] The situation was, however, averted by a sudden revolution at Lahore Court resulting in the murder both of Raja Hira Singh and his Lieutenant Jalla.

In 1845, Jammu was beseiged by Sikh forces under Raja Lal Singh and Sham Singh Atariwala. Gulab Singh put Diwan Hari Chand incharge of all his defending forces, and it was to him that the Maha-

25. Griffin and Massy, *Chiefs*, p. 132.
26. *Gulabnama*, pp. 229-31.
27. *Gulabnama*, p. 242.
28. *Gulabnama*, pp. 252-64.
29. *Gulabnama*, p. 278.
30. *Gulabnama*, p. 279.
31. *Gulabnama*, p. 288.

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raja handed over the charge of the city when he himself accompanied the Sikh chiefs to Lahore.[32] Next he had put down the rebellion of the people of Deva Batala. Afterwards, he accompanied his master to Lahore for peace negotiations with the British authorities on behalf of the Lahore Darbar.

After the Amritsar Treaty, the Diwan was sent on many important expeditions, notably to Hazarah where tribes had risen in revolt. He achieved appreciable success, but later Hazarah was given up in exchange for districts nearer Jammu. During Sardar Chatar Singh's rebellion, the Diwan was deputed to Mirpur in order to help British authorities against the rebels.[33] The Diwan successfully sealed the State frontier from Mirpur to Akhnur against possible infiltration by rebels. He disbanded a number of Sikh troops who sought shelter on that border. After the annexation of the Punjab by the British Gulab Singh went to Wazirabad to seek interview with the Governor-General. Presenting Diwan Hari Chand before the Governor-General, Major-General Sir Wheeler, Commandant, British Forces, Punjab Division, summed up the Diwan's services to the British during the Hazarah rebellion in these words:[34] "His Excellency! When the triumphant English army, pursuing the rebels, crossed the river Behat, if at that time Diwan Hari Chand had not been available for assistance, and proper help was not forthcoming from the troops of the Maharaja, the English troops could not have possibly crossed with the facility they did, Diwan Hari Chand had rendered a meritorious services."

Inside the State the Diwan had a very busy time with his armies after 1847. In that year the Mir of Hunza and Gaur Rehman of Gilgit rebelled and the whole frontier was up in arms. A strong force under the Diwan restored law and order there. Again, in 1851, the Gilgit frontier rose in revolt and the Darads and Chilasis indulged in rapine and plunder. Diwan Hari Chand, with Col. Bije Singh, Jawahir Singh, and Diwan Thakurdass arrived there with a strong force in the spring of 1852. The Dogra army suffered terribly during the seige of Chilas fort, but the intrepid Diwan ultimately succeeded in storming the famous Chilas fort and bringing the frontier under heels.[35] The Diwan also took the Trochi fort in Punch during the dispute of Raja Jawahir Singh of Punch with Gulab Singh. When the Indian Mutiny broke out in May 1857, Maharaja Ranbir Singh, together with Diwan Hari Chand and a large force,

32. *Gulabnama*, p. 306.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 373, 380, 386.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 395.
35. Hassan, *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, pp. 835-6; *Gulabnama*, pp. 396-400.

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went to help the British in the seige of Delhi.[36] The Diwan commanded there the Jammu contingent of four infantry regiments, one cavalry regiment, and a battery of Artillery.[37] He died there of Cholera in 1857.[38]

Diwan Nihal Chand

Diwan Nihal Chand, the youngest of three brothers, worked for several years as an assistant under his brothers, Diwan Jawala Sahai.[39] The first important military assignment given to him was during the Kashmir disturbances in v.s. 1898 (A.D. 1842). Kashmiri rebels murdered General Miahan Singh, the Sikh Governor of Kashmir. Maharaja Sher Singh ordered Gulab Singh to accompany Kanwar Pratap Singh and chastise the rebels. Gulab Singh, assisted by Jawala Sahai and Nihal Chand, joined the Prince at Bhimbar, where they divided the forces in two divisions, one of which was placed under Nihal Chand who successfully led his division into the Kashmir valley and encamped at Natipur.[40] The Diwan entered Srinagar and throw up breast-works across the stream Dūdh-gaṇgā in the darkness of the night. In the action that followed the Diwan commanded one of the three wings consisting of 2 platoons of infantry, cavalry, strengthened by 12 swivels and 14 pieces of cannons. The Diwan displayed great dash and led the attack across the Dūdh-gaṇgā. It was mostly due to Nihal Chand's military tactics that the backbone of the rebel resistance was broken, and Kashmir valley was soon cleared of sedition.[41]

In the first half of the year A D. 1845, Gulab Singh's star was under gloom, and the Sikh State had risen against him with all its military might. Many of Gulab Singh's servants felt off, and only a few stood by him in his adversity, Nihal Chand being one of them. He and his brothers proved true to the salt and bore all calamities and weathered all risks for the sake of their master. Nihal Chand, in company with Hari Chand, successfully repulsed the Sikh attack on Satwari field.[42] When Sikh chiefs carried Gulab Singh to Lahore, Nihal Chand also followed him with Jawala Sahai. Nihal Chand was left at Shahdara to manage the 'derah'.[43]

36. *Gulabnama*, p. 413.
37. Griffin and Massy, *Chiefs*, p. 132; *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, p. 839.
38. Griffin and Massy, *Chiefs*, p. 132, *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, p. 839; *Gulabnama*, p. 418.
39. Griffin and Massy, *Chiefs*, p. 132.
40. *Gulabnama*, pp. 232-3.
41. *Ibid.*, pp. 234-7.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 303.
43. *Gulabnama*, p. 308.

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Diwan Nihal Chand was sent to occupy Kashmir valley and take over from its Governor, Sheikh Imam-ud-Din, who rose in revolt. After the supression of the Kashmir rebellion Nihal Chand occupied the Kashmir valley and took over its control.[44]

In 1848, when the whole of Punjab was up in arms against the British interference in Lahore affairs, and Mulraj and Chatar Singh were frantically trying to rally Sikh forces under their flags, Diwan Nihal Chand was tipped to the office of 'Muatamid' (confidential agent) on behalf of Maharaja Gulab Singh and remained in attendance on the British Resident, Sir F. Currie, at Lahore and 'reported from time to time of whatever was said by the Resident.'[45] In that capacity he served the cause of his master as also the interests of the British Government in a commendable manner. Again, in 1855 he was appointed the confidential agent of the State with the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.[46] He hastened to Delhi in 1857 on hearing of the death of his brother Diwan Hari Chand[47] who had gone there at the head of State troops to assist the British, and took over the command of troops. He also rendered useful service to the British in connection with the trial of the Nawab of Jhajjar for participation in the Mutiny. He died in 1872.[48]

Kirpa Ram's eldest son *Anant Ram* followed his father as Diwan which office he kept for ten years. He was attacked by a brain affection and was obliged to resign the office in 1885 in favour of his cousin Gobind Sahai, son of Diwan Nihal Chand.

Diwan Gobind Sahai, son of Diwan Nihal Chand, had been from his earlier days attached to the Court of Jammu. He acted as Mehmandar, or host, in the Maharaja's behalf on the occasion of visits of ceremony by high officials. In A.D. 1868 he was employed in settlement work, and he abolished the cust om of paying revenue in kind in the districts of Jammu and Naushehra. In 1872 he succeeded his father, Diwan Nihal Chand, as confidential agent with the Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab. In 1878 he was appointed Motamid with the Governor-General of India. For his special services in that capacity he received a grant of 1500 acres of land in Hafizabad in the Viceroyalty of Earl Lytton. He succeeded to the Diwanship in 1885, shortly after the accession of Maharaja Partap Singh, but was dismissed soon after and his office was made over to Jawala Sahai's younger son Diwan Lachman Dass. But he too was dismissed in 1888.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 358.
45. *Gulabnama*, p. 380.
46. Griffin and Massy, *Chiefs*, p. 132, Vol. II.
47. *Gulabnama*, p. 413.
48. Griffin and Massy, *Chiefs*, p. 132.

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Kirpa Ram's younger son, *Amar Nath* was appointed Governor of Jammu in 1893, and held that post till 1905, when he was made the Foreign Minister of the State. He was given the title of Rai Sahib in recognition of his services in Jammu. Diwan Gobind Sahai's eldest son, Diwan Lakhpat Rai, was secretary of the Late Maharaja Ranbir Singh, and for a time to Maharaja Pratap Singh, but left the State on his father's dismissal from the post of Diwan. In 1900, however, he was recalled and appointed a tehsildar, and later on made Wazir Wazarat or Governor of Gilgit, and died there in 1908. With his death came to an end the influence of this illustrious line of Diwans in Jammu and Kashmir territories.[49]

(*b*) *Diwan Kirpa Ram and his 'Gulabnama'*

'In 1865 Jawala Sahai was obliged by a stroke of paralysis to give over the Diwanship to his son Kirpa Ram. He held the office of Diwan till his death in 1876."[50] He was born in A.D. 1832. At a very young age of 24 he was proclaimed Diwan of Maharaja Ranbir Singh when the latter was formally installed on the gaddi in February 1856.[51] Soon after the coronation ceremony, Kirpa Ram 'was exalted to the mansab of Diwani, and honoured by the gift of a precious khilat and an attractive pen-case."[52] In a Darbar held in the Mandi khas to mark the installation of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, Diwan Kirpa Ram was asked to give wise counsel to the new Maharaja. The piece of advice given by him to the young Maharaja betrays the royalist and the realist character of the Diwan.[53] Like his great father Jawala Sahai. Kirpa Ram was also very fond of British authorities. He had realised that the very existence of the State was a matter of British mercy. He therefore tried to anamour British officers all through his official career. His loyalty to his Master and the State required it, and for it he had learnt much from his sagacious father and seasoned Gulab Singh.

Kirpa Ram received his first public honour in 1850 when Maharaja Gulab Singh met Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General of India, at Wazirabad. Kirpa Ram was one of those who received khilats from the British Governor-General.

49. The following account has been adopted from Griffin and Massy, pp. 132-134, Vol. II.
50. Griffin, 132.
51. 8th Phagan, v.s. 1912 (*Gulabnama*, 408).
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Ibid.*, p. 410-11.

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About a month before the coronation of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, a terrible fire broke out on 14th Poh, v.s. 1912 (A.D., 1856) in Shergarh offices at Srinagar. All the revenue and civil records, the Toshakhana and the Treasury were completely gutted. According to the author of the Tarikh-i-Hassan the treasury contained 26 lakh rupees. On the 4th Magh Diwan Kirpa Ram arrived from Jammu and salvaged the whole treasury from the cinders. Only 500 rupees were lost. He also caused all civil and revenue records to be re-compiled from the Sadar office records.[54]

During the year 1862 scarcity of grain caused a great famine in Kashmir so that one kharwar shali was sold for 5 to 6 rupees. Diwan Kirpa Ram took over for some months the administration of Kashmir in November 1862 and made proper arrangement to stamp out famine.[55]

In v.s. 1922 (A.D. 1865), perhaps immediately after the taking charge of Diwanship from his father, Diwan Kirpa Ram was appointed Governor of Kashmir, and in that capacity he served for one year and a half.[56] The Diwan carried out some revenue and administrative reforms to fight out the menace of recurring famines. He carried out census and fixed weekly ration of grain per head so that enough was made available to every one upto the month of Asuj. A few thousand maunds of wheat was purchased from Punjab and distributed to the people in Kashmir at a much lower price. The Kashmir province was divided into five Wazarats or districts with their headquarters at Srinagar, Shupian, Ananatnag, Kamraj and Behar. The shali crop for each Wazarat was assessed and farmed out to Kardars. As a result of these reforms 22 lakh kharwars of shali was produced that year. The problem of Shawl-bafs however evaded solution for some time more. Misinformed by a shrewd Kashmiri shawl-trader Pandit Raja Dar, the Diwan used military force to intimidate a crowd of shawl-weavers who had come to the Diwan to represent their case against the Pandit. Next year when Maharaja Ranbir Singh visited Kashmir the complaints of shawl-weavers were redressed. The shawl tax was reduced from Rs. 46 per trader by Rs. 12. But a stamp duty was imposed on all dealings in shawl trade.[57]

Diwan Kirpa Ram died at an early age of 44, on the 11th Asuj, v.s. 1933.[58] The author of Tarikh-i-Hassan sums up the qualities of

54. *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, 837.
55. *Ibid.*, 846-49.
56. *Ibid.*
57. *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, p. 848.
58. *Ibid*, p. 860; A.D. 1876 according to Griffin, p. 132.

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the Diwan in these words:[59]

'He was a versatile genius and scholar, statesman and politician, possessed of refined etiquette, and incomparable in munificence.'

At another place Hassan describes the achievements of the Diwan in some detail and says :[60] "On account of his own refined and

59. *Ibid*., p. 860 : مردِ سخندان وعالم وفاضل و مدبّر و موقر و مهذب الاخلاق بود و در جود و سخا همتا۔"

60. *Ibid*., pp. 842-3 : واز روی لطافت و نزاکت طبیعت خود دیوان کرپارام را اختیار۔ جز و کل بخشیده بسط و کشاد امور جهانبانی بطور او گذاشت۔ و دیوان موصوف نهایت نیک سیرت و عالی همت بود کافۂ انام از خواص و عوام در دام استمالت آورده ایام حکومت در نیک نامی و ستوده فرجامی بسر برد و باستشارۂ یکدیگر برای ارتسام انتظام حکومت در جموں و کشمیر صوبه داران با تدبیر مقرر کردند و در ممالک محروسه وزارتها و تحصیلات مشخص فرمودند و در محکمه جات سرکار انگریزی جانجا وکلای هوشیار فرستادند۔ و با دولت انگلیسیه رابطهٔ متابعت و مباسطت مستحکم نمودند و در مدارات و خدمات آنها باقصی الغایت کوشیدند و در میان شهرها و دهات برای دادرسی مظلومان عدالتها نصب کردند۔ و دانشوران نامدار از امصار و بلاد انتخاب کرده بر مدارج مناصب مناسب برگماشتند و افواج خود را برکٹ و کالم ها مقرر کرده جرنیل و سیناریس مشخص نمودند۔ و در میان شهر و ده و زارت ها و شفاخانه جات معمول شدند و در مدرسه های شاستری و فارسی در جموں و کشمیر جاری کردند و کتاب ها علمی را ترجمه ها کنانیدند و راههای آمد و رفت مسافران را مرمت افزودند۔ و برای آمد و رفت صاحبان انگریز بهر منزل و بهر مکان که فرودگاه ایشان بود بنگله ها تعمیر کردند۔ و شکار ماهیان در هر جا منع فرمودند و در امور جهانبانی همچنان امن و امان واقع شد که سر موی بکسی نقصان مالی و جانی نمیرسید۔

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fragile temperament he (Maharaja Ranbir Singh) entrusted Diwan Kirpa Ram with all powers and left the administration of State affairs entirely to him. The Diwan was a man of kind disposition and lofty courage. He enamoured to himself the generality of the high and low and earned fame for his rule and brought it to a glorified conclusion. By mutual cooperation they improved the administration by appointing able Governors in Jammu and Kashmir. They divided the territories in wazarats and tehsils, sent intelligent vakils to the various departments of the British Government, strengthened relations of amity and unity with that government and made great endeavours in showing hospitality to them. Courts were set up in towns and cities and well-known persons chosen from far and near were deputed on appropriate mansabs. The army was reorganised into brigades and columns and put under the command of generals and sainanayaks. Headquarters and hospitals were established in cities and towns. In schools of Jammu and Kashmir the study of Shastri and Persian was introduced, classics were got translated, thoroughfares were repaired and Dak bungalows built at spots haunted by European visitors. Fishing became prohibited every where. In short, the administration was brought on such a sound pacific footing as no harm could be done to life and property."

In the opinion of Sir Lepel Griffin[61] he was slightly less conservative than his father, and was zealous in encouraging education, establishing hospitals, opening up thoroughfares, introducing silk and other industries, and improving system of revenue collection. But his death at an early age of 44 prevented his undertakings from being brought to a satisfactory finish.

He was an oriental scholar of some repute and was the author of several Persian books. Two of his well-known works are the following :

(1) Gulzar-i-Kashmir, a concise history of Kashmir with chapters on its topography, products, trade, etc., written in 1864. It was published from Lahore in 1870-71.[62]

(2) Gulabnama, a life of Maharaja Gulab Singh, completed in 1922 Vikrami (A.D.1865). But it was published in v.s. 1932-33 (A.D. 1876) at Srinagar. Another edition was issued from Jammu in A.D. 1919. But this date does not occur in the edition, which retains on the title-page the date v.s. 1932, and on pages 10-12 the chronogram (v.s. 1933, A.D. 1876) of the previous edition.

61. Griffin, *Chiefs*, p. 132.
62. 1870 on the cover, and 1870 and 1871 in the '*tarikhs*' at the end.

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In addition to the two works mentioned he wrote a pamphlet of 26 pages entitled Madinat al-Tahqiq in defence of certain Hindu practices criticised by Muslims. It was printed at Sialkot in 1877.[63]

According to the Friends of India (Calcutta newspaper) for 12-0-1867, page 1093, he at that time 'Presided over' a weekly paper, the Bidya Bilas published by a literary society of which Maharaja Ranbir Singh was patron. In S. Nawazish Ali's Urdu translation, *Tarikh-i-Raussa-i-Punjab*, there is a portrait of Kirpa Ram at page 209, Vol. II.

(c) *Gulāb-Nāmā*

Gulābnāmā is the well-known work of Diwan Kirpa Ram. It was completed in Samvat 1922 according to the chronograms prefixed to the Text as a part of a general Preface.[64] But the text was published posthumously in Samvat 1933,[65] corresponding to A.D. 1876, at the Tuhfā-e-Kashmir Press, Srinagar, a government agency. It covers 420 pages in folio size (The last page of the text is numbered 418, but page numbers 68 and 69 have been used twice), besides 12 pages of Preface prefixed to the text.

Another beautiful edition of *Gulābnāmā* was issued from The Ranbir Parkash Press, Jammu in A.D. 1919,[66] although this year does not occur in the edition, which retains on the title page the date 1932 Bikrami. The Jammu edition has 429 folio pages of the text and 12 of Preface.

This Persian work, primarily a biography, purports to be a general history of Jammu from the very ancient times to A.D. 1857, the year of Maharaja Gulab Singh's death.[67] The work opens with a Prologue containing the praise of the Creator, and the object of the

63. Storey, *Persian Literature*, 686.

64. The general Preface spreads over 12 folio pages and contains a foreword in Arabic and another in Persian by Sayyid Baqir Hussain alias Mir Nawab Lakhnavi. It covers about 8 pages, and bears date of writing as 23rd Sawan 1933. It also includes 6 chronograms on the date of the compilation (Samvat 1922) and 3 on the date of the publication of the *Gulābnāmā*, two give the Samvat year 1933 and one the year A.D. 1876. These chronograms were composed by Munshi Sayyid Ismail Hussain 'Munir' of Rampur. There are three additional chronograms on the date of publication (1933 Bikrami) by Munir's '*shagira*' Sayyid Abu Muhammad 'Badar'.

65. The date of publication of *Gulābnāmā* given on its title page is Samvat 1932, which is perhaps the year the caligraphist started preparing the copy for the lithograph. As chronograms disclose, the work left the press in 1933 Bikrami.

66. Storey : *Persian Literature*, p. 686.

67. 20th Sawan 1914 Bikrami. *Gulāb* p. 416. (August, 1858; Panikkar: p. 150).

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compilation of *Gulābnāmā*. The Prologue is followed by a philosophical disquisition on the origin and accidental nature of the Universe. Then follows a descriptive genealogy in the Puranic fashion, descending from Brahmā, down to Manū and Ikshvākū and the Epic heroes. The stories of the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* too find a brief narration, as also the Puranic anecdote of Raja Harish Chandar. Coming to the historical period, *Gulābnāmā* mentions a few events of Jammu history, and passes on to the period of Raja Māldev and his successors, culminating in an account of Maharaja Ranjit Dev before taking in hand the biography of Maharaja Gulab Singh.

Another uncommon theme included in the Biography is a detailed analysis of Maharaja Gulab Singh's horoscope developing into a brief discourse on subtleties of Astronomy.[68] About one-fifth of the work is devoted to these formalities before delving on its cherished theme.

The Gulābnāmā is a biography of Maharaja Gulab Singh, a great Asian soldier-politician who started his career as a petty commander and rose to the exalted status of an independent sovereign[69] of a State which was entirely his own creation. Its compilation was taken in hand by Kirpa Ram after the death of Maharaja Gulab Singh in August 1857 (20th Sawan 1914 Bikrami). The compilation of this romantic biography in itself is not without a touch of romance. The Maharaja had often times in his own life-time desired Kirpa Ram for "undertake the compilation of the history of his achievements." But due to want of time the Diwan could not try his pen on the subject. "No respite from Government business could be found," the author informs us "wherein coquettes of theme could be seated on the new elegant thrones, and lustrous pearls of words could be strewn in strings of charming sentences."[70] He also confesses that : "this resourceless me, finding no talent of embellishing the subject and lacking courage to wield the tongue...avoided this."[71] The natural hesitancy of a servant undertaking the biography of his sovereign in the latter's life-time is also not ruled out. Had Kirpa Ram undertaken this work in hand in the life-time of the hero of his chronicle he would have afforded the original and first hand source for his work. When at last Maharaja Ranbir Singh conveyed

68. Pp. 88 to 97 of the Text, the translation of which has been omitted.

69. Panikkar, *Founding of the Kashmir State*, p. 125 has "a Sovereign Ruler"; Hardinge, writing to Ellenborough on 21 June, 1846 defines Golab Singh as "the purchaser of Kashmere and the independent prince of the Hills." (PRO 30/12 (21/7)). J. D. Cunningham uses the term 'an independent prince' (*History of the Sikhs. Delhi* 1955, p. 288).

70. *Gulab. p.* 2.

71. *Ibid. p.* 3.

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to Kirpa Ram at Bijbehar Gulab Singh's last wish that "he would compile it after his demise"[72], and the Diwan was inspired to undertake the compilation, he had to depend on other sources, of information.

Nevertheless, Kirpa Ram's sources were numerous and trustworthy, and he seems to have worked them out with the zeal and detachment of a genuine research worker. The author informs us that "in view of the attachment and devotion to the glorious family he chose to carry out the command of the Master after tremendous inquiry and deep research."[73] The chief source of his information was the oral tradition preserved in the memory of many of the characters who participated in the incidents described in the Gulabnama and who were alive in Kirpa Ram's time. He lays down his method of research in these lines : "For a long time I enquired from the grandees of this family and the wise and truthful old persons, and the youngsters full of zeal and of noble character, and from reliable servants—and have put all this in black and white. Most of the anecdotes have reached my ears from the late Highness who remembered many incidents and events since early childhood on account of his keen memory. I verified several incidents from Diwan sahib, my revered father, and scratched out all the doubts and suspicions by the pen of certainty."[74]

Diwan Amir Chand, father of Jawala Sahai and grandfather of Kirpa Ram, had entered Gulab Singh's service as early as A.D. 1812 when the latter had been only three years at Lahore Court. Till his death in A.D. 1836 Amir Chand remained Gulab Singh's Diwan, chief officer and confidential companion in all his activities. His tradition and office was inherited by his son Jawala Sahai. When Kirpa Ram wrote his *Gulabnama* his father, as also his uncle Nihal Chand were living. He had therefore at his disposal the memories of those of his family who played the largest part in framing the career of Gulab Singh. His narration therefore possesses a real and trustworthy picture of the life and achievements of Gulab Singh and of an important period in the history of the Panjab.

Besides oral tradition, documentary and literary evidence was also available to Kirpa Ram. He acknowledges with gratitude the benefit he derives from '*Raj darshani*' of Lala Ganesh Dass Wadehra[75]

72. *Ibid.*
73. *Ibid.*
74. *Ibid.*
75. *Ibid.* p. 56, referred to in connection with Raja Bodh Arjun's Sarandip expedition.

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and the well-known Persian chronicle *Rauzat-us-Safa*[76] for the history of Jammu before Gulab Singh. Many parvanas and letters, treaties and agreements were also within his access in original, the copies of most of which he had given verbatim in his work. E. Rehatsak[77] observes in this connection : "The subject of biography, Maharaja Gulab Singh...had previously during his life-time provided the author with the necessary documents, chiefly diaries, for composing it, and assisted him also by verbal information, which were augmented by similar information,...given by the author's grandfather and father, who had both been Diwans of Maharaja Gulab Singh..." The historical value of *Gulabnama* has thus become manifold. K.M. Panikkar[78] sums up the significance of this work thus : "This work though written in a flowery style of the Persian panegyrists is nonetheless a remarkable historical document, as the Dewan published in it many original documents which are not now available anywhere else. Its facts and chronology are beyond dispute. The Dewan was also fully conversant with the political conditions of the Punjab at the time, and his descriptions of events are vivid and informed by direct knowledge of men and things."

The style of *Gulabnama* is, however, its stinging short-coming. The story of Maharaja Gulab Singh's adventurous career has been told in a conventional Persian diction which is highly literary as also intricate to the point of ambiguity. An essentially floral diction pregnates every sentence and every phrase, and the theme has been conveyed in a rigmarolic manner. To a modern historian steeped in scientific method of chronology the *Gulabnama* sounds a highly ornate historiography which abounds in the characteristic of imparting a short information in many words which are without exception wastive of expression. It is written in a highly difficult verbose and flowery language, and therefore looks like an exercise literary composition than in chronology. The narrative abounds in synonyms which are stuffed in every sentence to the point of saturation. Several descriptions are only cadenced and rhymed prose pieces, very complicated and not easily comprehensible. Words have been lavishly wasted for insignificant meaning or even for no meaning at all. At such places the narrative has been reduced to a prosaic display of literary feats. At places the presentation is quite ambiguous and

76. The work referred to at page 68 of the text.

77. Rehatsak, E, : "A notice of the Gulab Nama". *Indian Antiquary XIX* : 1890 : pp. 289 to 303.

78. Panikkar, K.M, : "*The Founding of the Kashmir State*", p. 2.

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rigmarolic. As for example the following fragment of the text on pages 147-8 :

الحاصل چوں با اینہمہ فربزدانی وشکوہ کشورستانی بارگاہ خدیوگیہانی برشاطی دریای اٹک
فرقدین سائے گردید صدای روئینہ کوس گوش کرّوبیاں کرساخت وآواز درائی ہندی شور
ترکتاز درگنبد رب ترک انداخت غریو طبل بدرنگ درنگ بیدرنگ تا اقصائے خراسان
ازرستخیز خبرداد بانگ باجہ افرنگ ازاخبارِ ظہورِ قیامت چین بر پیشانیٔ خطائیاں نہاد زنگ
غاغلہ در روم وزنگ افگندہ صدمۂ نعل بادپایان شرارۂ شرارت ازدلِ آہن وسنگ برکند

The narrative has a very pronounced panegyric strain throughout. It is infested with cumbersome praises of the author's beloved characters. Of piece with this are long and short verses quoted from great Persian master-pieces like *Shahnamah and Sikandarnamah*. These verses have no other use in the text than of giving it a classical look. The author also indulges in the luxury of giving long, unnecessary introductions having no bearing on the events to follow. He opens his work with a lengthy philosophical disquisition, and similar pieces are introduced in the beginning of each title. Several of such introduction pertain to descriptions of seasons, particularly the Spring. Some of these descriptions are fine literary pieces rich in poetic imagery. But these contain no historical information at all.

79. "In short, in spite of the divine grandeur and royal magnificence, the Imperial threshold rubbed the Faraqdin-like head on the bank of the river Atak. The sound of the brazen drum deafened the ears of cherubin, and the ringing of the Hindi bells echoed the noise of invasion through the celetial dome. The roar of the distressing drum conveyed instantly the tinckle and news of the Resurrection Day across the territories of Khurasan; the beat of European band caused wrinkles on the visages of the Khatais by reporting the breaking out of the tumult of war. Bells rang uproar in Ethopia and Rome. The knock of the hoof-shoes of swift steeds uprooted the sparks of mischief from the heart of steel and stone."

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A fine specimen of such a composition is to be found on page 359 of the text reproduced below :

دریں اثنا بادِ بہاری رنگ افروزِ عارضِ گل شد و نسیم نوروزی گرہ کشائی خاطرِ بلبلِ جہانیاں راہوائی شادمانی بسر رسید و جہان را رخت نوشگفتگی در بر، ساقی روزگار از رحیقِ انبساط دماغِ افسردگانِ عالم را تازہ و تر فرمود و عطارِ صبا ختنِ ختن بارِ نفحاتِ مشکبار بر روی شگفتگانِ گلزار کشود گلچہرگانِ گلچہرہ خوبی را بگلگونہ لطافت افروختند و سمن و سوری بنظرِ تشمیمِ خوش دماغانِ گلشن عودِ قماری سوختند بلبلانِ خوش الحان از شورِ مستی غزلہای رنگین سرائیدند و قمریانِ کوکو نواز پای سروِ آزاد نالۂ شوق برکشیدند جامِ نرگس از شراب لبریز آمد و لبِ غنچہ از تبسم گلریز۔

At places the author indulges in moralising in the traditional Oriental fashion. He seems to contribute to the idea that a study of the past events should offer some moral to the scholar. This attempt at moralising has been coupled with some belief in the supernatural which finds expression at several places in the work. Kirpa Ram does not lose any opportunity of describing a prophecy or any supernatural happening which might have the effect of deifying his heroes. Rather he seems very keen to creating such situations wherein the superstition should have a full play. It may not be out

80. In the meantime, the Spring zephyr enkindled the hue on the rose's cheek, and the bud-blooming spicy-gale of the New Year's day infused longing for mirth into heart-nightingale of creatures and clad the world in new apparel of delight; the cup-bearer Time refreshed and moistened the monotonous brain of the world by the red wine of pleasure; the perfumer-breeze unlocked the doors of odour-laden draughts on the face of the newly flowered rose-beds; the rosy cheeked sweethearts adorned their fascinating contenance by the rose-dust of elegance, Jasmine and red-rose burnt the Qamari-aloewood in order to embalm the jocund ones of the rose-garden; the melodious nightingales chanted sweet notes in ecstatic thrill ; the cooing doves cooed love-lorn lamentations at the foot of unfettered cypresses, the narcissus goblet became brimful with grape wine, and the lips of b_ds bloomed in gladness.

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of place to quote another passage from *the Gulabnama* characterstic of its author's style and thought :

وریغا کہ گردونِ سرنگوں فرق نرقدین سائے بساگردان گردن فراز درنشیب آباد ایں ظلمانی مغاک بصدماتِ ستم کوفتہ و دُنیای دون اکثر نگارین شیشہ خانۂ ہستی وطن گزینان ایں سپنج سرا بسنگ جفا شکستہ طشتِ شفق مالامال است از خون ہزاران ہزار سیاوُشان ساتگین افق لبریز است از خاکِ وجود خسروانِ ذیشان ۔ اگر انگبین اوست ہر آئینہ زہر آمود است واگر شیر مینی از دست ہمانا تلخی اندود ۔

The Gulabnama is lamentably deficient in chronological data. It bears only some lamd marks in dates here and there. Day to day dates for events narrated are not forth-coming. Some events bear only the year without mention of any month or day. Many events, even a few very important ones, do not have any date at all. Thus much of chronology has been left to the diligent scholar to search out for himself from other sources. The author has however maintained the correct sequence of events and there seems to be no interpolation of facts. All the dates given in the text and the events mentioned stand all the test of validity. Most of the events after 1830 were witnessed by the author himself, and about the remaining he had a direct and first hand knowledge from his grandfather and father who took part in most of them.

The style and method of presentation of facts have though made the text somewhat difficult to comprehend, yet these do not minimise in any way its value as a reliable source of the history of Jammu and the Panjab. It contains many documents which have been otherwise lost to the historian. It also carries many details of events which do not find mention anywhere else. It particularly presents Gulab Singh in all his true colours, and it furnishes detailed data in the light of which his relations with the successors of Ranjit Singh and the British Government can be better understood. Kirpa Ram's presen-

81. Alas ! The inverted sky has crushed down with blow of cruel occurrences the lofty heads of many a haughty and stiff-necked into the declivity of this gloomy ditch, and the vile world has, with the stone of violence, shattered to pieces many a beauty of this glass-house of existence and the inhabitants of this Inn. The disc of horizon is dainty with the blood of hundreds of thousand Siaoshes, and the cup of sky is brimming with the dust of frames of mighty emperors. If it offers honey, it is vicious, and if sweets, these envelope bitterness.

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tation of facts in very interesting, full of life and human emotions. It is not a monotonous array of events piled on events, but is a living, vivid picture of incidents in the way they happened, and records the reaction of characters who participated in them. Its literary style and vivid depiction of facts renders *the Gulabnama* a remarkably outstanding work in the Persian historical literature created in India. The author had at his command Abul Fazal's diction and Babur's sincerity and honesty of narration informed with detached objective outlook. The work smacks of impartiality insofar as its author expresses the same deep sentiments towards Gulab Singh, the Sikh rulers of the Panjab and the British authorities.

The authenticity of Gulabnama is beyond question as collation of its statements with contemporary documents and writings reveal. Only in case of a few incidents interposition has occurred and a couple of dates vary by a year or two from the year of their actual happening. These discrepancies have been pointed out in footnotes at their proper place. Those who throw doubt on the sincerity of Diwan Kirpa Ram on the ground that he was in the pay of Maharaja Gulab Singh and his successor, will find him more imbued with the true spirit of an historian than a large class of learned historians of today. Statements on the life and career of Gulab Singh, recorded in the Gulabnama, are wholly dependable.

This fact, however, needs no further emphasis as its translation is being placed in more expert hands and it is for them to assess its true historical value.

(d) *About translation*

The translation has been, as usual, a cumbersome task of finding out equivalents and proper expressions which could retain the sense and sentiment of the original, of simplifying the long and complex sentences, and of weeding out unnecessary words and expressions which have no historical bearing. All the long and short introductory, poetic and literary pieces and ornamental expressions and verses have been skipped over; long strings of superlatives and honorifics have been trimmed to their proper size. The style of the original as regards the formation of sentences has been followed as closely as possible. All historically important statements have been faithfully translated with a view to convey the author's views and sentiments as these have been expressed in the text.

As far as possible all important statements, events and dates have been collated and supplemented from authentic sources and added in the form of comprehensive footnotes. Biographical and topographical data has also been added in the same form.

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For the convenience of comprehension and reference chapters have been numbered, some new titles of sections supplied, and the continuity of the original text has been broken up into convenient paragraphs. Page numbers of the original text have been shown at the proper place. Lines and verses omitted from translation, have been so indicated.

In the preparation of Introduction, notes and appendices I have consulted and extensively borrowed from the works of the writers of the past and present. I therefore, owe to them a deep debt of gratitude.

I have also to express my deep gratitude to Dr. Karan Singh who constantly enthused me to carry on this arduous task for over a long period of twelve years, since 1965 when this work was first taken in hand by me. In many moments of intellectual despair his inspiring behests whipped me to drag on and strut towards the destination. Not only has he kindly honoured the work with a foreword, but has also extended his benign patronage to the publication of this work.

It may not be out of place to mention here that over three-quarters of a century ago, Dr. Karan Singh's grandfather, Raja Amar Singh, first sponsored in 1901 the move for the translation of Gulabnama into English, and he acquired the services of the famous Professor Arnold of Government College, Lahore for this purpose, and the Government of Jammu and Kashmir sanctioned him rupees three thousand for this project. Prof. Arnold undertook the task but seems to have abruptly broken off in the middle due to unknown circumstances although all his conditions had been accepted. The work remained incomplete, and the project was shelved for about fifteen years because of the non-availability of a suitable scholar who could successfully undertake this tremendous task. Finally, in 1915-16 the project was again revived, and Maharaja Pratap Singh of Jammu and Kashmir appointed a 'review committee', with Raja Amar Singh as its President, to consider and approve the translation. Some Scholars of Persian and English were got together. The committee was faced with the task of considering more than half a dozen attempts, none of which seems to have been found upto the mark. All these MSS of translations in English and Urdu, and one even in Sanskrit, lie incomplete in the MS. collection of the Government Research Department, Srinagar. By some stroke of luck it was left to my humble endeavours to materialise the dream of Raja Amar Singh, unaided, of course, by any individual or institution, and the outcome is somewhat gratifying to me.

The completion of the annotation, however, could not have been possible without the encouragement extended to me by Shri J. D.

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Sharma, I.A.S. (Rtd.), Vice-Chancellor, University of Jammu, and Prof. B. R. Grover, Director Indian Council of Historical Research, both of whom 'conspired' successfully to take me to the University of Jammu by awarding Senior Research Fellowship on history and culture of Jammu, thereby throwing open for me a vast treasure of sources which enabled me to give final shape to this work. J. D. Sharma's encouragement to me in public and private kept up spirits in the task, and Prof. Grover's learned advice to me for dedicating my life for making available Persian source books to the new generation of scholars mostly unread in Persian, has given a new direction to my literary endeavours.

I have also to acknowledge my debt of gratitude to Prof. F.M. Hussnain, Chief Editor, State Gazetteers, formerly Director, Research and Libraries, J and K Government, to Shri T. R. Shahi, Librarian, Ranbir Public Library, Jammu (now Assistant Director, Research, Libraries and Museums), and Dr. Miss Sarla Khosla, Deputy Director Research, Libraries and Museums, Jammu, for providing me assistance in consulting documents, paintings and rare MSS in Libraries, Record Offices, Museums and Dogra Art Gallery under their control.

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My thanks are due to Dr. A. C. Bose Head of the Post Graduate Department of History, University of Jammu, Prof. Dr. G. S. Chhabra and Dr. M. L. Kapur, of the same Department for their valuable suggestions, encouragement and inspiration which was constantly received from them by me in the preparation of this work. Thanks are also due to the staff of the Library of the University of Jammu, especially to the Library in charge C. R. Sharma, and Diwan Chand Sharma, Senior Assistant, in-charge Kashmir Section, for their liberal assistance to me in consulting micro-films and other records.

In the end I must thank my publishers, who have bestowed all the care in bringing out a fine edition of Gulabnama, and my son, Ajay Charak, for preparing the index and rendering all possible assistance in the publication of this work.

August 1, 1977

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Diwan Kirpa Ram, author of the Gulabnama, Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State, 1862-67

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CHAPTER
1

Prologue

---

(2) It behoves Scholarship that the lofty purpose set below should be expressed in a style, and treated in such a way, that the Preface of Discourse containing an account of the rulers of this land gets dressed, and the miracles of the Almighty are narrated as well. More especially I will describe the circumstances of the hero of the world of realm and glory, the rose of the rose-garden of sovereignty, the conqueror par excellence, the late Highness Maharaja Gulab Singh. I will bedeck the mistress of theme with strokes and dots of script so as to equit myself of the requisites of devotion and stipulations of faith, and thus carry out the command of the benevolent master.

The late Highness had been, with a view to patronize this one exalted of his favours, sending commands for writing an account of the achievements of his august personality. But this resourceless me, finding no talent of embellishing the subject and lacking courage to wield the pen, which bestow unique insight on the spectators of this art, had avoided this. Moreover, no respite from the government business could be found wherein the coquettes of theme could be seated on the new elegant thrones, and lustrous pearls of words could be strewn in strings of charming sentences. So during a halt at Bijbehara, one of the Districts of Kashmir, a renewed order was issued on this subject. This beckoning to pen down adventures, the last *irshad* for a noble service, (3) inspired the writer, like a miracle. So this pilot of the path of devotion to the family of glorious lineage chose to carry out the command of his master after tremendous inquiry and keen

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research. For a long time I enquired from the grandees of this family and the wise and truthful old persons, and the youngsters full of zeal and of noble character, and from reliable servants, and put all this in black and white. Most of the anecdotes have often reached my ears from the late Highness who remembered many incidents and events since his early childhood on account of his keen memory. I verified several incidents from my revered father, Diwan Sahib (Diwan Jawala Sahai), and scratched out all the doubts and suspicions by the pen of certainty. By the aid and blessings of the Almighty I may carry to completion this lofty purpose, so that the enlightened persons may amass wealth of information from its study.

I will, first of all, put the discourse in order by the narration of the eminent pedigree from the appearance of Brahma to the rising of the star of His Highness, which may be perpetual and eternal like the Time itself. Afterwards, I will narrate some of the outstanding achievements of the late Highness.

Article 2 *on 'the Nature of the Universe and the cause of Creation' omitted.* (*Pages end of* 3 *to the middle of* 15 *of the Text.*)

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CHAPTER

2

Statement of the Late Highness' Angelic Pedigree

From the Appearance of Brahma to the Blessed Personality

---

(15) It has been written that when God, the Creator, whose person is beginningless and existence infinite, required inventions and innovations from the *Qudrat* known as *Māya*, a celetial-born form, Brahmā, appeared. From Brahmā's mind seven shining beings sprang up, named Mārīchi, Atrī, Ankrī, Polast, Polāh, Kartū and Basisht without the medium of carnal union. According to the capacity of each of them, spirits from the bountiful First Principle were infused into them. In the house of Mārīchi, who is the first born of Brahmā, Kashap was born. (16) From the union of Kashap Rikhī and the Aditī, the daughter of Prajāpatī, a son named Vivaswān appeared in this world. He is also called the 'Sūraj' (Sun). For this very reason his offspring is known as Solar Race (Sūraj-Banshī). From Vivaswān was born Shrāhd-dev who is also called Vivaswat Manū.

In the house of Vivaswat Manū was born Mahārāja Ikshvākū who initiated the tradition of world-conquest. A hundred sons were born of Ikshwākū. The eldest three of them are known by the names of Kokhi and Nimī and Dandak. Ikshvākū thus divided the countries of the East among twenty-five of them. On another twenty-five he conferred the countries of the West. To the remaining forty-seven he divided the country of Hindostān which lies between the Himālaya Mountain and the Bindhyāchal.

After Ikshvākū's death, Kokhī succeeded to the throne. His son Vikokhī, also called Shashād succeeded to the throne after him. From Vikokhi a virtuous son named Pranachī appeared who is also

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known as Inder Vāhi and Kukustha. So his descendants are called Kākatsath. To Pranachī was born a son named Anīnā. Anīnā's son was the famous Mahārāja Prithū, whose fair name, memorable for all times to come, has become immortal. In the house of Prithū Vaisharāshav, and to the latter a celebrated son named Chander, was born. His son was Juvnāsh. Juvnāsh's son was Shavast who founded the city Shawāstī after his name. From him was born Brihadāsh who was followed by his son Kubliāsh, also called Dhandū-mār. It is said he killed an ignoble Rākshas named Dhandū, and was thus called Dhandū-mār. (17) In the Mahābhārata, which is a trustworthy account of the glorious dynasties of the rulers of the paradise-like Hindostān, it is narrated that one hundred sons were born of him. In the battle with the Rākshas ninety-seven were killed, whereas three of them survived, viz., Dharh-rāsh, Kailāsh, and Bandrāsh.

In the house of the eldest son Dhar-rāsh, Har-jash was born. His son was Nikonab and Nikonab's was Sangtāsh, and from him Krishāsh. The latter's son was Prasenjit. Prasenjit begot a son Jabnāsh. It is so written that the said Rāja married hundred wives yet got no son. So despaired in mind and afflicted at heart he retired to a wilderness to perform penance and meditation. Consequently, devout hermits became aware of the fact and they started the performance of Inder-Jug and invoked charms and incantations on a vessel full of water. As the luck would have it, the simple natured Rāja in a fit of thirst drank that water. When in the morning the ascetics became aware of the fact, they declared that on account of the divine power and the efficacy of the auspicious formulaes, the water drunk would cause pregnancy. It happened accordingly, so that his belly was incised and the foetus was pulled out and was named Māndhātā. He was also known as Tras-dassyū. The etymology is thus explained that in Sanskrit language a thief is called 'dassyū', so that thieves were mortally affraid of him.

(18) To Rāja Māndhāta three sons were born. Pur Kutsa was the name of the first, Amrīk that of the second, and the third was named Machkand. It is so written that Rāja Amrīkh was chosen by his illustrious grand-father, Jubnāsh, to succeed after him. After the demise of Rāja Māndhāta, Rāja Amrīkh sat on the throne. After him his son Harit occupied the throne. On the other side Purkutsa was succeeded on the throne by Har-jas, Aran, Sat-brat and Trashankū respectively. In Trashankū's house the famous Mahārāja Harash Chandra was born. (*The Story of Raja Harash Chandra Omitted. Pages* 19 *to the beginning of page* 25).

(25) Raja Harash Chandra was followed on the throne by his son Rohit. Rohit was followed by Harit, and the latter by his son Chānyak, who built the city of Chambā after his own name. After

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him his son Sahdév succeeded to the thorne. After him came Bijé, Maruk, and Bāhak one after the other. It is said that one of the wives of Rāja Bāhak administered out of jealousy deadly poison to his pregnant wife, but it did not work. This son therefore, was named *Sagara*, for *gara* in Sanskrit language stands for poison; thus the meaning 'the one born with poison'. For a considerable period he was brought up in the hermitage of Awrūr Rishī, (26) and he learnt and acquired training from him in the science of war and archery. He vanquished several of his rivals. To some of them he gave a new hair style by getting their ringlets cut, and the others he set free after shaving their beards. It is written that he ruled over the whole expanse of Earth for a long time. He had a numerous progeny. Rāja Sagar deputed them all in search of the horse during the performance of the Ashva-médh Yaga. At that time Kapil Dév Rshī was engaged in meditation. Sagar's sons, not realising the gravity of their action, caused distraction in his concentration; so the born of their existence was burnt by the world-scorching wrath of Kapil Munī. However, his eldest son, named Asmanjas, born of his second wife, survived. Anshūmān, son of Asmanjas, hurried to the hermitage of Kapil Munī, and expiated for the sins of his uncles. From him Rāja Dalīp was born. Dalīp had an auspicious son named Bhāgīrath. By perfect devotion in austerities which beggar description, he brought down the sacred river Gaṇgā to the surface of the Earth from the highest heaven.

Bhāgīrath was followed on the throne by the following, one after the other: Aitāyu, Rāja Ritparan, Sarv Kāma, also named Aratbarnī, Sudās also called Kalmākh-Pād, (27) Ashmak, Molak also called Narī-Kabach, Dashrath, Airāwar, Véshāh-shā, Rāja Khaṭvāk, whose name is written in the Mahābhārata as Dalīp. It is said that he brought under his subjection whole of the world by his equity and valour and left behind a fair renown. He was succeeded by Dīrāghbābū called Raghū in the Mahābhārta, so that his offspring is known as 'Raghū-vanshi' to this day. He revived the tradition of world conquest and universal sway. From him was the illustrious ruler Rāja Aj. To the latter was born a celetial son, Rāja Dashrath, who became the father of the divine Rāma. (*The Story of the Ramayana, from the middle of page* 27 *to page* 48 *of the Test omitted.*)

(48) From the divine Shrī Rāma two sons were born, named Lav and Kush. Several sons were born of Kush, but his eldest son, named Atithī, ascended the regal throne. His son was Nakh-had, his son Nal, his son Nib, his son Pundrīk, his son Khém-dhanwan, and the latter's son was Vévānīg. From him was born Aniāh, from Aniāh, (49) Pāryātar, his son Nal, his son Sthal, his son Okhtāh, his son Bahrā-Ṇābh, his son was Saṇkh also called Khagan. The latter's son was

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Biktāshav, his son Bidrat, his son Haran-Nābh, his son Droh-saṇdhī, his son was Sudarshan. The last named had two sons—one Agni-barn and the other Agnī-gir. Agnī-barn ruled for a long time. His son was Shigar; his son Marut; his son Pār-susrat; his son saṇdhī his son Amar-khan also called Anāshrat. His son was Mahaswān; his son Hishāshah, his son Prasénjit; his son was Brihad-bal who was killed in the Mahābhārata war at the hands of Abhamanyū, the beloved son of Arjuna. His son was Brihadarn, his son Or-krih, his son Batsa-bridh, his son Pratī-vyom. From him was born Bhānu, and the latter's son was Dévak, from whom was Sahdév. His son was Brihadāsh, his son Bhānūmān, his son Pratikāsh, his son Supartīk, his son Marūdév, his son Sū-Nakshatra, his son Pushkar, his son Aṇtrīkh, his son Sotpāh, his son Amitrājit, his son was Brihadrāj his son was Barhi, his son Kritaṇjé, his son Saṇjé, and from him was born Shākiya, who, they say, adopted the Baudh religion, and his son Saṇdhū is Buddha's father from whom is the Baudh religion. His son was Laṇgal, from whom was Prasénjit. His son was Khadrak from whom was born Raṇk, his son was Sarath, his son Sumitra. These kings ruler generation after generation and in succession.

(50) As Agnī-barn, whose name has found mention above, was a violent-tempered fire-brand, so his kith and kin grew disgusted and distressed with him, and consequently he withdrew to retirement and seclusion.

Of all the relatives of Agni-barn, Agnī-gir, his real brother, left Ayudhiā nine hundred years before the setting in of the Kalī-Yug[1] according to one tradition and one thousand according to the other. He spent a short time in the region of Ajmér, and then conveyed himself via Nagarkoṭ to the mountain region of Shiwālik hills, and settled there. By divine grace he subjected the region to himself and ruled there. His son named Vāyu-Sharb succeeded him to the throne. He had several sons. His eldest son named Parmétar brought under his sway with the help of his clan whole of the surrounding regions and districts. His son was Pūran Singh, and his son Lakhū, and his son Khaṭ-joshan, and his son was Rāja Agnīgarbh. Agnī-garbh had eighteen sons, namely, Bāhū Lochan, Dārn Lochan, Krishan-Lochan, Rām Lochan, and others.

(51) Out of that group Bāhū Lochan ascended the throne. The events of those days compelled him to come into conflict with Rāja Chander-Hās, the ruler of Madra-désh, i.e., the country of the Paṇjāb, and in the ensuing clash of arms he was killed. As he had no son so Jambū-Lochan succeeded him to the throne. The new ruler

1. According to Prof. Bühler Kalī Yuga commensed in B.C. 3050.

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collected arms and other means of destruction and carried on struggle against Chander-Hās, and ultimately achieved success and triumph. He removed Chander-Hās, from the throne as well as from this world. He occupied the kingdom of the Panjāb and all its boundaries and frontiers. He wanted to construct after his name a lovely foundation which should be delightful and auspicious and to raise an edifice strongly fortified. For that purpose he sent searching servants to all directions. One day, by chance, while he rode for hunt and looked about for the game, he saw on the hill a royal lion and an innocent deer drinking water together at a pool. The Rāja was lost in amazement at this sight. He drove his horse back to the royal camp. He narrated the surprising happening to his favourite courtiers and the wazirs who unanimously submitted that this auspicious spot was fit for the Mahārāja's dwelling. Thus the Rāja founded the city of Jammu[2] after his name at that locality and raised grand mansions on its soil.

(52) He died after a long rule, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Pūran Karan. He came to be called Rāja Jammū. Two sons, Dayā Karan and Dharam Karan, were born of him. On the supplication of the marzbāns of the lovely valley of Kashmīr, the Jammū Rāja

2. Jammū, foundation of : Ferishta records another interesting tradition regarding the foundation of Jammū city. This tradition too pushes back the antiquity of Jammu to a hoary past. "Kaid Rāj was by the sister's side of Mahā Rāj, in accordance with whose will and testament he ascended the throne. At this time Rustam, son of Dastān, had been killed, and as the Panjab had for some time had no vigorous governor, Kaid Raj led his armies thither, and easily obtained possession of the country. He dweltfor some time in one of its ancient cities named Bĕhrā, and then built the fort of Jammū. In it he placed one of his adherents, a man of the Gakkar (according to Briggs, Malnās, perhaps Manhās) tribe, named Durg and made him governor of it. From that time to the present, the fortress has remained in the hands of possession of that tribe. After a while the Gakkar tribe and a tribe called Chobĕh (possibly Chibh), who are zamindārs of consequence in the Panjāb, allied themselves with the dwellers in desert and with the people who live in the hills, between Kābul and Kandhār. The allies marched against Kaid Rāj, and he, being unable to resist, relinquished that country (Panjāb) to them. From that time this tribe spread and took possession of every hill that had a chief. It would seem that this tribe is the same as the Afghāns of the present day. Kaid Rāj reigned for forty-three years." (*Tarikh-Farishta or Gulshan - i - Ibrāhimi*, Briggs trans. Vol. I, Introduction; Elliot & Dowson, Vol VI. Appendix, p.562.)

The tradition copied by Diwān Kirpā Rām makes Chander-Hās ruler of Siālkoṭ which was then the capital of the Panjāb. As stated above by the Diwān, Rāja Jambū Lochan defeated Chander-Hās and occupied the country of the Panjāb. The Dogrā tradition makes this incident happen a little earlier to the Mahābhārata war. Rāja Shal, the maternaluncle of the Pāṇḍavas, has been shown contemporary with Rāja Shiv Prakāsh of Jammū who was the seventh descendent of Jambū Lochan.

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appointed his son and successor Dayā Karan to the rulership of Kashmīr. Hence it is written in the annals of Kashmīr that in the beginning ascetic Brahmans and pure-hearted Rishīs dwelt in Kashmīr. They were afraid lest due to the clash of conflicting interests of the masses administration deteriorates, so they made a request before the Jammū Rāja, renowned for justice, to depute his son to rule over Kashmīr. But the Rāja, thinking that if his son, out of vanity and intoxication of youth perpetrated tyranny on his subjects, the Rāja would be subjected to retribution, so he had refused to agree to this. But the Brahmanas would not leave him alone. Helplessly Jammū Rāja had to bow before their entreaties and sent his eldest son with them. They say that of his descendants fifty-five persons had ruled in Kashmīr in succession.[3]

Rāja Dharam Karan, of course ascended the throne of his father at Jammū. (53)He had many sons so he divided among them the mountain tracts. From him was Kīrat Karan; and his son was Agnī Karan. He was succeeded by Shakti Karan, who subugated frontiers of Kohistān upto the Bānihāl peak.[4] He possessed a kind disposition and was adorned with qualities of learning. He therefore introduced many laws in accordance with the customs of the Shāstras and devoted much time in the performance of religious rites. For this reason he came to be known as 'Rāja Shāstrī'. The Dogrā script in one of his innovations.

After this good-intentioned Rāja, his, sons and grand sons upheld the laws of their sires. Then came the turn of Rāja Shiv Prakāsh who was in the fifth generation from the Rāja Shāshtri. Rāja Shal, the maternal uncle of the Pāṇḍavas, whose sway spread over the Panjāb as far as the frontiers of Kandahār, gained strength and power and built a strong fort six farsangs distant from Jammū and

3. The number of the earlier 'lost' kings of Kashmir is traditionally fifty-two. Kalhana, the chronicler of Kashmir says," In that fifty-two rulers upto Gonanda, who in the Kalī Yuga were contemporary of the Kurūs and the sons of Kuntī (Pāṇḍavas), have not been recorded." (M. A. Stein : Kalhana's *Rajat.*, *I.* 44.). In Sloka 54 of Book First Kalhana gives the total period of these reigns as 1266 years. (*Ibid.*, *I.* 54). Diwān Kirpā Rām has not given his source of information. Most probably he heard this tradition from the scholars of Kashmir and had made its use in the Dogra genealogy in an effort to lend his account a historical and trustworthy look.

4. Banihal Pass is the open route across the Pir Panjal Range at its eastern extremity, and must, owing to its small elevation, has always been a convenient route of communication towords the Upper Chinab valley and the eastern of the hill states. The National Highway from Jammu to Srinagar passes over the Banihal height. It takes its modern name from a village at the south foot of the Pass which is mentioned in the Kalhana's Chronicle by the name of Ban-shāla (M.A. Stein, *Kalhana's Rajat vol II. p.* 392).

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named it Shalkoṭ after his name, and made it his headquarters. He sacked the city of Jammū by his constant inroads. During those days the chiefs of the Janwāl clan who were zealous of their honour and dignity, became vexed with this situation and migrated to the rugged mountain tract. There they passed their days for a few generations. After long time, in the year four hundred and forty-four of the Kalī Yug, Jyotī Prakāsh remembered his claim of holding the country, and with the assistance of the Chārak clan he re-occupied his ancestral land. Thus the water which had (54) flowed out returned to the stream again, and the deserted city put on a fresh lustre and briskness He ruled for thirty-five years.

His eldest son, Pushpa Prakāsh, followed him to the throne. When he reached adulthood he enquired of this circumstance from elders and set his heart on retaliation and avenging his grand-sires. He led his forces against the Rāja of Shalkoṭ, and severed his head. Of the inhabitants of Shalkoṭ none escaped the ravages of his fury. He turned the city into a bee-hive and left it bleeding. He ruled for fifty years. His eldest son, named Ratan Prakāsh, who is also called Dharam Prakāsh, took into his hands the administration of the realm. Most of the time he associated with the wise and learned people and used to listen to the Holy Scriptures, the Rāmāyana. He ruled for forty-three years, and installed with his own hands his son and successor, Bhūshan Prakāsh, to the throne and himself left for Harīdwār and attained the divine mercy.

Bhūshan Prakāsh ruled for sixty years. His son Brahma Prakāsh ruled after him for forty-one years. They say that during his reign a great flood inundated the environs of the Panjāb, so that whole of the land from the river Sutlej to the river Chināb became submerged under water. From him five sons were born,(55)of whom Jām Prakāsh ruled for fifty-one years. All the areas of the Panjāb, from Kashmīr to Sindh, were in his possession. He had two sons, the one named Kishore Indar and the other named Siṇdh Iṇdar who were called Siṇdī and Siṇd Dév also. Rāja Kishore Indar sat on the throne of Jammū and Siṇdh Iṇdar occupied the territories of the Panjāb, Multān and Chunāgaṛh. Many sons were born of him. Kishore Iṇdar ruled over the Kohistān country for forty-three years. He was followed on the throne by Ajiṇdar for twenty-five years, by Rajiṇder for fifty-five years, and by Nariṇder for ten years. After Nariṇder, Bajiṇder ruled for thirty years, Harish Chaṇder for forty years and some months, then his son Hirnya Nābh for thirty-one years, his son Kāmak Barn for forty-one years, his son Dātū Barn for seventy years, his son Téj Barn for twenty-five years. The latter had no son so he seated on his throne his nephew named Balī Barn on the throne who ruled for twenty years. He seated his son (56) Bodh Arjan on the

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throne and himself set out in the worship of the Almighty.

Rāja Bodh Arjan had several achievements to his credit. The expert narrator and critic, Lala Ganésh Dass, has described a number of them. The writer of this Memoir hesitates to accept or reject them outright, but copies the following interesting anecdote.

One day, a merchant from afar, who had wandered widely all over the habitable quarters of the globe, presented himself at the Court of the Emperor. He presented to him the picture of a fairy-faced, delicate and tulip-cheeked belle. By simply looking at the picture of that fascinating lady the Rāja became enslaved by her silky tresses, and the imprint of the love of that enchanting girl was indelibly embossed on his heart. His purple face turned pale like saffron in pining for the lady-love. On inquiry (57) the merchant disclosed that it was the picture of the daughter of the Rāja of Sarandīb. So His Highness the Mahārāja sent for a messanger to go and solicit for that fair damsel to whose looks the Rāja had entangled his heart. The swift-footed messanger covered long and arduous journey and reached the city of Sarandīb. He delivered the message to the Rāja thereof. But the Rāja, intoxicated by vanity, became enraged and drove the messanger away. The messanger came back without obtaining the object and submitted all the facts before Rāja Bodh Arjan. The Rāja forthwith prepared an army and moved his standards towards Sarandīb. By divine grace, all the chiefs and proud lords of the Hindostān paid homage to him. The Rāja of Sarandīb offered (58) resistence and decided upon battle. The Sarandīb army was however beaten and vanquished. The Rāja of that place reluctantly consented to give away his daughter to him in marriage and arranged for the nuptial feasts. Rāja Bodh Arjan came back to Jammū accompanied by that belle whom he had already given a soft corner in the pleasure-chamber of his heart and to whose blooming face he had lost himself '.[5]

5. It has become conventional to attribute the conquest of Sri Lanka-Sangeldip or Lanka—to various popular & eminent heroes. Rajatarangini records such a conquest of King Meghavahāna (Stein : *Kalhana's Rajatarangini, III VS.* 72-81.)

The Rajatarangini, Bk. I. verses. 294-299 describe the event as under :—

"When he once noticed that the breasts of his queen who was wearing a jacket made of cloth from Simhala (Ceylon) were marked with golden foot prints, he flamed up in anger.

"When told on inquiry by the chamber lain that the cloth made in Simhala was marked with the stamp of the king's foot, he there upon set out on an expedition.

"The southern ocean when it was swelled by the streams of juice flowing from the temples of his war-elephants showed a desire of embracing (extending to) Yamuna.

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He ruled for eighty years, and was followed on the throne by his eldest son Kamal Nābh who reigned for fifty years and brought under his occupation several countries upto the frontiers of the Tātār. After him his son Shiv Nābh sat on throne for seventy-five years, his son Kalij Nābh for thirty-two years, his younger brother Kamal Ballabh for fifty-four years, his son Rāja Sarup Ballabh for forty years, and his son Hom Ballabh for seventy years. His son Rāja Ballbh was killed (59) in the midst of action in the war of Rāja Mangal Chand Katoch in the environs of Jasroṭā. As he had no son, so his cousin Bhānū Dakh succeeded him and ruled for sixty-eight years. His son Samudra Jakh ruled for fifty years, his son Harth Jakh for thirty years. But the sons of Harth Jakh became deprived of the throne due to their incapacity. So Shaṇkh Haran, whose pedigree reaches back to Rāja Bhānū Dakh, succeeded to the throne and ruled for fifty years. His son Mrig Haran ruled for twenty-six years, his son Dévkār for sixty, his son Jaikār for twenty-five, his son Ādī Vrāh for fifty-one, his son Rāja Bhūm Datt for seventy five, his son Kūram Datt called Pūran Datt for sixty-four, his son Khém Datt also called Kusham Datt for eighty years, Jai Datt for thirty years. his son Bijé Datt for twenty-five, and Damodar Datt nehpew of Jai Datt nehpew or Jai Datt for thirty-seven years, Udep Chand for forty, Lachhman Chand for fifty-three, and then his sons and grand-sons ruled one after the other in succession. (60) His son Samudar Bhūshan, who loved luxury and sensuousness sat on the throne for forty-one years, his eldest son Jagat Singh for twenty years, his son Bhagat Singh also called Shaktī Bhūshan for forty-two years, his son Gaj Singh for thirty five, his son Ajé Singh for forty-one, his son Bijé Singh for forty-seven, his son Dév Guft for fifty-two. his son Rām Guft for seventy-five, his son Chander Guft for sixty years, his son Naṇd Guft for sixty-three years, his son Rāja Ādī Rāi for forty-nine years. After the latter, Dēv Rāi ruled for fifty-two years, and Rāja Gandharb Rāi for forty-two years, Rāja Qadam Rāi also styled Karam Varmā, ruled for forty-six years, his son Karam Rāi for seventy-four, his son Khīr Rāi for seventy-five

"At last he removed in violent onslaught the king of Simhala [from his throne], & at the same time [from his own heart] the wrath which had arison from the sight of his queen touched by the foot (of that king).

"When the demons from the palaces of Lanka saw his army in the distance, they feared another attack of Rāghava (Rāma) & fell to trembling.

"After the (King) of mighty power had installed there another ruler, he brought away (from there) the cloth called by the name of Yamusadeva which was stamped with an image of the sun",

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years, and his son Khikhar Rāi for thirty-two years, and then his son Siṇd Rāi for fifty years ruled over the State of his father.

(61) Jagat Rāi was the famous son of Siṇd Rāi. Jagat Rāi's son and successor was Dod Rāi who ruled for thirty years. His son Rāja Jog Rāi succeeded him and left behind many a tale in a reign of fifty-seven years. Rāja Jog Rāi had two sons, Malhan Haṇs, and Sūraj Haṇs. Malhan Haṇs, also called Mān-Haras, had several sons. He therefore divided among them some villages each by way of 'tamgha' and jagir. His descendants took to the occupation of tilling after the passage of some time quite contrary to the custom of the Jamwāl Rājpūts. So the villages of Pargowāl and Chaprār and Thub[6] were transferred in the names of the above mentioned people now known as 'Manhās' clan.[7]

6. These villages are situated in the Sialkoṭ district (now in Pakistan) near the border of Jammū province, below Akhnūr in the Chenāb Valley.

7. Manhās Tribe : Claim Solar origin by direct line from Rām Chandra. They say that their ancestor came from Ajudhia and conquered Jammū, and founded the city of that name. Some say that before this conquest they first settled in Sialkoṭ; others that they went first to Kashmīr, then to Sialkoṭ and then to Jammū. All seem to have agreed that they moved into Jammū from the plains. The name Jamwāl appears to have been the old name of the whole tribe, but to be now confined to the royal branch who do not engage in agriculture and look down upon their cultivating brethren who are commonly styled Manhās. The Manhās inter-marry with the Salahria and other second-class Rājpūts of the neighbourhood. They call their elder son Rāja and the younger son Miān, and use the salutation Jai ! They are for the most part Hindus. They pour water on a goat's head at Muklāwa, and consider that his shaking his head in consequence is pleasing to their ancestors. (Sir David Ibbetson, *Panjab Castes* 1883, p. 154). In addition to Jammū province, they were found in large numbers throughout the country below the Jammū border, i.e , in Rāwalpindi, Jhelum, Sialkoṭ, Gurdaspur, etc.

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CHAPTER
3

Mediaeval Genealogy

Malhan Haṇs had died in the very life-time of his father. Rāja Jog Rāi therefore gave the throne of Jammū Rāj to his younger son, Sūraj Haṇs, who ruled for Sixty-three years. His son Gaṇgā Dhar ruled for forty-five, and his son Dévalā Dhar for forty-nine years. In the latter's house ten great sons were born. Of this lot the eldest son, Sarplā Dhar succeeded to the throne. During those days an enlightened Faqīr, Roshan Walī by name, evincing gait of a pilgrim and clad in mendicant's robes, arrived in Jammū citadel, and had an audience with Rāja Sarplā Dhar. He announced that in the very near future the armies of Islām[1] would (62) set their heart on the conquest of the vast country of Hindostān, but due to divine favours no harm would be done by them to the inhabitants of this city, and that they would be guarded against and be immune from the depredations of those tyrants. His grave still exists near the Gumaṭ Gate[2]

1. The calculations adopted by Diwān Kirpā Rām, make Sarplā Dhar rule in the third quarter of the seventh century A.D., a period conspicuous by the rise and advance of Islām towards the north-western regions of the later ancient India—the Makrān—Gandhāra-Kābul regions. The reference to Roshan Wali at this period reveals that some Muslim recluses had started coming to India before the armies of Islam invaded this land proper.

2. Gumaṭ Gate is the enterance in the southern wall of the old Jammū fortifications, through which the road from the south side entered from the Panjāb plains. Immediately after the enterance an exceptionally long tomb of the *Wālī* is seen, which is usually called the "*Naw-gaza Qabar.*"

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Rāja Sarplā Dhar passed over his throne to his son Kīrat Dhar with his own hands. They say, Kīrat Dhar was unrivalled in gallantry and valour and renowned for liberality and charity. When in the year 724 Bikrami, Rāja Bikrampāl sent his surging army against Rāi Tilok, the ruler of Delhi, Rāja Kīrat Dhar despatched a brave contingent for the assistance of Rāi Tilok Chand. As destined, Rāi Bikram Pāl fell down dead in the battle field and Rāi Tilok came out victorious. Consequently, the empire of Hind was known after the Rāi dynasty[3] for one hundred and forty-four years. During this period the gates of friendly communications between both sides remained ever open. This Rāja Kīrat Dhar ruled for sixty-four years. His son Ajé Dhar ruled for fifty-nine years., his son Bijé Dhar for fifty years, and his son Bajarlā Dhar[4] for fifty-three years. Rāja Sūraj

3. The Rai Dynasty: *The Tuhfatu-l Kirām* mentions a "Dynasty of the Rais." Their capital was the city of Alor, and the boundaries of their country were on the east Kashmir and Kannauj; on the west Makrān and the shore of the sea of Umān, i. e., the port of Debal; on the south, the port of Sūrat (Saurashtra); and on the north, Kandhār, Sīstān, the hills of Sulaimān and Kaikānān."The five kings of this Dynasty—Rai Diwāij, Rāi Siharas, Rāi Sahasi, Rāi Siharas II, and Rāi Sahasi II, ruled for 137 years. The dynasty commensed in the Christian year 495 and lasted upto 632. This Rāi dynasty had therefore become extinct, and supplanted by the Chach dynasty when the incident referred to occurred in the year 724 of Bikramī, i.e., in about A.D. 667-8. After Harsha's death in A.D. 647 there was total chaos in the north-western parts of India, and there were disturbancesin the fiftees of the seventh century and the Panjāb frontiers were plunged in chaos and confusion. (Dr. Buddha Prakash, *Glimpses of Ancient Panjab*, 1966, *p.* 68.). The Rāi dynasty referred to here might have been the ruling house of the Takādésh mentioned by Hieun Tsang, a powerful yet little known Kingdom during this era, which spread from the Indus to the Sutlej, and from the Lower Kashmir to the borders of Sind. Rāi Tilok was probably one of the rulers of the Tāk royal house, which was not only in the neighbourhood of, and even an overlord to, Jammū, but might have also been related to the Jammu Rājas.

4. *In the Rajatarangini* we do not find mention of Jammu. It however, mentions Babbāpura as the seat of the ruler named Kīrti (vii. 588-590) who presented himself with other seven kings in the capital of the Kashmir king, Kalasha, in the year 1087-88 (vii. 587). Another hill chief, Vajradhara, the Lord of Babbāpura, has been mentioned in connection with the events of Sussala's reign, who ruled from 1112 to A.D. 1120 in Kashmir. (viii. 537-541).

Babbāpura can be identified with a ruined site some thirty miles to the east of Jammu, now known as 'Babor'. The situation of the place, its extent and ancient remains, and especially the name by which it is still known, all point to the conclusion that it represents the ancient Babbāpura (Ckarak, *Rise and Fall of Jammu Kingdom*, p. 7).

Prof. Keilhorn has edited two inscriptions called Chambā copper-plate title deeds which refer to the "Lord of Durgara" (*Ind. Ant.*, 1888, p.9) which no doubt, is the original form of the word "Dogra".

Babbāpura was the ancient capital of Dogrā people during the 9th century

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Dév[5] was a great son of Bajarlā Dhar. He divided all the government and administrative affairs into seven parts corresponding to the seven days of the week, and entrusted them each to the care of seven Vakīls so that on their appointed day each one of them conducted himself to the presence of the Rāja and asked opinion and sought his guidance and occupied himself in carrying on the business.

(63) Thus the office of household expenses was entrusted to the first Vakīl who also looked to the construction of royal buildings and controlled the expenses on the royal court. The Vakīl-i-Riyāyā informed himself on affairs of the nobles and the masses and political affairs and submitted them before the king. The jurisdiction of the Sālār-i-Lashkar extended to the dispensing of military affairs. The Vakīl-i-Dafter regulated and organised the exchequer and the office of Hazūr-nawīsī; Vakil-i-Adālat dispensed justice and equity. The whole troupe of dancers and singers was put under the charge of a separate Vakīl who led them to the presence of the king on Fridays. And

and after. It was probably Rāja Māl Dev who shifted the capital from Babbāpura to Jammu town in the last quarter of the fourteenth century.

On the inspection of the Dogrā genealogy as recorded in *the Gulābnāma* (p. 62) we find two Rājas bearing names similar to those given in *Rājtarangini*. The first is 'Kirtīdhara' and the other 'Vajarla Dhar' or 'Vajra Dhar'. For full discussion of the matter see 'Rise and Fall of Jammu Kingdom', pp.6-8.

5 The line of succession from Bijé Dhar to Sangrām Dév is as follows according to the tradition recorded by Diwān Kirpā Rām :

1. Bije Dhar ruled for 50 years
2. Bajarlā Dhar —do— 53 —do—
3. Suraj Dhar —do— 72 —do—
4. Bhoj Dév, ruled for 65 years. He was contemporary with Sabuktigin, who ruled in Ghazni from A.D. 977 to A.D. 997. Bhoj Dév was killed in A.D. 989.
5. Avtār Dév, ruled for 44 years, A.D. 989 to A.D. 1033.
6. Jas Dév, 30 years, A.D. 1033 to A.D. 1063.
7. Sangrām Dév, 41 years, A.D. 1063-1104.
8. Jasaskar or Jag Dev, contemporary with Malik Khusro of Ghazni, and ruled from A.D. 1104 to A.D. 1175.

G. C. Smyth has recorded genealogy from some other source, according to which "Soruj Dehu, the fiftieth in succession, lived about the year 1009 Vikramaditta," (about 956 A.D.). Smyth carries the genealogy down as under : "...and now the lines of succession is revived at the 51st member the son of Sooruj Dehu, named Boje Dehu, 52nd Oodum Dehu, 53rd Palar Dehu. 54th Urjun Dehu, 55th Ovtar Dehu,..58th Jass Dehu who had two sons, the elder Kirpal Dehu, the younger Singram Dehu, these were the 59th generation. According to this tradition. Both Kirpal Dehu and and Singram Dehu with some others of the family fought under the bannars of the 588 much famed Raat Pithoura at the battle of Thanessur, and on their return to their homes, the following year this small Rajput colony about Noorpūr, & c., broke up and became scattered in different quaters," (*A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, pp. 226-231).

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lastly, he appointed one man for the investigation of the affairs of thieves and the diplomacy of robbers. In this manner he ruled for seventy-two years.

His son Bhoj Dév ruled for sixty-five years. The latter had four sons, namely Kharan Dév, Avtār Dév, Kharak Dév, and Pahlād Dév. Rāja Kharan Dév succeeded his father to the throne. After him the throne. was occupied in succession by his son Kābū Dév, his son Ahal Dév, his son Mānak Dév who named his jagir as Mānkoṭ. In his house was born Udī Dév whose son was Nāgar Dév. His son was Uttam Dév and his son Hari Chaṇd and a few other generations came into existence.

Rāja Bhoj Dév was a far-sighted ruler. All around he extended the hand (64) of reconciliation and rectitude, especially, with Mahārāja Jai Pāl[6], the ruler of the Panjāb, he had established very cordial relations. In the year one thousand and thirty-two of Bikramī, corresponding to the Hijri year six hundred and sixty-five, Sultān Nasiru-d Dīn Sabuktigin[7], the rular of Ghaznī, made a raid at the head of a large army on the realms of Hindostān with a view to conquer and subjugate it. He encamped in the fertile valley of Kābul, and killed cruelly many Hindūs there. Rāja Jai Pāl collected a force of furious warriors and gallant Rājpūts and offered resistence to the malicious invader, the enemy of Church and State. Rāja Bhoj Dév installed his eldest son Avtār Dév on the throne and himself joined the defen-

6. Jai Pāl, the Shāhi ruler of Kābul, had his kingdom extended from Sarhind to Lamghān, and from Kashmir to Multān (Briggs' *Ferishta, I. p.*15). Kābul had been the capital of the Shāhi rulers, but Jai Pāl had to shift it to Udabhāndapur or Waihind (modern Ohind). He led an expedition to Ghaznī the capital of Sabuktigīn, but on account of unfavourable weather, he had to contract ahumiliating treaty and to agree to pay a heavy tribute of one million dirhams, 50 elephants and some cities and fortresses situated in his dominions. Later on he repudiated the treaty. Thereupon, Sabuktigin led an army against him in about 991 A.D. . . . . Jai Pāl was defeated and had to pay a heavy tribute and to acknowledge the Ghāzni sovereignty. After the death of Subuktigin in A.D. 997, Mahmūd became Sultān of Ghazni. He invaded Jai Pāl's territory. An action was fought near Peshāwar on Nov. 28, 1001 A.D... Jayapāla with fifteen of his Kinsmen was captured. A treaty was made by which he agreed to pay 2,50,000 dinnars as ransom and to give 50 elephants, and his son and grandson as hostages for fulfilling the conditions of peace. But Jayapāla never forgot the disgrace and like a brave man preferred death to dishonour. He caused a funeral pyre to be erected, and after the manner of his race perished in the flames in order to save himself from humiliation. This was probably in the same year, soon after the defeat, i.e., Dec. 1001 A.D. (Briggs *Farishta, I, p.* 38 ; Elliot, II, p. 27 ; Ishwari Prashad, *History of Med. India*, 1952, pp. 78-80.)

7. Sabuktigin ruled in Ghazni from April A.D. 977 to A.D. 997. (A.L. Srivastava, *The Sultanate of Delhi, p.* 43).

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ders to assist and reinforce Rāja Jai Pāl.[8] In the battle Rāja Bhoj Dév died. Rāja Jai Pāl Rāi withdrew after settling terms of conciliation and peace. He opened for Rāja Avtār Dév doors of friendship and courtesy wider than ever.

When Nāsiru-d Dīn Sabuktigin died[9], his son Mahmūd hurriedly made an inroad into Hindostān in (65) the year 1050 of Bikrami.[10] From this side Rāja Jai Pāl, accompanied by Pahlād Dév who was his auxilliary on behalf of the Rāja of Jammū, hastened to oppose the Sultān but did not attain victory. Pahlād Dév was killed in this battle. The Rāi's forces were routed and the broken-hearted Rāi fell into the victor's hands.[11] Sultān Mahmūd had decided upon the subjugation of the paradise-like country of Hindostān. However Aiṇdar Pāl[12], son of Rāja Jaya Pāl, carried on warfare for some time.[13] But at last he could not withstand all this and therefore took shelter in the Kohistān country with all his kith and kin.

The Sultan, they say, led himself towards Hindostān for thirteen[14] times. Once Mahmūd was traversing the roads and highways of foothills when Rāja Avtār Dév got wind of this enraging affair and piqued up bravely for battle, intercepted. (66) By chance Mahmūd received an arrow in his side in the battle, and the raiders suffered disgrace and defeat. The Rāja returned triumphantly to his capital, Jammū. He ruled for forty-four years. He then seated his glorious son Jas Dév on the throne, who founded Jasroṭā town, and ruled for thirty years. His eldest son, Sangrām Dév[15] succeed him and ruled

8. Rāja Jaya Pāl invaded Ghazni in A.D. 986-87 but owing to a great snow storm his army became disorganised and he had to agree to a peace. But on his return to Lahore, he repudiated these humiliating terms. Sabuktigīn retaliated by invading the Rāja's territory and by plundering Lamghān. Jaya Pāl called to his aid a number of rulers of Indian principalities. Rāja Bhoj Dev of Jammu seems to have participated in this battle which was probably fought in A.D.989 (Ibid.) and was killed in the battle-field.

9. A.D. 997 (A. L. Srivastava, *The Sultanate of Delhi*, p. 43.)

10. The events referred to here occurred in the month of November, A. D. 1001

11. See foot note 6 above.

12. Ainder Pāl—the correct name is Anand Pāl.

13. A severe battle was fought between Mahmud's forces and the confederacy of Hindu chiefs of Northern India led by Rāja Anand Pāl in the year A.D. 1008-9 The confederates, and their allies Khokhars, were, however, badly defeated, and Mahmud occupied the Shāhi capital, Lāhore.

14. Thirteen was the traditional number of Mahmud's Indian invasions. But Elliot and Dowson have connted seventeen. (*History of India Vol. II.* Note D, pp. 434 ff,).

15. Sangram Dev : The tradition which G.C. Smyth has copied tallies with the one recorded in *the Gulābnāmah* with a little variation. Smyth makesSangrām Dév the 57th and Māl Dev the 63rd in suecession, and *the Gulābnamah* also gives a similar succession.

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for forty-one years. Rāja Jasaskar Dév, also called Jag Dév, was his son, who came to the throne in the year 1151 of Bikrami. He ruled for seventy years. During his reign Malik Khusro, a descendant of Mahmūd Ghaznavi, was enjoying the kingdom of Hind. After him Shihābu-d Dīn Sultān unfurled the flags of world conquest, and out of far-sight and prudence, and on the good advice of the Rāja of Jammū he built the Siālkoṭ fort. Jag Dév was followed by Rāja Brij Dév on the throne. In the year five hundred eighty-six of Hijra, corresponding to the year one thousand two hundred thirty-eight of the Bikramī, Sultān Shihābu-d Din Ghorī made a raid on Rāi Pathorā who loved luxury but neglected the conduct of expeditions. The Sultan made him captive and drew a blinding shaft through his eyes which were given to beauty and were enamoured of the faiy-like moon-faced sweet-hearts. It is said that Rai Pathorā[16] cheerfully submitted to the divine decree and hopefully waited for an opportunity. One day a discourse started on the art of archery and marksmanship. An indiscreet person submitted that Rāi Pathorā was such a great master of the art of hitting the target and archery that he would strike the target following the sound. The unsuspecting Sultān sent for the Rāi to his audience and pushed into his hands a special bow and arrow. The Rāi pulled the notch of the bow upto the root of his ear and feeling and comprehending the target by his heart's eye fearlessly directed from his ambush an arrow in the direction of the Sultān and killed him.

In short, Rāja Brij Dév ascended the throne of Jammū in the year 1221 Bikramī and died after ruling for fifty-one years. His eldest

57.	Sangram Dév,	1110 to 1151	Bikrami	(A.D. 1053-1094)
58.	Jag Dév	1151 to 1221	do	(A.D. 1094-1164)
59.	Brij Dév	1221 to 1272	do	(A.D. 1164-1215)
60.	Narsing Dév	1272 to 1314	do	(A.D. 1215-1257)
61.	Arjan Dév	1314 to 1869	Bikrami	(A.D. 1257-1312)
62.	Jodh Dév	1369 to 1416	do	(A.D. 1312-1359)
63.	Māl Dév	1416 to 1456	do	(A.D. 1359-1399)

However, Smyth (*The Reigning Family of Lahore*, p. 231) makes both "Kripāl Dehu and Sangrām Dehu with some others of the family, fight under the banners of the 588 much famed Raat Pithaura at the battle of Thanessur"; whereas it is a well-known fact that the battle referred to was fought in A.D. 1191, and at that time Brij Dév was ruling in Jammū.

16. Rāi Pathorā, the famous hero of Indian history and literature, PrithviRāj Chauhān, who defeated Muhammad Ghori in the first battle of Tarāin. According to Ibn Batūtā (Paris ed., III. p. 143) Prithvi Rāj fled from the field, but he was captured near Sirsūtī (ancient Saraswati) and finally "despatched to hell". Tod also says that Prithvī Rāj was defeated, taken prisoner, and killed in A.D. 1192. Chand Bardāi's statement in his Rāsau that Prithvi Rāj was taken to Ghaznī where he was kept in prison and afterwards blinded, is wrong. (Ishwari Prasad *History of Medieval India*, 1952, p. 137, fn. 13.)

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son, Narsing Dév, ruled for forty-two years. His son Arjan Dév ruled for fifty-five; whereas the latter's son Jodh Dév ruled for forty-seven years. Jodh Dév's great son, Māl Dēv,[17] was a mighty king. The mansions of Manḍī in Jammū were raised by him. It is said that in the year eight hundred and one of the Hijrī, Sāhib Qirān Amīr Témūr Gorgān moved from the region's (68) of Turkistan towards Hindostān. He razed to the ground the houses of the inhabitants of Hindostān, and the whole of the country of Hind to the boundaries of Delhi lay bleeding under the hoofs of his horses. About fifty thousand Rājpūt and other fighters were captured by his victorious armies. He also issued a 'farmān' for the general massacre of Hindūs in the country of Hindostān. Thence he turned his attention towards Hardwār. By chance it was the day when the great Sun entered the Zodiac of Aries which in the language of Hind is called Baisākhī, and myriads of people of Hindū religion had gathered there. The fire-brand Pādshāh gave the fateful order for the massacre of the innocent Hindūs. At the holy Hardwār thousands of innocent lives were consigned to the gulf of perdition. Thence he turned his bridle backwards, and skirting the hills he set out for Turkistān. When he alighted near Jammū mountains[18], Rāja Māl Dév made a charge on

17. Māl Dév. According to Smyth "The sixty-third Chief of family was the great Mal Dehu, who was the eldest of the nine sons of Jey Dehu and lived about the year 1389 of Vikramadita, or as is mentioned, 740 of the Hijra, and is supposed to have been contemporary with Timur or Timerlang, Timur the Lame. He was the first of the family who had ever in those parts aspired to the title of Rajah." (G. C. Smyth : *The Reigning Family of Lahore*, p. 234.)

18. Amir Timūr led his inroad into India in the year A.D. 1398-99, '*Malfūzāt-i Timūrī*' (Timur's biography) and '*Zafarnāmah*' give a full detail of Timūr's battles in India and the conquest of Delhi by him. On his way back to his country Timūr attacked Jammū. Marching through Shāhpur Kaṇḍi and Mānsar he reached Baila, probably Babliana, on the 16th Jamada-I Akhir 802 Hejira. On the 19th he marched another 5 or 6 kos and reached near Jammū.

"I came into the valley where the source of the river of Jammū is situated, and there I pitched my tents ; but I sent my army over the foot of a moutain on the left of the town, and to the village of Manu on the right. When my forces had secured these positions, the demonspirited Hindus sent off their wives and children from their villages to the tops of the mountains. . . . Their Raja, with his warlike 'gabres' and athletic Hindus, took his post in the valley where they howled like so many jackals." Timur's armies plundered the villages of Jammū and Manu, but Timur did not give battle. He took to stratagem, ambushed the Raja of Jammū and captured him. "The Raja of Jammū, who was ruler of the country, with fifty Raes and Rajputs had been made prisoners by Daulat Timur...I immediately gave orders that fifty prisoners should be put in chains. When my eyes fell upon the Raja of Jammū, who was wounded and a prisoner, fear took possession of his heart, and he agreed to pay certain sums of money and to become a Musalman, if I would spare his life... When he had thus been received into the fold of the faithful, I ordered my

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his camp with the aid of his war-like Rājpūts in a night attack and slaughtered a number of the Gorkān soldiers. It is so written in the Rāuzatu-s Saffā, which is one of the reliable histories of the time, that when Hazrat Sāhib Qirān, the gem imperiale, became fed up with battles in the Shiwālik hills, he carried his standards towards Jammū and alighted near the village of Bābliānā. He sent Sheikh Muhammad Eko Timūr and (68a) Ismail Barlās to plunder the village. The people of Bāblianā were very brave and courageous. They raised thatched huts on the fringes of jungles and were determined to resist the invader. The fanatic Mujāhids were impatient to indulge in plunder and rapine without delay and wanted to inflict punishment on them. But at that time a word was received from the royal camp that troops should not hurry into battle and should wait till the arrival of Timūr. On the seventeenth of Jamādi al Ākhir of the year eight hundred and one, Hazrat Sāhib Qirān rode at the head of a vast army drawn up for blood-shed and pillage, and sent furious yells to the skies. No sooner the enemies of the Dīn (Islām) heard the acho of drums and trumpets and the clamour of the victorious troops than they deserted the villages and fled. Most of them took refuge in thickets and jungles. The soldiers pulled down huts and halted before the jungles. The victors entered the villages unopposed and a lot of grain fell to their hands. Another army plundered three populated and respectable villages and made themselves complacent of fodder and provisions for some days to come. After covering four farsakhs of well cultivated land the victorious army converged on the pass of which Jammū formed the entrance. They had to cross waters again and again. At the foot of the hill to the left hand stood Jammū town, and towards the right was the village Manūn. (69) In hoth of the localities there were huge, tall robust and vigorous infidels. They have hills and forts steadfast and deep to the extent that wayfarers declared approach to that locality impossible. These foolish people had sent their wives and children to mountains and hills, and their Rāe, alone with a band of fearless warriors, took refuge in the town fortified by hills and stood discharging arrows and raising shouts. The great Amīr ordered that the villagers should be left to their fate and none of the soldiers

surgeons to attend to his wounds and I honoured him with a robe and royal favours." (*Malfuzat-i Timuri*, in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III., pp. 467-72.)

Maulāna Sharafu-dīn Alī Yazdī, the author of *Zafarnāma*, writing in A.D. 1424, narrates." By hopes and fears and threats, he was brought to see the beauty of Islam." (Elliot and Dowson, III. p. 520) For a full account of Timūr's invasion of Jammū and Rāja Māl Dév, see the annotator's monograph "*The Rise and Fall of Jammū Kingdom*, pp. 10-15.)

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should oppose that detachment but should attack the village Manūn. The army carried out the command and devastated that village. The victorious banners moved from that place, crossed the river of Jammū on Friday, the twenty-first of the month, and riding for four farsakhs alighted on the bank of the river Chanā' (i.e., Chināb), in a grassland which was a four farsakh stretch of grazing. A poet had thus written a chronogram on this event :

Z-Fatteh—Shāh keh Majmu' b-shumari tārikh,
Shawwad mu'ayyin o khurshid bud judi ārā ;

Tū bār gar n-kuni kār-i-Hinduān bi-nigar,
Z shiddat -i- keh b-aishān rasid sāl-i-rakha' ;

Z ābiāri-i-nusrat b bāgh-i-Daulat-i-Shāh
B-sāl khār-i-gul-i-Fatteh-e-Hind shud bawiya'.[19]

19.

زفتح شاہ کہ مجموع بشمری تاریخ شود معین وخورشید بد جدی آراء
تو بار گر نکنی کار ہند واں ہنگر زشدتی کہ بہ ایشاں رسید سال رخاء
زآبیاری نصرت بباغ دولت شاہ بسال خار گل فتح ہند شد بوباء

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CHAPTER
4

Modern Ancestors

Rāja Māl Dév ruled for a period of forty years, and passed away in the year one thousand four hundred and fifty-six Bikramī. His son Jamīr or Hamīr Dév succeeded him to the throne for twenty-six years. He was killed in the battle of Sheikhū Khokhar[1] which

1. Sheikhā Khokhar : Khokhars were a war-like race inhabiting the regions lying between the Chināb and the Indus. During the reign of Mubārak Shāh, the Sayyid ruler of Delhi, who ruled from A.D. 1421 to 1434 (Ishwari Prasad : *The History of Medieval India*, p. 475) the Khokhar leader Jasrath Sheikhā Khokhar, rebelled and had designs on Delhi and beseiged Sarhind. The Sultān marched towards Samāna and the Khokhar raised the seige and returned to Ludhiānā. But as soon as the Sultān returned to Delhi, Sheikhā Khokhar advanced upon Lāhore. The Governor of Lāhore, Malik Muhammad Hasan, aided by Rāi Bhīma of Jammū, and contingents from Dipālpur, Sarhind and Delhi inflicted a defeat on the Khokhar (*Ibid.*, p. 476). Rāi Bhīma led the Sultān's armies to Tekhar, the Khokhar's stronghold, and destroyed it. This made the Khokhar sworn enemy of the Rāja of Jammū. The result was that "I Jamadu-l Awwal of this same year (826 Hijri*=A.D.1423) there was fighting between Jasrath and Rāi Bhīm. On ascertaining the death of Rāi Bhīm, Jasrath united a small army of the Mughals with his own, and attacked the territories of Lahore and Dipalpur." (Elliot and Dowson : *History of India, Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, p. 59).

Hamir Dév was thus killed in A.D. 1423 S.M. Latif also copies the tradition that "No sooner had royal troops withdrawn than Jasrath Ghakkar appeared in the field. Collecting an army of 12,000 Ghakkars he defeated and slew Rāi Bhīm of Jammū. Among the booty a daughter of Rāi Bhīm also fell into the Khokhar's hand whom he married. He was ultimately killed by his wife,

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he (69a) fought on the side of Mubārak Shāh,[2] emperor of Delhi, who was very fond of Rāja Hamīr Dēv and had conferred on him the title of Bhīm Dév and had entrusted him the twenty-two 'Rājs'[3], i.e., principalities of which eleven were in the Doābā Jālandhar, i.e., Kāṇgrā, also named Nagar Koṭ, and the other eleven on this side of the Rāvī. After him Rāja Ajé Dév, also called Ajab Dév, ascended the throne. He ruled for thirty-one years. His son, Bairam Dév, ruled after him for forty-five years. After his death Khokhar Dév occupied the throne of Jammū. They say, in those days when nine hundred and thirty-two years of the Hijri had elapsed, Zahiru-d Din Muhammad Bābur[4] Bādshāh, landing his armies across the Sindh, directed his mettle on the conquest of the country of Hindostān. He advanced through Bahlolpur and Siālkoṭ, and engaged Sultān Ibrāhīm, ruler of Hindostān in a battle in the field of Pānipat-Karnāl.

the daughter of Rāi Bhīm, in revenge, it is said, for the death of her father. This fact has been recorded in *the Āin-i-Akbarī* (English translation, Vol. I, p. 344) and *Ma'asir-ul-ul-Umara*, Vol. II., p. 367).

2. Mubārak Shāh, the Sayyid ruler of Delhi, ruled from A.D. 1421 to 1434 (Ishwari Prasad, *History of Medieval India*, p. 475).

3. Twenty-Two 'Rājs' : Sir Alaxander Cunningham has given the following 22 states which he groups as Duggar States, among whom Jammū was the premier one : Jammū, Mānkoṭ, Jasroṭā, Lakhanpnr, Sāmba, Tirīkoṭ, Akhnūr, Riāsī, Dalpatpur, Bhāu, Bhoti, Chaneni, Bandrālta, Bhadarwāh, Basohlī, Bhadū, Kashtwār, Punch, Koṭli, Rājaurī, Bhimbar, and Kharī-Khaṛiālī. (*Ancient Geography of India*, p. 64 ; Hutchison & Vogel ; *History of Punjab Hill States*, p, 46).

A later classification of the Muhammadan times has given another list of 22 States, including the Dogrā and the Trīgarta groups. They divide them into two classes—the Muhammadan and the Hindū States. The Muhammadan group included all the States of the Jehlam-Chināb Valley and the Hindū Group those of the Trīgarta and the Dvīgarta regions. The States of the Hindū Group are the following :

I. Jālandhar Circle : Chambā, Nūrpur, Gulér, Dātārpur, Sībā, Jaswān, Kāṇgrā, Kuṭléhr, Moṇḍī, Sukét, Kulū.

II. Dogrā, Circle : Chambā, Basohlī, Bhadū, Mānkoṭ, Bandrālta, Jasroṭā, Sāmba, Jammū, Chanéni, Kashtwār, Bhadarwāh.

The number 11 is conventional, for the State were really more numerous, especially in later times. Thus to Jālandhar Group, we must add Bangāhal, Koṭlā and Shāhpur; and to the Dogrā Group, Bhotī, Lakhanpur, Dalpatpur and Tirīkoṭ. (Hutchison and Vogel : Vol. I, p. 56-7).

4. Zahiru-d Dīn Muhammad Bāber was the founder of Mughal Empire in India. He defeated Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodhī, the ruler of Delhi, in the 1st Battle of Pānīpat fought in April, 1526. He ruled at Delhi from 1526 till his death in 1530. He might have come in contact with the Rājas of Jammū even earlier when he advanced upto Siālkoṭ and Lāhore on his third and fourth invasion of India during A.D. 1522 and 1524.

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Also in those days Bābā Gurū Nānak Dévji[5], disciple of the Creed of Divine Unity, also lived. The duration of Khokhar Dév's rule was twenty-nine years.

After him Kapūr Dév succeeded to the throne in the year nine hundred thirty-seven of the Hijri, and after ruling for forty-one years gloriously he passed away. He was survived by two great sons, (70) Jag Dév and Smail Dév. Rāja Jag Dév glorified the throne of Bāhū[6], and ruled for a long time. Rāja Paras Rām, also known as Krishan Dév, was his son. The latter's sons were 'Azmat Dév and Prithvī Chand'. The last named had no son, so his nephew Karpāl Dév succeeded to the throne. His son Nand Dév and others ruled over the principality of Bāhū in succession.[7]

5. Gurū Nānak Dév was born in A.D. 1469. According to the Sikh tradition the Gurū was among the people who were taken prisoners at Sultānpur when Bāber invaded that town. It is said that the invader released the Gurū along with many more on his desire. But no records mention this fact, not even the Tuzk-i-Bāburī.

6. Bāhū Fort : According to the Dogrā tradition, Bāhū was founded by Rāja Bāhū Lochan, the eldest brother of Jambū Lochan, the founder of Jammū, much before the setting in of the Kalī-yug (*Gulabnāmā*, p. 50-51). The fort and town of Bāhū stand due east of Jammū on the left bank of the Tawī and overlooking that river. The fort still bears an appearance of great strength, and was famous in former times as we learn from the Muhammadan authors (Hutchison and Vogel: *History of Pubjab Hill States*, p. 514). Amīr Tīmūr invaded Jammū in A.D. 1398 and his camp was pitched on the left bank on the Tawī river, and a reference occurs to Jammū fort, i.e., the fort of Bāhū, also on the left bank of the Tawī (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. III, *Malfuzāt-i-Timūri*, pp. 467-72).

Baron Charles Hugel saw the Bāhū Fort from a little distance on 2nd November, A.D. 1835 and he has given an interesting description of the Bāhū Fort, which probably had been reconstructed by Mahārāja Gulāb Singh: "Our course lay over the plain, which in one place I found suddenly invaded by the deep bed of a stream, whence a hill rises almost imperceptibly, on the summit of which Gulab Singh has lately built the fort of Bala (Bahu). It does not speak very favourably of his military judgement, for, however, handsome its ornamented walls may look, rising as it were out of the river, from his palace on the other side of the Tohi of Jammū; as a strong place it is quite untenable, being over-looked by other heights most easy of access . . . From Bala a spacious flight of steps, leads down to the river, and another takes the passenger up to Jammū." *Travels in Kashmīr and Pnnjab*, p. 69.).

Bāhū had been the seat of a separate principality after Kapūr Dév who died in about A.D. 1507. The Bāhūwāls ruled there upto Rāja Harī Dév's reign (A.D. 1650-85) who re-united Jammū and Bāhū under one sceptre.

7. Jammū-Bāhū Principalities. Rāja Kapūr Dév died in about A.D. 1507 and the State was divided into two parts after his death, with the river Tawī as the boundry. His Son Jag Dév held his court at Bāhū; while his second son Smail Dév ruled at Jamnī. This state of affairs continued for

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But Smail Dév, who was the second son of Kapūr Dév, succeeded his father to the throne of Jammū and ruled for twenty-five years. His son Rāja Sangrām Dév[8] was a ruler of great repute and high ideals. His rule over Jammū lasted for about thirty years. His son, Rāja Bhūp Dév, ascended the throne in the year one thousand and thirty-six of Hijri and ruled for twenty-six years. His famous son Rāja Harī Dév ruled for thirty-six years, and he met his death while accompanying the imperial troops of Ālamgīr Pādishāh (Aurangzéb) during the journey towards the Dakhin.[9] His son Gajé Singh adorned

several reigns till the accession of Rāja Harī Dév of Jammū in 1650. He re-united both the States into one under Jammū as its capital city. "The Rajas ruling in Bahū were called Eahuwals, and those in Jammū took the name of Jamwal. We may perhaps conclude that Bahuwal was the ancient clan name of the Rajas of Durgara, and that the present clan name, Jamwal, dates from the time of Smail Dév". (Héuchison and Vogel, p. 535).

8. Sangrām Dév succeeded to the throne of Jammū in about A.D. 1594. Both Parasrām Dév of Bāhū and Sangrām Dév of Jammū were contemporaries and find mention in Persian histories in connection with events of the reigns of Akbar and Jahāngīr. Rāja Parasrām, Rāi Partāp of Jasrotā and Rāi Balbhadar of Lakhanpur, joined the Rājas of Kāṇgrā principalities in a general revolt against Akbar in A.D. 1588-9 under the leadership of Rāja Bidhī Chand of Kāṇgrā (*Ma'āsiru-l Umarā*, English translation p. 1026; *Akbarnāma*, iii. p. 583 (text), English translation, pp. 884-85).

For a full account of this revolt see annotator's book "The Rise and Fall of Jammu Kindom 1970, p.p. 19-24).

Rāja Sangrām Dév is frequently referred to in *the Tuzk-i-Jahāngīri* (Text) vol. ii, pp. 55, 88 120, 138, 144, 171, 175, 193. In about 1616-17, Sangrām opposed Rāja Mān who was appointed to succeed Sheikh Farīd Murtazā Khān as Viceroy of the Panjāb and in the seige of Kāṇgrā fort. On his arrival at Lahore Rāja Mān heard that "Sangrām, one of the Zamindārs of the hill country of the Panjāb" had taken possession of a part of his province. Rāja Mān, therefore, proceeded against Sangrām who retreated into the hills, pursued by Mān, who seems to have fallen into an ambush and killed in a flight.

The Waki'āt-i-Jahāngīrī (Elliot and Dowson, *History of India, vol. vi.* 374) mentions a rebellion in Kashtwār. The Mughal governor of Kashmir was orderd to attack the rebels. "Rāja Sangram, the zamindar of Jammū, was also ordered to attack with his force from the Jammū hills, and it was now hoped that the rebels would soon be punished." (*Ibid*, p. 374). The next year in A.D. 1621, Sangrām Dév was sent to Kāngrā, with Qāsim Khān, and was bestowed upon a robe of honour, a horse and an elephant in recognition of his services to the Mughal cause. Most probably, the rulers of Jammū had by this time been won over by Mughal Emperors and absorbed in their system and made '*mansabdārs*' (*Rise and Fall of Jammū Kindom*, p. 25).

9. Harī Dév. After Māl Dév the succession to the throne of Jammū has been brought down as under :

63 Māl Dév, 40 years, A.D. 1359-99

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the throne for fifteen years and some months. He had two sons, Inder Dév and Dhruv Dév. By an ill chance Inder Dév fell down a horse and expired. So Rāja Dhruv Dév[10] ascended the throne in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty of Bikramī, and died after ruling for twenty-two years and some months. He left behind four illustrious (71) sons—Rāja Ranjīt Dév, Miān Ghaṇsār Singh, Miān Sūrat Singh, and Miān Balwant Singh.

Mahārāja Ranjīt Dév ascended the throne of Jammū after the death of Rāja Dhruv Dév. He was so hard pressed by his rivals in the out set that he had to lay the foundation of his dwelling for some

64 Hamīr Dév, 20 years 1399-1425
65 Ajé Dév, 31 years. 1425-56.
66 Bairam Dév, 45 years. 1456-1501.
67 Khokhar Dév, 29 years. 1501-30.
68 Kapūr Dév, 41 years, 1530-71.
69 Smail Dév, 25 years, 1571-96.
70 Sangrām Dév, 30 years, 1596-1626.
71 Bhūp Dév, 26 years, 1626-52.
72 Harī Dév, 36 years, 1652-88.
73 Gajé Dév, 1688-1703.
74 Dhruv Dév, ascended the throne in 1760 Bikrami, corresponding to about A.D. 1703, ruled for over 30 years and died in A.D. 1735.
75 Ranjit Dév, acc. A.D. 1735.

Raja Hari Dév was contemporary with the Mughal Emperor Aurangzéb who ruled from A.D. 1656 to 1707. In the earlier part of his reign Aurangzéb led many expeditions to the Dakhin. Rāja Harī Dév of Jammū, as a mansabdār might have accompanied the Imperial troops thereto and was killed.

10. Dhruv Dév ruled over Jammū State from A.D. 1703 to 1735. He probably drove away the Muslim '*Faujdar*' from his territories, and Jammū became practically independent. He also extended his sway over the surrounding hill States most of which were only off-shoots of the Jammū ruling family. Jammū, Basohlī Bhadū had been united under one sceptre by him. He seems to have held a vast principality and even tried to extend his sway to the east of the Rāvī river. He invaded Gulér with the assistance of Basohli and Bhadū. But his attempts at expansion were thwarted by the joint interference of Sība, Kahlūr and Maṇḍī States. (*Chamba Gaeet.*, pp. 95-6) But most of the States between the Chināb and the Rāvi were brought under his control more or less in the early part of the 18th century (Hutchison & Vogel ; *History of Punjab Hill States*, pp. 540). The invasion of Gulér to the east of the Rāvi was probably an attempt in the same direction. Dhruv Dév also gave asylum to Ugar Singh of Chambā who afterwards became ruler of that State (*Chamba Gazet.*, pp. 95-6, ; *Rise and Fall of Jammu Kingdom*, pp. 27-8 and 30).

When Rāja Dhruv Dév had so extended Jammū Kingdom and consolidated his position, Muhammad Shah, Empror of Delhi, recognised his overlordship in the hills by granting him a '*patta*' on 13th Zilqadah, 1144 A.H. A.D. 1724. "confirming him as Raja of Jammu" on specific conditions, and payment of *nazrana* by him and by Rajas Ranjit Dev and Gujral Dev as Rajas of "The Dogra Raja".—Document No. I, State Archival Repository Jammu.

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time in the Bhimāg mountain in the environs of Tarkaṭā Mountain.[11] Thence he went to Lahore to the Khan Bahādur, the Sūbahdār thereof, and met him, and was interned for twelve years.[12] Consequently, Miān Ghansār Dév carried on administration in his absence. Miān Sūrat Singh also joined him. But at last, the Rāja, possessed of auspicious deliberation, returned[13] therefrom and occupied Jammū and the region of the Punjāb of which more will be discussed later

11. Tarkatā or Trīktā or Trīkotā is a picturesque triple peak, 32 miles from Jammū to the north. Hustled in the lap of the Tarkatā peaks is the famous cave shrine of Trīkotī or Bhagwatī Dévī, known as Goddess Vaishno. "The Trikotar Devi, "writes Vigne," near it, is a very noble mountain; it is visible from a great distance from the south divided as its name would imply into, three peaks. and rises directly from the edge of the plain with an elevation (at a guess) not less than five thousand feet above it." (Vigne, i. 216;) (Hugel, pp.66,71; Murray,230.)

After following the Jammū-Srinagar road for 32 Kilometers journey, one lands atKatra from where the holy cave is about 11 Km.

12. Very scanty information is available on the early life of Ranjīt Dév. Soon after his accession, he seems to have incurred the suspicion of Zakariyā Khān the Mughal Governor of the Panjāb. On a report of his disloyal attitude reaching the Emperor's ears, an order for his arrest was issued and the Governor proceeded in person to carry it into effect, Ranjīt Dév was accordingly seized and brought to Lāhore where he remained in captivity for twelve years. (Hutchison and Vogel, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, p. 540).

Khan Bahādur Zakarīyā Khān took charge of the Panjāb in 1726 (Narang and Gupta. *History of the Punjab*, 1969, p. 213) and hence he was contemporary with Ranjīt Dév' for twenty years of his early rule. The annotation of the account that follows reveals that he was imprisoned in about A.D. 1733, after being on the throne for about one year. He must have been a lad of fifteen years of age at the time of accession to the throne, and all the three of his younger brothers were below that age. This must have encouraged the dispossessed Bāhūwāls to revive their claim to a separate principality. Dhruv Dév's pretensions to independence, strengthened by Ranjīt Dév's propensity for the same, would have antagonised the Mughal rulers who probably sided with the rival claimants. This led to a clan feud which might have aggravated Ranjīt Dév's circumstances in the beginning of his rule.

13. Ranjīt Dév's release from the Lāhore prison was possibly purchased. The impending Jammū-Bāhū struggle had become a grim affair, and the brothers thought it necessary that Ranjīt Dév should be liberated from the Lāhore internment. The time was also favourable. The Bāhū chiefs 'Komul Dehu, Budj Dehu, and Gool Dehu, had entered into close alliance with the Sheikh Chief Churruth Singh, the grand-father of Ranjīt Singh, and by this intrigue they incurred the displeasure of Adeena Beg... who threatened their destruction (G.C. Smyth, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, p. 244). Miān Chandan Dév made use of this situation and he approached the Mughal Governor, Zakarīyā Khān, through Adinā Bég Khān (who perhaps needed the good-will of the Jammū Prince and got Ranjīt Dév released on the promise to pay a ransom of two lakhs of rupees, only half of which seems to have been sent. By the time it reached Lāhore the

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on. He acquired world renown in dispensing justice and equity[14], and the echo of his fame resounded in the four quarters of the world. A little of that rich account only finds mention here.

They say that during the auspicious reign of this Rāja, a rich *Sāhūkār* died without an issue. People from all quarters therefore, supplicated to the Mahārāja's pleasure that immense wealth was worthy of the government treasury. The Mahārāja told them in reply that an escheat was the right of mandicants and the poor, and not fit for a Sultān's exchequer. The proper course lay in issuing a circular order to the managers of towns and districts to the effect that if there be any one of the heirs of such and such a *Sāhūkār* living, (72) he could go to Jammū and obtain possession of the property without demur. It is well-known therefore that an old woman from the suburbs of Multān, who was helpless and belonged to the family of the deceased *Sāhūkār*, arrived and became the owner of the said property.

Once a washerman went to the bank of the Tawī river. His wife cooked food and carried it from home to the said person. As soon as he ate it, he died. People suspected the said woman of administering poison. The Mahārāja thereupon ordered this matter to be thoroughly investigated, and enquiries were made from his relatives and neighbourers about the conduct of the washerman's wife. In this affair the Prince's opinion was that the said woman was free from, and pure of, carnal vices and was safe from debased contaminations. As skilful understanding and God given wisdom is the basis of justice and equity, so the far-sighted Mahārāja comprehended and by the piercing insight got at the truth. He issued the order that they should

Governor was dead, and the money was made over to Adinā Bég Khān, who kept it. (Hutchison and Vogel, p. 540). As Zakarīyā Khān died on the Ist July 1746 (Dr. H. R. Gupta, *Studies in Later Mughal History of the Punjab* p. 64), this was probably the year in which Ranjīt Dév was set at liberty.

14. Several contemporary and later writers testify to the just nature of the Prince. George Forster, who visited Jammū in 1783, a year or two after Ranjīt Dév's death, writes about Ranjīt Dév that "he deservedly acquired the character of a just and wise ruler." (*A Journey*, p, 283). A despatch received by the British Governor-General of India at Calcutta on the 19th April 1780, states : "The said Raja (Ranjit Dév) is distinguished for his courage and valour and is so just and kind to his ryots that the Panjāb and the Doāb have since the time of Nadir Shah's invasion, always found a safe refuge in his country from the tyranny of unscupulous adventurers. He knows of no people from Attack to Delhi who live more free from fear than those of Jammū." (*Cal. of Per. Corres.*, V. 1836). Drew also testifies to Ranjīt Dév's "reputation for having been a wise administrator and a just judge". He was a tolerant man. "His epoch was both the culmination and the beginning of the end of the old state of things." (Griffin, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 189).

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closely examine the spot where the washerman's wife had deposited the food after carrying it from home. Accordingly, the investigators searched on all sides in the neighbourhood and found near it a poisonous snake lying dead under a stone on which ants had collected and from that spot they got to the stone where bread had been deposited. In short, being apprised of the facts they submitted that from the contamination of the poison of the snake lying under stone nearby, poison had penetrated the bread. The said woman therefore, got relieved of unnecessary perplexities and was (73) acquitted of the mire of blemish. The annals of justice and equity of the Mahārāja spread out on all quarters.

It is said that most of the men of wealth and opulence, hearing the report of the fame and equity of the Mahārāja, settled in Jammū so that over an area of a mile and three-quarters a lovely bazaar and a well-equipped market grew up with a fresh population and inexplicable splendour.[15] The honesty of the Mahārāja so effected the hearts of the people that no body ever concealed even in day time his wealth and belongings or hid his profits and property. One of the Queens of Muhammad Shāh who did not find it advisible to go to Shāhjahānābad in the Panjāb on account of the anarchy of the Sikhs, took shelter in Jammū with all her wealth, considering the glorious

15. The confusion and disorder on the plains, on account of Durrāni invasions and the marauding Misls, diverted trade to the Hills. The route through the plains had become unsafe, so the merchants had adopted a route which entered the outer hills near Nāhan and passed through Bilāspur, Nadāun, Harīpur (Gulér), Nūrpur and Basohlī, and thence to Jammū. Mr. Forster travelled to Jammū by this route in 1783 (*A Journey*, pp. 28 ff.). Many wealthy merchants had sought asylum or established branch firms at Jammū for safety and security (Hutchison and Vogel : *History of Panjab Hill States*, p. 542). Many others, besides merchants, such as artisans, also retired into the hills, where they could pursue their various callings in security and peace (Prinsep : *History of the Panjab.*, Vol. I, p. 246). It was not only the safety of the route, but above everything "the character of the Rajput chief, Ranjīt Dév, was such as gave confidence to traders, and induced them to flock to his capital for protection (Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs*, p. 103). "It may also be noted that the fame of his mild and just sway having spread far and wide, many people from the lower districts of the Panjab and elsewhere came to settle in his territories." (G.C. Smyth, p. 246). "By this and such like means, in the year 1775, or five years before his death, the town of Jammū had increased to about three miles and a half in circumference, being about twice as large as at the present day (i.e., in A.D. 1847). Its inhabitants then numbered about 150,000 souls, more than four times as many as now inhabit the town. It was considered an oppulent, wealthy, flourishing, and promising place having for its residence numerous wealthy men from the Panjab. One of these alone is said to have brought with him upwards of a crore of rupees." (*Ibid.*, p. 241).

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Mahārāja as her protector. It is said that men of vile nature and mean disposition submitted to the presence of the Mahārāja that countless wealth and immense gold had arrived for nothing like pudding into the mouth. The far-sighted Mahārāja addressed them in a tone of reproof that worldly possessions had no value and wealth no worth in the eyes of the one fond of justice, and that it had been said that it was never wise to discard goodness.

The Mahārāja always kept before his mind the protection of those who sought refuge.[16] Rāi Singh of Chambā,[17] whose brother-in-law was Rāja Bajrāj Dév, presented himself before the Mahārāja and supplicated that Rāja Ghammanḍ Chanḍ Kaṭoch[18] (74) had occupied

16. Ranjīt Dév's dominions had become particularly famous as a place of refuge and protection for political refugees and the people at large from all over the Panjāb and Delhi Court. Among those who took shelter in Ranjīt Dév's care were Malkā Zamānī, a Delhi Queen of Emperor Muhammad Shah, Hari Singh the son, with other members of the family of Rāja Kauṛā Mal, the Diwān of Muinu-l Mulk, who was killed in 1752; and also Dalpat Rāi, son of Lakhpat Rāi, the Diwan of the Mughal Viceroy Yahiyā Khān, with the remains of the families of the nobles of Delhi, or of the Viceregal Courts. (Hutchison and Vogel, p. 543). Kābulī Mal, Ahmad Shāh's Hindū Governor of Lāhore, was expelled from Lāhore by Bhangīs in October 1764. He sought protection of Ranjīt Dév who sent his escort and saved his life. Whenever the Sikh or Afghān rulers of the Panjāb were hard pressed they invariably sought shelter in Ranjīt Dév's territories. Muinu-l Mulk, the Governor of Lāhore, is said to have sent his family and treasures to the care of Ranjīt Dév when Ahmad Shāh Durrāni had advanced towards Lāhore for the third time in December 1751 (Dr. H.R. Gupta, *A History of the Sikhs, Vol. I*, p. 74). On the appearance of Ahmad Shāh Durrāni with his Afghān troops in 1762, Chaṛat Singh Sukarchakiya sent his family to Jammū where he concealed all his property. (S.M. Latif, *History of the Punjab*, p. 339).

17. Rāi (Rāj) Singh of Chambā was only nine years old at the time of his father's (Uméd Siugh's) death in A.D. 1764. Soon after Rāj Singh's accession, Rāja Ghammand Chand of Kāngrā, taking advantage of Rāj Singh's minority, seized the fort of Paṭhiār; and drove the Chambā troops out of Bīr Bangāhl, but the queen-regent, who was a Jammū princess, obtained help from Ranjīt Dév and recovered the territory which had been lost.

Rāj Singh ruled from A.D. 1764 to 1794. In 1775 Rāj Singh, however, threw into prison Aklū, the minister appointed for Chambā by Ranjīt Dév. The latter therefore sent his son Brijrāj Dév against Chambā with the assistance of Rāja Amrit Pāl of Basohlī. But Rāj Singh drove out the invaders with the help of Rāmgaṛhia Sardārs whom he paid a lakh of rupees. (Hutchison and Vogel, pp. 314).

18. Ghammanḍ Chand Kaṭoch succeeded to the 'gaddī' of Kāngrā principality in A.D. 1751. The Mughal Empire was at that time fast disintegrating. In 1752 the Mughal Emperor of Delhi ceded to Ahmad Shāh Durrāni the Province of the Panjāb along with the hill States. Ghammanḍ Chand took advantage of the anarchy prevailing in the Panjāb as a result of political chaos, and recovered most of the territory wrested by the Mughals from his ancestors except

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the Paṭhiār[19] fort out of wilfulness he had. His request was granted and Ranjīt Dév deputed Brijrāj Dév along with Rāi Azmat Dév Mankoṭiā, Shamshér Chand Haṇtāl, Rāja Amrit Pāl, ruler of Basohlī and Shāhpur who was the Mahāraja's son-in-law, Rāja Ratan Dév Jasrōtiā, Rāja Jai Singh Bandrāhl, assisted by victorious troops under the command of Miān Ratan Dév Mandīwālā, son of Miān Jaswant Singh. When they reached Machhī-bhawan[20] situated in the district of Nūrpur[21] on that side of the Rāvī, Rāja Prithī

the Kāṇgrā Fort which held out under the last of the Mughal Nawābs, Saif Alī Khān.

In 1758 Ghammanḍ Chand was appointed Nāzim or Governor of the Jālandhar Doāb by Ahmad Shāh Durrāni. He also conquered Chauki, Pālam and Pathiār talluqās. Thus he acquired supremacy over all the hill states of the Jālan dhar circle. He restored Kāṇgrā State to its ancient limits. Sujanpur, on the Biās, above Nadāun, usually called Tira Sujānpur, the residence of his descendants, was founded by him and embellished with many buildings. He died in 1774 and was succeeded by his son, Tégh Chand.

19. Paṭhyar, a village in Kaṇgra District, 12 miles south-east of Dharamsāla. An inscription of a primitive type, cut in both the Brahmī and the Kharoshṭhī scripts, in letters of remarkable size, recording the dedication of a tank, probably in the third century B.C. has been found here. The village suffered serious damage in the earth-quake of April 4, 1905. (*Epi. Ind*, Vol. ii. p. 116).

20. Machībhawan is a small village in Nūrpur tehsil of the Kangra District, about 3 miles to the south-west of Nūrpur town.

21. Nūrpur. Headquarters of the tehsil of the same name in Kāṇgrā District, situated in 32 18 N and 75°55′ E, 37 miles west of Dhāramsālā, on the road to Pathānkot, on the western side of a hill which rises sharply from the plain. Nūrpur was anciently called Dhamérī (or Temmery of the old travellers), and was renamed Nūrpur in honour of the emperor Nūru-d-Dīn Jahāngīr. The fort begun by one of the local Rājas, was finished in the time of Auraṇgzéb (*Imperial Gazetteer*, Panjab, i. pp. 340-41).

The place, a city in size, a village in appearance and in the quality of its merchandise, is situated on the neck of a projecting cliff of sandstone, the extremity of which affords site to the castle. The small rivulet Jubbur flow about 400 feet below the Fort, affording a scanty supply of water at the expense of much labour to the garrison and citizens, The town is chiefly peopled with exiles from Kashmīr who are chiefly shawl-weavers. The castle of Nūrpur has the precipice at the root of about 1/3 of its walls; strips of land table elsewhere. The city gives cover almost to the walls. It has no effective ditch; is a simple quadrangle flanked at intervals with towers, but on the eastern face a circular revelin has been thrown out to flank the gateway. P. G. R., Voi. IV, Capt. James Abbott's Diary, pp. 40-41).

The fort contains a curious wooden temple, and excavations made in 1886 revealed the existence of a stone temple of much earlier date than the Fort. The carvings on the temple are of the kind unknown elsewhere in the Province. The Rājas of Nūrpur are known to the Muhammadan historians as the zamindars of Māu and Paithān, and Nūrpur became their capital after the destruction of

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Singh[22] Nūrpuriā came forward to welcome them and joined the troops of Rāja Bajrāj Dév. Thence they advanced to the locality of Tālāb Rāja[23], where Rāja Govardhan Chand Guléria[24] presented himself and tendered submission. At Jawāla Mukhī[25] Rāja Govind

Māu by Shāhjāhan. They were loyal feudatories of the Mughal empire, but stoutly defended their territory against the Sikhs. Ranjīt Singh finally reduced Nūrpur in A.D. 1815.

22. Rāja Prithī Singh Nūrpuriā : Nūrpur State is said to have been founded by a Tomar Rājput named Jéth Pāl, from Delhi, who settled in Pathānkot in about A.D. 1000. In its palmy days it included the whole of present Nūrpur tehsil with the talukās of Shāhpur Kaṇḍī, now in Gurdāspur District of the Panjāb. The ancient capital was at Pathankot. In Bādshāhnāma the State is called 'Māu and Paithān'. In the beginning of the 17th century the capital was changed to Dahmarī, re-named Nūrpur after Emperor Nūrū-d Din Jahangīr. In the third year of Aurangzéb's reign the portion of the State between the Chakī and the Rāvī was disjointed and erected into a separate principality in the favour of Bhāu Singh, who was the younger son of Rāja Jagat Sing and had become Musalman. Its capital was at Shāhpur on the Rāvi, and it was captured by the Sikhs in 1781. Nūrpur was invaded by Ranjīt Singh in 1809 and was annexed by him in 1816.

Rāja Prithī Singh ruled in Nūrpur from A.D. 1750 to 1789 Mr Forster who travelled through Nūrpur State in 1783, remarks that Nūrpur then enjoyed a state of more internal quiet, was less molested by the Sikhs and governed more equitably than any of the adjacent territories." He also remarks that the State boundary extended upto the Ravi. Probably the old part of Nūrpur State formed into a separate principality in about 1650, had been reconquered by Prithi Singh.

23. Tālāb Rāja, a small submontaneous hamlet, some seven miles to the south of Nūrpur and about twenty miles by road from Pathankot towards the east. The lutus tank which gave the name to the locality is still to be seen but in delapidated condition.

24. Rāja Govardhan Chand Gulériā, ruled in Gulér from about A.D. 1730 to 1760. "Govardhan Singh, who succeeded (Dalip Singh) had a quarrel with Ādīnā Bēg Khān, Governor of Jālandhar Doāb, about a horse which the Rāja refused to give up. A fight ensued in which the Gulériā Chief was victorious. He probably had a long reign, but no records have come down to us (Hutchison and Vogel, *History of Panjab Hill States*, p. 206).

25. Jawālā Mukhī : An ancient site in the Dérā Gopīpur Tahsīl of Kāṇgrā District, situated in 31°72' N and 76°20' E on the road from Kāṇgrā town to Nadāun, at the foot of a precipitous range of hills, which form the northern limit of the Biās valley. The temple is built over some natural jets of combustible gas, believed to be a manifestation of the goddess Dévī. The building is modern with a gilt dome and pinnacles and possesses a beautiful folding door of silver plates, presented by the Sikh Rāja, Khaṛak Singh. The interior of temple consists of a square pit about three feet deep, with a pathway all round. In the middle the rock is slightly hollowed out about the principal fissure, and on applying a light the gas bursts into a flame *Imperial Gazetteer, Panjab, Vol. I*, p. 387),

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Chand Dātārpuriā[26] also joined them. Rāja Rāi Singh Chamiāl[27] also came with his army and had an audience. On the other side, Rāja Ghammaṇḍ Chand, accompanied by Rāja Abrāj Singh Jaswāl[28], and bent upon war, entrenched himself firmly in the locality of Kalésar. When Rāja Brijrāj Dév crossed the river Biās

The town is of considerable extent, containing at least five or six hundred houses, and a very large population. The temple stands about one hundred feet up the plains. Once through the great gate, the spectator beholds a vast number of small temples scattered over the rocky height, and with the large one inclosed by a high wall. They are one and all of stone, very solidly constructed, many, indeed, are hewn out of a single stone. The cupola of the temple is richly gilt. In the centre of the court is hollowed out a pit. A perpetual flame arises from this pit, and from two places in the smooth rock similar flames burst to a hight of about eight inches or less. The fire is of a redish hue and gives out very little heat. The golden roof of both the large and small buildings are most tastefully and richly executed, and were the gift of Mahārāja Raṇjīt Singh. The temple measures eighteen feet square, and under the dome is about twelve feet high. The whole is built like a fort, and enclosed by a wall about twenty feet high (Baron Charles Hugel, *Travels in Kashmir and Panjab*, 1819 to 1825, pp. 42-45).

26. Rāja Govind Chaṇd Dātārpuriā : Dātārpur State was an off-shoot from Sībā as Sība was from Gulér. In the seventh generation from Sibāran Chand Sībā was ruled by Mānak Chand, who had three sons. The third son, Lakhūdāh Chaṇd, had his residence at Dādā, within Sībā State to him in third generation was born Dātār Chaṇd, who founded the Dātārpur State a tract now in the Dasūyā tahsīl of Hoshiārpur District about A.D, 1550, as well as its capital, Dātārpur. The clan name of the family is Dādwāb from Dādā, their original home. After Dātār Chaṇd ten rājas ruled in succession. The ninth was Rāja Govind Chaṇd who was in power in 1806, and joined the Gurkhās in their invasion of Kāṇgrā. In 1809 the State became subject to Mahārāja Raṇjīt Singh. Gobind Chaṇd died in A.D. 1818 (Hutchison and Vogel, *History of Panjab Hill States*, 212.). He probably became Rāja in A.D. 1755.

27. See note 17 above.

28. Rāja Abrāj Singh Jaswāl, : Jaswāl, more commonly known as Jaswān Dūn, is a valley in Hoshiārpur District intervening between the Śiwālik Hills and the Outer Himālayan Range. The Soān torrent flows along its whole length. The town of Unā is situated in its centre. The valley is the seat of the ancient Rājpūt family—Jaswāl closely allied to the royal Kaṭoch house of Kāṇgrā. (*Imperial Gozetteer, vii.* 147.) Towards the middle of the 13th century the Jaswān branch separated from the Kāṇgrā royal house and established a principality in the lower hills with Rājpūra as their capital. Throughout Mughal rule they were tributaries. In 1809 the State become subject to Raṇjīt Singh. In 1815 Rāja Ummēd Singh was deposed and given a Jāgīr of 21 villages, and the State was annxed to the Sikh kingdom. Rāja Nar Pat or Prīt Singh died in 1782 (Griffin and Massy, I. 121). His grandfather was Abirāi or Abrāj Singh who ruled from 1730 to 1760 A.D. (Hutchison and Vogel, 209).

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at Déhrā Gopīpur[29] ferry Rāja Ghammaṇḍ Chand took to flight from Kalésar without any show of arms. So Rāja Brijrāj Dév set fire to the parganāhs of Chanor and Gohāsan, and plundered Kalésar and reached Nadāun[30] and burnt it to ashes. There he sent for the Kahlūriā Rāja[31] and treated him with courtesy and politeness. The Rāja of Maṇḍī[32] also presented himself and begged for quarters. The dominion of the Kaṭoch Rāja, Ghammaṇḍ Chaṇḍ, (75) was divided amongst the Rājas who had submitted. Thus the parganāhs of Chanor, Gohāsan and Chakkar and Hatiār were allotted to the Rāja of Gulér; the Pālam parganāh, including Paṭhiār Fort was given over to the Rāja of Chambā. Brijrāj Dév established his own 'thānāh, at Nadāun, whereas Prithipur was set aside as Jāgīr of Rāja Gobind Chaṇḍ of Dātārpur; Maḥl-Moriān parganāh was given to Rāja Dévī Chaṇḍ Kahluriā.[33] From that place he returned to Kalésar and led his soldiers against the Rāja of Lehriāṇ and Sībā,[34] and gave away his country to arson and

29. Dérā Gopīpur, tahsīl of Kāṇgrā District, lying between 31° 40' and 30° 13' N and 75°55', 76°32' E, with an area of 515 square miles. It extends from the high ridge on the north-east across the valley of the Biās, to the Jaswān Range. It contains 145 villages including Dérā Gopīpur, the headquarters (*Imperial Gazetteer Panjab, i.* p. 381).

30. Nadāun, a petty town in the Hamīrpur tehsīl of Kāṇgrā District, situated in 31°40' N and 79°19' E, on the left bank of the Biās, 20 miles south-east of Kāṇgrā town, and headquarter of the jāgīr of Rāja Amar Chand. It was once a favourite residence of Rāna Sānsār Chaṇḍ, who built himself a palaces at Amtār, on the river bank, one mile from the town, where he held his court during the summer.

31. Kahlūriā Rāja—Rāja Dévī Chaṇḍ : The Rājas of Bilāspur or Kahlūr were descended from Damghokh, ancient ruler of a State in the southwest of Rājpūtānā. Bīt Chand was the founder of Kahlūr State. Rāja Dévī Chaṇḍ was the grand-father of Rāja Khārk Chaṇḍ who died in 1836. Rāja Dévī Chaṇḍ probably ruled from 1740 to A.D. 1775 (Griffin and Massey, Vol. II., pp. 4335-36.)

32. Rāja of Maṇḍī. Maṇḍī was the leading Hill State of the Kāṇgrā Range. The existing capital was founded in 1527 by Ajbar Sén, who may be regarded the first Rāja Sheo Mān ruled from about 1740 to 1779, after which his son Ishwarī Sén succeeded him who ruled upto A.D. 1826 (Griffin and Massy, Vol. II. p. 426). The Rāja referred to here was probably Sheo Mān Sén.

33. Rāja Dévī Chaṇḍ Kahlūriā. *See* Note No 31.

34. Sībā State was an offshoot from Gulér, as Gulér was from Kāngrā. Sibāran Chand, the younger brother of Rāja of Gulér made himself independent in a tract to the south of the Biās probably in A.D. 1450. There he founded the capital and called at Sibā after his own name. There were 25 Rājas in succession after Sībāran Chand. Nārāin Chaṇḍ being thirteenth in the list. Gobind Singh, the 24th Rāja in the list, was contemporary with Mahārājā Raṇjīt Singh of Lāhore. Rāja Bhūp Singh of Gulér invaded Sibā in 1808 and annexed it. It came under Raṇjīt Singh along with Gulér in 1809. Ranjit Singh wanted to destroy this State, but owing to the fact

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plunder. At last, Rāja Nārāin Chaṇd Sībāwālā[35] came and presented himself. Rāja Ghammaṇḍ Chaṇd had gone to the territory of Jaswāl and taken refuge there. It was therefore, written to Rāja Abrāj Singh Jaswāl that he should turn out Rāja Ghammaṇḍ Chaṇd from his territory so as to get Gopīpur remitted to him, otherwise he should expect an invasion. The Jaswāl Rāja thereupon presented himself and entreated forgiveness for his omissions. He was received with respect, and the parganāhs of Gopīpur and Koṭ Lehriāṇ were bestowed upon him as promised.

In short, Rāja Ghammaṇḍ Chaṇd realised that there was no remedy except in submission. He came helplessly and beseached protection. Rāja Brijrāj Dev over-looked his errors on account of broad-mindedness and restored to him his country. His eldest son, Khaṛak Chaṇd, accompanied Rāja Brijrāj Dev to Jammū in order to pay personal obeisance to Mahārāja Ranjīt Dév. He stayed for the night at Jammū, and the Mahārāja bestowed on him dignified khillats and gave him permission to leave the next day. Rāja Rām Sharan of Hiṇdūr had also submitted, (76) and with the military aid of Brijrāj Dév he regained the throne of his principality from his enemies.

The writer of this Memoir personally learnt of the following incident during his visit to Simlā. One day, Mahārāja Ranjīt Dév was holding a Darbār, and the Rājas of the territories of Duggar and Jālaṇdhar realms were all present in that glorious assemblage. During the coversation it escaped from the Mahārāja's lips that in those days none of the Rājas of Jālaṇdhar Doāb was as zealous of honour as their predecessors had been. This remark offended Rāja Prithī Singh Nūrpuriā, the son-in-law of the Mahārāja. A little after this, on his return to Nūrpur, he started resisting the activities of Brijrāj Dév. Also the Jamwāl Rānī, enraged at the tall talk of her husband, Rāja Prithī Singh, wrote in her own hand in Dogrā script[36], addressing to her illustrious father, and sent it to him.

that Rāja Dhiān Singh had obtained two princesses of the Sībā family in marriage, and through his intervention the danger was averted. Probably Jaswant Singh or Bhāg Singh was the Raja of Sībā who was connected with the events mentioned here. Nārāin Chaṇd ruled somewhere before 1700. (Hutchison and Vogel, pp. 210-11).

35. Rāja Nārāin Chaṇd Sībawālā, see Note No. 34.

36. Dogra Script, is derived from the well known Tākari of Takkari alphabet which in turn is closely connected with the Sārdā alphabet of Kashmīr. It is built on the same lines and Nāgari, but the representation of the vowel is most imperfect. In the Jammū territory the alphabet has been adopted for official purpose, and to fit it for this it has been altered aud improved. It is then called "Dogri" (*Jour., R. A. S.*, 1904, pp. 67ff; Ibid, 1911, p. 802;

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It read that the celebrated Rāja, drunk with the wine of self-conceit, had cruelly spoken unbecoming words in respect of the person of the Mahārāja and his illustrious family. So the zeal for family honour demanded that at the very receipt of this writing a considerable force be despatched to this side so that the intoxication of the wil ful Rāja ebbs down. When the messenger arrived in the presence of the Mahārāja and submitted the facts, he at once sent (77) for Rāja Brijrāj Dév and ordered him to lead without delay conquering troops and chastise Rāja Prithī Singh Nūrpuriā who had though filial relationship with the glorious family, yet had nevertheless uttered uncivil words from his mouth. Brijrāj Dév set out on the expedition speedily, accompanied by Miān Rattan Dév. He covered all the distance in great haste, crossed the Rāvī at Jalālā ferry, and halted at Tārāgaṛh.[37] On the other side, the Rāja of Nūrpur approached the Rājas of Jālandhar Doāb, and the Kanhiyā Sardār Jai Singh[38] for help through letters and messengers, and won them to his side. Consequently, the Rājas and Rāis and the Kanhiyā soldeirs collected at Nūrpur. Rāja Brijrāj Dév, however, remained undaunted and advanced his forces, and the battle started. It is said that Brijrāj Dev pushed the enemy to and fro between Nūrpur and Sidhwāṇ and the whole forest was ablaze from the fire of cannon and musket. Hundreds of Mor-Chhaṛ and Sūraj-pakh which formed the insignia of the Rājas of the hill country were trampled

Grierson, *Ling. Survey of India, vol. ix, pt.* 4, Delhi 1968). That Dogrī was frequently in official use is borne out by the letters of the Rājas of Jammū and Chambā during the 18th century, which are preserved in the Bhūrī Singh Museum, Chambā, *Catalogue : Documents Nos.* B-4, A-30, C.1, C-3, 5, 7, C-18 to 43, C-48, C-56, C-62-64, D-xx, F-15.

37. Tārāgaṛh is a small town in Pathānkoṭ tehsīl of Gurdāspur District. It is about fifteen miles south west of Pathānkoṭ.

38. Sardār Jai Singh Kanhiyā was the founder of the Kanhiyā Misl. He belonged to the village of Kānha, 15 miles east of Lāhore, which gave the Misl the name it bears. He established his supremacy over the fertile Riārkī tract of Gurdāspur District after A.D. 1750 and Conquered Hājīpur, Mukériān, Gurdāspur and Pathānkoṭ. He also conquered Kāṇgrā and plundered Kasūr. In 1777 he joined a coalition against Jassā Singh Rāmgarhiā and annexed most of his villages. In 1783 he fell out with his ward, Mahān Singh Sukarchakiā, and the latter invited the Rāmgarhiā Sardār to his aid. A severe fight took place near Baṭālā in which Jai Singh's son, Gurbax Singh, was killed and the Kanhiyā suffered a crushing defeat. Later on, Jai Singh won over Mahān Singh to his side and also betrothed his granddaughter to Mahān Singh's son Raṇjīt Singh. The Kanhiyā Sardār died in A.D. 1794 and the leadership of the Misl passed into the hands of Māi Sadā Kaur, Raṇjīt Singh's mother-in-law. (Nourang and Gupta. *History of the Punjab*, pp. 252-53).

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down on earth under the feet of the victorious Jamwāl army. In this battle Miān Karan Singh, grandson of Miān Rattan Dév, was killed. But the brave Miān felt no grief at this news and continued saying prayers. When it was afternoon he participated in the battle with perfect composure and courage. In this sanguine conflict about two thousand fighters fell dead. At last Rāja Brijrāj Dév pressed the Nūrpur allies so hard that Rāja Prithī Singh had to withdraw and shut himself up in the Nūrpur fort.[39] The seige was a long drawn affair. But in the long run Jammū armies were victorious and the garrison sued for peace. Rāja Prithī Singh accompanied Brijrāj Dév to Jammū and there waited upon his father-in-law, Mahāraja Ranjīt Dév, who honoured him and soothed him by dignified favours. The principality of Nūrpur continued with him as before.

During the reign of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī[40] Rāja Sukhjīwan[41], the Governor of Kashmīr, had thrown away the yoke of Abdālī allegiance and become independent. So Ahmad Shāh called Ranjit Dév to Lāhore through the good offices of Shāh Walı Khān, the Abdālī Viceroy of Lāhore. The *Wazir* therefore sent his son to Jammū to bring along (79) Ranjīt Dév. Mahāraja Ranjīt Dév went to Lāhore in response to their call and met the Abdāli ruler, During the first meeting the Shāh acted as host and carried out all the formalities of hospitality. In the second meeting a suggestion was tabled about the reconquest of Kashmīr. The Mahārāja accepted the responsibility and got permission to leave for Jammū. On reaching his

39. Nūrpur Fort *see* Notes 21-22.

40. Ahmad Shah Abdālī or Durrānī was the ruler of Afghānistān during the second half of the eighteenth century. He led as many as eight invasions on the Punjāb, from A.D. 1748 to 1767. In 1752 the Mughal Emperor of Delhi ceded to him the province of the Punjāb. Ahmad Shāh conquered Kashmīr also with the help of Mahārāja Ranjīt Dév. The Abdāli invader was however, driven out of the Punjāb finally in 1767 by the Sikh Misls.

41. Rāja Sukh Jīwan was the Durrānī Governor of Kashmīr in A.D. 1752. Ahmad Shāh Durrāni despatched a detachment under Abdullāh Khān who easily made his way through the help of Ranjīt Dév of Jammū to the capital of Kashmīr, ousted the nominee of the Mughal emperor, and established the authority of the Durrānīs. Ahmad Shāh appointed Diwān Sukhjīwan as the governor of Kashmīr (Miskīn, 76, 78-9 ; Tārīkh-i-Salātin-i-Afghānā, p. 154; Gupta, *History of the Sikhs* Vol. I, p. 77). But when in 1758 the power of the Durrānī was at a very low ebb in the Panjāb Rāja Sukhjīwan threw off the Durrānī yoke and started ruling independently. By June 1762, Ahmad Shāh was free from political transactions in the Panjāb and so with a view to reconquer Kashmīr he deputed Nūrud-Dīn Bāmezai to take Sukhjīwan's place. He was assisted by Ranjīt Dév. Sukhjīwan was defeated in the battle of Cherā Odhar in September, 1762, captured and blinded and sent to Lāhore where he was put to death by Ahmad Shāh Durrāni.

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capital he despatched through Bānihāl pass his eldest son Brijrāj Dév along with Miān Rattan Dév who was the chief commander. The Shāh's armies proceeded via Rājaur and Punch to chastise Sukhjīwan. The latter became un-nerved and fled from his camp at Chirāh-Udhar, but fell into the hands of a miller. In return for this service a Jāgir in Kāshmir of sixty thousand Kharwārs of Shālī in lieu of one lakh and twenty-five thousand of rupees in cash, was bestowed in succession on the Mahārāja.

If all the laudable achievements and great deeds of the Mahārāja are enumerated a big volume will be the result. So only a brief mention has been made in this account. His milltary successes may be summarised as under. As a result of the King's valour and the divine favour all the Rājas of the Mountain region became his tributary and professed allegiance. (80) Miān Sujān Singh and Mihar Singh, Rājas of Kashṭwār,[42] Shamshér Chand Rāja of Chanénī,[43] Bahādur Singh Rāja of Hamtāl and Qrimchī,[44] Dayā Pāl Rāja of Bhandarwāh,[45] Prithī Pal Rāja or Bhadu,[46] Amrit Pal Rāja of

42. Kashṭwār, seems to have been founded in the first half of the 10th century by a cadet of the Séna family of Gaur in Bengāl of which branches rule in Sukét, Maṇḍī, Keonthal and the State is mentioned under the name of Kāshṭavāṭa in the Rājataraṇginī as having been subject to Kashmīr in the 11th century. The ruling family embraced Islam in the reign of Aurangzéb, and was dispossessed by Mahārāja Raṇjīt Singh in 1820. (M.A. Stein, *Rajat., BK. vii*, S. 588-90 ; Hutchison and Vogel, p. 48). Méhar Singh also known as Saadāt Maṇd Khān, ruled in Kashṭwār from A.D. 1771 to 1778, and Muhammad Sujān Singh from 1779 to 1782. (Hashmatullāh Khān *Tārīkh-i-Jammū-o-Kashmir*, pp. 173-76),

43. Chanéni, of which the ancient name was Himtā, was in the Upper Tawī Valley, north of Rāmnagar. It was founded in the early part of the 10th century by a branch of the same family which still rules in Bilāspur State and Nālāgaṛh, and which is said to have originally come from Chandéri in Bundélkhaṇḍ (Hutchison and Vogel, p. 47). Rāja Shamshér Chand seems to have ruled from about A.D. 1755 to 1785.

44. Himtā and Qrimchī. Qrimchī is only six miles by road from Udhampur and about forty miles north of Jammū city. It is a lovely green valley amid verdant mountains and till the middle of the last century was an independent tiny prineipality. This and the tract of country around it used to be under a Rāja or Miān of Pathiāl tribe of Rājpūts who was tributary to Jammū paying to it yearly Rs. 2,000. About the year 1834 Gulāb Singh sent a force to beseige the fort and the country was annexed (Drew, p. 87). There are four ancient stone temples and a Shiwadwālā done in the early mediaeval style profusely ornamented with sculptures. It was the capital of a small State known as Bhotī.

45. Bhadarwah, Daya Pal, Raja of : Bhadarwah is mentioned in the Rajatarangini as Bhadravakasa, and is situated in the Inner Mountains to the north of Balor and Basohli, in the valley of the Nira, a tributary of the Chinab. (*Rajat*, viii 501). The Lower Niru valley is still called Khashali, the Upper portion being

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Basohli,[47] Rai Singh Raja of Chamba.[48] Diwan Inder Dév Rāja of Bhandrahl, Raja Rattan Dev of Jasrota,[49] Dalel Singh and Achhar

Bhadawah. Bhadu and Bhadarwah were all offshoots of Balor which became a separate State in the 15th century, but in after period was more or less dependent on Chamba or Jammū.

46. Bhadu, Prithi Pal, Raja of : Bhadu is to the north of Balor in the Upper Ujh valley. It was probably a fief of Vallapura (Balor) which became independent in the eleventh century, and continued separate till annexed by Jammu in 1840-41. (Hutchison and Vogel, *HPHS*, p. 48). Its Rajas were of one caste with those of Kulu, Bhadarwah and Balawar or Basohli; the four being so allied, were often at war with each other. The last five Rajas of Bhadu, I hear, were —Purnapal, Prithi Pal, Jy Singh, Avtar Singh (in the time of Ranjit Singh of Lahore) ,Umed Singh. (Drew, *Jammu & Kashmir Territories*, p. 85).

47. Basohli, Amrit Pal, Raja of : Basohli or Balor State corresponded to most of the tahsil of that name in Jammu Province. It was the seat of one of the Raja ships between which the low hills were divided before Jammu swallowed up so many. Basohli (Balor), Bhadu and Bhadarwah—were ruled by branches of the same family which came originally from Mayapuri (Hardwar). A cadet of the reigning family had previously settled in Kulu. Balor is in the Upper Ujh valley to the west of the Ravi, and is many times mentioned in the Rajatarangini in the eleventh century under the name of Vallapura, and the State was subject to Kashmir. (*Rajat*, vii. 588, 590, 220-70, viii. 539, 542, 622).

The history of Basohli Rajas is shrouded in mythology. They claim descent from the Pandavas. The founder of the State was one Bhog Pal (A.D. 765) a son of the then Raja of Kulu, who subdued Rana Billo and founded the Balor State. He founded the capital also, known as Balor or Vallapura. Balor is now a decaying town, full of ruins, with a slovenly bazaar. The latest rulers of Basohli were the following :

1. Bhupat Pal (1598-1635)
2. Sangram Pal (1635-1673)
3. Hindal Pal (1673-1678)
4. Kirpal Pal (1678-1693)
5. Dhiraj Pal (1693-1725)
6. Medini Pal (1725-1736)
7. Jit Pal (1736-1757)
8. Amrit Pal (1757-1776)
9. Vijay Pal (1776-1806)
10. Mohinder Pal (1806-1813)
11. Bhupinder Pal (1813-1834)
12. Kalyan Pal (1834-1857)

Ranjit Singh conquered Basohli in A.D. 1815. In 1846 Maharaja Gulab Singh integrated Basohli State in his own territories and pensioned off Kalyan Pal. (Vigne, i. 171-72; Drew, *Jummoo & Kashmir*, p. 84; Hutchison & Vogel, *HPHS*, p. 612).

48. Chamba, Rai Singh, Raja of : *See* note 17 above.

49. Jasrota, Rāja Ratan Dév of: Jasrota is situated some 50 miles to the east of Jammū in the low hills. It was the headquarters of a small State of the same name which was founded about the beginning of the thirteenth century in the Outer ranges of the Siwaliks. It was a fertile State and its rulers were powerful enough, and often came into conflict with the Rajas of Jammu. But it became

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Singh Mankotia Rajas,[50] Rana of Marmahti and Khashal,[51] and Rais of Dang-Fatal,[52] Rāja Prithvi Singh of Nurpur,[53] Rāja Karamullah, Wali of Rajauri,[54] who was especially reared of his favours, and Rājas of Punch and Nārwāh,[55] Asālat Khān and Na'im Khān,

subject to Jammū in the eighteenth century. Mahārāja Rāṇjīt Singh conquered it in 1808. Desa Singh Majithiā was oppointed the Governor of the Hills including Jasrots. In 1834 it was given in Jagir to Rāja Hirā Singh, son of Rāja Dhian Singh. The old family was driven out and they began to live at Khanpur near Nagrota. (*Tārikh-i-Rājgan-i-Jammū-o-Kashmīr*, p. 9; Hutchison and Vogel. *HPHS*, p. 572).

50. Mankot, Dalél Singh and Achhar Singh, Rajas of : Its present name is Ramkot, which is about 40 miles to the east of Jamm, and a few miles to the west of Bhadu. The new name was given to the place about the middle of the nineteenth century. There used to live a family of feudal Power whose lords were the Jammu Rajas. The family of Miāns who held it were called Mankotia Mians. There is a large fort which was handed over to the new son-in-law of Maharaja Raṇbir Singh of Jammu. (Drew, *Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, p. 85).

51. Marmahti and Khashal, *See* note (22)3.

52. Dang Fatal was an autonmous *Jagir*, and a part of Khasāl.

53. Nurpur, Raja Prithi Singh of : *See* notes 21 and 22 above.

54. Rajaor, Raja Karamullah, Wali of : Rajaor or Rajauri, stands on a lovely site on a hight of 3,000 feet, 76 miles from Jammu and 44 miles from Punch on the old imperial route leading from Jammu to Srinagar by the Pir Panjal Pass (Schonberg, 332; *Moorcroft's Travels*, pp. 445-46). Its old name was Rajauori. This hill-territory lies to the south of the central part of the Pir Panjal Range, and comprises the valleys which are drained by the Tauhi of Rajauri and its tributaries. In the time of Hiuen-Tsang, Rājaurī was subject to Kashmīr (*Si-yu-ki*, v. i. p. 163). From the tenth century onwards, Rājauri had been independent, Al-bérūnī describes exactly the position of 'Rajāwarī', and speakes of it as the farthest place to which Muhammadan merchants in his time traded (*India*, i. p. 208). The upper valley of the Tohī of Punch was included in Rājourī territory. Here lay possibly the famous stronghold of Rājgagrih known also to Al-bérūnī (Drew, *Jummoo and Kashmir*, p. 155; Vigne, *Travels*, i. pp. 255ff). During the Mughal rule the rulers of Rājaurī had embraced Islam. On the cessation of the Punjāb to Ahmad Shāh Durrānī in A.D. 1752, by the Mughals, the ruler of Rājouri, Azmatullāh Khān, had good relations with the new master. He assisted Abdālī armies in the expedition against Kashmīr. His son had predecessed him so his grandson, Karmullāh Khān succeeded him to the principality in 1765. He died in 1808, and was succeeded by his son Agar Ullāh Khān. Raṇjīt Singh attempted to conquer Bhimber, Koṭlī and Rājaurī in 1810 and 1812. Rājaurī however defied all attempts. Rāja Agarullāh Khān secretly retarded Raṇjīt Singh's attempts on conquest of Kashmīr in 1812 to 1814. For this Rājaurī was attacked and plundered. In 1819 the Sikh army advanced into the hills and occupied Rājaurī. By the treaty of 1846 this territory came under Gulāb Singh, but the Rāja thereof chose to leave the State and settle at Rihlū, District Kāngrā. (Hutchison and Vogel, *HPHS*, pp. 689-97).

55. Punch and Nārwāh : Punch State in ancient times was situated in the valleys of the Punch Tohī and its tributaries. It was bounded on the north by the

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Rājas of Bhimber,[56] Diwān Ghulām Alī Khān, of Mīrpur and

Pīr Paṇjāl Range, on the west by the Jehlam, on the east by Rājaurī and on the south by the plains. Probably the original name of the State was Parnotsa, of which Punch is a derivation. Its capital in ancient days was Lohāra, a town to the north-east of Punch. The State was a part of Darvābhīsāra, and it was probably the first state to be founded in that tract. In Hiuen Tsang's time, who visited Punch on way from Kashmīr to Rājapuri, the State extended over an area of 2,000 li (M.A. Stein, *Rajat.*, iv. 184n, ii. p. 433; *Si-Yu-Ki*, Beal's Translation, i. p. 163).

In the middle ages the State was subject to Kashmīr. Mahmūd of Ghaznī seems to have invaded unsuccessfully its capital Lohārkoṭṭa more than once (*Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī*, Elliot, II, pp. 33, 442-44 : Ferishtā Brigg's translation, Vol. I. p. 40ff and 46-7). In the Mughal times a Muhammadan dynasty established itself on the throne of Punch. The ancestor of this dynasty was Mān Singh, a cadet of the Jodhpur family. His son became Muhammadan in the time of Jahāṇgīr who made him Rāja of Punch. The last ruler of this dynanty was Rahīm-ullāh Khān whose reign came to an end with the extinction of State in 1819 when it was conquered and annexed by Raṇjīt Singh. From 1752 to 1819, Punch had remained under the Durrāni rule. Soon after conquest Punch State was granted in fief to Rāja Dhiān Singh, probably in A.D. 1821 and he ruled over it till 15th September, 1843, when he was assassinated. In March 1846 Punch became a part of J & K State under Mahārāja Gulāb Singh by the Treaty with the British Government of India. Gulāb Singh restored it as a Jāgīr to Jawāhīr Singh and Motī Singh, decendants of Rāja Dhiān Singh (Hutchison & Vogel, *HPHS*, pp. 721-24).

56. Bhimber, Asālat Khān and Na'im Khān, Rājas of : This Chibh State was situated in the Outer Hills between the Chināb and the Jehlam, south of Rājaurī and Punch. The origional name of this whole tract was Darvābhīsāra from the two principal tribes by which it was inhabited. This name is found in the *Rājatarangiṇī* and probably dates back from the times of Alexander the Great. The name continued in use till the twelfth century after which it came to be changed to Chibhān because of its being occupied by the Chib tribe, who founded the two southern States of Bhimber and Khaṛī-Khaṛiālī.

Partāp Chaṇd, the youngest son of Rāja Megh Chaṇd Kaṭoch of Kāṇgṛā, founded this State about A.D. 1400. He had two sons, Chib Chaṇd and Khaṛakh Chaṇd. Chib Chaṇd became Rāja of Bimber and Khaṛak Chaṇd founded the State of Khaṛī-Khaṛiālī with capital at Mangla. The ruling family embraced Islam probably in the time of Bāber, when the head of the tribe was one Sadī, who is now known as Sūr Sadī Shahīd whose shrine at Bhimber is still a place of pilgrimage for both Hiṇdū and Muslim Chibs. Another Rāja of Bhimber, Howns or Hans, ruled about 1486. In later times Bhimber was a large and powerful State including Naushahrā to the borders of Rājaurī with a revenue of nine lakhs of rupees. The State continued to exist in peace till the rise of Sikh power. In A.D. 1810, Sultān Khān was the ruler of Bhimber when Raṇjīt Singh sent a force against him and he had to pay a tribute of Rs. 40,000. In 1812 the State was again invaded and annexed and given as Jāgīr to Prince Khaṛak Singh. Sultān Khān was kept in prison at Lāhore for six years. In the final campaign of Kashmīr in 1819 Sultān Khān helped Raṇjīt Singh and half of his State was restored to him. Some time after 1822, Sultān Khān was invited to Jammū and was killed. His nephew Faiz Talab Khān was allowed

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Chaumak,[57] Hassū Khān Malkānā and others, the Rājas of Khaṛi and Kharīālī,[58] and all other nobles and plebians became obedient slaves. In addition to the country of Kohistān many adjoining tracts of the Paṇjab, such as Daoltānagar, Kariānwālā, Ālamgaṛh, Paroshāh, Māṛi Khokhrāṇ and Tāṇḍā Mūṭāh,[59] etc., villages in the regions of Gujrāt and daro-bast of Manāwar[60] and parganāh of Bahlolpur, including ——(*lecuna of two or three words*)——and

to succeed, but was dispossessed of territory in 1840, and retired from the hills in 1847, on the cession of the hill tracts to Mahārāja Gulāb Singh, by the treaty of 16th March, 1846 (Hutchison and Vogel, pp. 725-8).

57. Mīrpur Chaumak : is a good town; it must be the next after Jummoo in size among those in the Outer Hills; it is a plateau much cut into ravines. The place is a flourishing one from its being a centre for an export trade in wheat (Draw, 24).

58. Khaṛī-Kharīālī was one of the Chib States situated in the Outer Hills between the Chināb and the Jehlam, about which very little is known. It is said that the Sikh Sardārs, Sāhib Singh of Gujrāt and Mahāṇ Singh Sukarchakiā, invaded rhe territory and attacked Maṇglā fort, but without success. After Ranjīt Singh had acquired Gujrāt, he marched into the hills and reduced the fort of Chūniāṇ, held by Rāja Umar Khān, who then retired to the strong fort of Maṇglā. Finally Rāja Umar Khān sued for peace through his son, Akbar Alī Khān, but he died before any settlement. On his death the State was confiscated and a pension was assigned to Amar Khān, second son of Umar Khān. When the hill tract was made over to Mahārāja Gulāb Singh, the jāgīr was included in that territory (Hutchison and Vogel, *HPHS*, p. 728). Also see note 67 infra.

59. All these villages are now in Pakistān, situated between the Chināb and the Jehlam rivers, in Gujrāt district.

60. Manāwar is a small town to the east of Jammū, near the bank of a stream called Mināwar Tohī after the name of the town, beyond which, at a distance of four or five 'krohs' it fall into the Chināb. It has a fort which was the headquarters of this small estate which was conferred on Gulāb Singh by Māi Chaṇd Kaur after the revolutionary events of 1841, which brought Shēr Singh to the Lāhore throne (*Moorcroft's Travels*, p. 446).

Mināwar district, situated in the Jammū hills, was formerly in the jāgīr of Prince Khaṛak Singh, who was induced to give it to Rāja Dhiān Singh. At the end of June, 1840 this district was taken over from Rāja Gulāb Singh and Dhiān Singh who were ordered on June 29, 1840, to pay the revenues of the district into treasury. (Confideotial 1840 Deptt, Punjāb Akhbār recd. 25th July; Punjāb Intelligence, lāhore, June 29, 1840—National Arch., New Delhi, *Punjāb Akhbārāt*, 1839-41, pp. 517-18). But by a special parwānah Gulāb Singh got this estate as reward for supporting Rānī Chaṇd Kaur's case in January, 1841. She secured Gulāb Singh's support "by promising the immediate restoration of Mināwar estate, lately resumed from the Jammū family by her late husband (P.G.R., 150/52, Clerk to Maddock, Dec., 5, 1842), The district, however, was occupied by Lāhore commanders during operations against Jammū in Feb.-March, 1845 (P.G.R. 165/12 & 15, dated 18-3-1845, 26-3-1845).

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majority of Thūb villages in the Siālkoṭ parganāh, Ban-Arnīyā parganāh,[61] Kaṭhūā,[62] parganāhs of Pasrūr,[63] Hamīgarh of Zafarwāl[64] Maṇḍī-Khél and Chanārī,[65] up to the waters of the Rāvī river were in his sphere of occupation and lawful possession. For the benefit of his subjects and well-being of mankind a fourth part was levied on the farmers and tillers of land, and every one was kept satisfied by equity and even-handed justice. (81) For fifty-seven years he ruled and amassed fame, and at last on the 22nd of Chait of the year 1838 of Bikrami,[66] he bid farewell to this world.

61. Ban and Arniā : are two adjoining villages, the latter one of considerable size, some 25 miles to the south of Jammū in Ranbīrsinghpurā tehsīl. It is situated near the border of J & K State towards the Siālkot district of Pakistān. The name is probably derived from Sanskrit words वन and अरण्य both meaning the forest. Both the villages are situated in the centre of arrable rice producing tract watered by the Ranbīr canal which takes off from the Chināb at Akhnūr. Van-Arnyā has been mentioned in some Purānas, and these villages seem to be of ancient origin, though the present habitat may be of recent date. Quite close to Arnīyā is a vast mound which may be the old site of the village.

62. Kathūā is an old town, eighteen miles from Paṭhānkoṭ, near the Paṭhānkoṭ-Jammū Natonal Highway. It is the headquarters of the District of the same name in Jammū Province, and is the chief town in the Andharh rice producing tract. It is situated in the Ujh valley and in the middle of the 'Dhāk' forests so oftenly mentioned in the ancient literature. Though not yet proved by any extant sources, it is possible the town might have been anciently the chief town of the Kaṭh tribe which dwelt on the Upper Ravi Valley in Alexander's days.

63. Pasrūr, Headquaters of the tahsīl of the same name in Siālkoṭ district, Punjāb (now in Pakistān), situated on 32.16 N and 74.40 E, on the road from Siālkoṭto Amritsar, 18 miles east of Siālkoṭ town. It was originally called Parasrūr (Parasrampur) after Paras Rām Brahman, to whom the town was assigned by its founder. It is mentioned by Bāber as a halting place between Sialkoṭ and Kalanaur, and seems to have once been of considerable importance. It possesses a large tank, constructed in the reign of Jahaṇgir. To feed it Dara Shikoh dug a canal, traces of which are still extant. The trade of Pasrūr has much decayed. Hand-printed cotton stuff are the only manufacture of importance. (*Imperial Gazeteer, Punjab*, II, 86-7).

64. Zafarwal, headquarters of the tahsīl of the same name in Sialkoṭ district of the Punjab (now in Pakistan), situated in 32.20 N and 74.55 E., on the east bank of the Dégh torrent. The place owes its name to Zafar Khan, a Bajwa Jat, by whom it was founded four centuries ago. (*Imperial Gazeteer., Punjab*, II, pp. 89-90; *Imperial Gazeteer*, xiii, 559). The town is about six miles from the present borders of J & K State.

65. Maṇḍī-Khél and Chanarī are two villages in Shakargaṛh tahsīl, now in Pakistan, situated near the junction of the Basaṇtar and Beīṇ torrents with the Ravī to the south of Shakargaṛh.

66. The date of Raṇjīt Dév's death has been variously given. Some writers accept A.D. 1780. Cf G.C. Smyth, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, p.

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Mahārāja Raṇjīt Dév had two sons, Rāja Brijrāj Dév from one Rāni, and Miān Dalél Singh from the other. Even during Mahārāja's life-time they had developed an internal feud because of their hetero-uterinity. One day Miān Dalél Singh's mother, who had won a soft corner of the Mahārāja's heart, entreated for the 'Rāj' to be given to her son. Though the Mahārāja, out of far-sight, did not assent to this; but induced by the Rāni he figuratively said to Mīan Tégh Singh that he should carry out Dalél Singh's word. As the said Miān was a dependant of the latter so Dalél Singh asked him to become his accomplice in murdering Brijrāj Dév. But Miān Tégh Singh was not willing to perpetrate this heinous crime. On account of this Miān Dalél Singh flared up into rage and finding an opportunity after some time, assassinated Miān Tégh Singh at Lakhanpur The glorious Mahārāja had become greatly insenced at this evil deed and suspicious of the ill-prospects of filial dispute, drove him out and sent him to Jaṇgānū.

After the demise of Mahārāja Ranjit Dév, Rāja Brijrāj Dév succeeded him to the throne on (82) the 9th day of the month of Baisākh of the year 1839 Bikramī.

He had been offended with Miān Dalél Singh at heart So one day he insinuated Miān Zorāwar Singh,[67] the revered grand father of his lordship, to kill Miān Dalél Singh in return for the conferment of the Jagīr of Dansāl.[68] but he turned down the offer. Miān

247; K.M. Panikkar, *the Founding of the Kashmir State*, p. 11. Forster *Journey*, Vol. I, p. 286) writes 1770, which seems to be a copyist's error for 1780. W.B. Cunningham (*Dogras*, p. 13) accepts, 1780, Drew writes of Raṇjīt Dév's death "which occurred about 1770 or 1780." (*Jummoo aad Kashmir Territories*, p. 10).

Hutchison and Vogel accept A.D. 1781. Bhai Gian Singh Gianī has probably copied the year 1838 Bikramī from *the Gulābnāmā* (*Tārikh-i-Gurū Khālsā*, vol. III. p. 18). Diwan Kirpa Ram has given the correct dates which he copies from the family records as 22nd Chait, samvat 1838 which corresponds to 3 or 4 April, A.D. 1782.

Document No. C-35 in the Cataloge of Bhurī Singh Museum, Chamba reveals hat Brijraj Dév had asecnded the throne of Jammū by August, 1782, as his letter to Raja Raj Singh of Chamba bears the date the 16th of Bhadon, Sastra 57 (A.D. 1782).

67. Mian Zorawar Singh was the Grand-father of Maharaja Gulab Singh. He was the nephew of Raṇjīt Dév, being son of the latter's younger, brother Mian Sūrat Singh. He was a brave soldier and took part in many battles and managed the petty jagīrs of his family. He died in A.D. 1821 and the news of his death was received by Raja Kishore Singh, his son, while the latter and Gulab Singh were taking part in the seige of Mankera fort (Naurang & Gupta, *History of Punjab*, p. 292-93).

68 Dansal : It is a large village in a Dūn or valley which continues from some miles north-west of Dansal to Basohlī on the south-east, a little to the west of

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Moṭā, however, took possession of Dansāl and became willing to commit the act. One day Miān Dalél Singh, accompanied by his son Bhagwān Singh, was going on pilgrimage to Tarkoṭā Hill for the 'darshana' of Shri Bhagwatī Dévi. From the other side Miān Moṭa,[69] along with a few of his soldiers, set out in that direction on the pretext of pilgrimage. disguising himself as a woman. He confronted them near Charan Pādikā which is one 'kroh' and a half from the Kaṭrā town towards the Tarkoṭā Hill,[70] and fell upon them. Miān Dalél Singh and his son (83) Bhangwān Singh also exerted themselves in self defence. In the skirmish, Bhagwān Singh, a boy of tender age, fought bravely but both the father and the son were killed. Many others fell fighting. But Miān Jīt Singh, the younger son of Miān Dalél Singh some how escaped to safety.[71]

Raja Brijrāj Dév himself ruled for five years.[72] But as divine favour had turned its back upon him, Sardār Mahāṇ Singh,[73] the

Ramkoṭ. The village is some 1800 feet above the sea, and is situated on a branch of the Tavī. (Drew, *Jummoo & Kashmir Territories*, p. 33).

69. Mian Moṭa was the nephew of Maharaja Raṇjīt Dév, being the son of Sūrat Singh. He was therefore younger brother of Gulab Singh's grand-father, Zorawar Singh, During the ten years' reign of the boy Raja Sampūran Dév, son of Brijraj Dév, Moṭa ran administration as regent. On Sampūran's death in 1797, he became Wazīr of the new Raja Ajīt Singh. But soon differences arose between him and Raja Ajīt Singh's Bandrahl Rani and she conspired with Prince Khaṛak Singh. But Moṭa fore-stalled her by making a submission to Prince Khaṛak Singh who made him 'Madarul-maham' or Minister of Jammū. The Sikh Diwan of Jammū and the Bandrahl Rani conspired against Mian Moṭa and induced two persons, Satrū and Tréhdu, to take his life in about A.D. 1812. Mian Moṭa has earlier, in about 1785, ambushed and killed Dalél Singh on backoning from Raja Brijraj Dév and had got the jagīr of Dansal.

70. Tarkoṭa Hills; *See* note 11 above.

71. Forster, who visited Jammū in April, 1783 writes. "Brijraj Dév had slain one brother and imprisoned another, who having made his escape sought the protection of the sicques (Sikhs). Pleased in having so favourable a pretext for entering Jumbo, which they attempted in vain in the administration of Ranzeid Deve, the Sicques promised to espouse the fugitive's cause with a vigour." (*A journey*, p. 286).

The brothers referred to by Forster were his nephews, sons of Mian Dalél Singh, Miān Bhagwant Singh who was killed along with his father and Miān Jit Singh escaped to the Sikhs.

72. According to Diwān Kirpā Rām, Brijrāj Dév became Rāja on the 9th Baisakh 1839 Bikrami (20th April, 1781). After five years' rule he died in the middle of A.D. 1787.

73. Mahān Singh, father of Mahārāja Ranjīt Singh, became leader of the Sukarchakiā Misl in 1774, and died in A.D. 1792. He invaded Jammū in A.D. 1783, probobly in support of the fugitive prince Ajit Singh, nephew of Rāja Brijraj Dév. Brijraj fled to the Tarkoṭa mountain and Mahan Singh plundered and sacked the city. He ransacked the state treasury and palaces with as

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illustrious father of Mahārāja Ranjīt Singh, who had professed friendship with Rajā Brijrāj Dév, became offended on some trifling affair. On the pretext of condoling on the death of Mahārāja Ranjīt Dév he came to Jammū. Since Rāja Brijrāj Dév suffered from disease and consequential confusion of senses, so he (Mahāṇ Singh) finding Jammū without a ruling authority, stretched his hand of plunder and pillage. They say that the servants and well-wishers of Rāja Brijrāj Dév pulled him out of Jammū in a state of unconsiousness. When the Rāja revived a little consciousness he became angry with them on his being carried like that. He emphasised that his dying in the battle-fleld would have been much better than being salvaged in this manner.

The said Sardār ransacked the city and left it. Rāja Brijrāj Dév came back to the city. Meantime a conflict arose between the Bhangī Sardārs Dul Singh, Karam Singh and Gulāb Singh on the issue of Ranjītgaṛh fort.[74] The Rāja hurried undaunted (**84**) to the rescue of the beleagured Sardārs and to recover the place for himself and became a party in the conflict.

Both armies came to blows together,
And unfurled their flags and clamoured for war ;
The earth like a boat weighed with blood
Tossed about like a log on furious waves.

much severity as he fleeced the bankers and merchants of the city (Latif, *Hisiory of the Punjab*, pp. 342-43; H. R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol. II., p. 32). An enormous amount of booty of all kinds was carried away, amounting, according to Khushwakt Rai to two crores of rupees (T. Prinsep, History of the Punjab, Vol. I. p. 245 ff). "The fortunes of the Sukarchakia Misl were thus built on the ruins of this flourshing city." (Dr. H. R. Gupta, *The History of the Sikhs* Vol. iii. p. 32.)

Bhai Gian Singh gives the date of this invasion as 23rd Magn, 1843 (*Tārīkh-i-Gurū Khālsā*, III., p. 51). But the date cannot be accepted, as Forster was in Jammū in April 1783 when the invasion was probably at an end, and the Jammū city had already been under its heeis.

74. The Ranjitgaṛh Fort was built by Maharaja Ranjit Dév of Jammū to mark his southern boundary towards Sialkot. The Bhangī chiefs of Sialkot laid their hands on this frontier fort in 1787 (*Gulab.* p. 83). Brijraj Dév came out to drive away Bhangi Chiefs, but was himself killed in the battle which was fought in the nearby village of Rumal. 'There is a small cenotaph in this village which is pointed out as the place where Brijraj Dév was killed and his forces routed. The event was one of censiderable importance, as it marks the date when it may be said the power of the Sikhs was fully established in this submontance region, only 25 miles from Jammū.... The whole country, added to the hill chiefship during the successful reign of Ranjit Dév, was thus at once appropriated by the Sikhs." (*Sialkot Distt. Gazet.*, p. 18; *J. R. H. S.*, vii, 1920, p. 129).

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Radiant swords sparkled in dust cloud dark,
Like the smile of white-teethed negroes;
None there was in the field of battle
Without a tulip of wound and coat-of-mail.

Out of fear of the impetous Rāja's prowess in swordsmanship and his lionine fury none could dare to stand before him. Consequently, the army of the other party was routed and Brijrāj Dév pursued them. Although many of the faithless followers of the Rāja had fallen off, yet he continued the chase all alone, and the multitude of fugitives was flying before him. At once the fugitives realised the fact and made a firm stand and gave the Rāja a fight. (85) In the action Brijrāj Dév was killed by the spear of the enemy. But before he fell he had killed the spearman who had fatally wounded him.[75]

When his body was brought to Jammū, the citizenes spontaneously wept and mourned for him. The Rāni Chamiyāl, the wife of the deceased Rāja, burnt herself alive with her husband and became 'Satī'.

She reddened like a leaping flame,
Muttering prayers she leapt for fire.

(86) Brijrāj Dév's son Sampūran Dév,[76] who was only one year old at that time, was appointed Rāja on the advice of the chiefs of the State, and the reins of administration remained vested in Miān Moṭā's hands. Sampūran Dév died of 'jadre' disease at the age of eleven. The duration of his reign is ten years. As the continuity of the descendants of Brijrāj Dév had come to an end, they had to seat on the throne Rāja Jīt Singh,[77] son of Miān Dalél Singh,

75. For full details of Brijraj Dév's battles with the Sikh Mials consult the annotator's book *The Rise and Fall of Jammu Kingdom.* Also *see* notes Nos. 73 and 74 above.

76. Sampūran Dév was only an infant of one year when his father Brijraj Dév died in A.D. 1787. The courtiers of Jammū kingdom seated him on the throne in cosultation with Mian Moṭa, who was appointed regent and also the administerator of the State. Sampūran Dév died in May or June, A.D. 1797. All through the ten years of his reign, Jammū State professed allegiance to Durrani rulers of Kabul with whose aid the people tried to regain their independence from the Sikh dominance.

77. Raja Jīt (Ajit) Singh, son of Mian Dalél Singh, had escaped to safety when his father was assassinated by Mian Moṭa at the Charan Padika village near Tarkoṭa. This murder was mechanised by Raja Brijraj Dév, his step-brother, in A.D. 1783. Dalél's elder son Bhagwant Singh, was killed with

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only a simple minded raw youth.

The account of Ranjīt Dév and his successors thus comes to its end. It may now be made clear that Miān Sūrat Singh, the third ancestor of the late Highness (Mahārāja Gulāb Singh), was the youngest of all the four brothers, yet mature in command and valour. His great son was Miān Zorāwar Singh. The latter had his son, named Rāja Kishore Singh who showed marks of greatness and prosperity.

him and his second son Ajīt was imprisoned. But he escaped and sought the protection of Sikh chief and waited his opportunity. When Brijraj Dév's boy successor died in A.D. 1797 the Jammū Courtiers called Ajīt Singh to the throne in June A.D. 1797.

Raja Ajit Singh had been tributary of Maharaja Ranjīt Singh since 1808. But the tribute was paid irregularly and reluctantly. Ranjit Singh therefore sent his officer Bhai Hukma Singh Chimnī against Jammū, who invested the town and occupied it in A.D. 1808-9 (Samvat 1865). Jammū was finally annexed to the Sikh Kingdom of Lahore in 1812, and was given over as jagīr to Prince Kharak Singh. Raja Ajīt Singh was given a small jagīr and pensioned off, but remained invested with the title of Raja. He has been addressed as Raja of Jammū even in the official correspondence of the year 1813 and 1815 (*Punjab Govt. Record Office Publications. Monograph No.* 17, 1935, letter dated 2nd August, 1813, p. 86; letter dated 26th september., 1813, p. 101; letter dated 22nd October., 1883, p. 106; letter dated 30th October, 1815, p. 221). The last letter reads, "The Noble Sarkar sent one horse out of Kinddess to the Raja of Jammū for his use," and letter of 2nd July, 1817, reads : The Vakil of the Raja of Jammū having been granted a robe of honour consisting of three garments, was allowed to depart. (*Monogram No.* 17, *p.* 271).

Raja Ajīt Singh was possibly deposed in the following year i. e., 1816 But he was living at least up to the 13th Harh, 1879 Bikrami (June-July, 1822), when he signed a declaration renouncing all his rights to Jammū State in favour of Gulab Singh and his brothers. Document No. D-25, No. 14/490, National Achives, Patiala. See Appendices for this document.

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CHAPTER
5

Birth and Early Life of Maharaja Gulab Singh

(87-88) From Kishore Singh were] born the sublime and mighty Mahārāja Gulāb Singh, the cultured and angelic Rāja Dhiān Singh[1] *sāhib Bahādur*, and the brave and imperious Rāja *Sāhib* Suchét Singh,[2] one after the other.

It has been related by the truth seeking scrutinisers that signs of greatness and perpetual prosperity appeared under the influence of auspicious planets at the time of the birth of his lordship which occurred on the auspicious fifth day of the month of *Katak* of the solar year one thousand eight hundred and forty-nine *Bikramī*[3], corresponding to the 2nd day of *Rabī, ul-Awwal* of the lunar *Hijrī* year one thousand two hundred and seven, on wednesday, in the first quarter after sun-rise.

(*A long discourse on Astrology and the Horoscope of Gulab Singh, from pp.* 88 *to* 97 *of the text, omitted from translation.*)

(97) Some time before the birth of his Lordship, an ascetic, named

1. Dhian Singh was born on "the eleventh of the month of Bhadon in the samvat year 1853 (July 26, 1796). *Gulabnama*, p. 275.

2. Suchet Singh was born "on Tuesday the 8th of Magh, of the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight of Bikrami (January 25, A.D. 1801). *Gulabnama* p. 285.

3. 5th *Katak*, 1849 *Bikrami*, corresponding to 21st October, A.D. 1792. The

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Patā, resided at a spot near Uttar Behanī.[4] The mirror of his conscience reflected divine will and he predicted the inevitable happenings. The people of that area, oppressed as they were by the cruelty of plunderers and tyrants, prayed to him for deliverance from those atrocities. The next morning he predicted that in the very near future three 'Birs' (Heroes)—three stars of the firmament of valour, compassion and generosity will shine over Jammū in one constellation. The bright radiance of their fame will smite away the black night of tyranny and oppression. The most exalted one of them will bring under his (98) sway most of these regions, and Uttarbehnī, which of yore is a place of pilgrimage but which is as yet veiled in obscurity, will become celebrated and re-constructed by his grace.

Similarly, *Pandit*, Mansā Ram Rāzdān who had acquired deep insight and enough acqaintance with the traditional and intellectual lore of the *Sastras*, had left his birth-place in Kashmīr and used to visit Chanénī and Jammū now and then and reveal many mysteries there. Numberless people from all around had received his blessings. One day, an attendant named Achhrū, carrying the child in his lap went in presence of that enlightened mystic. He so distinctly read the signs of amazing events on the fore-head of the child that he announced to his lordship's father the tiding of a gleeful future for the child, and advised him to bring up his fortunate son properly as destiny had entrusted some miraculous tasks to be performed by him.

Some time after this *Miān* Moṭā developed some ill-feeling towards the Bandrāhl *Rani* on the issue of the conduct of *Wazārat* and on account of vaxation he decided to leave Jammū. So *Miān*

text has

یوم چہارشنبہ از اوّل نہار چہار ساعت و شش دقیقہ ساعت ماضی کہ برابر است با آنکہ از نصف النہار
یکساعت و سی دقیقہ مستقبل باشد از مکمن بطون بمنصۂ ظہور آمدہ ۔

4. Uttar Behni is a place of pilgrimage of some antiquity, nestled in the low hills to the north-east of Jammu some 30 kilometres distant. It is situated on a bend of the Devāk river which flows for some distance towards the north before it wends its course southwards as is usual with streams in the low hills. For this slightly unusual phenomenon the place is called Uttarbehni, 'Flowing northwards'. It is a place next in importance to Purmandal which is about three miles above this place. Here are two gilt-domed temples surrounded by cells for Brahmanas to live in. (Drew, *Jammu and Kashmir Territories*, p. 88).

Gulab Singh's ancestors were associated with this region as they held jagirs in Uttarbehni and in Dansal nearby.

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Moṭā shifted his residence to Purmanḍal,[5] and *Miān* Zorāwar Singh, the grandfather of his Lordship, moved to his *jagir* of Diyāvan.[6] It is said that on that (99) occasion they asked from that pure-hearted saint the reason of the happening contrary to his predictions. His answer was that the fructification of every effort had to wait till opportune time; in other words :

Until the time destined arrives,
No help from any quarter avails.

When they were staying in Saruin[7] at *Mian* Sham singh's house, *Baba* Prem Das sahib "*Bairagi*" a monotheist free from the shackles of worldly attachments observed from face of the boy, the radiation of divine blessings. One day he sent for him in his presence. He remarked : "O' disciple ! you are destined to become a great Raja. Do remember this moment".

As Raja Ajit singh was sick with ignorance and diseased with disgrace so his affairs degenerated and his revenue and administrative arrangements fell into confusion. Every body considered himself a

5. Purmandal is a place of pilgrimage for Hindus who visit it for the purpose of obtaining moral cleansing by bathing in its waters. It is situated in a nook among the law hills, far up one of the ravines which joins the river Devak. It is two marches from Jammu (about 36 kilometers) to the north-east. (Drew, *Jummoo & Kashmir Territories*, p. 68).

Purmandal presents sight of a strange collection of buildings strangely situated. A double row of lofty and handsome buildings with nought but the sandy steam-bed between them ; there was the chief temple with a fine facade and, behind that numerous domes, one gilt one conspicuous, most of the others are houses built by the courtiers of Ranjit Singh, who was attached to this place and occasionally visited it ; they are now inhabited by Brahmāns. (*Ibid.*, pp. 88-89).

6. Dayavan or Dyaoni, a small village to the south of Samba, in the suburbs of Ramgarh, which was afterwards given as fief to *Mian* Kishore Singh, father of Gulab Singh, by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Dayavan was one of the small jagirs which the Dogra Rajas of Jammu inherited from Surat Singh, the younger brother of Maharāja Ranjit Dev, which was bequeathed to them through *Mian* Zorawar Singh and *Mian* Kishore Singh.

7. Sruin—is the lake village some ten miles from Uttarbehani and Parmandal. It is about 2000 feet above Sea level, being situated somewhat high on or between the parallel ridges. The lake Sruin Sar "may be said to cover a kind of plateform, from which on two sides the ground falls rather steeply, while on the other sides are low hllls; the lake is about half a mile long and a quarter of a mile broad, a pretty spot, mango trees and pālm adorn its banks, ānd cover thickly a little island in the centre, while the sandsstone hills rouud are partly clothed with brushwood, and shaded though lightly, with the bright loose foliage of the long leafed pine." Drew, *Jammu and Kashmīr Tervitories* p. 89.

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ruler and grew obstinate and self conceited. So much so, that his *Rani* Bandrahl placing the '*dastar*' of rulership on her head, weilded unrestrained the reins of administration and autocracy. The string of management, therefore, slipped out of hand and mis-government resulted.

"The affairs must deteriorate before they are settled".

(*Three lines omitted*)

The keen observers of secrets of creatoin and the compass wielders of tablets of wisdom know that ostensibly an affair may look confused when in reality destiny aims at creating an order out of it.

Consequently, the refuge of Pleiadas & Saturn, the adorer of the cushion of glory and power. and the Alexander of determination, Maharaja Ranjit Singh (100) appointed *Bhai* Hukma Singh alias Chimni for the subjugation of the territories in the environs of Jammu. The said Bhai, taking advantage of the weakness of Raja Jit Singh and strutting in vanity and intoxicated by authority sent a well equipped force for the conquest of Jammu[8].

From this side M*ian* Mota, the younger brother of his Lordsnip, led his war-like Rajput troops, ready to measure arms. went to the Gumat gate and the Mahesh pass, four '*farsang*' from the city and intercepted the *Bhai's* advance. For a few hours both the parties perpetrated bloodshed. The enemy had a large army so the defenders withdrew inside the walls and made intermittent sallies. The young Lordship, who was a paragon of youth and gallantry, though only of the tender age of sixteen in the year 1855,[9] witnessed the battle-field curiously out of mere fun.

8. This expedition of Ranjit Singh for the conquest of Jammu has been mentioned by many contemporary writers. G. C. Smyth Writes : "Again, in 1807, Ranjeet sent one of his lieutenants, Misser Dewan Chand with a strong force to reduce the place... It was during this attack on Jammoo that the present Goolab Singh so distinguished himself by bravery, that Misser Dewan Chand on his return spoke to Ranjeet Singh very highly in his favour", *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore* p. 248.

Shahamt Ali has: "In these domestic dissensions and disputes, Ranjeet Singh saw an opportunity of taking entire possession of Jammoo and of adding it to his own territory. Accordingly in the year 1808 he sent a party of troops and occupied the place conferring a Jaghir, only adequate to his subsistance on Cheit Singh during his life". (*Sikhs and Afghāns* p. 89) At another place Shahāmat Ali gives a little more detail of the action fought on this occasion.

"Having possessed himself of it, the Sardar (Hukma Singh Chimni) aspired to add Jammoo also to his acquisitions. With that view he colleeted a large force, and proceeded against the place. Mian Mota who had been allowed to retain the country by the ruler of Lahore, prepared to oppose the invasion, A great part of his troops consisted of the native Rajputs, Mian Golab Singh and Dhian Singh, together with their father, Kishore Singh, were also among the

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It is said that his Lordship's grandfather, out of deep affection and parental love never separated from himself that budding youth. But the sight of the battle-field (101) awakened the latent bravery in him irresistibly. So witout permission of his revered grandfather and without waiting even for his veteran followers, guided only by vigilent fortune and favoured by the Dispenser of Justice, (*Two lines omitted*) the teenager fell upon the hostile army and beheaded a few persons with great skill and dexterity. Alacrity and agility are said to be the characteristics of fortune. To whatever direction he turned his face triumph and success welcomed him, and conquest and sovereignty, kissed his hands. In fact this hero of conquest a sovereignty performed such deeds as became basis of fabulous tales later on. It has often reached the ears of the compiler of this Memoir from the mouth of Lordship himself that whenever he tried to strike his sword on the heads of enemy, his hand would not reach their heads because of tender age, so he would jump from the ground with perfect agility and dexterity.

When the report of this unique achievement, which was surprising even for the war-veterans, reached the grandfather of his Lordship, he sent a few seasoned warriors for his help. When the soldiers of *Bhai* Hukma Singh realized that it was futile to continue the attack they became disheartened and retreated to their camps. (102)

(*Four lines omitted*)

When his Lordship's grand-father was apprised of this unexpected tiding his joy knew no bounds and he embraced him affectionately and prayed for his prosperity. (*Five lines omitted*)

When providence ordains great achievements of a person, it lodges in him lofty purpose and heroic enthusiasm. At the age of sixteen his Lordship was inspired by adolescence and blooming youth and was inclined most of the time towards hunt and horse ride. One day, without the permission of his grandfather, he saddled the horse with his own hands, and all at once pulled the reins towards the plains. He was possessed of the ornaments of physical prowess and strong arms, an outstanding feature of sovereigns, so the said horse became lame only after it had been driven hard for a short time. On this account his illustrious grandfather became angry (103)

members. These men with a trusted band of their followers were appointed to protect one of the gateways of the city named Coendwala (Gumat Gate). No sooner had Hukma Singh appeared before the place than he encountered a warm reception. Both parties fought desparately. At length the assailants were defeated and obligad to take flight. In the course of this action Golab Singh was distinguished for his energy and bravery . . .

(*Sikh and Afghans* p. 91)

9. It should be 1865, corresponding to A.D. 1808.

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and said sarcastically that when he procured for himself a horse of his own by his own effort, only then he would know its value, which he would not realise from the ancestral property which he got gratis.

The ambitious one, wipped up by these words of his grandfather was instantly cut to the quick and became offended. He got some ornaments from his mother and left towards Peshawar that night.

Feru Jhiwar and *Mian* Jai Singh Rudal and other attendants accompanied him. He had heard that Shah Shuja[10] during his stay in Kabul was raising a fresh army. He, therefore, decided to travel to Kabul. When they halted on the banks of the Indus river the said attendants who were Hindus and also out of fear of *Mian* Mota Singh *Sahib* made excuses for not proceeding to Peshawar. The youth was, therefore, compelled to beat back a march. *Diwan* Khushwaqt Rai of Zargar caste, a servant of *Sardar* Nihal Singh Attariwalah, had been appointed to the pargana of Sokhu, the Jagir of the said *Sardar*. A quarrel was brewing between him and the natives. So he was occupied in raising the Sank fort and recruiting a new army in his service. Thus the Lordship went to the said *Diwan*. The *Diwan* who was possessed of critical eye and deep understanding considered his arrival an augur to his own glorification and so became very happy and satisfied.

The compiler of this Memoir has heard this from the Lordship himself that a certain *Jamadar* (**104**) who had served for some years with grand father of his Lordship was also present there. That *Jamadar*

10. Shah Shuja was a full brother of Zaman Shah (1793-1800) and grandson of Ahmad Shah Durrani. In A.D. 1800 Mahmoud, the ex-Governor of Herat captured and blinded Zaman Shah and became ruler of Kabul with the help of Fateh Khan, son of Payenda Khan. But three years later, in 1803, the chief men of Kabul invited Shah Shuja to Kabul who occupied the throne and became Amir of Afghanistan in 1803. When in 1807 Napoleon and Czar of Russia signed the Treaty of Tilsit and an invasion of India through Persia and Afghanistan was threatened, Shuja probably raised fresh forces, (Mohammad Ali, *Afghanistan*, 3rd Ed., pp. 148-151), During this period Gulab Sigh mlght have sought to try his luck by joining Afghan arms.

In 1809 Shuja met the British representative, M. Elphinston at Peshawar and signed a treaty of friendship on June 7, 1809. But soon after he was driven out of Afghanistan by his half-brother, Mahmud Shah. He came to Lahore where Ranjit Singh treated him badly and robbed him of the famous *Koh-i-Noor* and other valuables. He then escaped to British territory in 1813 and took refuge at Ludhiana, The British gave him a pension of Rs. 50,000/- annually. In 1833 he made an attempt to conquer Kandahar but was defeated. The British Government restored him to the throne of Kabul on August 7, 1839 after deposing Dost Mohammad Khan. But he was not liked by the people of Herat and he failed to establish his power in spite of British help. He was killed at the instance of Dost Mohammad's son Akbar Khan on April 5, 1842. (*Peshawar Gazetter*, 1897-8 p, 64; Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, p. 385).

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disclosed the pedigree of the eminent family. On account of this the said *Diwan*, not fixing his salary, determined for him and his soldiers two hundred rupees. In the meantime, men of the *Zamiudar* adjoning fortress of Sang started a squabble with the *Diwan's* troops, and his men were scattered and routed. But his Lordship stood steadfast and undaunted the whole night with a handful of his men, and with the blow of sword and musket pressed the enemy hard. When the report of this event reached *Diwan* Khushwaqt Rai he was all priase for the audacity and the heroism of that prince.

In this way, he spent two months' time in excursion and hunting in that quarter. During this time the fame of his audacity and heroism which he had exhibited during the battle of *Bhai* Hukma Singh Chimni, became known to the Maharajah, the ruler of the Punjab, and a farman was issued in the name of Mota Singh, summonsng into presence that Youth posessed of glory and awe. In compliance to this, the said *Mian* sent *Mian* Hoshiara in order to bring him home. When the *Diwan* became informed of these developments, he offered one horse by way of dasturi (fee) and another horse the said Highness purchased of his own and (**105**) returned towards Jammu in all the possible haste. Thence, accompanying *Mian* Mota Singh, he joined the Royal Camp, *Urdu-e Mu'alla,* in the year 1867 *Bikrami* during its halt at the town of Daska two krohs from Sialkot towards the South, and by waiting upon the glorious king attracted his favour.

(*About three lines omitted*)

From the threshold of that sovereign a monthly was fixed according to the dinity and in the imparial palace of companionship...a proper place was given to him by that affectionate king.

Some time after in the year 1869 *Bikrami* when Maharaja Ranjit Singh was staying at Rohtas[11] Raja Dhian Singh through the medium of his Lordship waited on that great benefactor (Maharaja Ranjit Singh) and got distinguished at sixty rupees monthly. Miah Sahib Kishor Singh, their respected father, also pledged devotion that very day to the cause of the King of the Punjab and was fixed at one-fourth of the monthly remuneration of his son. Three other horsemen namely Uttam Dyavania and Jwala Charak and Sham Singh Bhadwal, their followers, were also appointed at rupee one per head daily.

11. Rohtas *see* Chapter 28, footnote 7.

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CHAPTER

6

An account of Wazir Fateh Khan's conquest of the Kashmir Country

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(106) In the year one thousaud two hundred and twenty eight Hijri, corresponding to the year 1868 *Bikrami*[1], *Sardar* Fateh Muhammad Khan[2] Barkzai, *Vali* of Kabul, took to his head the conquest of the lovely valley of Kashmir[3]. He approached the *Sardar* for this purpose

1. The events here narrated occured in the month of December, A,D. 1812 and January to March 1913.

2. *Sardar* Fateh Muhammad Khan Barkzai was the ruler of Kabul. He was the son of Payenda Khan of Barkzai tribe. He helped Mohammad, the ex-governor of Heart, in capturing Kabul and imprisoning its ruler, Zaman Shah who was blinded and thrown into prison. Then Shah Mahmoud becāme ruler of Kabul and Fateh Khan his *Wazir*. Soon Shah Shuja, brother of Zaman Shah removed Mahmoud from throne in 1803 and occupied it. But he too wās driven out of the country by the powerful Wazir Sardar Fateh Muhammad Khan and his brothers, about 20 in number, the most known of whom was Dost Muhammad. This happened in A.D. 1809. *Sardar* Fateh Muhmmad Khan now beeame the ruler of Kabul. The Barkzais were now dominant throughout the country. Fateh Muhammad appointed two of his brothers, Ata Muhammad and Jahandad Khan, as governor of Kashmir and Attock respectively.

But Kamran Sadozai treacherously caught hold of Fateh Khan and blinded him. A few years after he killed him, probably in A.D. 1818. His death however was avenged by his brother Dost Muhammad who became ruler of Kabul in A.D. 1826. (Mohammad Ali, *Afghanjstan*, pp. 1S8-52)

3. "At that time Kashmir was a Paovince of the Kabul Kingdom. But its governor Ata Muhammad Khan brother of Sardar Fateh Muhammad has revolted and eschewed allegiance to Kabul. The *Sardar* had thus come to punish the two brothers, who held Attock and Kashmir for the assistance they had rendered to Shah Shuja and to recover the two provinces for Kabul. He had sent

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and agreeing to pay eight lakh rupees yearly supplicated for assistance[4]. The Maharaja agreed to the proposal and a big contingent was deputed under the command of *Diwan* Monkam chand. *Sardar* Fateh Mohammad Khan triumped over Sardar Ata Mohammad Khan, Governor of Kashmir with the aid of troops. But he set aside the terms of agreement, ignored to pay the stipulated nazrana and backed out of Promise[5]. He also sought to murder *Diwan* Mohkam Chand and other Sikh officers of the victorious troops. He planned to seat them in a boat and drown them in the river by deceit and fraud. But *Sardar* Jai Singh Atariwala who had been disgusted in the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and had gone over to Kabul and was there

forward a detachment of 8,000 Afghans to Raohtak (Rohtas) and was already planning operations against Ata Muhammad of Kashmir" (Henry T. Prinsap, *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab* pp. 74-75).

4. During this time Ranjit Singh obtainad his successes against the Bimber and Rajaori chiefs. "It became essential that . . . the two leaders should come to a mutual explanation of their views and intentions; accordingly Raunjeet Singh sent agents with an overture for this purpose and invited the Wuzeer to an interview upon the Jehlum, in order that they might concert a joint expedition against Cashmere" (Allen & Co., *History of the Punjab*, Vol. II, p. 8).

This meeting took place on 1st December 1812. It was settled that Ranjit Singh should place a force, under his Diwan Mohkam Chand, at the Wazir's disposal in the expedition he meditated, and should give every facilitg for the passage into Kashmir by the passes of Rajouri. The aid of a detachment of Afghans to be employed afterwards against Multan and share of the plunder of Kashmir were the returns stipulated for this succour. Ranjit Singh wanted a portion of the revenue of Kashmir annually, but the politic Wazir objected. He, however, agreed to a Nazarāna of nine lakhs from the spoil expected. (Henry T. Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab*, p. 75).

5. The affair of this mutual aid turned out to be an untidy affair. Sardar Fateh Muhammad Khan secured the assistance of 12,000 Sikhs, under Mohkam Chand and marched towards Kashmir Valley. It was winter and the road was covered with snow, so the Afghan outstripped the Sikhs. The Wazir, penetrating into the Valley in February 1813, drove Ata Muhammad from his stockades and in a short time reduced him to submission and obtained all the strong holds in the Province, withoūt receiving much assistance from the Sikhs. For the reason the Wazir might have to gave a second thought to the stipulation of payment of Nazarana which he later on was forced to honour.

"A deep intrigue was, however, in progress which the issue of the Cashmere expedition brought immediately to light. Jahan Dad Khan the Governor of Attock became despaired at the defeat of his brother in Kashmir and opened negotiations with Ranjit Singh. He agreed to surrender the fort of Attock to Ranjit in return for a Jagir. In March 1813, Ranjit heard that his officer Daya Singh had been admitted and that the fort was held and administered by his men. Wazir Fateh Khan cried out against this usurpation and deeming himself absolved by it from the conditions he had agreed to, he dismissed the Sikhs without any share of the booty (Henry T. Prinsep *Origin of Sikh Power in the Punjab*, p. 75).

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in confidence of *Amir Sahib* Dost Mohammad Khan, apprised the *Diwan* of this fact. When *Diwan* Mohkam Chand got this intelligence, he decided to fight against the Barkzai. When *Sardar* Fateh Muhammad Khan found that things had occurred otherwise, he paid in cash rupees eight lakhs to *Diwan* Mohkam Chand and induced the Sikh troops to withdraw. Sometime after this, he himself left for Kabul after entrusting the management of Kashmir to his brother Muhammad Azim Khan.

It is said that when *Maharaja* Ranjit Singh was encamped at Wazirabad, (**107**) *Wazir* Jahan Dad Khan Fofalzai transferred his alliance towards him and handed over the key of the Atak Fort to his officers. The town of Wazirabad was thus granted to him in jagir. A large force was sent in order to occupy the fort. When the army reached the ramparts of the fort, the garrison fraudulently opened the outer gate, but fastened the inner one. His Lordship who accompanied the sikh force advised them to fill the key hole with gun powder and blow it up. Consequently, the Commanders of the fort were by this strategem compelled to give up vain thought and they opened the door of the fort. The *Khalsa* Army occupied it.

In the meantime, *Wazir* Fateh Khan, who had brought Kashmir territory under his occupation, and had desired to possess the said fort, but failed to do, advanced with vast force at the news of the fall of the fort. Intent upon battle, he entrenched in the vicinity of Shamsabad. From this side *Diwan* Mohkam Chand was deputed by the royal court for the suppression of the enemy. His Lorhship also joined the royal troops. A severe contest ensued in that region. The bravery and audacity of the *Wazir*'s armies pressed the *Khalsa* forces hard. But the *Diwan* remained steadfast, struck the elephant-driver on his head with a spear and gave him firm command not to let the elephant step back from the spot. When the soldiers of *Khalsa* armies saw the *Diwan* standing firm in the battle-field, they fell upon the enemy like lightning. (**108**) The said Lordship led the onslaught and gave a good account of volour. *Raja Sahib* Kishor Singh was wounded by a bullet shot in that battle. In fine, *Diwan* Mohkam Chand won a victory over *Wazir* Fateh Khan.[6] The curse of defeat

6. The battle between the forces of *Diwan* Mohkam Chand & *Wazir* Fateh Muhammad Khan of Kabul was fought on 12th July, 1813 at the place of Haidru, near Attock fort. *Wazir* Fateh Khan, after his return from Kashmir, had sat down below Attock and closely blockaded the fort. The garrison was reduced to such straights for supplies, that, unless very shortly relieved, they must surrender. The *Diwan*, who was camping at Burhan in the vicnity of the fort, waiting for Ranjit's orders, got signal for relieving the beleagused garrison . . . At ten in the morning (of 12th July), he came to the Indus, at about five miles from the fort. The Cabul army was here drawn up to oppose his further advance.

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fell heavy on the vanquished Khan.

When the said *Diwan*, bagging victory, returned to Lahore, the report of the murder[7] of *Mian* Mota Singh reached his Lordship. Some ruthless men, induced by the *Rani* Bandrahl, had committed this deed unfit to be done. The details are as follows. When the affairs af *Raja* Jit Singh[8] became coufused and *Rani* Bandrahl put the veil of sovereignty on her head, *Mian* Mota Singh, who was of good disposition and high birth, conferred Jaganu *talluka* as *jagir* on the *Rani*, as a proper course to follow. This, however, did not remove the cause of ill-will; and the servants of the *Rani* did not refrain from instigation. Meanwhile, the news of the arrival of Prince Kharak Singh and *Bhayya* Ram Singh at Purmandal reached the intriguing *Rani*. First of all she considered the Prince as one of her helpers and secretly sent this suggestion that if a contingent of the *Sarkar* was sent in this direction, a large territory might fall to their possession by only a little effort. Accordingly, on getting information, the Prince led his troops via Chah-e-Tutan and alighted at Nagrota[9] locality. *Mian* Mota Singh, being apprised of this development peremtporily conveyed the request to the Prince that in case (109)

A savere battle raged till noon when the heat of the sun and strong hot wind became intolerable for the Afghans. Under these disadvantages they withdrew and the battle ceased. The *Wazir* retired across the Indus to Peshawar, leaving the *Diwan* free to relieve the fort, which having effected, Mohkam Chand returned to Lahore in August. (Allan & Co. *History of the Panjab*, Vol. II, p.p. 16

7. *Diwan* Mohkam Chand returned to Lahore from the Attok expedition in August, 1813. Gulab Singh and his father *Mian* Kishore Singh, were also among his followers. It was during this month i. e. August, 1813, that *Mian* Mota was assassinated by the contrivance of the Bandral *Rani* and the Sikh *Diwan* Ajit Singh Kalal. Immediately on return to Lahore in the same month Gulab Singh learnt of the murder.

8. Jit Singh was the son of Dalel Singh, the younger brother of Brij Raj Dev, and the grandson of Maharaja Ranjeet Dev (A.D. 1833-82). When Sampuran Dev, the only son of *Raja* Brijraj Dev of Jammu died in the beginning of June. 1797, the Jammu courtiers seated Jit Singh on the throne of Jammu He was an ailing youth, so his wife, *Rani* Bandrahl meddled with state affairs, although *Mian* Mota had been made '*Madar ul-maham*' or Minister to conduct state business. Ranjit Singh conquered Jammu in A.D. but kept Jit Singh on the throne as his tributory Ultimately Jit Singh was deposed in A.D. 1816. and a *jagir* was given to him. He seems to have lived at least upto 13th Har. 1869 *Samvat*, i. e, 25/26 June, A.D. 1822 when he wrote out an agreement for Gulab Singh and his brothers. (copy of which is reproduced in the Appendices). (Sukh Dev Sipgh Charak, *Rise & Fall of Jammu Kindom*, pp, 75-78.).

9. Nagrota, a village in the Tawi valley, is situated to the north of Jammu at a distance of 8 miles on the Jammu-Srinager national high way.

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the royal troops moved in this direction, certainly Raja Ajit Singh will submit willingly and sincerely. At this unexpected invitation the Prince and *Bhayya* Ram Singh[10] were surprisingly pleased. They reached Jammu in all haste via Dhaunthali,[11] despatched a petition carrying this unusual happy tiding to the audience of the King of the Panjab. In reply to that an order was received to the effect that Mian Mota Singh[12] should manage administrative and financial affairs and a few villages worth a revenue of twelve thousand rupees, sufficient for sustenance, be granted in *jagir* to the Raja. But this fact disgusted the *Rani* the more and she started breeding malignant passions in her mind due to foolishness.

In the meantime, the well-demeanoured Prince attended by the dignified *Sardar* (*Bhayya Ram Singh*) left for Lahore. *Diwan* Ajit Singn Kalal of Gujrat was left administrator there. As the *Rani* was

10. *Bhai* Ram Singh was the son of *Bhai* Harbhaj Singh, At the request of Ranjit Singh, *Bhai* Ram Singh attended the *Darbar* in A.D. 1802 The *Bhai* soon acquired influence over the Moharaja who made him the *Diwan* of the heir apparent, Prince Kharak Singh. In that capacity he came to Jammu. But due to mismanagement he was under cloud for some time in 1816. Later on he was pardoned and taken into favour again. His influence gradually increased during the later years of Ranjit Singh. He was consulted on almost all affairs of the State. In war times his camp was attached to that of the Maharaja. He came to be considered as one of the great personalities of the court. He was never popular with the chiefs. He died in 1846. (Griffin, *The Panjnb Chiefs*; pp, 143-49 Shahamat Alī, *Sikhs and Afghans*, pp, 29-30).

11. Dhaunthali is the stony descent into the Tawi river at the north eastern corner of Jammu city. This is the only road of access to the city which ascends from the bank of the river to the Dhaunthāli quarter (*Mohalla*). In old days, as it is even today this was one of the two ascends which pierced down high cliffs of the river banks and made access from east possible. These approches were provided with towered gateways for defensive purposes, and were well-guarded.

12. *Mian* Mota was the eldest son of Surat Singh the younger brother of Maharaja Ranjit Dev and the third son of Raja Dhruv Dev (A.D. 1700-1733). After the death of Raja Brij Raj Dev in 1787, his one year old son, Sampuran was seated on the throne and *Mian* Mota was made regent and carried on the administration of Jammu state under the title '*Madar ul-maham*', i. e., Minister which post he held till his death in August, A.D. 1813. He was a man of maturity wisdom and under standing'. (Sohan Lal *Umdut-ut-Twarikh*, vol. II, p, 68). Because of his ability the *Mian* won great favour with Maharaja Ranjit Singh, On his advice the Maharaja led forces against Chib and Bhao territories and Deva Battla and subjugated *Mian* Alm Singh Akhnuria (Ibid). On another occasion, in *sumvat* 1867 (A.D. 1809-10) Ranjit Singh sent '*Mian* mota the Dogra Chief' along with *Diwan* Bhawanani Dass, to extract tribute from the Raja of Mandi, Suket and other Hill states. (Gian Singh Giani, *Tarīkh-i-Guru Khalsha* Vol, III, p, 99), This rising popularity of the *Mian* with the ruler of Lahore excited the jealousy of the *Rani* Bandral and Prince Kharak Singh's Managers which led to the *Mian's* assassination.

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looking for an opportunity, so she shifted from Jaganu to Purr mandal in order to initiate mischief. She made the imprudent *Diwan* believe that so long as Mian Mota Singh had his finger in the matter, management would not take proper shape. The short-sighted *Diwan* was inroxicated with the wine of ignorance and was addicted to hemp. He foolishly believed all this and let mis-led persons approach him. One day *Mian* Mota Singh was going to *Haram-sara* (Ladies' apartment). Two teacherous persons, named Trehdu and Satru, who had been deputed by the impious *Rani* and the wreckless, conceited *Diwan* (**110**) ushered from the ambush, and shot him dead in cold blood. This ill-news afflicted his Lordship on humanitarian grounds and ties of kinship.

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CHAPTER
7

An Account of Surprising Adventures of the 'Tiger of Battle-Field' and the Murder of Trehdu, the Worthless

---

When the world-adorning Diety wills to bedew the orchard of this world by the water (lustre) of the sword of an exalted personage, He blesses him with victory over his ill-fated enemies and scorches their existence. The detail of this event is like this that during the stay of his Lordship at Lahore he won renown for chivalry and bravery day after day, be.ause his star so intended that the fame of his grandeur and leonine disposition should vibrate all over the world and echo through the hearts of the high and the low.

After committing the murder. wreched Satru and Trehdu had gone to Lahore. There they had been spreading unbecoming things about these favourities of fortune. One day Raja Dhian Singh, while returning to his camp, over-heard this ill-talk which infuriated him. On his arrival he reported this fact to his Lordship and (111) requested him to chastise those obstinate persons.

The Lordship pacified him by elderly admonition and wise advice. But Dhian Singh's pride had been injured and wrath inflamed, so nothing was relished by him. The next day when they were going to the Darbar, those doomed persons along with a few others, came face to face with them near Bhatti Gate. At the very sight of those wretches his Lordship became infuriated and he beckoned the Raja *Sahib* (Dhian Singh) to kill Satru, and burning with anger he turned towards Trehdu, the worthless, and shouted, "Born of a slave-girl ! Be careful, and dare repeat the words you said about us yesterday so that I may heap on you the desert of your

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deeds." And instantly he shot that unlucky man to death. The Raja *Sahib* also discharged his musket, but as some adverse days were yet to his (Satru's) account, it missed him (Satru) and that bewildered one darted away and crept under an elephant that came that way. At this his Lordship stepped down his horse and, sword in hand, pursued him. The elephant driver, out of dissoluteness, drove the elephant towards him, so that the '*Khasah*' horse, whose saddle-straps were tied around the blessed waist, started running. In the meantime, a hue and cry arose all around and some people foolishly lifted stones and clods and some imprudently drew out their swords so that that un-nerved person, suffering kicks and blows at the hands of people, disappeared.

After this incident the said Lordships set off towards the court of the ruler of Lahore. **(112)** When they reached the curtain of the royal court, the door-keepers were bewildered and they apprised the court of the situation. It was announced that they should be admitted disarmed. It is said that when the door-keepers conveyed this order, they replied that they would not strip off their weapons except on summons from the *Sarkar*. The King, therefore, sent the '*mala*' from his neck to reassure them. When they were ushered into the royal presence, they were questioned as to the deed they had done. The said Lordship submitted that that wretch had spilt the blood of his illustrious uncle and he had uttered abusive language for them. Thereupon the zeal for honour and self respect, which was one of the racial weaknesses of the Rajput tribe, led him uncontrolably to consign those luckless wicked persons to the other world. The *Sarkar* told him that such a disposition in his nature was contrary to advantage so it should be reformed. He submitted that counting of profit and loss was the business of merchants and traders, how soldiers like him, who sacrificed lift mothlike, could be like them. It is said that this brave talk made great appeal to the *Sarkar* and he put him under the supervision of Jamadar Khushal Singh for some time. As Trehdu and Satru were recruited through the medium of *Baba* Mian Singh and Mulk Raj Bedi, so the said *Baba* made up his mind to kill or be killed. But *Sardar* Himmat Singh rightly advised him against this incorrect course of action and said, "If you are so much cut to the quick for the only reason that you had brought them with you, then how about the *Sarkar's* concern for his dependants".

(113) In short, a few days after, the great King summoned to his presence the said Lordship and bestowed his special favours on him and accorded him closer access, and said, "As the servants of Prince Kharak Singh have been particularly antagonised because of the murder of Trehdu, who was one of their followers, it is, therefore

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desirable that you should keep about you a few attendants." At this his Lordship submitted, "Already five persons, who are equal to a hundred, are on my attendance, and they are the sword, the musket, the dagger, and the pair of pistols." Verily this fact endeared him more in the late Maharaja's favours who became doubly assured of his Lordship's valour.[1]

1. The whole incident and its repercussions have been recorded by several contemporary writers with a slight variation. Thus, Shahamat Ali, writing in 1839, records ; "In the meantime, a person named Sathru assassinated Mian Mota, the patron of Gulab Singh. After the commission of the act, the occasion came to Lahore and entered the service of Kanwar Kharak Singh, which exasperated Golab Singh, who, meeting Sathru in one of his rides, resented the murder of his patron by shooting Sathru to death and sought safety with Jamadar Khoshal Singh, who at that time stood very high in the favour of Ranjeet Singh. The case was reported to the Maharaja, who, after enquiring into the facts, sent for Golab Singh and pardoned him without remorse for the crime he had perpetrated. About the same time, his Highness placed Golab Singh in charge of a party of sixty Sowars and gave him the district Nihal in Jagir, yielding a revenue of 12,000/- rupees, in lieu of which he was bound to furnish fifty additional Sowars." (*Sikhs & Afghans*, pp 92-93).

Major H.M.L. Lawrence writes, "... in a feud he killed a man and being close pressed by the friends of his victim, he took refuge in Maharaja's tent, then pitched in the plain, as was his custom, when reviewing his troops. Ranjit was pleased with the refugee's appearnace pardoned and took him into favour: he soon introduced his brother . . . " (*Adventures of an Officer in the Panjab*, pp. 33-34).

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CHAPTER

8

The Raid of the King of Panjab on Kashmir for the first time

When Muhammad Azim Khan[1] had established his domination over the territory of Kashmir, he cherished designs for independence and showed negligence in remitting *Nazrana*. Hence the Maharaja deemed it expedient to send troops to Kashmir territory and reprimand Muhammad Azim Khan, who had failed to fulfil obligations of agreement. Thus in the year 1873[2] of Bikrami the Maharaja moved his standards towards Kashmir. Raja Aghar Khan, *marzban* of Rajaor, who was an arch-deceiver, hypocritically presented himself. When royal forces encamped in that land, the Maharaja ordered that some troops should set off for Kashmir via Pir Panjal and the others should follow the road to Budhal under the leadership of the celebrated Thakkar. (**114**) The Maharaja himself encaped at the village Lohrin of Mandi sub-division in the environs of Punch. *Wazir* Ruh-Allah, *Namdar* of Punch, ajbured submission and chose the path of disobedience. He dug out an intrenchment atop a high hill in order to oppose imperial forces and, refusing to submit, he crossed over to the rocky retreats.[3]

1. Azim Khan was the brother of Fateh Khan, who had installed him as Governor of Kashmir, after recovering this province from his rebellious governor, Ata Muhammad in February, 1813 (Anon, *History of the Panjab*, Vol. II, p, 11).

2. i.e. A.D. 1814. Ranjit Singh arrived at Bhimbar on the 4th June, 1814. on his expedition for the conquest of Kashmir (*Ibid*, pp 24-25).

3. Rooh-ulla Khan was the Raja of Punch. An attempt was made by

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The Imperial forces, which had marched for Kashmir via Pir Panjal under *Diwan* Ram Diyal and Dal Singh, entered Sadhu territorry of Kashmir and alighted there. During this time Raja Aghar Khan, deceitfully and hypocritically, professed devotion and sought audience of the late Maharaja Ranjit Singh *Sahib*. He even provided porters deceitfully for carrying grain for the invading army. And the strange thing was that the crafty person, faithful to his deceit and treachery, intercepted the communication of Dak and sinisterly reported to the Lion of the Panjab that the force which had gone across the Pir Panjal had all been destroyed by the enemy and a signal defeat had fallen to the lot of the *Khalsa*.

(*One couplet ommitted*)

The King believed his word; and without suspecting machination and contrivance, he turned the bridle of retreat from Mandi in the direction of Sahera and the soldiers in attendance, becoming disheartened, panicly behaved in the manner of a rout. The *zamindars* of the country got wind of the situation and rushed from all sides and did their best to cut off all the roads. The forces were driven to great extremities on account of the ruggedness of hills, thickness of thistless and loss of path.[4]

officers of Ranjit Singh" to gain the Poonch raja . . . to the Sikh cause; but he pleaded engagements with Cashmere and the presence of his son as a hostage with Uzeem Khan, the governor." (Anon, *History of the Panjab*, P. 24-25).

4. The following are the full details of the disastrous expedition undertaken by Ranjit Singh during 1814 :

"On the 11th June, the army arrived at Rajaoree . . . preparatory to the passage of the famous Pir-Panjal range. An attempt had been made to gain the Poonch raja, Rooh-Ullah Khan, to the Sikh cause; but he pleaded engagements with Cashmere and the presence of his son as a hostage with Uzeem Khan, the governor. After a cousultation of the principal officers, however, it was determined, nevertheless, that the main army, commanded by Ranjit in person, should pursue the Poonch route and endeavour to penetrate by Toshu Mydan Pass, while a strong diversion should be made by Buhramgulla (or Baramulla), towarés Soopyn, in the valley.

The cavalry being dismounted and every man furnished with provisions for three days, a detachment was formed and sent forward, on 15th June, under Ram Dayal, a grandson of Mohkum Chund Dewan, with whom were Dal Singh and other *jagirdars*. They appeared before the post at Buhramgulla on the 18th and after a little negotiation, obtained possession of the pass, on payments to the defendors, of the arrears due to them by the Poonch raja. Heavy rain set in on the 20th June, and the Sikh army beginning to suffer from the wet and cold and the supplies already running short, the march of the main body was delayed until the 26th. On the 28th, however, Ranjeet reached Poonch, found it evacuated; the *raja* having given order to his people to attempt no resistance, but to desert their towns and villages, to bury or remove the grain and to hover in small parties on the flanks of the invaders, The consequence of this system had already begun to be felt and compelled a halt at Poonch for further supplies until

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(115) Sardar Sat Singh collected a few undaunted warriors and made a raid on those tribals who had obstructed the army, killed a number of them and was ultimately killed.

Of all the mightiest ones who fought for the King at that time the valour of his Lordship at this juncture was conspicuous. He hurled defeat on the enemy. He broke through their multitude and led the army across a bridge. And strange of all he carried along with him safely, in a second raid, Raja Dhian Singh, who was then of tender age and had developed some physical indisposition. Rani Sardar Quli, the mother of *Diwan* Karam-allah Khan, *marzban* of

the 13th July. Thence advancing by Mundee, Ranjeet reached Toshu Mydan on the 18th, where he found Mohammad Uzeem Khan with the forces of Cashmere, drawn up to oppose his progress. The Sikh army took up its position in face of the enemy and remained for some days inactive. Here Ranjeet received intelligence from the detachment at Buhramgulla. On the 19th July, Ram Dayal and the jagirdars ascended the Pir Panjal mountains, by the Surae and Madpoor pass, driving before them the Cashmere troops left to defend it, Ranjeet was uneasy at this precipitancy, thinking his detachment out of reach of support and liable to be overpowered; he sent off immediately, therefore, a reinforcement under Bhya Ram Singh. The Rajaoree chief recommeded an attack of Uzeem Khan, as the best means of preventing his undertaking anything against the detachment; but Ranjeet, having reconnoitered the position, deemed the attack too hazardous.

In the meantime, Ram Dayal. having passed the mountains barrier . . . was attacked on the 22nd July, by a party sent against him by Uzeem Khan. The Cashmerians were defeated and followed to Soopyn. On the 24th, Ram Dayal assaulated the town; but it was well defended by Sukhoor Khan and the assaliants were repulsed; whereupon the Sikhs retired again to the Pir Panjal mountains. to wait for reinforcements. Bhya Ram Singh, hearing of the discomfiture, deemed it necessary to halt at Buhramgulla, . . .

Mohammad Uzeem Khan, seeing matters in this critical position, thought the time favourable for offensive operations against the main army, which had already suffered much from sickness and more from deseratation. On the 29th of July, Rooh Ullah Khan, the Poonch Chief, approached and recommenced a desultory fire on the Sikh position. On the following morning, he renewed his attack with more vigour and Ranjeet was compelled to fall back on Mundee. Being pursued thither, he fired the town and directing his disciplined battalions to cover the retreat, continued his retrograde march to Poonch, which he reached on the 31st of July, with the loss of many men and his principal officer, Mit Singh Buhramea, and stripped of nearly all his luggage. The army was now no longer in a state of organization or discipline and setting fire to Poonch Ranjeet quitted the camp and continued his flight to Bhoohi, whence he with a few attendants took the nearest route to Lahore which he reached on the 12th of August.

Ram Dayal and the jagirdars serving with him in the detachment which had penetrated into the valley were surrounded and their supplies were cut off; but the detachment was allowed by Uzeem Khan to retire." (Annon) *History of the Panjab, Vol. II.* pp 24-28).

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Chalayar, whose parents resided at Kotli, possessed experienced understanding and far-sighted wisdom. She restrained the people of that country from fight and deceit, through advice and admonition. (*A verse omitted*).

In short. when the Maharaja arrived in Lahose, the Chiefs. who had rendered meritorious services and undergone supreme exertions, became subject to favours. More especially his Lordship, who had rare performances to his credit, won distinction and exaltation by the bestowal of Sawan Singh's *Jagir*, and became target of various favours from the King which will be presently narrated.

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CHAPTER
9

Obtaining the Jagir of Beol

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(116) It is apparent that when the Supreme Judge wants to bless an eminent person with high offices, He lifts him step by step and great deeds start emanating from such a person. Soon the star of his Lordship's splendour began to shine in great expeditions and signal achievements. So the king of Lahore, during his stay at Dinanagar, bestowed on him the command of twenty-two horsemen and the villages of Kharoti, Bhandian and Beol in the form of *Jagir* in acknowledgement of his signal services and valuable endeavours which were exhibited by him in the expeditions of Sahrah and Rah Kotli Hangralan.[1]

Diwau Amir Chand,[2] the illustrious grandfather of the writer of this memoir, got the honour of waiting upon his Highness the same day and was made *Diwan*. When that *Jagir* was brought under the occupation of his servants, the said Lordship moved towards Plina which is four farsakhs[3] distant from Beol. and the *Thanadar* of that place received the honour of waiting on him and he was confirmed in the same office. Thence he left in the direction of Sangani fort. The commanders of the garrison of the fort **(117)** did not exhibit readiness for submission and withdrew inside the fort. His Lordship

1. Probably Saherah and Kotli Ahangaran (Loharan).
2. For life and career of Diwan Amir Chand see Introduction.
3. A farsakh is about 3 3/4 miles, a league. Beol was thus 15 miles from Plina.

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therefore, directed his attention towards the collection of siege train in order to storm the fort. Breastworks were also set up. *Mian* Gulab Singh Dalpatia was posted to the right flank and *Bhai* Mohan Singh to the left, and at the third breastwork *Mian* Bandan Chhabila and *Mian* Hoshiara got ready and opened a brisk fire. Raja Dhian Singh personally took part in the action. A musket ball struck the Raja's waist but he escaped injury. The garrison was soon pressed so hard that the enemy restlessly sued for quarters and opened gates of the fort which was occupied by the triumphant warriors.

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CHAPTER
10

The Conquest of Garh Damala Fort[1] *and the Rustum-Like Valour of His Lordship*

When Maharaja Ranjit Singh had gone to Doabah Jallandar, the conquest of Garh Damala[2] fort which was a lofty castle in that frontier, became his target. He, therefore, made proper arrangement (118) and collected seige train.

His Lordship had gone to Jammu on leave and had by chance overstayed there for a considerably long period. The well disposed Maharaja had not approved of this fact. His Lordship, therefore joined the royal camp. At that moment the King was mounted on a majestic elephant and was inspecting troops and preparation of breastworks in open space near the fort. His Lordship reached before the celebrated King and performed the formalities of salutation. He pulled up his horse swift like wind and deposited a handful of gold in the King's '*hawdah*' as a takon of obeisance. A loud note of approbation arose from left and right. The Chiefs who rode in attendance of the King pointed out to him the feats of his Lordship's fine horse which had placed both of his front hoofs on the forehead of the elephant and caused astonishment to the spectators. The Maharaja was much pleased on witnessing this and he gasticulated to the elephant driver 'Ivaz Khan' to receive the '*nazar*'.

1. This expedition was undertaken by Ranjit Singh probably during the year A.D. 1815.

2. Garh Damala—The present Garh-diwal town near Hoshiarpur in the Panjab. It has a strong mud fort and was once the headquarters of a principality.

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The Maharaja again directed his attention towards arraying of troops and storming the fort. His Lordship was anxious to lead an attack on the enemy and to commence an assault on the fort for the conquest of which the grand Maharaja was much concerned. He exhorted the Maharaja to witness his feats. Then fearlessly he pulled the reins of his speedy horse and fell all alone on the enemy springing like a lion.

(119) In the winking of an eye that hero conveyed himself wind-like across the moat of the fort and he got atop the coveted castle and hung down his spear like a flag from the wall of the fort and by this deed he made history in the splendour of dash and gallantry. Verily the one protected by Fate need not be afraid of the hordes of enemies. When the blessings of the Eternal are at the back such strange and bewildering deeds do occur. On witnessing this rare dash valiant warriors, blood-thirsty *jawans* and the commanders became inspired and made an assault from all sides. Soon the contest turned a grim and bloody affair. After some time the enemy resistance broke down at the entrance of the fort and the royal force stormed it. The zephyrs of victory and triumph showered mirth and scattered fragrance in all directions like spring days. The Maharaja amazed at such an unexpected and instantaneous victory, prostrated himself in sincere gratitude at the threshold of the Almighty. He bestowed untold honours and favours on his Lordship when the latter returned after taking the fort. He also pleased and encouraged the tried victors and fighters by appropriate gifts and donations.

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CHAPTER
11

Acquiring Ramgarh Jagir[1]

Soon the favours of and patronage by the King of Lahore were directed towards this young and brave warrior in whose person the "ordainers of destiny" had housed the achievement of great enterprises.

(120) He was covered daily by fresh affection and was subjected to conferment of new favours every moment. On the occasion when the marriage celebrations of Raja Dhian Singh *sahib* were being performed at Smailpur, the grand King of Lahore did not accord permission to his Lordship for participation in the mirthful festivities and placed the *jagir* of Lala, Chobara and Ramgarh[2] in his possession and authority in return for a levy of two hundred horsemen. His Lordship, therefore, moved his troops in that direction and set his courage for taking under control Lala and Chobara and enlisting fresh sowars.

When Raja Kishor Singh and Raja Suchet Singh, who had been

1. These *jagirs* were conferred on Gulab Singh and his brothers in A.D. 1815 immediately after Ranjit Singh's return from campaign in the Jullundur Doab described above.

2. Lala-Chobara, were two sub-jointed big villages in Sialkot district (now in Pakistan) some 5 miles from the present boundary of Jammu and Kashmir State towards south of Jammu.

Ramgarh is a considerable village, about 12 miles to the south-west of Samba nea the boundary of the State. The first '*thana*' that Ranjit Singh established in Jammu was at Ramgarh, probably before A.D. 1808.

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deputed to reduce Ramgarh, reached there, the garrison refused to submit and got ready to offer resistance. But they did not deem it expedient to fight without the permission of his Lordship, who highly valued the facts. As such a direction in this matter was given by him to *Misar* Diwan Chand who had camped in the village of Nanga[3] with the object of touring the foot-hill territories for chastisement of ill-disposed recalcitrants. The *Misar* reached Ramgarh straight at the head of one thousand horsemen and got the fort evacuated on promise of paying off the arrears and entrusted it to his Lordship's men. *Mian* Zorawar Singh, the illustrious grandfather of his Lordship shifted with his noble *harem* from the village Smailpur[4] to Ramgarh. The birth of Raja Hira Singh took place there.[5]

3. Nanga is a considerable village in Shakargarh Tehsil (now in Pakistan) of Gurdaspur district, with a mud fort and a good market.

4. Smailpur is a village situated in the foot of small hillocks and ravines, about 11 miles to the east of Jammu. It was the ancestral *jagir* of Mian Zorawar Singh, grandfather of Gulab Singh, where the family usually resided.

5. Hira Singh was born in A.D. 1815.

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CHAPTER
12

The Multan Campaign

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(121) Due to the support of the Almighty various conquests and gallant achievements, some of which have been stated adove, were continuously performed by his Lordship. The heroism and intrepidity, which were exhibited by him the same year in the battle of Multan[1] and had excited wonder of the people, needs mention here.

1. Multan had become a *suba* of the Durrani empire of Kabul in A.D. 1752. when the Mughal Emperor ceded the Province of Panjab to Ahmad Shah Durrani in that year. Ahmad Shah's son, Timur Shah, expelled the Bhangi Sardar out of Multan in 1779 and appointed Muzaffar Khan its governor, since when he had held Multan. During the unsettled political situation in Kabul in the beginning of the 18th century Muzaffar Khan had become an independent ruler.

One of the favourite objects of the Sikh ruler's ambition was to annex Multan. In 1802 and 1807 he led only preliminary surveying expeditions. In 1810 his efforts for its complete conquest ended only in a gain of a ransom of 27 lakhs (*Monograph No*, 17-*PGR Office Publication*), He led more serious expeditions in 1816-17 and 1818 (Murray, *Ranjit Singh*, 14 ff.).

The expedition here referred to was probably the one under taken in 1816-17. In 1816 the efforts for the conquest of Multan were renewed. Phula Singh Akali was sent against Multan, along with Dewan Bhawani Dass, who, however, consented to withdraw on payment of Rs. 80,000 (*Monograph No*, 17, 23rd April, 1816; *Ludhiana Volume of Imperial Records*, 1808-1816). Another force was sent in 1817 against Multan under Bhawani Dass and Ram Dayal which had also to retire with a nazar of Rs. 61,000 (N.K. Sinha, *Ranjit Singh* p. 57), It was in one of these expeditions that Gulab Singh participated,

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That year the great Maharaja advanced hurriedly via Kot-suje-Khan with the intention of conquering Multan. *Nawab* Muzaffar Khan, the ruler thereof, refused to submit and got ready for battle. The royal troops, therefore, hotly engaged in the seige and storming of that fort, opened fire and hostilities commenced on both sides.

(*Two lines omitted*)

At this time one of the chiefs was struck by a gun-shell in the midst of action and fell down dead under the very rampart of the fortress. The Maharaja desired some undaunted warrior to jump across the melee and bring the dead body of the said chief. In that death-dealing action none could dare to step forward and throw his dear life in the peril. But his Lordship fearlessly rushed forward (**122**) and a volley of bullets emanated from the enemy ranks. He carried off the dead body of the said chief after much struggle. At this surprising feat a noise of applause arose spontaneously from every side and the grand Maharaja expressed praises at his Rustom-like valour. After the victory the Maharaja extracted '*Nazraana*' from the vanquished Chief and returned to Lahore. His Lordship then proceeded on leave to Jammu.

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CHAPTER
13

Conquest of Riasi[1]

When the year one thousand eight hundred and seventy-four of Bikrami set in and the springbreeze started blowing from mountain valleys laden with longings, his Lordship was camping at Jammu. During those days a *farman* of the King of Lahore—purporting the bestowal on him of *pargana* of Riasi[2], *Jagir* of *Mian* Diwan Singh[3], who had been a party to the blood feud of Mian Mota Singh—was received

1. Gulab Singh's expedition in Riasi *parganah* took place during the year 1816-17. Some news-letters from "the Deodhi of Sirdar Ranjit Singh". reproduced below in footnote No. 3, dated in the year 1817 mention the rebellious activities of *Mian* Diwan Singh.

2. Riasi is a small town on the left bank of the river Chenab in Jammu division. It has a fort built on a conical rock which is fairly unapproachable (*Imperial Gazetteer, xii*, 56-7),

Upto the first quarter of the 18th century A.D. before the time of Ranjit Dev, Riasi was a small independent principality ruled by Sial Rajputs covering an area of 5000 sq. miles. It was bounded on the north by Salal village, on the south by Akhnoor, on the east by Kirmchi and Udhampur and on the west by Poni Parakh. In the middle of the 18th cenury A.D. it was conquered and annexed to Jammu territory by Maharaja Ranjit Dev. Since then it has lost its independent character as well as political importance.

3. *Mian* Diwan Singh, *jagirdar* of Riasi, had been accepted as such by Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore. But the Mian was not satisfied with this arrangement. He was always in revolt.

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through Bhagwan Singh *Khidmatgar*. Consequently, his Lordship left for that region and when he alighted in the middle of the town near the Tank the (123) inhabitants presented themselves for paying him respects. But the *zamindars*, inhabiting the mountain passes, such as deceitful Khasalis, neglected to pay homage on instigation by *Mian* Bhup-dev, son of Diwan Singh, who had decided to offer resistance.

His Lordship, therefore, led a night attack on Sir-Sandwan, which is one of the Villages of Khasal.[4] The rebels found it difficult to resist and were driven away. There his Lordship and his soldiers had the good luck of having the sight of a high ranking mystic, named *Baba* Dhoru, who used to worship and meditate on God there. That accomplished mystic clearly saw the lustre of conquest and administrative genius radiating from his Lordship's forehead and received him with kindness. Thence they returned to Riasi and next day marched towards Slal village, situated on the

Some news letters of 1817 throw light on his rebellious activities

(1) Monday, dated 16-9-1815.
"... Another (letter) was sent to Kanwar Khark Singh ordering him to write regularly about the district of Jammu and about Dewan Singh Dudu ..." (*Monogram No* 17 *P.G.R.O. Publications*, p. 219.

(2) Tuesday, 31-10-1815.
"..., The representatives of the Raja of Jasrota, Namdar Khan Gujar, were sent to bring Dadu Diwan ... (*Ibid.* p. 222)

(3) Saturday, dated 19-4-1817.
"News came that Dundu Dewan Singh had annexed the country on the other side of Jammu to his own possessions, thereby enlisting the Zamindars of that distict and creating a serious disturbance. Thereupon the Noble Sarkar despatched the messengers (Jauri) to bring the news from that place and ordered his associates to collect troops for their panishment. They replied that Dundoo and others were great bastards". (Ibid, p. 264).

(4) Wednesday, dated 21-5-1817.
"A letter from Mangal Singh Kalalwala intimated that he was encamped at that time in Jammu and had sent his men to Pandit Diwan Singh who was procrastinating in coming over to him, and that, as he was pitched on the top of a mountain, the troops could not capture him. The reply was sent that he must send his own men with those of Jammuwala to tell him that he would be granted a jagir in Jammu, and that if he should thus be induced to come he should deal with him expediently." (Ibid, p. 269).

4. Khasal and Khashali: Khasal, or the country of Khasas was on the south of Kashmir, and extended from "Kastvar in the south-east to the Vitasta (Jhelum) in the west" and it included the hill states of Rajapuri (Rajauri) and Lohara (Punch). The Khashas are identical with the present Khaka (Dr. Stein: *Rajatarangini*, Vol. II, *Ancient Geography of Kashmir*, p. 430: and *Markandeya* P. Ch. 57.)

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bank of the Chinab river at a distance of four *farsakhs* with the object of over-running Khasal[4]. *Mian* Bhup-Dev, who had raised breast work and sat waiting on the opposite bank, at once opened fire. The invaders, theresore, directed their attention on providing materials for crossing over, such as '*Kahns*' prepared by binding firmly together widthwise logs of wood, to both ends of which two ad itional logs are attached lengthwise, so that a few persons standing on it can easily cross over to the other side, and the '*Drerah*' which consists in binding a cot on two twigs to enable a few individuals to cross. Hardly a few soldiers had crossed over when those triflers (**124**) took to flight for life. The invaders then liesurely crossed the river and encamped at the locality of Kot opposite '*nalah*' Narlo which is about four *farsakhs* away from the river bank. The *zamindars* af the place centinued musket fire and weilding of '*dhown*' all the night. '*Dhown*' is a kind of bow of which both the notches are caught by both the feet and the poisonous arrow is set in place at the bow string by the right hand so that whosoever is struck by that arrow dies on account of its poison.

The next day Sri-pat Dhandi, an inhabitant of Thro-Kot, who was the leader of the Khasalis, got audience through the good offices of Parbla-Pandat *Jotshi* and sought quarters, and requested that everyone of his men who would present, be spared his life. Although he was not sincere at his heart yet his Lordship kept his word and he set him free in spite of the fact that he had been captured. At the same time his Lordship set out for Thro Kot so that that place came under his occupation before the arrival of Sri-Pat there. Consequently, that Khasali leader took to flight, In the morning an order was issued to the effect that whatever cattle and property of the enemy had fallen to their hands it should be carried away. His Lordship himself moved towards Riasi. When he alighted on the bank of the river Chenab the Brahmins came for mediation and submitted that Sri-Pat had come to tender obeisance on condition of restoration of his plundered property, and in amends for his worngs and as recompense for his sins he would presnt *nazarana*. Their petition was favourably received and his property and cattle were granted to him. But that wicked one did (**125**) not present himself in person but paid three hundred rupees by way of *nazarana* on the surety of the Brahmans.

At last his Lordship reached Riasi. On advice of *Diwan* Amir Chand, the grandfather of the writer of this Memoir, he laid the foundation of a fort for the purpose of residence and shelter of the soldiers, and named it Bhim-garh. He appointed Chhu-madar Afghan the door-keeper of that place and Bishna-Achhar to *the thanadari* of Riasi. He then came to Lahore to wait upon the King.

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During those days Sri-Pat also waited upon the King. After some time had gone by the *zamindars* of Khasal, the inhabitants of Kainthi and Kir-ghahl again raised their head of rebellion and disrupted law and order. Consequently, his Lordship set out from Lahore for their punishment and chastisement and burnt down the houses and habitats of the doomed rebels. The leader of the rebels came in presence in all regret and impotring through the good offices of the Brahmans he took on himself the responsibility of paying tribute. *Mian* Bhup-dev, who had been the string-puller of rebellion in that area, sent someone to Lahore and extracted his father *Mian* Diwan Singh[5] on some pretext. He secretly brought him there and fabricated a *parwana* on behalf of the King of Lahore. He showed it to the mountaineers who were wanting in intelligence and discernment, telling them that the glorious King of Lahore had been displeased with that family and that the country of Riasi had been restored to him. (Bhup-dev). The native people due to simplicity put faith in that scandal and stood up to set seige of the fort of Riasi.

The flame of disturbance thus got enkindled and flared up. But Wazir Zorawar Singh Kahluria.[6] who had been deputed those days for the completion of the task at Riasi, had made all arrangements for command and defence of the fort. He took the key of the fort under his own custody and sought to strengthen it. Taking into consideration the shortage of water which had occurred in the fort, he kept pitchers full of water near himself as precaution and himself distributed it among fighters.

5. Mian Diwan Singh—See footnote 3 above.

6. Zorawar Singh Kahluria, *Mian*. . . .

Born 1786 in a village of Bilaspur (Kahlur) principality. Killed on 12th December, 1841 in the battle of To-Yo, near Tirathpuri in Western Tibet while fighting with the Chinese army.

He entered the service of Raja Jaswant Singh of the tiny principality of Marmahti (in Doda tehsil of Kishtwar) as an orderly. Later on he came to Jammu and entered Gulab Singh's service in about 1817. He helped his master in the supperession of the revolts in Riasi during 1817-18. He was appointed incharge of commissariate and effected much economy to the benefit of Gulab Singh with the result that he was made commissariate Officer for the forts lying to the north of Jammu. When Kishtwar had been annexed by Gulab Singh, Zorawar was made governor of that district in 1822, which charge he held upto 1836. During this period Zorawar conquted Ladakh and led expeditions into Baltistan which he finally conquered in 1840-41 for Gulab Singh. The most spectacular of his military feats was his conquering march over the world's highest plateau of Ngari or western Tibet. He occupied over 350 miles of Tibetan territory upto the western border of Nepal during the summer of 1841. In September, 1841 he had established his headquarter at Tirathpuri near Mansarovar lake, some 15 miles from Nepal's border.

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When information of this state of affalrs reaehed Raja *Sahib* Kishor Singh, who was at Ramgarh, he despatched via Jammu a few of the devoted soldiers he had with him. *Diwan* Amir Chand happened to be halting at Jammu those days. On being informed of this matter he asked for military help and assistance from the *Mians* of the clan but none of them agreed to give troops. He therefore, took on credit cash money from Bhawani Shah Bhabrah, *Shahukar* of Jammn, purchased lead and gun powder and set off for Riasi. As soldiers had gone to their homes on leave, so he was accompanied only by fifty men. He encamped at Nagrota. Next day the camp moved from thence to the village Dansal. Badnan Chib, a relative of *Mian* Sahib Mota Singh, was the *Kardar* of the place. He announced to the people thereof that Riasi fort had been invested by the rebels and if they succeed, it would no longer be possible to keep Dansal also under their occupation. It was, therefore, necessary for all of them to be ready for battle under the command of the said *Diwan Sahib*. It was accordinly acted upon and about one hundered persons joined the troops. The said *Diwan Sahib* (127), on account of his God-given wisdom and as per exigency, wrote on behalf of his Lordship a '*parvana*' concerning this affair in his own name and showed it to the people. It read that the favours of the Prince were directed towards all of them more than ever and they should expect him reaching that place in a short time for the suppression and chastisement of the wicked rebels. At present the sight of the said' '*parvana*' should compose the minds of the well-wishers of State and break the back-bone of the rebels. Mian Hasana and Dalta-Chhabila, *jagirdar* of Chanas, and a few of the Mians of Urlian and Jandrah[7] also joined the *Diwan*.

When they moved from Dansal[8] to Ghar, a *Pargana* of Drorh[9], Puro Drorha presented himself with twenty companions. *Mian* Parbin Singh Nihali-wala also assisted in this expedition. In short, the number of troopers amounted to about five hundred and this force un-nerved the rebels and in consternation they lifted the seige without delay. They hurried to the environs of the village Gran and entrenched there. The victorious army occupied Riasi.

The next day, while *Mian* Jawahar Singh Agavaria, accompanied by a few persons, was goine along foothills, the rebels found an

7. Chanas, Urlian and Jandrah lie arouud Riasi.

8. Dansal and Ghar are two villages in the middle of the *dun* (valley) of of Dansal, "a langitudinal valley which continues from some miles north-west of Dansal to Basoli on the south-west." Dansal is a large village some 1800 feet above the sea. (Drew, *Jammu and Kashmir Territories*, 1883, p. 33.)

9. Darorh or Dron Pargana wās the region around the Trikata hills.

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opportunity, encircled him and opened fire on him. In the meantime the *Diwan* got wind of this incident and rushed to the spot. *Wazir* Zorawar Singh too ushered from the fort and joined the campaign. The enemy force was completely routed and Bhup-dev crossed the mountain top and escaped. The *Diwan* returned to Riasi triumphantly and devoted himself to the management of that place. In the meantime his Lordshlp arrived there and (**128**) loaded the brave warriors and the *jagirdar Mian* with affection and favours according to their respective status. A gold bracelet was donated each to *Wazir* Zorawar Singh and Mian Charagh Singh (Jawahar Singh Agavarias.)

Two days later, his Lordship moved to Slal.[10] When Surto-Bhagial, who was the leader of the rebels, offered *nazar* personally to his Lordship, he roared, "You co-operated with the disobedient rebels and in loud voice challenged our troops to come out of the fort and seduced people that Bhup-dev is their real *jagirdar*. So how your nazar deserves acceptance ?" That cursed one treacherously retorted that indeed he (Bhup-dev) had been their ruler for seven generations and that the servants of Gulab Singh had recently laid their hand of aggression on this country. It is said that on hearing this talk devoid of any head or tail, the royal wrath surged out of control and then and there he cut him into two by his sword. It was ordered that his dead body be cut into four and hung on a *shisham* tree so that haunts of wickedness were driven out of the brains of crooked rebels and they beg for quarters out of fear and agree to pay tribute and submit. Puro-Drorha was exalted to the command and administration of Khasal and the administration of Riasi was entrusted to *Wazir* Zorawar Singh in recognition of his conspicuous services.

10. Slal is a village, situated to the north of Riasi, following up the course of the river Chenab, "On one of the projecting rocks, nearly surrounded by the deep waters of the river, is built a fort called Dhiangarh, named after Raja Dhiyan Singh, and father up are the forts of Slal and Aranas, on opposite side." (Drew, *Jammu and Kashmir Territories*, 1883, p. 114). At present the place has particularly become known because of a big hybro-electric project under construction there.

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CHAPTER
14

Chastisement of the Wicked Rebels

(129) While his Lordship was staying at Riasi it was reported to him that the rebels Bhup-dev and Dido[1] had stretched their hand of tyranny on Dansal, the jagir of the descendants of *Mian* Mota Singh and ravaged it. So on this information his Lordship left the same day at the head of two hundred warriors for chastisement of those rebels. Because of the ups and downs of the rugged paths and abundance of thistles horses could not be used so they had to sped on foot and had no rest all the night. When two watches of the night were left

1. *Mian* Dido is said to have descended from Raja Hari Dev of Jammu who ruled from 1650 to 1658. Hari Dev's fifth son, Dalip Singh inherited the jagir of Jagati, some ten miles to the north of Jammu in the hill forests. Fifth in descent from Dalip Singh was *Mian* Hazari, the father of Dido. Dido was born in March, 1780. It is generally believed that on account of exuberance of heroism he took to predatory habits in his adolescence and had formed a gang of some fifty young bravos of like nature. It is also believed that he took part in the defence of Jammu at the time of Hukma Singh Chimni's attack on Jammu and defeated a Sikh unit kept in reserve near Bahu fort. Soon freedom loving youngmen of Duggar joined him and he became a formidable power and held all the territories of the inner mountains, from Riasi up to Basohli. He became a serious challenge to Sikh dominance in the Duggar country. When his power could not be curbed by Sikh officers, the task was entrusted to the Dogra jagirdars of Jammu to which Gulab Singh belonged. For further details see Section 22 below.

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they reached the neighbourhood of Dansal. As no trace of the rebels could be found there, they ran after them without delay in the direction of Thanda Pani and Mat'havara which are in the Dron[2] *pargana*. They reached there by mid-day. The rebels, who had been resting in the house of Sahib ray Brahman the '*maqaddam*' of that place, were taken by surprise and in confusion started creeping and crawling to the mountain passes. *Mian* Dido ran to the Bahr Bani wala and Bhup-dev fled towards Sarothal along the bank of the river Chenab.

They say that due to journey on foot blisters had appeared on his Lordship's feet. But scorning at the pain and suffering he continued to pursue Mian Bhup-dev without demur. The latter had hid himself alongwith his gang in the mountain passes. **(130)** Due to destitution and adversity he had to bake his bread on stones.

As whole of the Lordship's attention and valour had been directed towards the suppression of enemies, he thought that cooking might retard the undertaking so he contented himself with eating half-parched wheat picked up from harvested fields. Not stripping his weapons off his body he used to sleep, ready for action, all the time.

Such were the wonders of courage and endurance of his Lordship that all through the period of suppression of disturbances and uprooting of rebels which exceeded a year, he went to the battle everyday, and never removed his weapons from his person even at night.

One day they fell upon *Mian* Dido in the Dron hills and musket-fire was exchanged for about two hours. At last the enemy, unable to hold ground, fled to hill-tops. His Lordship went to Jammu which was then under the occupation of the managers of Prince Kharak Singh. From there he deputed Mian Singh and Gaddi Baghal after the search of *Mian* Jawahar Singh Agawaria. His Lordship suddenly realised that the *Mian* would have hidden himself in the village Ghar opposite the house of Gohrah. His Lordship at once marched thither and surrounded that place and the rebel in great panic hid **(131)** themselves in the heart of the forest leaving behind all weapons and baggage. A large booty fell in the hands of pursures and one of the wicked rebels was also made captive.

Therefrom he returned to *Talab*-Baguna and took breakfast which had arrived from the house of *Mian* Gulab Singh Dalpatia, and encamped for the night at that very place. In the meantime Raja Suchet Singh, encamped at Ramgarh fell in with Gurmukh Singh

2. Dron pargana and Dron hills. *See* footnote 9 of Section 14.

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Lamma on the question of the boundary of the village Gharmol[3] which had been assigned to him by the great King of Lahore. The occasion was the setting up of pillars on the bank of the Basantar to mark the frontier of Ramgarh. The King, considering such a quarrel an opportunity to test and evaluate his courage, did not restrain the parties from open conflict which developed into clash of arms. Consequently, his Lordship sent a few of his brave fighters for his assistance. Soon after his Lordship came there personally also, and when he alighted on the bank of the Basantar river opposite Dandot fort,[4] the garrison opened fire on him. His Lordship, had not originally set his heart on the reduction of that fort. But when he heard the loud report of the fire from the garrison he was constrained inevitably to take steps to curb the haughtiness of the malevolents.

In the first assault the village Dandot was taken by his men who at once carried ladders from the homes of inhabitants and set them against the wall of the fort. Some daring soldiers got on to the ramparts in a brave assault. The garrison, finding no remedy helplessly beseeched for quarters. Weapons and booty and 29 heads of horse fell into the hands of the victors. Raja *sahib* Kishor Singh and Raja Suchet Singh *sahib* met his Lordship there and stayed here for the night (132) On consultation with the nobles of the Court he did not keep the fort to himself but handed it over to the former *kila 'dars*. Himself he went to Ramgarh and remained busy for sometime more in exterminating his enemies.

3. Ghumrola a small village in the Shakargarh *Tehsil* (now in Pakistan) quite close to the frontier of J & K State, to the south of Sambah.

4. Dandot fort : A village in Shakargarh *Tehsil* (now in Pakistan), being near the present frontier of Jammu and Kashmir State, to the south.

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CHAPTER

15

Raja Dhian Singh gets charge of Dehodi

(*Two lines and two couplets omitted*)

In the year 1875 Bikrami, a *farman* of the Maharaja from his Wazirabad camp was received by his Lordship, directing him to take on himself the management of *jagir* affairs and send Raja *sahib* Dhian Singh to the court. Thereupon he deputed *Mian* Gulab Singh Dalpatia, *Mtan* Hoshiara and Baghel Singh Chib to accompany Dhian Singh and sent him to the court so as to win the royal goodwill by attending on the Maharaja. When the Raja *sahib* reached near Wazirabad, *Baba* Nidi, one of the counsellors of the great Maharaja came forward to receive him as a token of abundant royal favours and led the Raja *sahib* to the *Darbar*.

One of the delightful circumstances which occurred that year was the betowal of *Deodhi* on the said Raja *sahib*. The commendable virtues and excellent (133) disposition and civility of the Raja drew the attention of the Maharaja who found it expedient to encourage his ability day after day by dignified favours. Formerly Jamadar Khushal Singh[1] had been exalted to the office of *Dicdhi*. Due to his

1. Deodhi—"*Deodhi*" or the command of the doorway "which is equivalent to that of the guards as well as the royal ears", had been held for fifteen pears by Jemadar Khushal Singh (Lawrence, Maj. H.M.L., *Adventures of on Officer in the Punjab, p.* 36). But he was less cautious. On account of the arbitrary use he made of his power, he disgusted both the people and the officers of the State. "From the severity and badness of his temper he is not liked by the courtiers in general; neither does Ranjit Singh himself entertain a good opinion of him".

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Raja Dhian Singh, younger brother of Gulab Singh, and Prime Minister of the Sikh Kingdom of Lahore (d. 1843)

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short temper he had estranged the coutiers to himself to such a degree that the Maharaja did not approve of such a behaviour of his. The information of his deposition from office had not yet been disclosed when he was appointed towards Multan, and the Raja was exalted[2] to that '*mansab*' and the management of the administrative affairs was given into his competent hand.

(Shahamat Ali, *Sikhs and Afghans*, p. 28), Maj. Lawrence even imputes treachery to him and narrated that "at one occasion on having proposed the Maharajah to go from Lahore to Amritsar, his Highness suspected a plot for his own imprisonment. Upon this he determined to deprive Khushwal Singh of his command. (p.36). Thus the Maharaja was offended by the Jamadar's behaviour. He was, therefore, quietly removed from the charge of the 'deodhi' and refused admittance to the court and was appointed towards Multan. *Gulab*, pp. 132-33).

Dhian Singh was then vested with the charge of '*Deodhi*' at the recommendation of *Misar* Diwan Chand (Shahamat Ali' p. 41). H.M.L. Lawrence avails of this event for ridiculing the sovereign and his favourites with fancy of a fiction writer, and describes the change over in these words : "Fearful of offending a powerful faction by open supercession, the king got Dhyan Singh and his brother, with their followers, up into the Saman Burj (or citadel and palace), one night by scaling the walls, and then quietly replacing the men of Khushiyal Singh who was wise enough to make no opposition, and who has since been wise enough to show no resentment. *Adventures, etc.*, p. 36).

2. Shahamat Ali says: "At the age of fifteen he was charged with the '*deodhi*' (*Sikhs & Afghans*, p. 93) which gives the year A.D. 1812, as Dhian Singh was born in 1797, and thus Shahmat Ali's statement is incorrect. At the age of fifteen Dhian Singh did not take charge of '*deodhi*' but simply was introduced by Gulabshingh in the service of Lahore court.

Sohan Lal records that on Monday (*Do-Shambah*). the 5th *Asuj* of S. 1875 Jamadar Khushal Singh was deposed from the office of *Deodhi*, and the same was given over to Mian Dhian Singh on the 2nd of *Shahr-i-Zilahajj* (*Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, p. 231-32). It happened a few days before the *Dasehra* festival. It gives us October, 1818 for the event, which is supported by *Gulabnamah*. (Also see *Umat-ul-Tawarikh*. pp. 226, 231 and 232; Gian Singh, *Tawarikh-i-Guru Khalsa*, *pt.* III, p. 124).

The acquitision of the charge of '*Deodhi*' or entrance to the audience of the kind was an event of much consequence for the Dogra family, Sohan Lal says :

روز دہرہ بتاریخ ہفتم شہر ذی الحجہ اکثر اہلکاران و سرکردگان عالی شان نزد سرخ و
سفید در طریق نذر مبارک گزرانیدند۔ و میان دھیان سنگھ یک راس اسپ عمدہ مع ہیکل
طلائی بنظر اقدس رسانید۔ سرکار دولت مدار از راہ عنایات اسپ مذکور را پسند فرمودہ گرفتند۔
و حمائل طلای واپس حوالہ اش ساختند و خلعت خاصہ و دوشالہ و کمخواب و رباب تفویض
امورات ڈیوڑھی مراعات فرمودند۔ و سوچیت سنگھ برادر موصوف بنابر عرض مطالبات
مردان منفرر گردیدہ بخطاب راجگی معزز و مفتخر بین الاقران و الامثال گشت و بر ڈیوڑھی
گلاب سنگھ برادر کلان راجہ موصوف درجۂ اعتبار و پایہ اقتدار پذیرفت۔

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CHAPTER
16

An account of the Conquest of Kashmir

The year one thousand eight hundred and seventy-six of *Bikrami* witnessed important Kashmir expeditions. (*five introductory lines omitted.*)

Although the Maharaja cherished a great ambition for the conquest of the ever-green region of Kashmir yet he expected that this great expedition should be accomplished by his Lordship. The circumstances for the same developed as under :

During the period when his Lordship had been staying at Jammu, *Pandit* Bir-bal Dar (**134**) the *Ijarah-dar* of Deosar, one of the *parganas* of Kashmir, suffered great loss at the hands of the *Wali* of that place, and fleeced of all his belongings he ran from his house at night along with *Pandit* Raja Kak, his son. He left for Lahore with the intention of having audience of the Maharaja. He travelled via Khori-Narwa and Gulab-garh under the escort of Khori-Narwa *Maliks*. When *Diwan* Ram-Diyal had, as narrated above, returned from Kashmir after making pact with 'Azim-Khan, the said *Khan* unleashed violence and oppression, and shed much innocent blood. He extorted the *jizya* tax from Hindu people. Avaricious of gold and property, and unmidful of consequences, he started extracting from the inhabitants excruciating fines and repugnant demands. More especially he subjected the Hindus and *Pandits* to a variety of pain and torture. He mercilessly killed many innocent people. (*two lines and one couplet omitted*).

It is said that he also put to the sword *Pandit* Har-Dass Tiku

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who was a generous person. The convention of "*Chhawali sahdan*" which persists in Kashmir to this day, was introduced by him. He gave away every year two lakh rupees to ascetics and recluses from Hindostan who went to the pilgrimage of Amarnath. In the same manner he kept his hand open for charity and public works. (*one couplet omitted*).

(135) The '*Wali*' took the lives of hundred of *Pandits* on accusation of '*tabra*' [exoneration] so that the oppression by this Afghan caused universal lamentation and every man and woman fell victim to his exactions. (*one couplet omitted*). Because of this a chronogram for his oppressions has been written in the phrase "*jaor-e-'azim*" (the great tyranny). (*one line omitted*). Natural calamities also started continuously visiting his country. Losses in cattle and damages to crops occurred one after the other. The wreckless oppressor in the beginning collected a fine of a few lakhs of rupees from *Pandit* Bir-bal, and then pillaged him on accusation of arrears of revenue. When no wealth was left with him he ('Azim-Khan) ordered his forcible conversion to Islam. The said *Pandit*, therefore, afraid of the said *Khan*, held consultations with his nephews, *Pandit* Sahaj-Ram and Mirza *Pandit* and said : "As tomorrow they will forcibly make me Musalmal, so I want to escape to Lahore, and entrust my family and household property and you people to God." *Panait* Sahaj-Ram and Mirza *Pandit* approved of his proposal and gave him permission to leave. In the night he rode away from Srinagar with one or two companions and by morning he reached the village Manaz-gram, the *jagir* of the said *Pandit* in the *pargana* Deosar where his son *Pandit* Raja Kak awaited him. Taking him along he arrived at the village Dhanwan which was the *jagir* of Khori *Maliks*. Consequently, the Khori *Maliks* and subject people of that place who were under obligation to him, regardless of their dwellings, wives and children, escorted him under protection. *Malik* Zu-al-fiqar and *Malik* Ram-gar (136) left no stone unturned in professing loyalty. They crossed over the Pir-Gulab garh pass. Nur-Jamat, inhabitant of Nandi-marg was also with them. As they had reached the peak of Gulab-garh mountain, the Afghan army which pursued *Pandit* Bir-bal reached Dhanwan and set on fire the houses of the *Maliks*.

As soon as 'Azim Khan received information of Bir-bal *Pandit's* escape, he summoned *Pandit* Sahaj-Ram aud Mirza *Pandit* and asked of them the facts. They replied that he had certainly escaped to Punjab. "Azim-Khan asked what he intendent doing after reaching there". They answered ; "If no worldly desire is left in him, he may occupy himself in worship of God on the bank of the river *Ganga* or else going in the presence of Maha-Raja Ranjit Singh, he may bring a Sikh army on us before long". Azim Khan said, "Now

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what is the remedy ?" The reply was "murdering of Mirza *Pandit*". It is said that 'Azim Khan ever intoxicating by the wine of wilfulness and injustice, ordered the Kinsfolk of *Pandit* Bir-bal Dar to be brought in chains to the court. Accordingly it was done. The mother of *Pandtt* Raja Kak, out of extreme regard for chastity, gave up her life by sucking diamond while in chains when they were carrying her dragging in a boat, and thus maintained her honour.

When the arrival of the *Pandit* was reported to his Lordship by the managers of Arnas and Khasal, he wrote to the *Kadars* and *tehsildars* of Arnas, not to suffer any negligence in showing hospitality and courtesy towards the said *Pandit*, and to send the *Pandit* to his presence.

(137) The *Pandit* was received by his Lordship with due honour. Because the marriage cermony of the paternal aunt of his Lordship was then fast approaching so Diwan *Sahib* Amir Chand, was appointed to accompany the said Pandit A high recommendation was written out to Lahore *Sarkar* and also a letter in name of Raja *sahib* Dhian Singh with the remark that the key of the door of Kashmir valley had fallen into the hands of the nobles of State. The *Pandit* through the Raja *sahib* received the honour of attending on the grand Maharaja and got the honour of riding along with him.

When his Lordship returned and waited upon the king, he persuaded and exhorted the King for the conquest of Kashmir so that an expedition was at last planned. In the month of Har[1] an adequate army, led by *Misar* Diwan Chand and a few other eminent chiefs, was deputed to that direction. His Lordship accompanied by Pandit Bir-bal Dar who was guarantee for this great enterprise, led this victorious army. *Mtrza* Rahim-allah Khan, brother of Aghar Khan *Marzwan* of Rajaur, presented himself before *Misar* Diwan Chand through the good offices of his Lordship, and through his mediation expressed devotion towards the King and got exalted to the Raj of Rajaor by the imperial favour. He received orders for guiding the royal troops. Also the illustrious Thakkar received honours in recognition of his services.

When the invading armies reached the village Daipur, Jabbar-Khan, 'Azim-Khan's brother, who held that place for management left Kashmir with a vast army ready for battle, made an attack on the troops headed by his Lordship. His Lordship at once returned fire and beckoned his soldiers to (138) surround the enemy,

(*Five lines omitted*)

The imperial troops were victorious after a brief action. Many of the anemies fell victim to the sword and bullet. (*two liues omitted*).

1. The month Har of 1876 Bikrami, corresponding to May/June, A.D. 1819.

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Jabbar Khan also ran a bullet in his shoulder and he retired so broken hearted and in utter hopelessness that he could not keep his feet firm in the city of Srinagar. So, the scenic valley of Kashmir passed under the possession of state officials. As his Lordship had already submitted before the Sarkar that formerly in the days of Ahmad Shah Durrani. a *jagir* of one lakh rupees in Kashmir had been granted to his ancestors as a reward for their service in the conquest of Kashmir.[3] so now, when the pleasant country of Kashmir had come under occupation. the territory of Kishtwar be remitted to him in exchange for the said *jagir*. His submission was dully sanctioned. Accordingly during this period hc made up his mind to conquer Kishtwar, but *Pandtt* Bir-bal Dar held him back from this resolve by presenting a *nazar* of twenty thousand rupees in cash. The management of Kashmir affairs was entrusted to *Diwan* Moti Ram. His Lordship returned to Jammu via Riasi, and thence he went to Ramgarh. There the *Sarkar's parwana* was received sommoning him to the court.

3 *See* page 38 above.

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CHAPTER
17

Assignment of Jammu Country to his Lordship on Lease

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(139) (*Two and half introductory lines o mitted*). His lordship has achieved fame and prosperity by dint of valuable services and singular achievements. One day the glorious Sarkar was talking to his Lordship concerning the latter's welfare and prosperity. Duing that talk the subject of leasing out of Jammu Country with profits to his Lordship came under discussion. In answer he supplicated that It was not easy to raise cash revenues frcm his stubborn kinsfolk who inhabit that country, so he should be favoured by a grant[1]

1. *Grant of Jammu on Lease* "*Taalluqa Chakla Jammū*" was granted in farm or *jagir* by Maharaja Ranjit Singh to *Mian* Kishora Singh, father of *Mians* Gulab Singh, Dhian Singh and Suchet Singh, and not to Gulab Singh individually as emphasised by Gulabnamah. Most probably it was bestowed on the whole family, *Mian* Kishora Singh and his sons, as has been revealed by the '*qabuliat*' or acceptance deed, which opens' "Mankeh Mian Kishora Singh Mian Gulab Singh W Mian Dhian Singh W Mian Suchet Singh." (Ms NO : M/503, National Archives, Patiala). Shahamat Ali also says. "Mian Kishora Singh, the father of Dhian Singh, was raised by the Sikh chieftain to the Raj of Jammoo, when the administration of the place was conducted by Gulab Sihgh, . . . " *The Sikhs and Afghans* 1839, P. 94).

Sohanlal, the Court Chronicler of Maharaja Ranjit Singh also writes "on the 16th of the month of Maghar, 1236 H.E· corresponding to Samvat 1877 Bikram, Mian Kishora Singh was entrusted with the management of Jammu town by His Highness." *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar II*, p. 281.)

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and might also be permitted to keep an army.[2] The request was readily granted and a *parwana* purporting grant of Jammu with a levy was obtained.

Raja *sahib* Kishora Singh, who had encamped at Mirpur Chumak along with *Misar* Diwan Chand, left for the destination with a *Khillat* of '*Rajagi*'.[3] But the grant of title of Raja-ship on him did not receive so much announcement from the *Sarkar*. The said Raja *sahib* left for Jammu in the month of Magh in the year 1876[4] and

The total jagir bestowed on the family was as under : the ta' alluqa of the chakla of Jammu with the exception of the territory to the south of Kashmir, and along with Patti-Bhoti, Bandralta, Chenani, and Kishtwar. (*Ms NO. M*/503, National Archives Patiala.)

2. Levy for Jammu Jagir : As per 'qabuliat' referred to above in note 1 above the family undertook to raise and maintain in readiness for service four hundred well equipped and valiant horsemen at all times—"*wdar wajhe naukri chahar sad soar jarrar karrar shaista-nashaista.*"

Thus the demand of Gulab Singh to increase the number of cavalry was conceded by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The family had already raised a large number troops maintained on several jagirs conferred on the family before that of the present one.

In addition to the condition of maintaining 400 service troops, they also undertook "to protect the road to Kashmir" and to "either capture the recalcitrant Dido or kill him or force him to cross the river Sutlej" in return for the jagir. (*Ms NO* : *M*/503 State Archives, Patiala).

3. *Khillat* of "*Rajgi*" conferred on Mian Kishora Singh.

Diwan Kirpa Ram has not given the copy of the '*sanad*' or deed of the *jagir* bestowed on the family. Therefore nothing definite can be said of its contents. In the '*qabuliat*' referred to in N-1 and N-2, the father and the three sons—all the four grantees have been prefixed with the honorific '*Mian*' only. K.M. Panikkar's statement that in 1820 Jammu was given to Gulab Singh in farm and that Ranjit Singh gave him the title of Rajah (Panikkar : *Founding of the Kashmir State*, *p.* 29) finds no indirect confirmation from the statements of Shahamat Ali. Writing in 1839, he says that "Mian Kishora Singh, father of Dian Singh, was raised by the Sikh chieftain to the Raj of Jammu" (*The Sikhs and Afghans*, *p.* 94). At another place he says, "Mian Kishora Singh who though not considered the rightful heir, way called by his subjects Raja." (*Ibid*, 94-95.)

4. Date of Assignment of Jammu *Jagir* : The date of conferment of Jammu in farm on the Jamwal family given here is slightly different from authentic documents. Sohan lal has the correct date of the contract—sixteenth of the month of Magar, 1226 H.E. corresponding to samvat 1877 (Bikrami corresponding to 30th November, 1820) (*Umdat-ut-Tawarik; Dafter* II, *p.* 281). This date is supported by the deed of acceptance (*Qabuliat*) contracted by Mian Kishora Singh and his three sons on the 15th of the month of Maghar, Samvat 1877 *Ms. No. M*/503 N.A. Patiala), as "such acceptance was taken before the grant was made" (J.S. Grewals and Indu Bangal: "Ranjit Singh the Suzerain"—*Procd. Punjab History Conference*) 1970, p. 86 note 29).

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engaged himself (140) in the management of administrative affairs. By much diplomacy he kept the dominant element in check. Seven hundred horse-men besides the former ones, were enrolled in the ranks.

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CHAPTER

18

Conquest of Kishtwar

(*Two introduciory lines omitted*). After his return from the conquer and subjugation of Kashmir his Lordship made his mind to conquer Kishtwar which had long been his cherished object.

In the beginning of the year one thousand eight hundred and and seventy-seven[2] of Bikrami, when the armies of spring beseiged

1. Kishtwar: The Valley of Kastwar or Kishtwar, anciently known as Kashtavata, lies to the south-east of Kashmir, on the uppei Chenab. It is mentioned by Kalhana as a separate hill-state in the time of King Kalasa of Kashmir. Its Rajas who were Hindus till Aurangzeb's time, practically retained their independence until the conquest of their territory by Maharaja Gulab Singh (M.A. Stein, *Kalhana's Rajatarangini*, p. 431). Also *see* Ch. 9, note 42 above.

Kishtwar was governed by Rajput Rajas, who in early times probably ruled independent of all others. Girat Singh of Kishtwar embraced Islam in the time of Aurangzeb and received the title of Raja Sa'adat Yar Khan. Raja Teg Singh was the last independent Kishtwari ruler. (Drew, *Jammoo and Kashmir Territories*, p. 118-120).

2. Date of the conquest of Kishtwar : *Diwau* Kirpa Ram has erred by one year in recording the date of the conferment of the farms of Jammu and other territories on the Dogra Chiefs and consequently the date of the conquest of Kishtwar also suffers from that error. According to documentary proof Kishtwar was farmed out to them on 30th November, 1820 and its conquest could not have taken place before the spring of 1821. "In April 1821 Ranjeet moved to Adenanugur and remained there till July . . . . . The two petty territories of Kishtwar and Mankot were, in this interval annexed to the Khalsa. (Anonymous), *History of the Punjab*, Vol. II, p. 60).

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the citadel of roses and the zephyr of the New year set up its triumphant tents in the foot hills, he moved his troops towards Kishtwar. When he reached the region of Bhalwalta, Diyal Chand, Raja of Chanani,[3] was amicably sum noned.

But due to misunderstanding, he showed reluctance in coming. Accordingly, *Wazir* Jaranand, a skilful and intelligent courtier, was deputed for fetching the said Raja. He made him feel assured by words of reconciliation and brought him along before the Lordship. When a mention of the occupation of Kishtwar was made to the said Raja whose territory verged on Kishtwar frontier, he agreed to the[4] **(141)** proposal. So his Lordship made proper arrangement for fitting out an expedition and collected daring soldiers and reached the bank of the river Chenab. They tied on both banks of the river ropes called "*K'hir*" in the term of that country and crossed over. They reached Doda locality. As an act of diplomacy some *parwanas* were written in the name of *Wazir* Lakhpat Rae,[4] the administrator of the Raja of Kishtwar, bearing the subject "Your application was duly received. Its contents received high consideration. You should in the same manner sincerely occupy and present yourself in our services and be assured of high favours on your circumstances." It is said that *Wazir* Lakhpat Rae out of fidelity to his master had written no such application. So the object of this writing was only to breed suspicions in the heart of the Raja of Kishtwar.

And it had the desired effect. One day a *parwanah* fell into the hands of an informer who presented it before Raja Tegh Singh Because of this a minunderstanding took roots in his heart, and he unscrupulously gave a hint for the *Diwan's* murder. An assault was made on the *Diwan* but he received wounds on his hand and arm and escaping towards Jangalwar, a district of Bhadarwah, he carried himself to safety. This affair shook the foundations of the

3. Chaneni *See* Chapter 9, N-43.

4. *Wazir* Lakhpat was a Thakar of Kishtwar, only a small landholder. Raja Tegh (or Muhammad Tegh) Singh (1791-1820) made him chief adviser and gave him the title of Wazir and also gave him the *jagir* of Bwanjwa.

After his quarrel with his master, *Wazir* Lakhpat took shelter with Gulab Singh at Jammu. *Wazir* Lakhpat held high office under Raja Gulab Singh and did him good service in campaigns in Iskardu Zanskar and Ladakh. He was killed at Munshi Bagh, close to Srinagar, in the fight between Maharaja Gulab Singh's troops and the Sikh governor of Kashmir, *Sheikh* Imam-ud-din, in the year 1846. He was one of the Rajahs most trusted officers. He proved loyal to his master and Gulab Singh sent him on many notable expenditions. His son was *Wazir* Zarawaru, who was a confidential minister of Maharaja Gulab Singh (Drew, *Jammoo and Kashmir*, p. 120; Hashmatullh Khan, p. 184-186; K.M, Panikkar, p. 30).

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said Raja's administration.[5] (*One and half lines omitted.*)

To sum up the administration of the Raja of Kishtwar had become confused on account of the attempt on the life of the *Diwan*. Moreover, frightened on hearing of the rumour of the arrival of the invading army and finding his courage giving way, (142) he tendered his submission and left for Lahore via Jammu.[6] *Mian* Chain Singh Lal-Akhi-walah was deputed to the administration of Kishtwar. *Wazir* Lakhpat and other *Marzbans* of that country also waited upon his Lordship and received his favours. (*Four verses omitted.*)

5. "In 1819 his master had employed him (Gulab Singh) in an enterprise the successful execution of which required considerable finesse, the peaceful acquisition of Kishtwar, a hill principality. The mission was carried out with such tact—the State being seized by artifice and its ruler deported to Lahore and there quietly poisoned—that Gulab Singh's grateful sovereign Bestowed Jammu upon him in jagir." (S.S. Thorburn : *The Punjab in Peace and War*, 1883, p. 29)

6. The Raja of Kishtwar has specially incurred the displeasure of Maharaja Ranjit Singh by giving shelter to Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk, the refugee King of Kabul. The king had been in the hands of Ranjit at Lahore from where, in April 1815 Shah Shuja himself made his escape in disguise. A reward was offered for recovery of the prisoner, who succeeded in reaching hills, where he was hospitably received by the petty Raja of Kishtwar who entertained him well and supplied all his wants for about two years. Here he collected a body of 3 or 4000 men and entered Kashmir by Mirbal pass in the winter. But the cold marred his advance and his troops dispersed. His scheme of conquering Kashmir miserably failed. At the same time it revealed his presence there. Ranjit Singh sent word to the Raja to forward the refugee to him as a prisoner which the host declined to do, but it became necessary for Shah Shuja to leave his protector. After a long and circuitous journey over the Kulu mountains he reached Ludhiana and placed himself under the protection of the British government. He reached Ludhiana in September 1816. (Drew, p. 121-22; Anon, *Hist. of the Punjab*. Vol. II, p. 21-22.

This Shah Shuja affair antagonised Ranjit to Raja Teg Singh of Kishtwar and the former was looking out for an opportunity of taking revenge on the latter. When Gulab Singh asked for Kishtawar, which was yet in no way a part of Ranjit's Kingdom, the Sikh potentate was too pleased to entrust its conquest to the Dogra chief, and conferred it as one of the *jagirs* on the Dogra family. (*Ms. M*/503. N.A. Patiala).

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CHAPTER
19

The Conquest of Mankera and Derah Gazi-Khan

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(142) (*Two lines omitted*) While returning from Peshawar campaign Maharaja Ranjit Singh thought of storming Dera Ghazi Khan fort.[1] An order was, therefore, issued to his Lordship to the effect that he should lead the attack on the enemy.

So he crossed the river Atak and joined the royal forces with rapid haste. **(143)** It was a wonder that the fort was conquered on the first assault by that brave leader who returned in triumph.

1. In August 1818, Kabul was ravaged by civil war between the brothers of the murdered *Wazir* Fateh Khan and Prince Kamran. Taking advantage of this situation Ranjit Singh advanced to attack in October and forded the river Indus with some loss and reduced and oecupied the fortress of Khairabad with Jahangira and the territory on the opposite bank. Toward the close of the year 1819, Ranjit called out his army, ravaged the territories of the *Nawab* of Bhawalpur around Multan and advanced to the bank of the Indus to the west of that city. Dera Ghazi Khan, on the west bank of the Indus, was at the same time wrested from its governor, Zaman Khan and in the settlement made with the Bahawalpur chief, the place was given to him in farm at a heavy rent. (Anon. *History of the Punjab*, Vol. II, pp. 53-54).

"The conqueror of Multan was anxious to secure the mid-Indus region. He (Ranjit Singh) naturally directed his attention to the conquest of Dera Ghazi Khan in 1820. It was nominally a dependency of Kabul. After Khushal Singh's conquest, the Maharaja gave it in farm to Sadi Khan, *Nawab* of Bahawalpur," (N.K. Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 60).

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After that, victorious armies marched towards Khangarh fort[2] and set seige to it. His Lordship was a stage in the rear when a letter from Raja *sahib* Dhian Singh was received that he should participate in the siege. He, therefore, hurried forward and when he reached near the battle-field it so happened that his horse tore the bridle and uncontrollably bounded for the fort-wall. A volley of bullets was emitted from the garrison like a shower. But all went well due to divine protection. On witnessing this incident and feat, the king was all full of praise for his bravery. This also astonished spectators. His Lordship struck with the force of his hand his musket butt on the head of the horse and led it to the '*derah*'. In the darkness of the night he took with him a few venturesome soldiers and set up breast-work at the foot of the fort, and reduced the garrison to straights. so that in the morning the garrison, despaired of life, sought quarters and submitted. A royal *thana* was posted there.

Thence the invading army moved towards Maojgarh fort. (*Three lines omitted*). The overwhelming number of the royal forces frightened the garrison, which sued for shelter without show of arms.

(144) By the night-fall the victorious armies decamped and reached at Kohian. No water was available there so diggers were engaged for digging a well. But enough quantity of water as could be sufficient for the whole army, could not be found. Horces were therefore sent back to Maojgarh and the soldiery marched on foot and invested Mankera[3] fort which was a strong and firm foundation.

2. Khangarh : a large village in the District and *Tehsil* of Muzaffargarh, Panjab (now in Pakistan) eleven miles south of Muzaffargarh town and four miles west of Chenab. It had circular fortifications and a fort. It was built by Khan Bibi, sister of Muzaffar Khan, and at the beginning of the last century, (and before its occupation by Ranjit Singh) was an Afghan post. (*Imp. Gazet.— Punjab, II*, p. 255).

3. Mankera, Conquest of : Mankera village in the Bhakkar tahsil if Mian-Wali District, Punjab (now in Pakistan). It lies in the heart of the Thal, the desert of the Sind-Sagar Doab. A large fort, said to have been founded by the Sials of Jhang, still exists there. Mankera was once the great stronghold of the Jaskani Balochs who lost it to the Bhangi Sikhs about 1772. But soon after, it again became independent under the Sadozais who held it for the Durrani Kings of Kabul. Ranjit Singh invaded the territory in 1821 and took Mankera by siege. (*Imp. Gezet. Punjab, II*, pp. 203-205).

The following account of the conquest of Mankera has been given in the *History of the Punjab* Vol. II, pp. 61-62, Allen & Co : Mankera fortified with a mud wall, and having a citadel of brick but protected more by its positition in the midst of a desert, was now the only stronghold remaining. It was situated among sand-hills in which it was difficult to supply a besieging army with water. A division was advanced for the investment of this place on the 18th

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Breastworks were set up and fire was opened. (*Two lines and two verses omitted*)

There the distressing news of the demise of *Mian sahib* Zorawar Singh, the illustrious grandfather of his Lordship was received so Raja Kishor Singh, father of his Lordship received permission from the King to leave, and he reached Jammu by force marches.

During the night his Lordship accompained by *Misar* Diwan Chand and soldiers, carried the breastwork to the foot of the fort. (*Four lines and three couplets omitted*) (145) Next morning battle started and raged till the first quarter of the day. At last, under the pressure of cannonade and the battering thrust of warriors, musketeers, and swordsmen, the wall of the fort gave way on one side. The *Nawab* of Mankera presented himself before the King with folded hands and pale face and submitted, and the King received him with respect and honour.

Nov. 1821 and beeldars were set to dig wells, the troops being supplied with water, in the first instance, from Moujgarh, on camels, ponies or bullocks. By the 25th November wells having been sunk, ... , Ranjeet moved there himself after . . . . . Between the 26th November and the 7th of December, the works were carried close to the ditch, but not without suffering from the continual fire of the besieged. The *Nawab* Hafiz Ahmad conceiving that enough now had been done for his honour, proposed terms, and stipulated for the surrender of Munkera, under condition of his being allowed to march out with his arms and personal property and of receiving the town of Dera-Ismael-Khan, with a suitable jagir . . . . . On the 14th December, 1821, he admitted a Sikh detachment and surrendered the gates to it.

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CHAPTER
20

Battle with Yusuf-Zai for the first time

The war-like Yusuf-zai[1] '*Marzabans*', out of malignity, raised the head of revolt in the Peshawar region and unfurled the flag of insurrection. In a vain affort they thew off the allegiance of the King of Lahore. They assiduously opened hostilities on the other side of the Atak. (*Two lines omitted*). The imperial armies of the sovereign of the Panjab therefore, moved to this side of the said river in order to subjugate the rebels. (*Two lines omitted*). All at once his Lordship, undaunted by the dashing dreadful current, drove his horse into the stream fearlessly in order to intercept and surprise the enemy. His horse swam across the whirlpool like a crocodile in a river. (*Two lines omitted*). When he had driven a little over the surface of the river, (*One line omitted*) the great king felt that all the chiefs had their agility benumbed out of fear. None of them dared for fear of life to keep abreast of that bravest of the brave in that dreadful whirlpool. (*One line omitted*). The wicked enemy was not at all afraid because of

1. Yususzai Plain: The great Yusufzai plain is of great extent, being bounded on the north by the Hindu Kush Range, on the south by the river of Kabul, on the east by the Indus, and on the West by the Uttman Khail mountains. (Anon, *History of the Punjab, Vol. II* p. 122n.).

The Yusufzai expedition described by *Diwan* Kirpa Ram, seems to have been undertaken by the Sikh chief during his short stay at Peshawar after the ocnquests of Dera Ghazi Khan and the adjoining territory. The purpose of the expedition might have been to overawe the turbulent Afghan tribes.

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their number. The King, therefore subjected all the chiefs to sarcasm and reproach, and showered praises and applause on his Lordship for his gallantry. Afterwards, on strength of oaths, the Maharaja made him retrace out of the water in all glory (147). (*Two lines omitted*). Next morning when the :

Dawn bedecked in a duck-white silk,
Sun adorned an imperial crown

the high *Sardar*, most humbly and obsequiously threw by way of offering some sweets and sugar and bright '*ashrafis*' (ducats), into the water of the Atak, and rubbed his forehead on the ground (*one line and Two couplets omitted*). Afterwards, he rode an elephant, and descended into the river followed by the troops and commanders, and crossed over to the other side. His Lordship did several valuable exertions and lofty afforts on this occasion and did not leave the King alone.

One of the wonders of the divine mercy was that so long as the royal elephant did not reach the other bank no one suffered any injury because of the river in flood and nobody was drowned. After that, many of the nobles and soldiers swimming across the flood were washed away by the current. Verily, there is nothing strange if incredible deeds ensue from a monarch favoured of God.

On reaching the other side Maharaja Ranjit Singh once again rubbed his imperial forehead on the bank of the Atak river in recognition of the divine favour.(*Seven lines and five couplets omitted*).(148) His Lordship rode the war horse like a lion with dragonmouthed matchlock in one hand and a pistol in the other, an enemy-tying lasso around waist, and a steel-chewing shield tucked on back. He carried on brave sallies and beheaded the enemy on all sides. In this condition an Afghan, mighty enough to hurl down an elephant by the trunk, plied his sword at him with such might that the horse (149) under him was wounded; but prompting his horse he (his Lordship) gave such a blow to the enemy on his side that he fell down unconscious. He then cut him with sword. Sajadah Rai who rode by his Lordship, also did many brave deeds and won fame.

When heaps of dead bodies piled up in the battlefield, the enemy showed the back and took to flight. They shut themselves up in a small fort about half a mile away. The Maharaja seated on a huge elephant pursued them. The garrison was offered a proposal that if they wished safety of their life, home and hearth they should throw open the gates. The garrison supplicated that after their suspicions had been assuaged and as soon as an agreement for giving them quarter was concluded they would handover the keys of the fort to

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the imperial officers and would humbly kiss the exalted feet. Consequently, Baba Fidi, who was one of the trusted companions of the King, was sent to the fort for concluding the terms of agreement. Those lost souls, doomed to perish, murdered him and threw out his head from over the the ramparts. At this incident King's fury flowed up and the fortress was stormed. (*Three couplets omitted*). A general massacre was ordered. When all the women and children of those wretches were put to death (150) and none escaped alive, the King moved his victorious standards to Peshawar. Three days after he left that land and turned in the direction of Lahore.

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CHAPTER
21

Circumstances of Mian Dido being killed in the battle of Tarkota Hill

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(*A line and half omitted*) From the day Jammu[1] had passed into the possession of the *Sarkar, Bhayya* Ram Singh and *Diwan* Bhawani-Das Pashaoria had been appointed to the management of revenue and political affairs thereof. But *Mian* Dido, a gallant and valiant man, took to highway robbery on account of exuberance of chivalry. He had commenced plundering and pillaging villages around Jammu. Moreover, he would often enter even Jammu and fight with Sikh troops. Every one who encountered him was dispossessed of his life and property. Such a course caused immense disorder in administration. Some Rajputs such as *Mian* Dharam Singh Raipuriah, *Mian* Ch'affu, *Mian* Chain Singh Hansaliwalah etc., became his companions and accomplices. Rather *zamindars* and *Marzbans* of *talluqas* adjoining Jammu, like Puro Drorha, joined him[2]. Consequently,

1. Jammu had been conquered in 1808 by Hukma Singh Chimni, Ranjit Singh's *faujdar* at Sialkot. A few years later, Jammu territory was directly taken over under Sikh administration and was given as *jagir* to Prince Kharak Singh in 1811 or 1812. His '*Peshkar*' *Bhayya* Ram Singh and *Diwan* Bhawani Dass were deputed by the young prince and his mother to administer Jammu territories.

2. Dido, the outlaw—*Mian* Dido was a brave Dogra Rajput of Jamwal clan, living in Jagti, a village lying in hills to the north of Jammu. He rebelled against the Sikh dominance and represented and guided the uncurbed spirit of the

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celebrated Sardars and the commanders of the armies of the *Sarkar*, namely, Nain-Singh Kumedan, Fateh-Singh Man, *Diwan* Shankar Das Dugal, *Bhayya* Ram-Singh, Dondi-Khan, *Diwan* Kirpa Ram Chopra, *Sardar* 'Atar Singh, Mohan Singh Sud, Narain Das Pashoaria, *Diwan* (151) Bhawanidas Kuba, Ghasita Mal Arora, Devi-Sahae and Lala Dana Mal, who arrived continuously with large troops, found themselves helpless in that affair. They imprisoned chief men of the locality by a variety of startegems and sent them to the Sarkar where they were kept prisoners for long in the Shekhupura fort. A few others were torn open their bowel. Thus Jara' Langeh was summonto Jammu by *Diwan* Bhawani Das on accusation of giving shelter to *Mian* Dido and his stomach was incised. Yet the *Mian* Dido affair aggravated day after day. The sword of his valour sent a panic in the Khalsa army; and the more bloodshed they perpetrated the more up flared the fire of rebellion. The war-like Rajputs showed no fear of the authority of the *Khalsa* government.[3] Whosoever of the *Khalsa*

people of Jammu. His defiance of Sikh authority for over a decade had popular backing and Sikh power failed to stamp out the rebel and his followers.

Captain G.C. smyth explains in detail the causes which compelled the peaceful *Mian* to take to the ways of robbers and outlaws, and ultimately to challenge the Sikh authority in Jammu. *See* note 3 below.

3. The depredations of *Mian* Dido kept the Sikh authorities at Jammu in a constant state of fright. Captain G.C. Smyth has drawn a vivid picture of Dido's skirmishes with the Sikhs. He says :

"There was a garrison of about two thousand men in Jammu, but Dido hesitated not to attack the place on several occasions by night or by day, though his force some-times numbered only fifty or sixty men. In one of these assaults he burnt down nearly the whole place and carried off a great part of the moveable property of the Seik inhabitants. After these exploits he would disappear as suddenly as he came, and the Seiks never ventured to pursue him a musket shot from the walls. It is said that seldom fifteen days passed without an achievement of this kind, and according to tradition, Deedoo from time to time, slew, with his own hand, above three hundered of his enemies, the Seiks. On more than one occasion, this bold brigand has been known to enter Jummoo at the dusk ofthe evening with a band of two or threehundered men, the garrison offering no resistance, but hiding themselves wherever they would find places. After putting to the sword all the Seiks they met with, the robbers would spend the night carousing round fires, which they had lit in the Mundee (The forum of the place) and on which they cooked their evening meal. At dawn of the day they would decamp unmolested, taking with them whatever they thought worth the carriage.

In 1812, tired, probably, of his unquiet life, and allured by promises of pardon from the Seik authorities at Lahore and Jummoo, Deedoo surrendered himself into the hands of his enemies; but no sooner had he done so than suspecting treachery he set upon his quard, and made his escape after killing five men of his escort. He again returned to his wild predatory mode of life, and for above a year more, kept the country in so unquiet and disordered a state,

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army went out of the *Derah* to answer the call of nature, would rarely come back.

One day they imprisoned the said *Mian* by trick. When it was afternoon the said *Mian*, on pretext of nature's call, went to the privy, and struck the head of the guard with the vassel full of water he held. From this blow blood flowed from the soldier's head while he himself escaped running. It is said one day he fell upon the Sikh armies encamped in Mandi and killed a few of them by his unsparing sword and also set fire to the Mandi. Whoever got wounded at his hands could not survive.

In short, through the medium of petitions and despatches of the officers of *Khalsa* army the reports were conveyed to the *Sarkar* and force after force was despatched. But it could not improve matters. Meanwhile, a '*dali*' consisting of dry and fresh fruits, sent

that the Seiks found it impossible to govern it or to realise their revenues from it." (G.C. Smyth, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, pp. 253-254.) Hawking has been a favourite amusement of the seik (Sikh) chiefs, and many of the birds employed in this sport were caught near the Tri Nokur, a Devi . . . . . It happened, however, that sometime in 1811, it was reported at Lahore, that one Deedoo; a Rajput living near the sacred hill and about sixteen miles from Jummu, had caught a remarkably fine hawk. The Seik authorities of the district regarding the bird as the property of their masters or themselves, demanded it from its captor. Deedoo, however, stoutly refused to surrender his prize. On this an officer and twelve men were sent to take it from him by force. They arrived at hut of Deedoo and demanded the surrender of the bird. On this a parley ensued and Deedoo proposed to accompany them to the Durbar at Jummoo, carrying the hawk with him. This was agreed to, and time was given him to prepare for his departure. The hospitable Deedoo thereupon provided them with the raw materials of a meal, which they proceeded to cook in a small area adjoining the the hut. While they were thus employed, Deedoo committing the hawk to the care of his wife, the only other inmate of his dwelling at the time, sent her off with it from rear of the hut to hide herself and the bird in some thick jungles that were near. He then, watching his opportunity when his unwelcome visitors were busily engaged with their meal, rushed upon them sword in hand, and before they could recover from the surprise and confusion into which his sudden assault threw them, he had despatched seven and mortally wounded four of the panic-stricken party. Only two of the thirteen returned to Jummoo to tell the tale. Deedoo now rejoined his wife in the jungles and he could no longer live in that neighbourhood, he took to the hills, an outlaw robber, carrying murder and rapine through the country, but reserving his special attentions for the district subject to the authorities at Jummoo.

Sometimes in these exploits he was the head of two thousand armed men, outlaws like himself, and sometimes he was alone. He was favoured, and when need was, sheltered and protected by the people of the country, who were well disposed towards any one who had the will and power to harrass and annoy the Seik intruders."

(G.C. Smyth, *A Hist. of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, p. 252-53).

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by *Pandit* Birbar Dar, was being carried to the *Sarkar*, which the said *Mian* intercepted in the way. Instead of the '*dali*' he send to the King of Lahore '*Pathuas*' (cakes) of cow-dung and fifth. **(152)** When the '*dali*' reached the presence of the King of Lahore, the porters submitted the complaint about this incident. At this the *Sarkar's* sense of honour was pricked so that he started brooding over taking steps to suppress his rebellion. At that time his Lordship submitted, "There is proverb that a fierce lion was once asleep when a mouse nibbed his moustaches. The lion made several inroads to take revenge on him. But because of its smallness he could not lay his hands on it. He therefore became restless and gloomy. A cat, becoming aware of this affair said to the lion, 'With all this prowess and valour confined in your nature it would be below your dignity to seek quarrel with such a trifling thing having no ability to equal; and in fact no lionine valour is needed to take action against it. If this meek cat is allowed she may possibly chastise it.' The lion thus considered the worth of the cat a divine aid and promised that if she relieved him of that anxiety he would set apart a portion of flesh for her maintenance. As a mouse is a cat's natural hunt so she killed it in no time. In the same manner if the work of doing away with Dido is entrusted to this humblest of the humble servants, it will be readily accomplished."

The King of Lahore, amused at this eloquence, bestowed on him a pair of *Shawl* he had then on his shoulders, exalted him to this expedition[4] and dismissed him attended by *Sardars* Atar Singh Kalal, Jagat Singh Atariwala and other chiefs. Also elders of Jammu side like *Mian* Cha'ffu, *Mian* Diwanu, etc. imprisoned in Shekhupura fort, were released on his Lordship's interception so that by

4. Maharaja Ranjit Singh deputes the Dogra Chiefs for Extermination of *Mian* Dido :

Mian Dido and his band of followers seemed to have become the scourge of the Sikhs in Jammu hills, and Lahore officials found themselves helpless to curb him inspite of their efforts for over a decade. Ranjit Singh seemed to have been convinced that only a Dogra chief could stamp out the sedition raised by the undaunted *Mian*. This seems to be one of the reasons for the conferment of Jammu and its dependencies on *Mian* Kishora Singh and his three sons. The fact of Dido's depredations and the responsibility of dealing with him by the grantees was made an important condition in the deed of grant and the "*Qabuliat*" which reads : and we undertake either to capture and send to the presence, Dido, the recalcitrant, or kill him or drive him across the river Sutlej. "W-Dido mutmarrad-e-badkesh ra asir Karda hazir sazem w-ya-b-Kusham w-ya az darya-e-Sutlej abur Karda Khwahem dad."

As already pointed out, this deed was contracted on 30th November, 1820; the expedition, therefore, was undertaken in the beginning of the following years i.e. A.D. 1821.

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this open goodwill others also became doubly assured of mercy. When his Lordship moved to Jammu, (153) Puro Drohrah and other accomplices of Dido deserted him and tendered their submission

Now his Lordship devised strange cunning strategem to isolate the rebel. *Mian* Dido used to go from place to place, and in whatever village he reached he would announce his name to the inhabitants and the villagers, partially afraid of him and partially out of sympathy, would, without delay, prepare food and carry it to him. No amount of advice in this matter could benefit, till his Lordship thought out a plain. In whatever village his men reached, they, in the manner of *Mian* Dido, started informing the *zamindars* of that village that *Midn* Dido had encamped outside, so they should present whatever eatables were available. When the *zamidars* brought food as usual they would be caught instantly and brought to acconnt. Consequently, the *zamindars* refrained from supplying food to the said *Mian* out of fear lest the Raja *Sahib* impersonating *Mian* Dido, might have sent his men.

A contingent was sent to Jagati, *Mian* Dido was not there but his novogenerian father, Hazari, drew his sword and opposed Atar Singh. So 'Atar Singh called him out to lay arms so as to be spared. Hazari said, "Don't you know that to lay down life bravely under a sword is thousand times preferable to fall crying in enemy hands?" He was thus killed in a duel at the hand of the youth because of infirmity of old age. *Mian* Dido resided with his family in the locality of Chirrai, a region in the Bhalwalta *pargana* which had been occupied by the said Mian. An army under the command of (154) *Mian* Dharam Singh was sent there. Main Dido gave battle. But being handicapped by the presence of his family, Dido's resistance was feeble. He took along his family and retired to the Tarkata mountion. His Lordship encaped at Painthal locality which is two *krohs* distant from Chariai. There some one attacked him with a sword but his Lordship killed him before he could do any harm.

Afterwards he divided his troops in three units and surrounded the Tarkata mountain with them so that no way of escape was left for the enemy, Accordingly, *Mian* Dharam Singh Raipuriah along with other *Mians* was deputed to the right side; Jagat Singh Atari wala and *Sardar* Atar Singh Kalal and *zamindars* of Drorh and Bajial in the middle; and towards left his Lordship posted himself firmly, ready for action. They passed the whole night in vigilence and caution. In the mornin he directed *Wazir* Zorawar Kahluria and *Mian* Bishna and other horsemen via Kotli towards the peak of Tarkota mountain and ordered that if *Mian* Dido engaged in hostilities, he should be killed, if sought quarter he should be

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brought in the presence. Himself he moved straight in the direction of Sanji Chhat and reached a place half *kroh* this side of Sanji Chhat.

When *Mian* Dido saw and realised that he had been hard pressed he had desired to entrust his dependents to the Brahamchari who was at the Shrine of Goddess '*Devi*', That clear-hearted one said, "Last night, in a dream, they metaphorically revealed to me that the tree of your life was uprooted, and the blossom of the everfresh rose of '*Srī Devi-ji*' bloomed afresh in the garden of his Lordship. For this reason I will humbly advise you (**155**) that if you deem life worth while seek protection and turn to the divine blessings in the presence of that rose of eternal spring." The said *Mian* paying no heed to the counsel of the *Faquir*, emphasised that in no case he would seek anybody's protection. Thus fully armed he reached Sanji Chhat, and when he found no passage through the army, he left the path and turned towards the contingent of Jagat Singh Atari wala. From amongest them *Sardar* Atar Singh Kalal a veteran fighter came forward and struck his sword on Dido's head, so that the piece of noose tied around his head was cut, and the skull was slightly scratched. At this the Mian got furious that he had slain his father, drew his sword and exclaimed, "O coward: I will instantly cut you into two," No sooner had he spoken than he struck. In one blow the sword cut through the shoulder down to the belley, and tearing the thigh touched the ground. At this spactacle no body dared to encounter him. So in perfect composure he sat on the top of a stone and bravely asked for a '*hupqa*' and began to smoke. He called out the name of his Lordship contemptuously and shouted "Where is he ? so that in a duel in this battlefield we may prove our manlines." No body could dare to catch him alive. So the soldiers fired matchlocks. By chance he received a bullet in his throat and fell down dead. His Lordship felt distressed on the news of the death of such a brave one; for he had set his heart on capturing him alive and to present him before the *Sarkar*, and also because he was his relative, so his death caused him much anguish. His two sons (**156**) Basant Singh and *Mian* Gusahon were brought up under his affectlons, and he included them in the rank of his attendants. *Mian* Basant Singh, his eldest son, is to this day exalted to the rank of Commandant of cavalry. In appreciation of these signal services. the Sarkar bestowed various favours on his Lordship.

It is proper to give here some account of manliness and audacity, perseverance and endurance for suffering, of his Lordship. One day he was halting in a forced march at Yakamusi, a village of Qadirabad. He led his horse towards a desolation with a view to excursion and hunt. The horsemen with him, all lagged behind and he all

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alone chased the hunt. Only *Mian* Basant Singh, the eldest son of Mian Dido mentioned above, could keep pace with him. When they had travelled far from the guards he removed his own weapons and handed them over to the said Mian and declared, "O Basant Singh ! Your illustrious father has been killed by me; and a Rajput is one who avenges his fathers's blood. Now I am without weapon and removed far from my troops. What more favourable opportunity you will get to avenge on me for the blood of your father ?" On hearing these words the said *Mian* stood bewildered and submitted humbly, "I am reared of the blessings of your benefactions. How such an act can be done by me." He thus let the weapons drop and himself fell on his feet. Such manliness and trial of fortune is not possible of the people at large. (*One line omitted*).

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CHAPTER

22

Aghar Khan Captured

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(157) Raja Aghar-Khan,[1] *marzban* of Rajaor, cherished an ill-will towards State nobles and the authority of the illustrious King of Lahore; so when the sway of the *Sarkar* (Maharaja Ramjit Singh) had been established on the Kashmir valley and most of the Kohistan (alpine) territories, the said Raja apprehending danger to himself, took to flight in consternation. Although he had desired to hide himself in the mountains of Budhil,[2] Khashali,[3]

1. Aghar Khan, Raja of Rajaor (Rajouri)—The name of the Raja has been variously given by different writers, Drew names him "Aga Jan" *Jammoo and Kashmir Territories*, 1875, p. 13) ; S.M. Latif has 'Raja Azim Khan' (*History of the Punjab*, p. 421 ; whereas Baron Charles Hungel (*Travels*, p. 83, November 10, 1835), Shahamat Ali, 1839, (*The Sikhs and Afghans*, p. 100), an unnamed author (*History of the Punjab, Vol. II*, Allen & Co., p. 55) concur in giving Aghar Khan with a slight variation of spelling Agur and Agar Khan. Agar Ullahkhan is the name given by Vogel and Hutchison (*History of the Punjab Hill States*, p. 690) which seems to be the correct appellation.

2. Budhil is a tract to the west of the Chinab in the hills beyond the Dragari Dhar ; to the north of it lies the snowy Panjab. In this tract lies the Budhil pass, a high pass, which has to be crossed en route to Kashmir valley from Jammu. It is about 28 miles south of Shupeyan, the first stage in the valley on this route. (Drew, *op. cit.*, pp. 137, 524, 525).

3. Khashali—In old literature names as Khashalaya and Khaishala, which leads from Marbal pass in the south-east corner to Kashmir, down to Kishtwar,

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Arnas etc., but the *zamindars* of those places, prompted by far-sight, gave him no shelter. He, therefore, fled towards Nar, the *jagir* of Zabardast Khan Ferujal. In the meantime, the said Lordship had been deputed to capture him,[4] and he had therefore set out in his pursuit. Out of about one hundered and fifty companians (of the said Lordship) many became wearried of arduous journey over stony mountain tract. Only twenty five persons could keep company with him. (*Two lines omitted.*). When his Lordship encamped at Shah-darah, one of the divisions of *Thana* of Rajaor territory, he went to Khair-ulla Shah, a resident of that place, who was a wise

It was the abode of the Khasha tribe in by—gone ages. Rajauri and Punch were once included in Kashmir region. (Stein, *Rajatarangini*, i. 317 n.) before these came to be called Chibhal. The Khashali tract proper lies in the hills north and east of Rajauri.

4. The Aghar Ullah Khan Affair—Rajauri, an ancient principality, had come under the supremacy of Kabul in 1752, along with rest of the Punjab, and was immediately subject to the Durrani Governor of Kashmir. When Raja Azmat ullah Khan died in 1808, he was succeeded by his eldest son Agar-ullah Khan, who developed some differences with his brother Rahim-ullah Khan.

The main road to Kashmir lay through Bhimber and Rajauri, and when Ranjit Singh thought of conquering Kashmir, it became a neccssary preliminary to subdue these States first. He therefore sent expeditions against these in 1810 and 1812. Bhimber was subdued but Agar Khan continued to resist, though he agreed to pay tribute.

Ranjit Singh sent armies to conquer Kashmir in 1812 and 1813 , Agar Khan agreed to render every assistance. But both the expeditions were unsuccessful. In the third expedition to Kashmir in 1814 also Agar Khan's support was won over. But the crafty Raja secretly did all in his power to retard the advance and harass the Sikhs by sending out his men dressed as peasants to cut off stragglers and supplies. The expedition miserably failed and Sikhs had to retreat in disorder. A large number of men were killed, and all the baggage was lost. It is even said that the Maharaja himself escaped with difficulty.

All the Sikh officers represented that the disaster was due to the double part played by Aghar Khan. A large force was therefore sent against him in 1815. But he escaped to Kotli and could not be subdued, though his capital town was stormed and plundered and his country devastated. Now Maharaja Ranjit Singh came to an understanding with Rahim-ullah Khan and installed him Raja of Rajauri on promise of loyalty and assistance in Kashmir expedition.

In April 1819, the Sikh army marched towards Kashmir, occupied Rajauri and Punch and Aghar Khan and Wazir Ruhallah Khan, Punch chief took the side of Aghans and held all the passes of the Pir Panjal. But inspite of their opposition, crossing was effected and Afghans were driven back. Kashmir was conquered and became a province of the Sikh Kingdom. Raja Aghar ullah Khan who had taken shelter in difficult fastnesses, was captured in the spring of 1820 by Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu, who had been appointed for this duty, and was sent to Lahore where he was confined till his death in 1825. (Hutchison and Vogel, *op. cit.*, pp, 690-929 ; Shahamat Ali : *The Sikhs and Afghans*, pp. 98-100).

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and God-fearing person. (**158**) The Shah was sitting under a tree with a twing of apricot in his hand and intoxicated with the wine of devotion. He smiled on looking at the said Lordship. When he was inquired as to the cause of his mysterious smile, he said, "I smiled on the miracle of the Infallible Almighty who has committed to the charge of your exalted personality so much performance of the expeditions of governance and the management of the affairs of sovereignty. (*Two couplets omitted*). Climb atop this mountain and cast a glance around and whatever countries you see, the eagle of your prosperity will some day spread its wings of sway over these."

His Lordship was pleased with that recluse and he expressed his intention to grant a *jagir*. At this the recluse said, "I have a piece of land granted to me since long. If the Shah-darah locality is added it will suffice." Consequently, the *sanad* for both the places was issued to him that continue in possession of his offspring to this day. He thus went high up on the top of the mountain and cast his glance in the direction of Jammu, Kashmir, Kishtwar and Tibet. (*Two lines and Two couplets omitted*)

In short, Aghar Khan remained hidden for some time at Nar. At last Zabardast Khan, *marzaban* of that place, over-awed by his Lordship's power, got him imprisoned[5] at the hand of Qasam Beg, *zamindar* of Kandi, who was his subject, and handed him over to the government officials. After his arrest his Lordship moved in the direction of Amar-garh.

5. *The Aghar-Khan Affair.* This seems to be an important affair. All authorities agree that Aghar Khan, Raja of Rajauri was imprisoned by Gulab Singh in May, 1820 (Hugel, *Travels*, p. 83 ; Allen & Co. *History of the Punjab*, *II*, p. 55; Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab* p. 99 ; S.M. Latif, *History of the Punjab*, p. 421.) These authorities also agree that for this service "the family obtained, in jagir, the principality of Jummoo, with which they had long been connected" (*Allen and Co.*, p. 55 ; Prinsep, p. 99 ; Latif, p. 421).

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CHAPTER
23

Accession of his Lordship to the carpet of Jammu Raj

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159 (*Four introductory lines omitted.*) The great personality of his Lordship reflected the marks of glory and greatness, so he deserved a high rank. The lustre of world government emanated from his forehead. The grandeur of conquests of territories was evident from his majestic countenance. Numerous such deeds were therefore performed by him at the commencement of adolescence and the bloom of youth. (*One lines omitted.*) At the dawn of the rising fortune most of the great achievements and important expeditions were brought into existence by him, which astonished the people.

On account of this circumstance the far-sighted, the great Raja (Ranjit Singh) decided to instal his Lordship on the throne of Jammu and clad him in golden *Khilats* so that the management of this hero-producing land was carried on properly and also the formality of appreciation of his meritorious services was expressed in an appropriate manner. So one day Maharajah (Ranjit Singh) with a view to put him to a test, informed the brave and prosperous Raja *sahib* Dhian Singh that the Jammu Raj **(160)** would be bestowed on hlm. At this that wise and noble soul said: (*Two lines omitted*) "In the event of the existence of an elder brother who is deserving as well as able, it will not be proper according to the convention of the kings and custom of grandsires. It would, therefore, be better if the *Sarkar* cast his eyes of choice, and bestow this favour on my elder brother who is superior to me in years and wisdom." This reply which the said Majesty (Ranjit Singh) had in reality desired

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in his heart of hearts raised him (Dhian Singh) hundredfold in royal estimate, and was very much appreciated. (*One line and one couplet omitted*)

In fine, during the year 1879, in the month of Har, when the gold-bonnetted emperor Sun took seat on the throne of the Gemini in all splendour and shine, aud the briskness of rapture and glee looked rapt in all directions, the benevolent King moved his world illuminating standards, for the sake of excursion, in the direction of Chak Kahna. The royal camp broke at Akhnur town, [1] on the bank of the Chenab river at a distance of four *Farsang* from Jammu. An urgent *farman* was issued from the King's court summoning his Lordship to his presence. His Lordship had encamped at Amargarh after imprisoning Raja Aghar-Khan as explained above. He hurriedly joined the royal camp at Akhnur and got the audience in the royal court. (**161**) The King installed this gem of the diadem of prosperity (Gulab Singh) to the Rajaship at an auspicious moment in a glorious hour, on the bank of the river Chenab under the tree of Jabahpotah, on the fourth of the month of Har.[2] The King placed a shining saffron mark on his forehead by his own blessed hand. But it is said that he drew the mark downwards. Some one of the

1. Akhnur : Writing on 4 November, 1835, Baron Charles Hugel describes—Agnur (Akhnur) has a petty Raja, who is in the service of Gulab Singh. It lies on the right bank of the Chenab which is here a strong clear stream, with water of an icy coldness and is protected by a stately fort, although probably more picturesque than useful. It was built thirty-three years ago (i.e. in about 1802) by Alum Singh, and plundered by Ranjit Singh, who does not approve of strong places in the territories of his vassals. The palace is in ruins, but the Raja has built a new and charming house behind it. Agnur itself is a place of no importance "(*Travels in Kashmir and Punjab*, p. 74.)

"The appearance of Akhnur from the left bank of the river is striking. The chief object is the fort...It is a building of lofty wall enclosing a square of over 20 yards, with one entrance gate by the river and another on the land side. The walls are crowned with battlements of the same form as one sees in the Mughal forts throughout Hindostan. The fort was built 90 or 100 years ago by Mian Tegh Singh, who held under Jummoo a jagir, here and at Sol (Sohl), a place in the hills a few miles off...Akhnur is but just below where the river struggles out of the hills, and just above that part of the plains where the ground is so little above its surface that the Channel divided into many. The town is built on a terrace above the river, which is overlooked by a few houses of the better sort, while the part behind is mean and dirty. A little above the fort, on the slope of the river bank, are found traces of a farmer city ; one sees large well made bricks on the surface, but there is no building or wall remaining...Near this spot is a place where the river was bridged by one of the invaders of India—I think it was Ahmad Shah Durani—who passed his army "across the Chinab at this place." (F. Drew : *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, pp. 146-48.).

2. Corresponding to 17th June, 1822.

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counsellors submitted that it was customary to draw upwards. The reply was, "I have planted the roots of his tree in soil so that it flourishes and lasts till enternity." On the same day Raja *sahib* Suchet Singh was exalted to the Raj of Ramnagar and honoured with the title of Raja. His Lordship submitted that Dhian Singh was yet to be honoured with title of *Rajagi* and territory. His Majesty had replied that he was to be made *Raja-e-Rajagan*.[3] (*Two lines and half and five couplets omitted*). The following is the copy of the royal *Sanad* of the grant by the ruler of Lahore :

(162) Right hand impression in saffron ink.

Sahi (in Gurmukhi Script.)	(Seal in Gurmukhi Script bearing the inscription) Akal-Sahae Ranjit Singh

Whereas on this auspicious occasion, as a token of favours and kindness, the Raj of Jammu *Chakalah* which has, since forefathers and ancestors, been the patrimony and possession of the ancestors of *Ojal didar nirmal budh, muqrrab-e-bargah-e-Sultan*,[4] Mian Dhian Singh and Raja Suchet Singh; **(163)** and whereas the afore-said have, at an early age of about twelve years, been honoured by attendance on his majesty, and also forefathers and ancestors .of the above mentioned

3. Titles and Rajgi for Dhian Singh. The '*Rajgi*' and honorifics for Dhian Singh were put off till a future date when on a suitable occasion, these were conferred on him. "In the year 1828, on the festival of Baisakhi, *Mian* Dhia Singh who now became the great favourite with the Maharaja received the title of Raja of Bhimber, which place had been seized from Sultan Khan." (Shahamat Ali : *The Sikhs and Afghans* ; p. 95.).

S.M. Latif also states that by 1828, Dhian Singh rose to be the first Minister in the state with the distinctive title of '*Raja-i-Rajgan Hindpat Raja Bahadur*' (*History of the Punjab*, p. 440.)

The original document of the conferment, however, gives a definite, but different date. It is dated "the seventh of the month of Har *Mubarak* Samvat 1884," corresponding to 20 June 1827. (*MS No. M*/507, N.A. Patiala). The date has therefore to be corrected in the light of the *sanad* bestowed on Dhian Singh by Maharajah Ranjit Singh. The *sanad* confers on him the chieftaincy of the countries of Bhimber and Chibhal, and contains the titles : "*Rajah-i-Rajgan, Rajah Kalan Bahadur.*" and "*Ujjal Didar, Nirmal Budh, Mukarrab-i-Khas-ul Khas, Rajah-i-Rajgan, Rajah Dhian Singh Bahadur Jamwal.*" (*Ibid.*).

4. "Bright in appearance, clear in understanding, confidential counsellor of the imperial council, Mian Dhian Singh."

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persons, from days gone-by, and generation after generation, had sincerely been present in attendance on *Singh-Sahib* the benevolent the deceased Mahan Singh-jio, our illustrious father, and whereas all the three '*Ujal-didars*[5] have pulled over their shoulders the bond of servitude, obedience, loyalty, good-will and constant attendance, and have left out no particulars in rendering loyalty, sacrifice and services and spared no pains in dash, devotion and bravery in every battle and compaign-such as the conquest of Multan and Kashmir and the slaughter of the wicked rebels on the other bank of the river Sindh and in fight with the forces of Kabul and Peshawar. The territory of the said *Chaklah*, is therefore, granted to the said Raja[6] and his descendants, and the mark of the said Raj being drawn by the blessed hand on the *Ujal didar, nirmal budh, muqrrab-e-bargah, Khair-khwah-e-bila ishtbah*,[7] Raja Gulab Singh. As a token of special condescensions and favour and in consideration of signal services, the mark of the government of Bandaralta territory is anointed by the bountiful majesty on the *Ujal didar, nirmal bud Raja* Suchet Singh-*jio*, so that they may dispose of its income at their will and on their descendants, and be assiduously busy in performance of service, goodwill and loyalty to the glorious *Sarkar*. Provided

5. "Bright in appearance."

6. Conferment of Jammu Raj on Raja Gulab Singh :—

Shahamat Ali says that : Mean Kishora Singh, who though not considered the rightful heir, was called by his subjects 'Ruja', having died, Ranjeet Singh, at the request of his favourites, the sons of the deceased, proceeded towards Jummoo to perform the rites of condolence. On that occasion he invested them with *Khilats*... While at Jammoo Runjeet Singh conferred the title of the Raja of Jammoo on Gulab Singh, and that of Bhadarwal (Bhandral) on Seochait Singh, his brother." (*The Sikhs and Afghans* p. 94-95). The deed of *Qabuliat* (*Document No. M*/504, N.A. Patiala.), Acceptance deed contracted by the three brothers one day prior to the '*Sanad*', i.e. on 3rd Har, 1879 (16 June A.D. 1822) contains the words "*Uz ghayat-i-Karm Rajtilk-i-Jammu beh ghulaman 'ata-i-arzani farmuda*"—out of his excessive kindness has bestowed the raj-tilak of Jammu upon these slaves. According to this document, the '*rajgi*' seems to have been conferred upon the three brothers collectively. (J.S. Grewal & Indu Banga,) "Ranjit Singh the suzerain" in *Procedg. of the Punjab History Conf.*, 1970, p. 88, n 67). The conjecture, however is not correct. The *Qabuliat* is a formal document contracted in advance by the three brothers collectively in anticipation of conferment of *rajgi* on all of them individually in their turn. The '*Sanad*' confers '*rajgis*' of Jammu and Bandrahlta separately on Raja Gulab Singh and Raja Suchet Singh-lihaza mulk-e-Chakla-i-mazkur az dast-i-mubarak beh 'ujjal didar, nirmal budh... Raja Gulab Singh mabrahn farmuda.

The three brothers also got a formal declaration signed by Jit Singh the deposed Raja of Jammu, (see below, Chapter 25.)

7. "Bright in appearance, clear in understanding confidential counsellor of the thresh-hold, the well-wisher above suspicion, Rajah Gulab Singh."

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that whoever be, by the mercy of *Sri Akalpurakh-jio*, of the royal house of the bountiful *Sarkar*, will conform this very *purwana* of the glorious majesty and will make no variations whatever. Further provided that whosoever will be the descendants of the Raja and the said *Mian*, they will readily be present in service, goodwill, submission and loyalty towards the bountiful *Sarkar*.

(164) In witness thereof the high *Purwana*, with '*Sahi*' and the saffron hand impress of the blessed hand, has been granted. Written on the Fourth Day of the month Har of the year 1879.[8] By order of His Majesty.

8. Corresponding to 17 June, 1822.

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CHAPTER
24

The Akhnur Camp on the River Chenab

A few days[1] after this the imperial camp broke-up for Lahore. His Lordship arrived at Jammu and lent the town a new mirth and festivity. Raja Chet Singh.[2] who had disinherited his sons for undesirable behaviour, and possessed affection for him (his Lordship) now anointed him to the Raj[3] with his own hands so that the right

1. This is in the close of June, A.D. 1822.
2. Raja Chet (Jit or Ajit) Singh : See foot note 77 of Chapter 5 above.
3. Raja Jit Singh Anoints Gulab Singh—Diwan Kirpa Ram's assertion that Raja Jit Singh anointed Gulab Singh to the Raj of Jammu with his own hands, is amply supported by documentary evidence. Raja Jit Singh also wrote out a formal declaration whereby he renounced the rights of himself and his descendents to the Raj of Jammu in favour of Gulab Singh and his brothers. The first portion of the Iqrar-namah has been reproduced below :—

منکہ راجہ جیت سنگھ پتہ راجہ صاحب رنجیت دیو جیو ام درینوقت ازراہ توجہات باطنی
و الطاف والی مالکیت تمام ممالک محروسہ بزرگانِ خود و وراثتِ خود بابرخوردار اقبال نشان
راجۂ راجگان راجہ گلاب سنگھ جیو و راجہ صاحب دھیان سنگھ جی و راجہ سوچیت سنگھ جی
ازراہ دھرم و نیم قول و قرار و اقسام بزرگان ٹھاکران و گوران خود از محبتِ دلی
و شفقتِ باطنی بخشیدم۔

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devolved on the deserving. The same day the custom of imposition of Doaru which consisted in the practice of charging two rupees on every door and wall, was liberally abolished and remitted.

(*Document No. M*/504, State Archives, Patiala).

"I, Raja Jit Singh, grandson of Raja *Sahib* Ranjeet Dev jio, on this occasion and out of internal inclination and dignified favours, in my own life-time, and as a token of intrinsic love and heart felt affection, hereby renounce propriatorship to all the protected territories of my ancestors and my own inheritance, in favour of my prosperous '*barkhurdar*,' *Raja-i-Rajgan*, Raja Gulab Singh *jio*, and Raja *Sahib* Dhian Singh *ji* and Raja Suchet Singh *ji*, by way of *dharam* and *niyam*, mutual agreement and on oaths of my predecessors and *Thakurs* and *Gurus*...."

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CHAPTER
25

Circumstances of the Battle of Tihri

When Sardar Azim Khan[1] took to his head the idea of a serious disturbance, and instigated insurrection and revolt the King of Lahore directed an expedition against him consisting of eight thousand youngmen under the command of Prince Sher Singh, his Lordship, Sardar Hari Singh, Sindhanwalia and Atariwala *Sardars*. This large force covered all the distance, (**165**) set up a bridge across Atak[2] river and crossed over to Khairabad. The next day, they reached in the vicinity of the Jagira[3] fort on this side of the river Lunda[4]. The enemy, collected on the other side and intercepted the advance of royal army by opening musket-fire. They had, therefore, to entrench there for three days.

At last, they became ready for an assault on Jagira fort, and levelling wooden planks on boats, they crossed the river. *Sardar*

1. *Sardar* Azim Khan, the *Wali* or ruler of Kabul, died in May, 1824 (*Anon*: *History of the Panjab, Vol. II* p. 75). The battle of Tihri was therefore fought earlier, probably during March-April, 1824. (*Ibid*, pp. 70-74).
2. The Sindh or Indus river.
3. Sohan Lal: *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Dafter II* p. 134; N.K. Sinha: *Ranjit Singh*, p. 62. The name of the place is usually written as Jahangira.
4. i.e., the river Kabul.

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Hari Singh, conspicuous in marks of valour and gallantry, made an assault on the fort with great force of dash with the help of a band of dauntless warriors. The tough resistance of the beleaguard garrison could not push him back, so that their resistance broke down. The fort wall crumbled down by the blows of the bolting cannons. The doors of the said fort were forced open, and the garrison had to surrender. The triumphant troops returned therefrom to the camp and halted at the locality of Akora[5] on this side of the river Lunda.

Meanwhile, about forty thousand '*mujahids*', appeared like black clouds on that side of the river on a lofty place called Tihri. From another side came *Sardar* Azim Khan with fifteen thousand[6] troops intent on battle and encamped on this side of the river. Moreover, *Khalifah* Sayyid Ahmad, the inducer of *Jihad* among the warlike Aghans, gave a call to a mighty crowd to hurry to the battle-field. **(166)** Consequently, the King of Lahore rushed towards that direction to direct the campaign personally, In view of the intelligence about the large number of enemy forces he sent a suggestion to the Prince (Sher Singh) and the grandees to abstain from hostilities and to adopt the warfare in the manner of the fighting ram, who flrst goes back and then rushing forward, strikes. But when the said prince held consultations with army commanders on the desirability of retreat and withdrawal, his Lordship, known for wise counsel and resoluteness, stressed that in case the Prince retreated from the battle-field, he might certainly compromise his worth and honour. It was therefore proper to press a battle. (*One couplet omitted*).

So royal troops set seige to the Tihri fort and conflagration of struggle flared up. The King of Lahore had also arrived to direct the campaign on the spot. It is said that as conflict and battle

5. "Ranjeet now ordered his army to cross the Indus,and the river was forded on the 13th March (1824). Ferozkhan, chief of the Khuttuks, being dead, a sequestration was made of all his possessions (of Jagira). On the 14th March, the army entered Akora." (Anon: *History of the Punjab*, Vol. II p. 70).

6. *The History of the Punjab* gives very Slander figures of Afghan fighters and it records the number "between four or five thousand men, and these were mere mountaineers and villagers, who turned out for the Ghazi, that is, to fight the religious battle against the infidel, for a whole day, the entire army of Runjeet Singh who had in the field against them not less than 24000 men, and all his best troops" (p. 72). According to Wade the Sikh casualties in the struggle were 2000 killed and wounded, including four officers of distinction, whereas Amar Nath's estimate is 4000.

"A battle was fought between the Sikhs and the Afghans at Nowshera. The army engaged numbered about twenty thousand on both sides." (*Foreign Department Miscellaneous*, No. 128, N.A.I.)

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prolonged, an anxiety inflicted the heart of the fortunate King, that in spite of this battle and assault the enemy had not taken to flight, and yet a stronger force was ready on the other side of the river in the rear. God unwilling, if the hostile army advances from all sides the situation might go out of hand. On this account he came down from his horse and began rubbing his humble forehead on the threshold of the Almighty. At the sight of this state of anxiety of the heart of the glorious King, Raja *Sahib* Dhian Singh came down from his *shabdej* horse and (167) dauntlessly climbed on the high mound to lead the troops and gave them order for a general assault. Consequently, the Khalsa troops took courage, drew their swords and fell upon the hostile ranks. From the other side *ghazis*, mustering courage and despaired of life, gave a close fight. (*Three lines omitted.*)

Raja *Sahib* Suchet Singh too joined his illustrious brother in the foray and gave proof of singular bravery in the battlefield (*One line omitted*), and broke down the spirit of the enemy. They say that from the threshold of the King, prompted by heart-felt affection and kindness, a hint was sent in the midst of the battle to Raja Dhian Singh that he should withdraw himself from fight and should not put himself in risk, for, his life was more precious. But he did not deem it proper to retreat except on destruction of the enemy. He sent a button of his robe for the removal of the suspicions of the King and sent word that he would return only after the enemy had been put to route. (*Three lines omitted.*) On the last day of the battle the pigeon-hearted enemy, who had nestled on the Tihri height, fell prey one and all, to the eagle-like warriors. The Raja *Sahib* returned triumphantly to the presence of the King.

(168) Of all the illustrious among the Khalsa army who laid down their lives in that battle one was Fula Singh *Nihang*, (*Two lines omitted*). While moving to this direction, the King had left Fula Singh at Wazirabad on account of his wreckless audacity and inflamable nature. When that *Nihang* heard the news of this battle, he joined it with a few *sowars* without orders of the King. He presented himself before the illustrious King and submitted that as the Afghan people had made *jihad* and hostilities their pass-word and had determined to kill and be killed, he too would fall a martyr for the sake of the *Khalsa*. Uttering these words he darted for the battle field and met a heroic death[7]. (*One couplet and two lines omitted*).

7. Phula Singh Akali: "The battle commenced with a furious charge led by Phoola Singh Akali, a Sikh desperado, who was in the habit of rushing forward, with some followers of like zeal, at the commencement of action. The *mussalmans*, however also felt their battle to be a religions one, and met the fanatic

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His Lordship accompained by Prince Sher Singh and their troops had entrenched on the other side to measure arms with *Sardar* Azim Khan. Warriors like Gulabu Naranian and Amar Singh Mazbi cleverly captured one boat from the enemy during the night and brought it pulling. *Sardar* Azim Khan had wanted to send reinforcements to the *ghazis* of Tihri in boats. As the ill-luck would have it those boats sank in the water one after the other. (169) The said *Sardar* (Khan), therefore, interpreted this to be a proof of the victory of the King of Lahore and his own defeat. So he lost heart and took to flight. In hurry he left behind his baggage and he took the road to Kabul during the night[8]. It is said that some person had informed him that a Sikh force had been despatched to capture his family, and this had shaken his resolution.

And next morning, it was found that he had left for Kabul (*two lines omitted*). After this victory, Maharaja Ranjit Singh came back to Peshawar an d stayed there for twenty-nine days.

Sikhs with corresponding zeal, so that the latter were completely destroyed and their leader slain." (Anon; *History of the Punjab*, Vol. II., p. 71).

8. "Mohamed Uzeem Khan was during this action of the *Ghazi*, at Chumkawa, about four miles and a half east of Peshawar. He made no effort to succour or support the warriors, and was watched in his position by a Sikh force under Kirpa Ram, Sher Singh, and Huree Singh, which had advanced by the opposite bank of the river. Upon learning that the party was overpowered and had dispersed, and retired to Jalalabad, on the Cabul Road, leaving the field clear to Ranjeet and the Sikh army." (*Ibid*, pp. 73-74.)

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CHAPTER
26

An account of the conquest of Samartah Fort

His Lordship's audacity had always been directed towards the carrying out of expeditions big and small. In the year 1881[1] of Bikrami, the conquest of Samartah[2] fort, which adjoins Bhado territory in the environs of the hill country of Ram-nagar, became his target. He held consultations with *Diwan Sahib* Amir Chand, the illustrious grandfather of the author of this memoir. A few of Dalpatia and Birpuria *Mians* and the *zamindars* of the neighbourhood, and about two hundred, warlike youngmen, advanced in that direction **(170)** and halted at the first stage of Saruinsar[3]. Thence the troops moved to Banera via Mansar.[4] At that place about a thousand fighters

1. Corresponding to A.D. 1824.

2. *Samarta* — Seems to be an ancient locality, and has probably been referred to under the name "Samatika" in the Chamba copper-plate title-deed of mid-eleventh century which mentions this place along with "The Lord of Durgara" (Duggar). (Prof. Keilhorn, *Indian Antiquarian*, 1888, p. 9; Hutchison & Vogel: *History of Punjab Hill States*, p. 288). It lies in the environs of Bhadu-Balaor.

3. *Saruin-sar*—See Chapter 7, note 7; Chapter 33, note 4.

4. *Man Sar*—"A journey of not many miles from Parmandal, but by a rugged path over difficult hills, would bring us to the two strange little lakes named Saroin Sar and Man Sar . . . They are 8 or 10 miles apart, but are on about the same strata, and are each about 2000 or 2200 feet above the sea, being situated

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had collected; so the troops moved to the environs of the said fort. It is said that a ninety year old woman, Fartut, came to the camp and casting a strange glance from her eyes, which had been impaired on account of extreme old age, predicated the conquest of the fort. When questioned, she replied, "I learnt from the women of the past, that many brave warriors who made a bid on the conquest of this fort, would reach this place in fifteen days' time, while his troops have reached in a day's march. Verily, with this bravery and audacity even the Alwand mountain could be uprooted. What to speak of this fort?"

After reaching the fort the army split up into three parts and set to breast-work. His Lordship placed himself at the centre close to the fort. The left flank of the breast-work was entrusted to *Mian* Labh Singh *Kumedan* and Diwan Singh. Towards the right flank Sajadah Rai and Saon Singh Samial took their positions.

(*Two lines omitted*). At night his Lordship put on black dress as a measure of caution so as not to be detected by the enemy. When two hours of the night had passed he went near the ramparts and arranged for the preparations of covered paths and carried the breastwork nearer. Although fire was opened from above the fort, yet rapid well-diggers remained employed in trenching and mining. After digging trenches soldiers took shelter in them, and raising heaps of earth in their front got ready for the battle. Similarly other breastworks too were carried to the foot of the fort. The whole night exchange of fire continued.

(*Two lines omitted*). (171) In the morning his Lordship came to the conclusion that by fighting sheltered in breastworks there was every likelihood of the action being prolonged, so it was better to provide material for storming the fort and making a determined assault. An order was, therefore, issued for the preparation of ladders. *Mian* Gulab Singh Dalpatiah took three to four hundered strong-armed youngmen and hurriedly felled down trees and collected twigs to be used in filling the moat of the fort. In a short time eqiupment enough for unnerving the enemy had been piled. According to the order they informed the garrison by yells and loud calls that if they valued life they should surrender the fort else it would be taken by storm and slaughter would ensue. The very collection of material for assult had made the garrison realise the futilily of resis-

somewhat high on or between the parallel ridges . . . Man Sar is a larger lake, perhaps three quarters of a mile long and half a mile broad; it is in a very similar position, at a high level, and nearly surrounded by hills, but at one side there is a great descent into a steep valley or ravine." (Drew: *Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, 1883, p. 89.).

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tance. They, therefore, decided to submit, and sent a message that if agreement was concluded and their property and belongings were left unmolested, the tribute would be paid and they would abstain from battle and surrender the fort. Accordingly, *Mian* Bishan Singh, Labh Singh and Gulab Singh went inside the fort to conclude terms of agreement and brought the garrison before his Lordship. The terms agreed upon were carried out. *Mian* Bishna was appointed to the *thanahdari* of that place and his Lordship retreated to Jammu.

After this conquest, Maharaja Ranjit Singh entrusted the fort to Ram Singh Isa-puria who was the governor of Samba. Afterwards, when Raja *Sahib* Suchet Singh was exalted to the government of Ramnagar, the said fort, along with Ramkot and Samba, came under his possession.

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CHAPTER
27

An account of the battle of Saidu

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(172) I have so heard from my trusted friends that when *Sardar* Budh Singh Sindhanwalia saw that the King of Lahore was ill and in the grips of a serious disease, he hatched in his mind the crooked idea of the occupation of Gobindgarh fort. He left Lahore and reached that place by forced marches. In the darkness of night he drew close to the fort wall, and on the pretext that the glorious camp of the Lahore King had arrived, he called out for the door of the fort to be opened. But from the inmates of the fort the reply came that before sunrise, the opening of gates was out of question. He did not, therefore, deem it advisable to stay on, and returned disappointed. The report of this unworthy action of his reached the King's ear, His Majesty had though procured information about the said *Sardar's* secret doings. yet he over looked his crime, excused him and forgot it. But he decided to send him to Peshawar on an expedition for the suppression of the Afghans. The *Sardar* was penitent and ashamed of his misdeeds, and did not consider himself excusable. He took this opportunity as blessing in disguise, and left for Peshawar with rapid haste. The Afghan tribe, numerous than ants and locusts, headed by *Khalifa* Sayyid Ahmad[1], the leader of

1. *Khalifa Sayyid Ahmed Shah*: "Ranjit Singh's acquisition of Peshawar did not place him in peaceful and permanent possession of that province . . . It was not long before there arose a Mohammedan fanatic named Ahmad Shah, who gathered round him a very considerable following of Mussulman tribes, set himself up as Commander of the Faithful, and preached a *jehad*, or religious war

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the *mujahid*[1] sect, and *Sardar* Yar Muhammad Khan, Sultan Muhammad Khan. Pir Muhammad Khan, the Barakzal chiefs, came forward to give him battle. The said *Sardar* kept firm hold on the situation and submitted its particulars to the Lahore King. His Lordship was at Jammu at that time (173) so an urgent *farman* was issued to him directing him to proceed with all possible haste, to the rescue of *Sardar* Budh Singh. Consequently, his Lordship without even going to the palace to get leave, left for that region by forced marches. He met the troops already encamped at Jehlam under the command of the *Diwan Sahib* (Amir Chand) the illustrious grand-father of the author of this memoir, and took him along, and proceeded towards the Yusufzai. The Afghans had infiltrated into Hazru[2] with the object of plundering the city and massacring inhabitants thereof. So *Sardar* Hari Singh with a few veteran *sowars*, had gone to defend the town. His Lordship had therefore decided to punish the Yusufzai rebels first. But all at once a letter of Sardar Budh Singh was received that if they be sloth in helping him, they might not find him alive. The hostile troops had made a night attack on Budh Singh's contingent, but the *Sardar* had withstood the attack and stuck to the positions. His Lordship and *Sardar* Hari Singh hurried to his rescue. When the great King received information about this affair, he ordered the chiefs, including Raja Suchet Singh *sahib* and Atariwala *Sardars* that in all haste they should rush to the aid of the said *Sardar* and endeavour to suppress the insurgents.

against the Sikhs, Ahmed quarrelled with Yar Mohammed, who though a Mussulman, held Peshawar" as a tributary of Ranjit Singh. Yar Mohammed was killed and was succeded in office by his brother Sultan Muhammed, who was subsequently beaten out of Peshawar by Ahmed. It was not till 1831 that the Mussulman prophet (*Khalifa*) was finally vanquished and slain by the soldiers of the Khalsa; while Sultan Mohammed was reinstated as a tributary governor." (Gough and Innes. *The Sikhs and the Sikh wars*, p. 37).

Ahmad was originally a petty officer of horse in the service of Amir Khan. Upon the breaking up of the military establishment of that chief in 1818-19 Ahmad took a fanatical turn, associated with some *maulvis* of sanctity at Delhi and gained some reputation as religious preacher. In 1822 he went to Calcutta from where he sailed for pilgrimage to Mecca. On return he travelled through Hindustan and declared his intention of waging a religious war against the Sikh infidels. Thus armed and prepared he made his way to the hills near Peshawar, raised the *Muhamadee Jhanda* among the Yusafzai Musalmans. (Allen & Co., *History of the Punjab*, II, pp. 83-85).

2. *Haidru or Hazru:* From Hasan Abdul there is another route leading direct to Attock, via Hydro, a large village about two miles to the right of the course we followed ; but it is said to be practicable only for horses. Hydro was some years ago attacked and burnt by the late Syed Ahmad (Sayyad Ahmad). (Shahamat Ali. *The Sikhs and Afghans*, p. 168).

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When his Lordship reached Saidu[3] he found the hostile force numerous and the government troops much too few (174) not more than ten thousand, so in view of the exegency of the occasion, he suggested throwing up a barbed fence around the encampment. At Giddargali,[4] which is a mountain tract difficult of access, about ten thousand Yusufzai[5] Afghans had collected. After midnight they tried to (*One lines omitted.*) pull down the Atak bridge, to mar the progress of the imperial army and the conveyance of equipment. The Atak garrison cleverly mounted cannons and strove for the defence of the bridge. At the first quarter of the day after the night, the said Lordship left the army there and accompanied by three hundred *sowars* went to the other side to repel the enemy. From the other side ten thousand Afghans descended from the mountain peak to give battle. But the said Lordship (*One line of adjectives omitted*), scorning at the number of enemy, engaged in dressing himself and taking opium to which he was addicted. Afterwards, he rode to the battlefield leisurely and commenced hostilities.

Meanwhile, the *Sardar* (*Two lines omitted*) also joined him. He was directed to engage the enemy entrenched on the top of the hill. The *Sardar* bolted off and like flash of lightening fell upon the enemy. (*One line omitted*). (175) A bloody battle was the result. Several soldiers were killed in that action. Men like *Mian* Gulab Singh Salathia who was a great friend of his Lordship, Piar Singh Manhas and others laid down their lives heroically. Several others

3. *Saidu*: "There, too, we are in the midst of tombs, and indeed I may safely call the whole country on either side of the road, from the Geedar Gullie to Akora, an extensive cemetery. At a place called Syddoo, where a few large trees ovarhang a small collection of mud hovels, the sepulchres are numberless; and it was here General Court's *Jemadar* related that 8,000 Sikhs had made a successful defence against 150,000 Afghans." (Lient W. Barr; *Journal of a March from Delhi to Cabul*, p. 115).

4. *Giddar Gali* "A mile (from Khairabad) brought us to the pass of Geedar Gullie, which is a defile, crossing overa spur from the Khuttuck hills, and in two places very difficult for wheeled carriages, being steep and encumbered with loose stones of some size. Its whole extent may be from one and a half to two miles; and in the more exposed parts, Ranjeet has erected a few castles, which are garrisoned by troops stationed there for the purpose of securing the pass as well as for the protection of travellers. The scene was one of great wildness and fraught with excitement: Whilst the guards, armed with long matchlocks, and perched on the extermity of a jutting crag, paced to and fro on their elevated and confined posts, and added much to the picturesqueness of the effect." (Lient W. Barr, *Journal of a March from Delhi to Cabul*, p. 113).

5. *The Yusufzai Territory*: The territory is of great extent, being bounded. N. by the Hindu Coosh; S. by the River of Cabul; E. by the Indus; and W. by the Otmunkhail mountains. (Anon, *History of the Punjab*, p. 122 n.).

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like Jhanda Singh *Nihang* were wounded. A matchlock shot struck his Lordship's sleeve also but he had a narrow escape. At last the royal troops were victorious and the enemy escaped to the heights of mountains. At that time *Sardar* Atar Singh Sindhanwalia also arrived and joined the battle. At night, his Lordship returned in triumph and victory to his *derah* in the light of flambeauxs. After that successful action, battle continued for fifteen days on that front. It is said that the Afghan army exceeded one hundered thousand so that nothing could be seen all around except the enemy clad in black. Whereas the Khalsa forces were counted at something below eight thousand by experts. Because of this the illustrious *Sardars* and Commanders held a council of deliberation and proposed that as the enemy was numerous, rather numberless, so it was proper to engage it inside the fence. But it could not be agreed upon. They were thus obliged unanimously to consult his Lordship for being of superior birth and pedigree he would best dictate what was appropriate to the occasion. His Lordship, well versed in the devices of festivity as well as of war said, "Although enemy is countless, yet if we take shelter behind the fence wall (176) we will be surrounded on all sides by the enemy and thus fall short of food and become helpless. It would, therefore, be better to put faith in God and get arrayed in the battle-field, and with our backs to the intrenchments, send workmen and servants into these. In the middle, infantry and artillery should be posted, and to the left and right flanks the *sowars* under the command of illustrious *Sardars*, should be ready waiting for the opportunity. As long as enemy does not come within the range of a gun shot, no body should open fire. As the enemy comes within the bullet range, a volley of cannon and musket fire be showered from artillery and platoons. When enemy ranks are broken by the volley of cannon-fire, troops and *sowars* of left and right flanks should simultaneously make a raid on them. If, God willing, the enemy shall have better hand of us, it would not be difficult to retreat into the barbed fence."

The plan of the said Lord was approved of by the illustrious chiefs. At dawn when a large Afghan force appeared at a distance carrying cannons and matchlocks and other war equipment, the imperial troops hurried to oppose it, and cannons and muskets emitted fire on both sides. Unluckily the cannon of the Atariwala Sardars fell off the wheel. Sighting this the enemy rushed to that side and a bloody carnage ensued. (*Four lines omitted*).

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Verses :

(177) *Up sprang the warriors on both sides,*
They shed the blood in swelling streams;
The air vibrated with buzzing darts,
And stones bewailed under blows of clubs,
Sword's blows blew the swords to pieces
And the enemy trembled like lily-twigs.

(*Four lines and one couplet omitted*)

At last a large number of enemy forces lost the furniture of life in the whirlwind of destruction and those who survived, took to heels. The Khalsa army pursued them. *Sardar Sahib* Hari Singh and Raja Suchet Singh led the pursuers and killed a number of fugitives. His Lordship restrained them from pursuing them, for following the fugitives was far from being safe. But it was of no avail. Consequently, the enemy numbering some thousands took positions firmly in Saidu Village. His Lordship had, out of prudent far-sight, instructed that a village should never be surrounded on all the four sides, but one side should be left open for escape. But this also did no good to the brave *Khalsa* soldiers who had lost self-possession. (*One line and one couplet omitted*). (178) So another furious action was fought there. None of the Afghans escaped with life, and from the *Khalsa* force also several fell in the battle-field. The said Village fell to the *Khalsa* sword after arduous task. Many renowned *sowars* and war veterans lost their lives, leaving behind fair name in the annals of valour.

A strange thing happened there that among the *Mujahids* a certain Sayyid Godri had been killed in that compaign. He had a dog with him who went round the dead body and did not allow any one to go near it. It did not even care for the bread which on-lookers threw to him. In the same manner he spent eight days without food and sleep and died in faithfulness to his master. (*One verse omitted*). This great battle was fought on the fourteenth of the month of Phagan in 1882.[6]

6. The date of the battle here given corresponds to about March A.D. 1825. But European historians have March, 1827, which seems more reliable as being based on day to day intelligence reports sent to the British government of India, from Lahore, Peshawar and other important places.

"In the month of March, 1827, the sayad, at the head of a countless irregular host, ventured to attack this force which was commanded by Budh Singh Sindoowalia." (Henry T. Prinsep ; *Origin of Sikh power in the Punjab*, p. 116. Anon : *History of the Punjab, Vol. II*, p. 84.)

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CHAPTER
28

Lease of the salt mines situated in Pind Dadan Khan and other territories

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(*Four lines and three couplets omitted.*) (179) Due to the inefficiency of revenue collectors who could hardly distinguish revenue from rape, the income from the territories of Pind Dadan Khan,[1] Bhera,[2]

1. Pind Dadan Khan--The famous salt town on the right bank of the river Jhelum, the head quarters of the Salt Department. It was a large and flourishing town of 16,800 inhabitants, nearly two third of whom were Muhammadans. The range of mountains furnishing salt, has a most picturesque appearance here. It rises boldly to the North of the river in vertical precipices of 500 to 600 feet in height. The salt, in the shape of solid rock, lies in the great beds on the slopes of the table-land; and these deposits are the largest in the world. The workings were called Kheura, and later on, the Mayo mines, near Pind Dadan Khan. The Pind Dadan Khan district was apparently at one time densely populated. Ruins of cities, forts and temples abound, walls and stones of the great city of Gurjak, the stronghold of Darapur Janjuhas. From A.D. 625 to 939 the salt range formed a portion of the Kashmir Kingdom. Pind Dadan Khan was formed out to Raja Gulab Singh in A.D. 1831 by Maharaja Ranjit Singh and remained under him till 1846. (*Gulabnama*, p. 179 ; Rose ; *The land of Five rivers*, pp. 152-53) . . . . "Pind Dadan Khan which is three koss (4 1/2 miles) from Meeanee on the right bank of the Jheylum (Jehlum). Pind Dadan Khan consists of three small towns in a line, about 100 yards from each other. In the centre one is the fort and the bazar." (*Political Diaries of* H.E. Edwardes, dated 20-?-1847, *Lahore Pol. Dia.*, V. p. 12, P.G.R.) Brass vessels are made in the town which also has a considerable weaving industry, while its embriodered lungis are often sold at high prices. Boat building is largely carried on and river boats of Pind Dadan Khan make are in request throughout the whole course of the Jhelum. Unglazed pottery of a deep red colour, ornamented with black patterns and remarkably strong and

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Miani,[3] Qadir-abad[4] and Dangi,[5] and specially of the salt market, had dwindled and much loss was sustained by subjects and commoners in addition. So in the beginning of the year 1887 Bikrami, a *taghara* of the administration of the aforementioned territories, was proclaimed by the King of Lahore in the name of [his Lordship that in view of his superior ability those territories were entrusted and handed over to him, Consequently, his Lordship moved in person to that region. There were numerous thieves and highway robbers in that country. Most of them were curbed and a few were made victims of imperial wrath. Because of his Lordship's concern for

good in quality was a speciality of the town, as are also stout leathern riding-whips made after English patterns. (*Imp. Gazet., Punjab II*, p. 158).

2. Bhera — is situated on the left bank of the Jhelum, eleven miles from Miani. Bhera was sacked by Mahmud of Ghazni, and two centuries later by the armies of Chingiz Khan. The history of the old town closes in 1519, when it was held to ransom by Babar for two lakhs of rupees, and tradition avers that shortly afterwards it was rebuilt, in 1,540, round the five mosque and town of a Muhammadan saint. It was again sacked by Ahmad Shah Durrani's general, Nur-ud-Din in 1757, and eventually occupied by the Sikh *Sardars* of Bhangi Misl. The ruins in the vicinity, called Jobnathnagar, are supposed to be remains of the capital of Sopheites (Saubhuti), a contemporary of Alexander the great. But it is doubtful. Ornamental knives and daggers are made in the town, and its jade work and wood carving are widely known. It had been a great centre of trade to Kabul, Derajat, Sukhur and Amritsar. (David Ross : *The Land of Five Rivers*, pp. 154-55 ; *Imp. Gazet. Punjab*, II, p. 138).

3. Miani — on the left bank of the Jhelum. Meeanee is a considerable place, and was originally the salt mart; but Pind Dadan Khan on the other bank (right bank) arose and superseded it. The fort of meeanee was built by Raja Gulab Singh, when *Kardar* of this district, and is all that could be wished of a provincial fort, plain, simple, but serviceable if kept in order, which it now is not—The town lies south and west of the fort," (H.E. Edwards, Pol. Diaries, dated 20-2-1847, *Lahore Pol. Diaries*, V, p. 11-12, P.G.R.)

"Miani, is fifty three miles from Lala Musa. The town is situated on the left bank of the Jhelum, opposite Pind Dadan Khan. It contains a population of 8,000 . . . . From time immemorial Miani has been an important mart for the salt from the Mines.

"The original town, called Shamsabad having been swept away by a flood, Asaf Khan" father-in-law of Shah Jahan, founded the present one. It was plundered by Nur-ud-Din, general of Ahmad Shah, in 1754, taken in 1783 and restored in 1787, by Mahan Singh, father of Ranjit Singh, who reopened the salt mart." (*Imp. Gazet; Punjab*, II, p. 139).

4. Qadirabad—a small town in Gujrat district, now in Pakistan.

5. Dangi or Dinga—"A town, itself has nothing to boast of but its size, being chiefly constructed of mud hovels, promiscuously heeped together in a sort of elegant confusion, It was some twenty-three miles from Gujarat through the Dhak jungles. (Lieut. Wilhiam Barr : *Journal*, pp. 84-85, Shahamat Ali, p. 64.) Town in the Kharian *tehsil* of Gujrat . . . 22 miles due west of Gujarat (*Imp. Gazet. Punjab*, II, p. 122).

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people's well-being and his benign partronage, their circumstance became affluent. Barren land was brought under cultivation.

A copy of the *Sanad* of the grant from the King of Lahore, written in lieu of the final settlement of the accounts of the said territories, is hereby put down below.

In the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety (1890) of the Bikrami, territories of Jehlam[6] and...Rotas,[7] and again in the

6. Jhelum—town, 103 miles from Lahore, is on the northern or right bank of the river Jhelum. The present town is of modern origin, the old town, which may have been the Bucephala of Alexander, having been on the left or opposite bank of the river. Under Sikh rule the town was quite unimportant, being mainly occupied by settlement of boatmen. It is an important timber depot, the timber from Kashmir forests which floated down the river being collected here. The good deal of boat-building carried on at Jhelum is mentioned in the *Mahabharat*, and is a place of great antiquity. In its vicinity the Macedonian conqueror built his fleet, which ultimately sailed down the river. The great battle with Porus (Paurava) was also fought here near Mong, on the Gujrat side. In its vicinity reside the Janjuahs, a Muhammadan Rajput tribe. It [is also the home of the celebrated Ghakkars. In 1865 the Sikhs reduced the last independent Ghakkar chief to subjection. Maharaja Ranjit Singh annexed it to his growing Kingdom in the beginning of 1810 A.D. when the town was given in *jagir* to Sardar Mith Singh Bherania, one of the old Sikh Chiefs, but in 1836, after his death, the Maharaja added it to the numerous other *jagirs* of Raja Gulab Singh.

In 1839, the transit duties of the town amounted to Rs. 10,000 and the land revenue from the adjacent villages, and the place itself, was as much more. The neighbouring jagir of Sangoori yielded about 18,000 rupees per annum. (Sahamat—Ali, *The Sikhs and Afghans* pp. 107-110; David Ross *The land of five Rivers etc. pp, 56-57; Hanry* T. Prinsep *Origin of the Sikh Power;* pp. 62-63; *Imp. Gazet., Punjab, II,* pp. 153-154.) Another district given to Raja Gulab Singh in farm at the same time was that of Aen, a chief timber mart, a place about sixty miles above Jehlam. There one of the finest logs costs sixty rupees. Each timber merchant pays a duty of two rupees at three places between Aen and Jehlam,and at Jehlam itself a duty of 25 per cent is levied if taken below the town for sale, but if sold in the town the duty is about 18 per cent only. On the accession of Raja Golab Singh to the *jaghirs* of Aen and of the neighbouring districts, which he had long been wishing to possess, he monopolised the timber trade and the price of the article is in consequence double what it farmerly was. (Shahamat Ali, *The Sikhs and Afghans,* pp. 112-113).

7. Rohtas—Fortress in the District and *Telisil* of Jehlum, Punjab (Pakistan) . . .10 miles west of Jhelum town, in the gorge where the Kahan torrent breaks through the low eastern spur of the Tilla range. The fortress was built by the emperor Shershah Suri, after his expulsion of Humayun in 1542, to hold in check the Gakhars, who were allies of the exiled emperor. The Gakhars endeavoured to prevent its construction, and labour was obtained with much difficulty that the cost exceeded 40 Lakhs in modern currency. The circumference is about 2 1/2 miles and the walls are 30 feet thick and from 30 to 50 feet high. There are 68 towers and 12 gates, of which the most imposing is the Sohal gate, a fine specimen of the Pathan style, over 70 feet in height,

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year one thousand eight hundred ninety-three of Bikrami, Gujrat[8]

with exquisite balconies on the outer walls. The fortress was named after the fort of Rohtas in Bengal, the scene of a victory of Sher Shah—within the fortifications lies the small but flourishing village of Rohtas. (*Imperial Gazet, of India-Punjab* II, P. 158.)

In 1808 the Sikhs placed their own 'Thana' of garrison in the fort (of Rohtas) . . . Misser Jessa, of the Toshekhana, was then made collector on the part of the Maharaja, but two years and a half ago (in about September 1836, as Shahamat Ali writes this on 21-2-1839), Raja Golab Singh, suceeded in getting charge of the district for himself. It consists of sixty-seven small villages, and extends six kos to the south, seven to the west and about eight to the north; to the east-ward it is scarcely beyond the fort, which contains about three hundred and fifty houses and twelve hundred people, chiefly Mohomedans. Artificial irrigation is little known; Sugar-cane has been lately brought to cultivation, and has been much encouraged by Golab Singh." (*The Sikhs and Afghans*, p. 120-121.)

8. Gujrat—lies about 5 miles north of the present bed of the Chenab. . . Tradition ascribes the foundation of the town, under the name of Udnagri, to Bachan Pal, a Rajput in the fifth century B. C. and avers that it was refounded about A.D. 120 by Rani Gujran, a daughter-in-law of the famous Raja Rasalu of Sialkot. Another tradition declares it to have been refounded by one Ali Khan, who may be the Alakhan who was overthrown between A.D. 883 and 902 by Shankara Varman of Kashmir.

The town stands on an ancient site, formerly occupied by two successive cities, the second of which Sir A Cunningham supposed to have been destroyed in 1303 by the Mongols during the reign of Ala-ud-Din Khilji : Akbar probably founded the present town and was thus known as Gujrat-Akbarabad as it was for some time held by Gujars. Gakhars of Rawalpindi also held it for a quarter century before it was occupied by *Sardar* Gujar Singh Bhangi in 1765. Gujrat was the scene of final struggle between the Sikhs and the British on Feb. 22, 1849 which broke the Sikh power. In the middle of the town is the old fort, built, together with the bath house, by Akbar. The shrine of Shah Daula, to the north of the town, is famous throughout Punjab. It is the home of a number of human monstrosities with narrow heads and weak intellects, known as Shah Daula's Chuhas (rats). Maharaja Gulab Singh, who took over the administration of Gujrat during the close of Ranjit Singh's reign in Samvat 1894 Bikrami, corresponding to A.D. 1835, founded the Nawan Bazar Sector and built a *shiwala* in the middle of the bazar. The "Deodhi Maharaja Gulab Singh built of brick and mortar, is enduring and embellished and must have cost about Rs. 3000/-("David Ross, *the Land of the Five Rivers*, *pp.* 143-144; *Imp. Gazet, Punjab, II, pp.* 122-123; *Gujrat Distt. Gazet*; Mirza Azim Beg; *Tarikh-i-Gujrat*, 1867-68, p. 84)·

Gujrat, seventy four miles from Lahore and five miles from the river Chenab was the scene of a great battle fought in 1849 during the second Sikh war. The site of the town is very ancient. Studded like a gem in the green woods of the region, it was a fertile place though slightly cultivated. It was famous for the manufacture of swords. Akbar felt the necessity of a fort here and built one at this place which still lies in the heart of the town. It was surrounded by mud walls. Fakir Azizaā-Din and Nurud-Din were its first governors under Ranjit Singh. No notable chief held it afterwards, until 1834 when it passed

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territory, were also included in the lands farmed[9] out to his Lordship. The hope of well being of the territory found a new vigour.

(*The accounts of Pind Dadan Khan Salt mines given on pages* 180 *to* 186 *of the text, omitted from translation. The original is given on the plates that follow.*)

into the control of Raja Gulab Singh who retained its charge till 1846. (*Gulabnamah* p. 179; *Hugel, Travels* 249; *Ross. The Five Rivers and Sinde*, p. 143; *Gujrat Gazetteer;* 1892-3, pp. 122-123.)

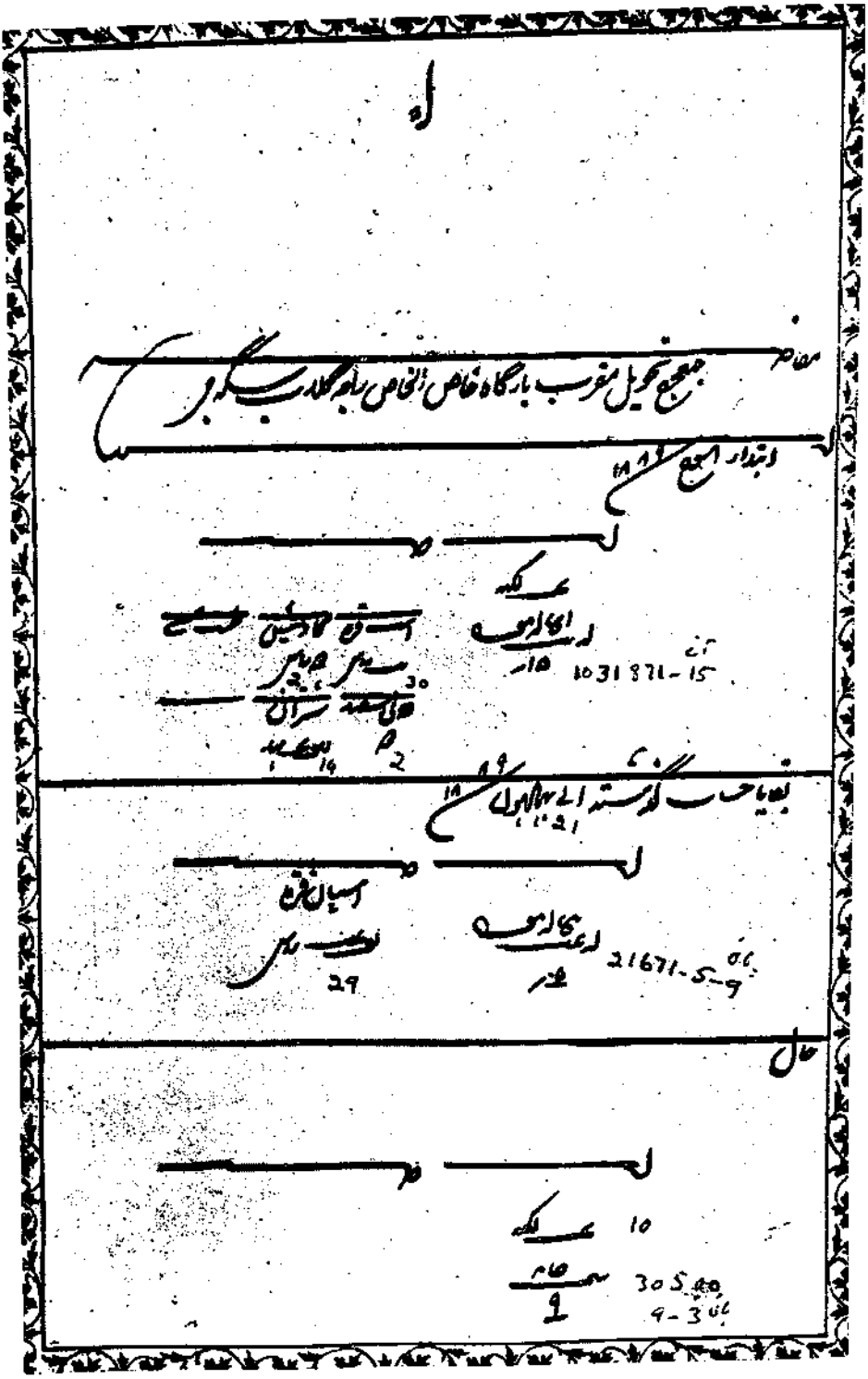
9. Gulab Singh's Farms--Raja Gulab Singh was, in 1839, the largest farmer of the Lahore State. Besides owning the Jammu Raj, including Jammu Kishtwar and Ladakh, he governed a vast territory of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Kingdom. According to an estimate prepared by Shahamat Ali in January, 1839, Raja Gulab Singh was governor, in charge of the country lying between the Chinab and the Jehlam, "Yielding twenty five thousand" annually. (Shahamat Ali; *The Sikhs and Afghans*, p. 21.)

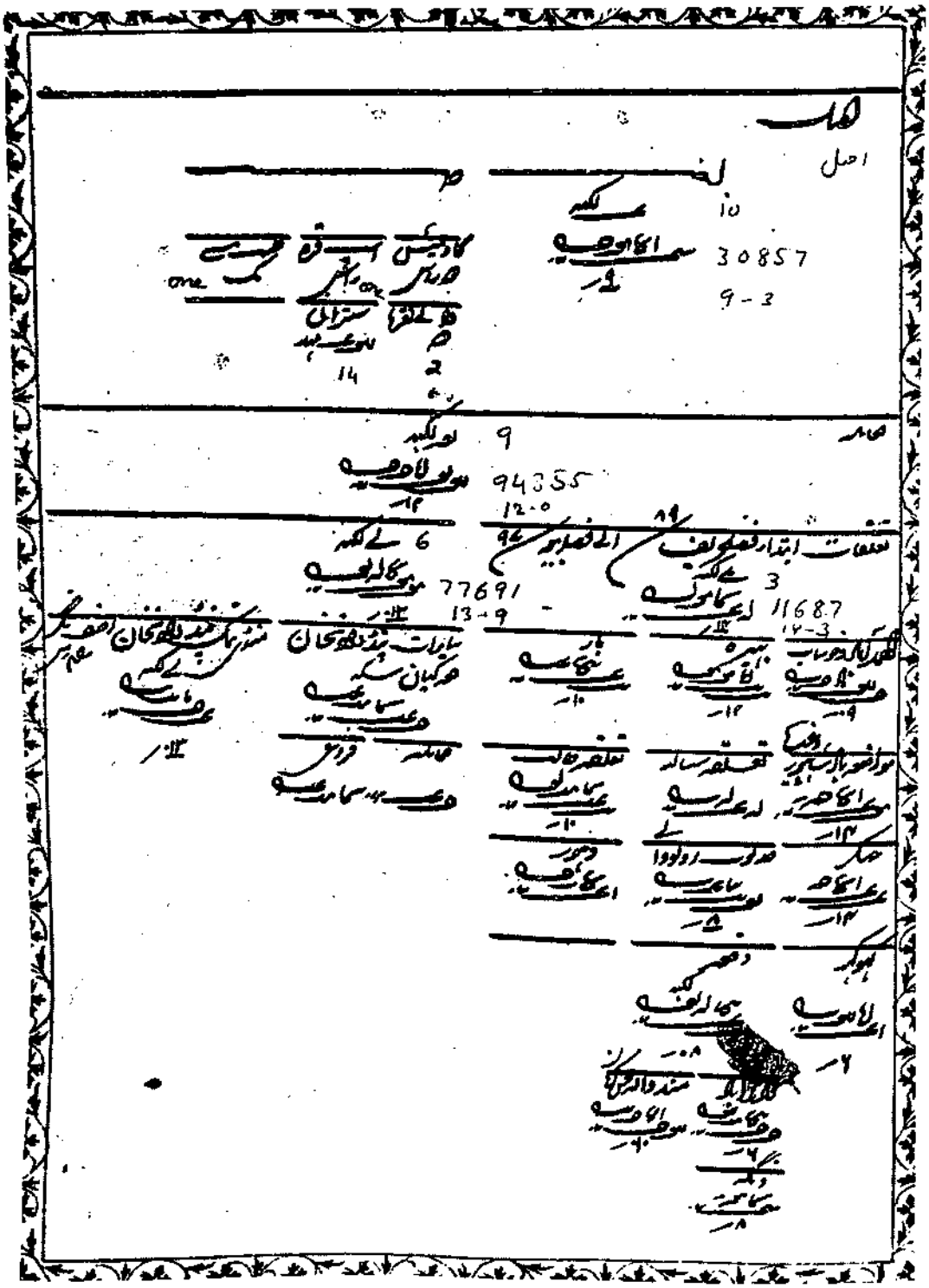
Raja Gulab Singh held the contracts of all the salt mines and major H.M.L. lawrance observed in his characteristically hostile way that "the latter (Gulab Singh) holding the salt contracts, interfered directly with the bread of every man in the country." *Adventures*, p. 35.)

G. A Henry concludes: "His possessions were vast and his power almost equal to that of the ruler of the Punjab. He was virtually supreme, in all the northern territories that had been conquered in the time of Ranjeet. . . ." (*Through the Sikh war*, p. 85.)

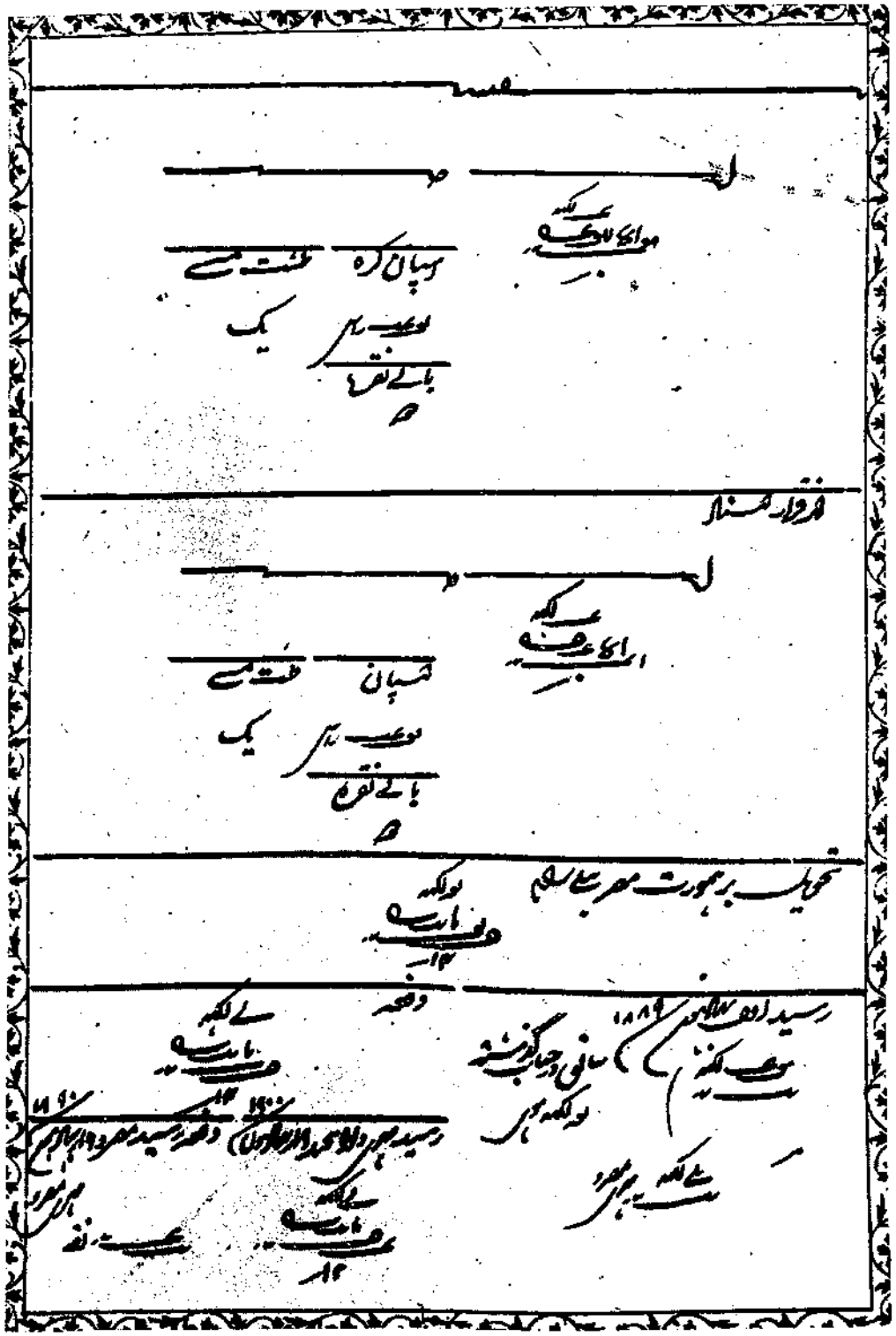
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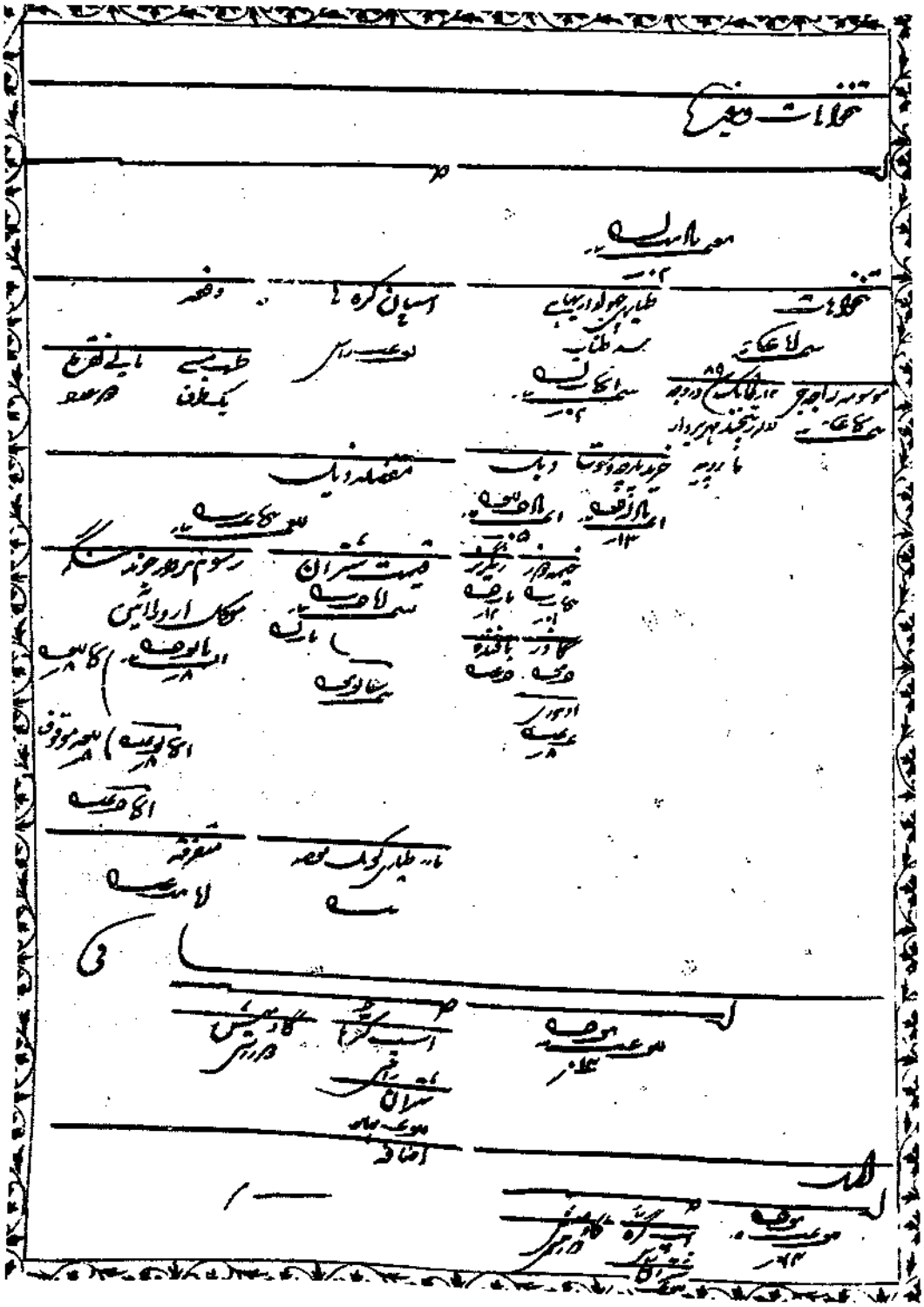
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CHAPTER
29

The coming of Amir Dost Muhammad and the conquest of Peshawar

---

(187) [*Three lines omitted.*]

Red turned like fire all plane-tree leaves,
As 'Atashi' blooms do in Spring season days.

The year one thousand eight hundred ninety-one Bikrami set in. On this occasion it came to the knowledge of the King that Amir Dost Muhammad, ruler of Afghanistan, had equipped an army and had advanced for a battle. It was reported that *Sardar* Hari Singh who was responsible for the management of that region had extended his hand of aggression on Peshawar[1] in the first instance and had pro-

1. Occupation of Peshawar by Ranjeet Singh :--

Since 1818, Peshawar had been made tributary by Ranjit Singh with Jahan Dad Khan as Governor, later on replaced by Sultan Muhammad Khan Barkzai. On March 12, 1833, Ranjit entered into a treaty with Shah Shuja' the exiled ruler of Kabul, whereby the later acknowledged Ranjit's claims on a large number of territories to the west of the Indus, already under Ranjit Singh or his tributaries. Consequently, Ranjit Singh asked his officers to occupy Peshawar, which was thus occupied by Hari Singh Nalwa, the commander, with little difficulty. According to Masson (*Journey in Beloochistan etc.*, Vol. II p. 225) this was accomplished by artifice and stratagem; and Sultan Muhammad fled to Dost Muhammad. Fearing that if Shah Shuja became successful, he might set aside the treaty of alliance Ranjit annexed outright Peshawar which had been left to Sultan Muhammad Khan as a Lahore tributary (N. K .Sinha,

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voked the said Amir *Sahib* to take into his head the passion of enmity. The Amir marched at the head of a numerous and large crowd and an imposing levy with huge cannons. He directed his might on the conquest of Peshawar. The King, on learning of this fact, moved his troops[2] in that direction. When glorious tents were set up at Gujar Khan, illustrious *Sardars* and high grandees, such as his Lordship, *Sardar* Hari Singh *sahib*, Raja *sahib* Suchet Singh and Sindhanwalia *Sardars* and others, marched ahead and alighted at a distance of about four *farsang* from Peshawar. The enemy, designing out a device, dammed the channel of Barah stream which supplied water to the imperial troops and diverted the water course. (188) Due to the shortage of water the Khalsa army was in great distress and was reduced to extremities. When the King of Lahore came to know of this, he found it necessary to advance in person in all the haste but with a limited force. On reaching there, he went round the neighbourhood in search of water. By an ominous chance in his very first round he got at the water course of Barah opposite the camp of Amir Dost Muhammad Khan. The grand courtiers were urgently called to presence to get directions. The *Urdu-e-Mualla* [imperial camp] was also shifted there. When it was so done, the King ordered that every morning the parade of the army in all grandeur and awe would be inspected so that the echo of clarion and beat of trumpet could reverbrate increasingly in enemy raks. When *Sardar* Sultan Muhammad Khan and Pir Muhammad Khan, younger brothers[3] of

Ranjit Singh, p. 95)

This was done in the close of A D. 1833.

2. Dost Mohammed's Move Towards Peshawar.

During 1834 Dost Muhammad remained busy in fighting Shah Shuja in Kandahar whom he attacked and totally defeated. Flushed with his success over the Shah and highly exasperated at the treacherous capture of Peshawar, the Amir of Kabul uttered threats of vengeance against the Sikh ruler vowing to expel his troops beyond the Indus and even to invade the Punjab. In the early part of 1835, he commenced his operations against Peshawar. He even applied for the support of the British government against the Sikhs. He moved a strong body of Afghans to Jalalabad under his son Mohammad Akbar Khan, whence parties were sent to Peshawar and Kohat districts.

3. Ranjit's plan to alienate Dost Muhammad's brothers at Peshawar : Dost Muhammad had made colossal preparations to measure his strength with the Sikhs. He gave it the character of a '*Jihad*' or religious war and assumed the title of '*Amir-ul-Momein*'. He also called upon the Muhammadan rulers of Sind and Bhawalpur and the Pathan tribes to support the religious cause. "From Kohistan from the hills beyond, from the regions of the Hindukush, from the remote fastnesses of Turkistan, multitudes of various tribes and denominations came flocking to the Amir's standard. . . . The brave heart of Ranjit Singh quailed before this immense assembly. "(*Masson to wade, 2nd February*, 1835). It was a situation of great anxiety for Ranjit Singh. The wily Maharaja resorted

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the Amir *sahib* witnessed the might of Lahore forces they wanted, through the good offices of his Lordship, to get the honour of attending on the King. Accordingly, their *Vakil* (agent) arrived in the presence of the said Lordship and submitted desire of the said *Sardar* for an interview. His Lordship therefore, not caring for the hostile crowd, went farther in the midst of the enemy ranks. From the other side *Sardar* Sultan Muhammad Khan came to meet him through the mediation of Jabbar Khan and sought the hand of friendship. When the said Lordship embraced him, he found from his throbbing heart that he had lost courage. In short through the Lordship the said *Khan* was introduced to the presence of the King. The illustrious King ordered for the inspection and review of the magnificent troops. Their sight broke down the morale of the enemy.[4]

(189) In short, on the coming of the said *Khan* it was agreed that the said *Khan* along with a son of the Amir *Sahib* and a few *sowars* should remain in attendance upon the King of Lahore, and the country of Peshawar and Dera Ghazi Khan, which belonged to him of old, would be granted to him free, with an annual tribute of a few horses and swords and steel. It is said that this proposal was not relished by *Sardar* Hari Singh, aad on his protests it was not finalised, and the possibility of imprisoning *Sardar* Sultan Muhammad Khan was under consideration. This pricked the zeal for honour of the said Lordship. He submitted in the presence of the King. Intern me also along with the said *Sardar* or else, because I have brought him holding his arm upon my Dharam, he should be permitted to leave. Consequently, when the said *Sardar* was allowed to go back and re-join his camp, he apprised the said Amir *Sahib* of the particulars of that place. In the night the Amir *sahib* so lost his heart suddenly,

to diplomacy in sphere of which he was always at his best. He deputed Harlan Feringhee and Azizuddin to negotiate with Dost Muhammad so that he might gain time to concentrate his forces and also to alienate from Dost Mohammad Muhammad his Peshawar brothers (N.K. Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 98). He promised Kot, Tank and Bannu in Jagir for Sultan Muhammad and his brothers. Sultan Muhammad made terms with Ranjit, who settled jagirs upon him and his family. (Anon : *History of the Punjab*, Vol. II. pp. 130-131.)

4. The Strength of the Sikh and Afghan troops : The Sikhs and Afghans made great preparations for what seems to be a final show-down on Peshawar. The troops assembled by Dost Muhammad by his own assertion numbered 40,000 besides the infinite multitude of the voluntary Ghazis. He had also 37 guns provided with 700 rounds each and had a treasure of 3 lakhs of rupees. The troops of the Amir were paid in advance. Large supplies of grains were also collected at 80,000 men in the Peshawar valley about this time. (*Punjub Papers*, *25th May*, 1835, *No.* 30).

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that he secretly retreated[5] in the direction of Kabul.

When the King of Lahore got the news of this event, he was dissatisfied as he had set his intention on punishing the rebels and chastising mischief mongers, and so he uttered in disappointment, "The victim had come to hand, but it is pity, he has duped us." Now the said Lordship was given a hint to estrange *Sardar* Sultan Muhammad Khan from the Amir in any manner he knew because he was really the successor to the Peshawar country, and to win him to this side would set at rest all anxiety as to the management of the affairs of that country.

The desting had in fact entrusted the reins of State affairs to his Lordship so Faqir Aziz-ud-Din *sahib* who kept communication with that country in the capacity of an ambassador, informed the said Lordship (190) that Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan was reposing under a certain hill and wished that he thought proper to receive the felicity of attending on the Lahore King. The said Lordship took this to be a divine blessing and conveyed the tiding to the King of Lahore aad after conclusion of terms brought him (*Sardar* Sultan Muhammad Khan) to the audience and secured affections and favours for him.

The King, after settling the affairs of this territory to his entire relief, retreated towards Lahore. Through the mediuш of his Lord ship Kohat, Doaba and Hastanagar districts of Peshawar and Kunjah were conferred as *jagirs* upon *Sardar* Sultan Muhammad Khan, Pir Muhammad Khan and Sayyid Muhammad Khan and they were permitted to take their residence at Shahdarah.

5. Dost Muhammad's ignonimous retreat ; Maharaja Ranjit Singh had gone towards Chiniote and Rohtas with some reinforcements, in April 1835, when he heard that the Amir of Kabul had arrived before Peshawar. He crossed the Indus and marched hither. Ranjit opened negotiations with the Amir, and it is said that he made an offer to Dost Muhammad Khan of a jagir of 30,000 1. a year, on condition that he would relinquish all claims to Peshawar and cease to molest the Sikh troops and that this offer was at first received faaourably, though afterwards declined (Anon, p. 133). The two armies had been within seven 'Kos' of each other. They had faced each other for seventeen days accord- ing to Dost Muhammad's own version. Ranjit Singh took advantage of the nego- tiation to amass his troops and almost surround Dost. Finding himself in this predicament, and realising that his force was inferior in numbers, as well as discipline to that of his antagonist, he deemed it prudent not to risk a battle. During the night of 11th May 1835, Dost Muhammad retired hastily and ingloriously, pursued by the Sikhs to the mouth of the Khaitar pass. Thus Ranjit's prestige had ensured his sway west of the Indus. Dost Muhammad suffered incalculably in public opinion and the disgrace of the retreat always rankled in his mind. By the retreat, the Amir of Kabul as Ranjit put it, "withdrew his hand from the front of his reputation." (*Indian papers—Punjab*, 15th June, 1835, No. 28.)

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CHAPTER
30

An account of the death of Sardar Hari Singh, the lustre of the sword of Valour and the pearl of the ocean of munificence

---

(Three lines omitted)
The roses toss their heads in glee,
And hues of Spring spread all around
The nightingales which chanted love,
Now wane and wax in madness bound,
The lovely rose so fresh and gay,
Through turn of tide has withered away.

The year one thousand eight hundred and ninety four Bikrami[1] set in. In the beginning of this year, in the month of Besakh, *Wazir* Mohammad Akbar, son of *Amir* Dost Muhammad Khan ruler of Afghanistan, opened hostilities and led an expedition against Jamrud fort,[2] built by *Sardar* Hari Singh and known as Fetehgarh.

1. Corresponding to A.D. 1837.

According to Hugh Pearse, the Battle of Jamrud was fought on April 30, 1837 (*Memoirs of Alexander Gardner* p, 192.) But the "*History of the Punjab* (Anon, Vol. II, P. 137-38) gives the date June 22, 1837 for the battle and the death of Hari Singh. Cunningham, however, has 30th April, 1837. (*Cunningham's History of the Sikhs*, 190.).

2. Jamrud Fort, Cause of Afghan Invasion—

Hari Singh Nalwa was engaged in building a fort at Jamrud at the very mouth of the Khyber Pass. The extreme views of that chieftain always advocating a march on Kabul were too well-known even throughout Afghanistan....The

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(191) When this information was received from the garrison of the fort by the said *Sardar sahib* at Peshawar, his humour of audacity shot up and he at once led his troops in order to oppose and repel the Afghans. He halted at Thakal. The next morning at sunrise the brave *Sardar* fell hurriedly upon the enemy. The Afghan soldiery, realising the exegency of the situation, encountered the grand *Sardar* with only about five hundred *sowars*. The remaining army lay in ambush behind the village of Ali-masjid. It is said that although the brave *Sardar* was indisposed for some days, yet due to abundence of valour incrustated in his nature he became Impatient at the very sight of the hostile *sowars* and instantly fell on the enemy ranks. The enemy cleverly retreated rapidly and the army in ambush engaged them from behind. (*Two lines and two couplets omitted.*)

The Sardar was surrounded on all sides but he led severe skirmishes like a furious lion and pressed the enemy hard. In the midst of the foray he was struck by a musket-ball and was wounded.[3]

news from frontier alarmed Dost Muhammad and he sent an army under his sons Shamsuddin and Muhammad Akbar to oppose the Sikhs at Jamrud. (N.K. Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 100.).

3. Hari Singh Nalwa—Originally he was a common *khidmatgar*, or personal attendant. On many occasions he had evinced an enterprising disposition, which found recognition and he rose to the high rank of governor of Kashmir and Attock. Being a very bigoted Sikh, he owed a hearty grudge to the Mussalman race. (Shahamat Ali. pp. 53-54). He had gained the appellation of Nalwa by cloving the head of a tiger who had already seized him as its prey. (Hugel, *Travels*, p. 254).

He was not only an intrepid and daring soldier, but he thought and reasoned justly, he is well-informed on the statistics of many of the European States, and on the policy of the East Indian Company, and what is very rare among and Sikhs, he can both read and write the Persian language. (*Ibid*, p. 255) so the Maharaja at times requisitioned his services in connection with the missions that he sent to the British Government (N. K. Sinha *Ranjit Singh* P. 176) He was successful in guarding and administering Pakhli and Damtaur, and governing Kashmir. He overawed the Kabul monarchy, and kept down the turbulent Afghan tribes by his moveable column on the western frontier. Maharaja Ranjit once said, "To rule a Kingdom it is necessary to have men like you"(Sohan Lal, *Dafter* III., P. 140). On enquiry from Abbas Mirza of Persia for comparing his troops with the Khalsa, Mohan Lal replied: If Hari Singh Nalwa were to cross the Indus, His Highness would soon be glad to retreat to his original government of Tabriz. '(*Mohan Lal* Memoirs, *Calcutta Review* XIV.) Hari Singh has been deservedly proclaimed "the Murat of Sikh army" and "the Marshall of the Khalsa."

He was a big *jagirdar* also, with an income of three lakhs and sixty seven thousand rupees annual. But his *jagirs* and the vast sum of money accumulated by him was confiscated by the Lahore ruler immediately after his death in the battle of Jamrud. He seized all the property left by Hari Singh (eight

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His soldiers carried him secretly into the fort.

(192) Sardar Mahan Singh, the adopted son of the said *Sardar*, took all cautions to keep him secret inside the tent and sent a petition to the King, announcing this sad incident. Although *Sardar* Hari Singh died the next day, yet *Sardar* Mahan Singh kept it a top secret and to give it a real look used to carry food into the tent and did not inform soldiers of this dreadful happening lest they lose heart and the enemy gathered strength and courage. He stuck resolutely to the positions as before and kept on fighting.[4] On account of dearth of water the garrison had a hard time but by the mercy of God rain fell that very night. (*One line omitted.*) When the petition of the said *Sardar* reached in the presence of the King none of the courtiers could dare to disclose this sad report to the *Sarkar*. At last, Faqir Aziz-ud-din *sahib* read out the circumstances. When he reached this point his tongue faltered. The heart of the King was moved and he knew that the hero had laid down his dear life. As soon as he heard this fact, he was overcome with remorse[5] and shed bitter tears. Raja *sahib* Dhian Singh, witnessing this condition and

lakhs of rupees or about 8000,000 1.) whose family was suffered to fall into poverty (*Calcutta Review*, 1837, No, 2, Art. 5).

4. Battle of Jamrud--According to Mr. Fast, the Afghans numbered 18,000 the whole of Dost Muhammad's cavalry being present in the action. A s Mackeson informed Wade, Mahan Singh, an officer of Hari Singh, had only 600 men with him atJamrud when he was attacked by the Afghans. He sustained the attack for three or four days. Hari Singh marched from Peshawar to his help with 10,000 men and with 25 pieces of ordnance. The engagement began with a cannonade. The Najib battalion then advanced and Afghans retired in confnsion. The Sikhs then started plundering Afghan camp and their ranks fell into disorder. At this Akbar Khan and Shamsuddin gathered troops and vigorously charged the Sikhs who retreated in disorder towards the fort. Hari Singh Nalwa received a fatal wound in the melee. (N. K. Sinha, *Ranjit Singh*, pp. 100-101.) During the night the Sikhs threw upen trenchments. The Afghans watched for five or six days and finally retired and retreated precipetately towards Kabul on the news of the approach of Sikh reinforcements from Chiniote.

The number of killed and wounded on the Sikh side was about 800; while among the Afghans the casualties numbered five hundered according to one estimate (N. K. Sinha, p. 101). But another assessor writes that "both parties suffered severely in the conflict," about 7,000 men are said to have fallen. The Afghans acknowledged their loss to be 1,500, including a son of Dost Muhammad Khan and several chiefs; and that of the Sikhs was much greater, but the accounts are irreconcilable."

(Anon, *History of the Punjab*, II, pp. 140-141.).

5. The news of this disaster . . . confounded Ranjeet Singh, who told captain Wade that he would be glad to give up Peshawar if he could save his *purdah* (honour), and Masson says that in September 1837 Capt. Wade wrote to him that the Sikh ruler was ready to come to an amicable adjustment on reasonable terms (Masson, *Journey in Baloochistan, etc.* Vol. III, p. 424).

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even without asking permission, left instantly for that country. Planning forced marches with a limited number of companions, he pressed on and also took along with him Raja Suchet Singh. When he reached Rohtas (193) *Rae* Sajadah *Rae* a brave and war-like man, joined his troops. He covered every day stages of sixty *Krohs* each. He reached Peshawar like a new hope and courage for troops there. The force of *Jamadar sahib* Khushal Singh was already in that region, but had not courage to advance forward for fear of life. They took his arrival as a divine succour and were pleased even more than the beleagured garrison itself was. The regiments under Lawerence *Sahib Fransisi* also accompanied him. When royal army arrived near the said fort, the enemy found himself unable to resist and so took to flight and entered the Khaibar Pass.[6] His Lordship was then halting at Chaniot town. As soon as he received the *farman* of the Lahore King, he marched day and night (towards Peshawar) and joined the royal armies. Some delay was caused there due to the construction of the said fort which had mud buildings formerly. Afterwards his Lordship advanced on the Yusafzai, who had raised an insurrection. Thereupon Raja Dhian Singh *sahib* returned to Lahore. In spite of his Lordship's hint to him that the inhabitants of Punch region and district of Bagh intended to rebel and that it was thus expedient to go to those regions for the redress of affairs, he returned from Chatrah direct to Lahore.

When his Lordship arrived at Khairabad the wicked rebels stole away a few strings of camel from the royal camp. But *Mian sahib* Udham Singh, on getting information of this affair, at once drew out his sword and set out in their pursuit accompanied by (194) a few followers only. He over took them at a distance of five *krohs* in a narrow mountain defile and challenged them for a combat. Consequently, a discord raised its head among the thieving rebels, and the said *Mian sahib* brought back the string of camels, and received praise[7] from the said Lordship.

6. The Prime Minister, Raja Dhian Singh, a remarkably brave and active man reached the fort of Jamrud, near Khairabad with 10,000 or 12,000 irregular cavalry on the morning of the seventh day from Chiniate, but he unfortunately found that Muhammad Akbar Khan, hearing of the rapid and near approach of the whole Sikh army, after doing all the injury he could, had on the previous day fled back towards Kabul. (Hugh Pearse : *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner* p. 192-193.)

7. *Mian* Udham Singh's Exploits--Alexander Gardner, Raja Gulab Singh's artillery commander records: During the Yusufzai cpmpaign *Mian* Udham Singh, Raja Gulab Singh's eldest son, almost daily achieved such prodigies of valour as to call forth the unstinted admiration and applause, and often the amazement, of the whole contingent. If Raja Suchet Singh, his uncle, was too

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When the army crossed over the river Lunda and descended in the midst of the Yusaf-zai[8], the *zamidars* of the plains, submitted and presented themselves. But some hill men, disregarding royal authority became firmly bent upon revolt, and hostilities broke out. Consequently, most of the haughty rebels were meted out with punishment they deserved. Several houses were gutted out so that others trembling in terror, should submit.

The same day after midnight, his Lordship resolved on suppressing the rebels of Panjtar. He reached there in the third quarter of the day, and made a foray. Many rebels suffered the calamity of defeat. Their dwellings were set on fire. Much wealth and property fell into the hands of imperial forces. Freed of care from that side, he returned in the direction of the Lunda river where he got the news of the wretched Shams' insurrection. So he decided to march in that direction because the Gakhar Rajas, including Shadman Khan Madad Khan and others, had treacherous intentions of which his Lordship was well aware. It was feared they may also raise rebellion. As such the control of situation might become difficult. Thus he set his heart on their imprisonment. But as these chiefs were brave and audacious none could dare to do so. (195) At last the conduct of this arduous task was entrusted to *Diwan sahib* the illustrious father of the author of this Memoir. The *Diwan sahib* was looking for a device whereby to capture the said Rajahs alive, everyone of whom was like a furious lion, when by chance the said Rajahs clad in armour, came to him and sought permission to leave for their homes the brave and resourceful Diwan caught them by a cunning device in the presence of his Lordship. The said Rajahs did their best to oppose and resist the *Diwan* but he remained unhurt. He then sent them to Jammu, and himself covering thirty *kroh* journey on foot in one march reached before his Lordship. It is said that on his arrival the said Lordship got up from his seat and embraced him very affectionately. Various favours fell to his lot.

reckless dashing, flashy, and fiery before the enemy, Udham Singh also was rash and impetuous to a dangerous degree. (Hugh Pearse, *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*, p. 194.).

8. Gulab Singh's Yusufzai Campaign : "While Raja Gulab Singh with one contingent was passing through the Gidar Gali pass (Probably about end of June) he received written directions from his brother at Jamrud not to advance towards Peshawar, but to cross the Kabul (i. e., Lunda) river and enter and overawe both the upper and lower Yusufzai country, these tribes, emboldened by Muhammad Akbar Khan's temporary success and fire brand raid, having become refractory and inclined to mischief. This order though apparently simple to obey, really gave Raja Gulab Singh and our whole contingent plenty--nay, handfuls--of work night and day for six months," (*Ibid.*, p.193).

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CHAPTER
31

The affair of the Traitor Shams and the chastisement and punishment of the doomed rebels

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(196) (*Ten introductory lines omitted*) Out of intense favour the King of Lahore had granted to Raja Dhian Singh the Punch[1] region in return for the service of one platoon, in addition to the

1. Punch State in ancient times, was situated in the valleys of the Punch Tohi and its tributories. It was bounded on the north by the Pir Panjal Range, on the west by the Jehlam, on the South probably by the plains and on the east by Rajapuri (Rajauri). The original name of the State was Parnotsa, of which Punch is a derivation, and the original capital was at Lohara the present Lohrin to the north east of the town of Punch.

The whole tract in ancient times was inhabited by the great Khasha tribe and so the Rajas of Rajauri and Lohara were called "Lords of the Khashas". In later times the southern section of Darvabhisara was conquered by the Chibhs, who founded the states of Bhimber and Khari—Khariyali. From them the whole tract is now called Chibhan. Though the original name of the tract was probably Parnotsa, but according to Rajatarangini, the name of the State was Lohara which was continued down to the time of Akbar's conquest of Kashmir in A.D. 1586.

The Lohara State was founded about A.D. 830 by Nara who was probably a local petty chief of the Khasha tribe. Lohara or Punch state was some time under the Hindu Shahi rulers of Kabul. The ancestor of the Muhammadan dynasty is said to have been Man Singh Rathor, a cadet of the Jodhpur family. His son Sarje Singh became a Muhammadan and changed his name to Sirajuddin Khan. During Jahangir's reign (1605-1627) he came to Punch and became its *Chaudhuri*. Later on the Emperor appointed him Raja of Punch.

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Chibhal[2] territory already bestowed on him as *jagir* after the imprisonment of Sultan Khan[3]. The Rajah acquired from his Lordship the services of Diwan Kishan Gopal who had been put by his Lordship to the management of Jammu affairs and who had therefore, to his credit much administrative experience. The Raja deputed him to the management of Punch *pargana*. The inhabitants thereof were eloquent of his praise-worthy treatment. A certain

From 1752 to 1819, Punch was under Durrani rule. In 1810, Bhimber and Rajauri were reduced by Ranjit Singh's generals. In 1814 Ranjit himself advanced to Punch. But on the conquest of Kashmir by Sikhs in 1819, Punch along with other hill states came under Ranjit's suzerainty. Raja Ruhallah Khan had sided with Afghans in 1814 so he was expelled from the State. Soon after Punch was granted in fief to Dhian Singh, and later in 1827, he was created Raja of Punch (Chibhal) and Bhimber. (Vigne, *Travels*; P. 248-500 Hutchison and Vogel, pp. 698-724., M.A. Stein : *Rajatarangini*, Pt. II,. 293 ff).

2. Chibhal, (a) is that part of the outer Hills region lying between the Chinab and Jhelam rivers. It would seem that the word Chibhal comes from Chib which is the name of the Rajput tribes. (Drew, *Jammoo and Kashmir Territories, p.* 57.)

(b) The country of Bhimber and Chibhal including Punch was granted to Dhian Singh, along with the title of "*Raja-i-Rajgan, Raja Kalan Bahadur*", by a *samad* signed by Maharaja Ranjit Singh on the 7th Har, Samrat, 1884, corresponding to June 20, 1827 A.D. (National Archives, Patiala.)

(c) "In the year 1828, on the festival of the Diwali. *Mian* Dhian Singh, who now became a great favourite with the Maharaja, received the title of Raja of Bhimber, which place had been seized from Sultan Khan." (Shahamat Ali, *Sikhs and Afghans, p.* 95). Document No. M/507. The relevants entences in Persian *sanad* run as under :—

"خطاب . . . راجہ راجگان راجہ کلاں بہادر از حضور فیض گنجور جہانبانی
باو جلدیدار نزل بُدھ مقرب خاص الخاص راجہ راجگان راجہ دھیان سنگھ بہادر جموال
موجب ظہور حسن خدمات و جان فشانیہائے شایان بہ شفقت دلی بخشش فرمودہ و
باعنایات ایں خطاب مبارک ہمایوں راج و ریاست ملک پھنبر و چھبال پشت
بہ پشت از پیش گاہ الطاف بہ مقرب خاص الخاص موصوف مرحمت و عطا گردیدہ۔"

3. Raja Sultan Khan of Bhimber was a brave man and a good soldier. On the occasion when Ranjeet Singh occupied the territory of Saheb Singh, which

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Shams[4], one of the *zamindars* of Punch who was a mischief monger and was adept in deceit and glibbery, weilded his art of eloquence. The result was that Raja *sahib* Dhian Singh put faith in the word of that quarrelsome person and included him in the rank of his servants. Some time after, when the said *Diwan* died (197) and *Diwan* Dilbagh Rae got deputed for the management of the affairs thereof, the imposter Shams injected in privacy deceitful word and dinned anecdotes into the ears ofthe Raja *sahib*. Gradually he won the Raja's favour and entire trust so that it was written to *Diwan* Dilbagh Rae that he should associate him in administration. His Lordship, however, because of farsightedness clearly saw through his deceitful behaviour and told the Raja *sahib* that a saline manure would, by irrigation, bear no harvest other than hay and thistle, and that from vile persons nothing but injury could be expected, and that patronising such a one was fraught with peril, and favouring him foreboded great risks. (*Two couplets omitted*) But the Raja *sahib* unmindful of the debased behaviour of the one destitude of faithfulness, talked high of his virtue of devotion.

In short, Shams, spread revolt on his very arrival in Punch and made the inhabitants refractory and rebellious.[5] He won over the guard of the fortress by a variety of inducements. Some of the garrison of the fort evacuated it for fear of that confirmed intriguer and deserted their post. He imprisoned the remainder and tormented them by making them eat things forbidden by religion of the

consited of Gujrat, etc., he summoned also the Bhimber chief to attend the court..... he refused to comply with his Highness's order for fear of being taken prisoner; the Maharaja was offended at the refusal. Aziz-ud-Din was sent against him but he returned unsuccessful. Diwan Mohkam Chand induced him to come to Lahore court where he was apprehended and confined where he remained for six years. Later he helped Ranjit in the capture of Kashmir and as a reward he was restored to a part of his territory, a fact which was not liked by the Dogra Rajas. Consequently Raja Gulab Singh took him to Jammu by a strategem and imprisoned. Sultan Khan was taken afterwards to the fort of Rhiasi, where he had died last year. (Shahamat Ali, *Sikhs and Afghans*, (1839), *p.* 101).

4. Shamash one of the head-men of the Sudhun tribe when it submitted to the Dogras, was Shumass Khan. This man, as a hostage for the fidelity of his clan and family, was kept about the person of Rajah Dehan Singh, whom he actually served as a private Gorechar trooper. In this capacity he so far won the favour of his master and was taken so far into his confidence, that he incurred the jealousy and dislike of the elder brother, Goolab Singh. (G. C. Smyth, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, *p.* 206).

5. About the year 1832, several independent hill-tribes inhabiting the north western regions of the Punjab were reduced into subjection to the Lahore State. These were the Doondh Soodhun, Suthee, and Murdiall tribes. The Doondh

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Hindus and by torturing them severely. He also imprisoned, by fraud and decait *Mian* Chain Singh, resident of Hansali, who had been appointed to the *Thanadari* of that country and forced him to partake food with him. The tyrant tore open the bellies of pregnant women and drew out the foetus from their wombs. (198) He drove iron nails into the eyes and ears of the unfortunate persons who fell into his hands. But Punch fort inside which *Mian* Bishna had taken strong position, did not however surrender to him.

When rebellion of Shams became a grave affair *Mian* Bishna and *Diwan* Dilbagh Rae and the Rajah *sahib* apprised his Lordship of the serious developments at the time when he had just returned from Peshawar after the conquest of Panj-tar[6]. The whole affair enraged

tribe lived chiefly on the banks of the Jhelam, especially on the western bank, from the point where the river leaves the Kukka Bumba hills for about twenty-five or thirty miles down the stream. This tribe was in number about fifty or sixty thousand. The Scodhum tribe inhabited a large tract on the eastern bank of the same river opposite the country of the Doondhs, and numbered about forty thousand souls. The Suthee tribe dwel chiefly in the lower hills to the south of the tribes above mentioned, and was estimated at about twenty thousond. Lastly, the Murdiall tribe lay to the east of the Sudhun, and was reckoned at about eighteen thousand people. (G.C. Smyth, *A History of the Reigning family of Lahore, p.* 205).

6. The Sikh reverses at Peshawer had induced the hill tribes of Punch to hope for shaking off the yoke of Dogra rule. This hope was strengthened by the prevalence of another rumour which spoke of Raja Gulab Singh as being badly, some even said mortally, wounded, in one of the skirmishes with the Yusoofzyes... Hence it was that the tribes rose in rebellion. The whole country rose in arms against the authority of the Dogra Rajahs, and as they at first met with little opposition, the insurgents had in less than a month, and before Gulab could extricate himself from the Yuzoofzyes, taken and destroyed all the forts and strong holds of their rulers, from Poonch almost to the walls of Jummoo itself, and from the borders of Cashmere to the base of hills...Shamass Khan had now openly placed himself at the head of the insurgents...(*G. C. Symth, A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore p.* 208-9). When rebellion broke out in Poonch, Gulab Singh was engaged in very important military operations elsewhere. He was summoned from Chiniote, where he was just commencing a campaign against Dewan Sawan Mall of Multan, and was compelled to hasten with all his troops to Peshawar where Afghan had won a temporary success over the sikhs, and had killed the Governor Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa in the battle of Jamrud (on 22nd June, 1837). Raja Dhian Singh had already hastened to Peshawar having left Ranjit Singh encamped at Ramnagar on the Chenab. Gulab Singh left Chiniste and proceeded to Peshawar by forced marches. He assembled his eight thousand men and twelve guns at Attock. Only some 300 men and 2 guns had broken down in this rapid march. But Raja Dhian Singh had by that time redressed the situation and Gulab was informed that there was no occasion for him to advance on the place; but that his services were required in the Yusufzai country, north of the Lunda or Kabul river where all the people were up in arms to claim their

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his Lordship and he resolved upon the extermination of that obnoxious rascal. A *farman* was sent to *Mian sahib* Udham Singh[7], who had just returned from the Panjtar expedition, that he should proceed to Kotli and make endeavours there to collect a large force. Accordingly, *Wazir* Zorawar Singh Kalhuria[8] and *Mian* Labh Singh reported themselves to the *Mian sahib* along with their troops and illustrious *Marzbans*. The result was that out of fear of their arrival the courage of that rebel melted away and he lifted the seige of that fort.

When his Lordship encamped at Kahuta[9] he had left behind some equipment and horse there and some at Beol. From there he led

independence. Accordingly he immediately led his army towards the troubled districts, crossing the Kabul river at Jahanageera, seven or eight miles to the north-west of Attock.

It was while engaged in the suppression of these disturbances in the Yusufzai districts that Gulab Singh heard of the revolt in his own hill states, among the Sudham, Puthee and Dundh tribes. It took, him, however, two months and some hard fighting to reduce the Yusufzais to subjection and he could go to Punch to suppress the rebellion there. (G. C. Smyth, p. 206-7; *Allen & Co., History of the Punjab*, pp. 137-40.) The rebellion of Shamas broke out in June and was probably suppressed by October, 1837).

7. *Mian* Udham Singh was the eldest son of Maharaja Gulab Singh. He met a tragic death at the spot by the fall of the gateway at Lahore on the 5th November, 1840, while he was walking hand in hand with Kanwar Nao Nehal Singh. The latter was also fatally wounded in that incident.

8. *Wazir* Zorawar Singh—Who earned undying fame by his conquest of Ladakh and his invasion of Tibet, was a native of Kussal near Reasi. He began his career as a private soldier at Reasi. Being energetic and brave and well acquainted with the country round about he came under the Commandant who sent him with messages to Gulab Singh. On one such occasion he brought to the notice of the Maharajah the waste occurring in the comissariat Department and Placed before him a scheme by which considerable saving could be effected. Gulab Singh, who was quick to appreciate merit accepted his proposal and entrusted him with the task of carrying out the scheme. He was so successful in this that he was soon raised to the post of the commandant at Kishtwar.

Zorwar was remarkable among his contemporaries for his absolute financial honesty. He never accepted a present from anybody, and whatever was given to him he sent to Gulab Singh. He carried this principle to such length that he only wore the clothes than the Maharajah gave him and was content always with a very meagre salary. He had another peculiarity. He never used to send despatches of any kind about his expeditions. The tributes and revenue collected were sent down post haste to Jammu, and the Maharajah had to discover from it what new country his general had conquered. (K. M. Panikkar, *The Founding of the Kashmir State*, 167-68).

9. Kahuta—Now the headquarters of the Tehsil of the same name in Rawalpindi District (Punjab, Pakistan). It is situated in the lower Himalayas. Almost whole of the region lies in the hills and its eastern border rests upon the Jhelum river. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India-Punjab II,. p.* 169.)

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his troops on foot with all the haste across the impassable valleys and difficult roads and highways. He crossed the river Jehlam in boats at Avin Ain where a strong fortress had been raised. He then encamped at Mang locality and stayed there for five or six days. A strong fortification was raised there.

(199) In the meantime a letter from that rebel was received by his Lordship bearing the subject : "I am for your Lordship like a shadow. Howsoever you pursue to catch me I will run ahead. As you retreat, I will not give up following the trail". This note swelled his wrath the more and he directed the *Mian sahib* (Udham Singh) *Diwan* Dilbag Rae and others to march from Kotli[10] and lead an attack on the rebels and exterminate them root and branch. They were also ordered to despatch to his presence the rebels who fell into their hands. So whole of the force was set on capturing Shamash and his men. (*Five lines omitted*) Whoever they caught alive, they sent instantaneously to the presence of the refulgent Lordship at Mang. Every day a number of rebels were captured alive and sent and they suffered punishment for their evil deeds. Their hands and feet were served by axes. **(200)** (*Two lines and half omitted*) If on any day a large number of refractories fell to the hands of the imperial troops, they kept back some of them lest the other day none could be captured and consequently in public estimation some defficiency occurred in the covenant of punishment which directly concerns a sovereign's aspirations. One day, Mali and Sabaz Ali Sudan, accomplices of Shams' rebellious ways and source of mischief and disturbance, fell prisoners in their hand, their skins were peeled off their bodies. When Mali Sudan had been skinned up to chest and had still some life in him, he submitted that he wished to talk to his wife and children as he was dying. But it was not granted by his Lordship (*Two couplets omitted*). Then he prayed that the King should not shed their blood ; his request was granted. When his skin was peeled up to neck he begged for a draught of water. After drinking water, he closed his eyes upon this world. Similar punishment was meted out to the other evil people also. The dead bodies of those two rebel leaders were cut by a dagger, and their heads were stuck to their skins stuffed with wheat straw, and hung on gallows in a crossing to warn the insurgents. Their children and wives were however spared their lives.

10. *Kotli* a small town, about 30 miles to the south of Punch. It was a part of Bhimber State and was also the headquarter of a small principality in the Punch State.

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It is said that *Mian sahib* Udham Singh turned away his face on seeing the miserable condition of those evil-doers. His Lordship caught his head in both his hands and turning *Mian sahib's* eyes towards the wretched sight made him understand that if in this world of formation and decomposition, chastising judges and just kings did not inflict deserved punishment on the cruel and the violent who make oppression their pass word (201) the law and order of the world, would become confused.

Afterwards he left the Mang fort and accompained by *Mian sahib* Udham Singh, moved in the direction of Bagh. A strong fortification was raised there where he resided for a month. Many of the rebels were over-taken by fear and panic and found relief in submission. *Wazir* Zorawar Kahluria and *Mian* Labh Singh had already been sent in advance by another route. Some wicked person brought this report to his Lordship that the imperial troops had been cut at the hands of the enemy, so it was expedient to take report to retreat. At this a dark gloom overtook his pious heart. He held consultations with the *Diwan sahib*, the illustrious father of the author of this Memoir. After due thoughts the *Diwan sahib* submitted : "This talk is only a white lie and an evident falsehood. I am sure it is one of the contrivances of that imposter". The *Diwan* himself traversed all the way on foot with the object of making inquiries about that incident. When he approached *Wazir* Zorawar Singh Kahluria and others, he saw the enemy gone to dogs, and victory fallen to the lot of the imperial troops. He instantly came back to his Lordship's presence and explained the situation and announced the felicitous tidings. A *farman* was issued to Sher Baz Khan, father of Raja Sarandaz Khan Sadrunia. 'From the news-reporters it has become evident that Shams the wicked had hidden himself through your medium. (202) If you handover that person, you will deserve favours. If you play fraud and practise deceit, you make yourself liable to chastisement and misery like Mali Sudan and other wicked ones, and will be trampled under the imperial horses." He valued the advice and asked for troops from his Lordship in order to capture that wicked. Under the guidance of Sher Baz Khan the troops arrived at Sadrun, severed the heads of Shams and Raj-wali, his nephew and sent these to his Lordship. (*One line and one couplet omitted*).

In short his Lordship appointed Dahla Mala to the office of *Thana-dari* and *Kardari* of the Bagh fort. At all such places where wicked people had rebelled able *Thanahdars* and vigilent men were deputed as managers. When he became perfectly satisfied with the settlement of the affairs of that area, he entrusted the conduct of affairs to *Diwan* Dilbag Rae as usual, and himself marched

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triumphantly to Rajaori town. Raja Rahim-alla Khan[11] *Marzban* of that place, made appreciable endeavours in performing service and exhibiting loyalty and received many favours in return.

11. *Raja Rahimullah Khan* was the half-brother of Raja Agharullah Khan of Rajauri. Ranjit Singh's first attempt to capture Kashmir in 1813 had met a disaster and it was attributed to the treachery of Agarullah Khan. A force was therefore sent against Rajauri. Agarullah Khan escaped to Kotli hills. The Sikhs looted Rajauri and returned in 1815. Agarullah came back and occupied his devasted capital. When in 1819, Ranjit Singh was again ready to make final asseult on Kashmir, he offered the Raj of Rajauri to Rahimullah Khan in case he loyally helped him in the conquest of Kashmir. The offer was accepted and true to his word Rahimullah Khan joined the Sikhs and gave every assistance in his power in April 1819 expedition. Kashmir was conquered and became a province of Sikh Kingdom. For these services the Raja was suitably rewarded and some time later, a *jagir* was granted him in Kashmir. Raja Agarullah Khan was captured in the spring of 1820 by Raja Gulab Singh, who had been appointed for this duty, and was sent to Lahore where he was confined till his death in 1825. After the grant of the fief of Punch to Dhian Singh, he and Raja Gulab Singh had coveted the possession of Rajauri, but the chief of Rajauri "who had been very useful to the Maharaja on that occasion was assured by his Highness that, as long as he had a beard, he should continue in possession of his country without molestation. Hither to Ranjeet Singh adheres to his promise, notwithstanding that the Jammoo family have often proposed to assume his territory". (Shahmat Ali : *Sikhs and Afgans*, pp. 100-101). The last ruling chief was Rahimullah Khan, who on suspicion of attempting the life of Maharaja Gulab Singh was sent prisoner to Gobindgarh and his lands taken over by the Sikhs in 1841. He was shortly afterwards set at liberty but his country remained with Gulab Singh and formed part of the territory confirmed to him under the treaty of March, 1846." (Griffin and Massey, *Chiefs and Fomilies of Note in the Punjab*, *Vol. I pp.* 96-87.)

By the treaty of Amritsar, 1846, however; all the hill territory was transferred to Maharaja Gulab Singh, including Rajauri and Rahimullah Khan and his family was given by the British Govarnment the fort of Rihlu in Kangra district as residence and a pension of Rs. 16,000/- per year. (Hutchison and Vogel : HPHS, pp. 691--695.)

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CHAPTER
32

The Statement of the Arrival of Grand Standards of the King of Lahore at Jammu

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(203) (*Three lines and half omitted.*)

Nightingales chant melodies and rose flowers bloom
Pine-trees toss frenzily their heads in bubbling glee;

The emperor of firmament, shifted to the highest mansion at the commencement of the year one thousand eight hundred ninety-five[1] of Bikrami. Sweet Spring perfumes impregnated the breeze. (*Three lines of superlatives omitted.*) The glorious sovereign Maharaja Ranjit Singh *sahib bahadur* set up his exalted camp at the holy abode of Paramandal'[2] on the occasion of '*ashnan*' (holy bath) and distributed

1. According to *Umdat-ul-Tawarikh*, Maharaja Ranjit Singh's visit to Parmandal and Jammu took place from the 12th Chet, 1895 B. E. to the 19th Chet, (23rd March to 29th March 1838 A. D.) (*Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, (*Text*). *pp*, 470-474) ; V. S. Suri, Eng. tr. pp. 413-416.)

2. *Parmandal* a place of pilgrimage of Hindus who visit it for the purpose of obtaining a moral cleaning by bathing in its waters. It is situated in a nook among the low hills far up one of the ravine which joins the river Devak. It is two marches from Jammu about 35 KM to the north-east. (Drew : *Jummoo and Kashmir Territories, p.* 68). Maharaja Ranjit Singh reached Parmandal on 11th Chet 1895 B. E. (22nd March 1838) and on 12th he entered the town. Before entering the town he went to the Kamla well of Raja Gulab Singh. *Umdat*

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among the poor rich charities and gifts.[3] His Lordship could not contain himself with joy on the arrival of the royal cavalcade in that quarter. Raja Dhian Singh *sahib* enamoured like pine-tree, stood in attendance on the glorious king. (204) For some time he honoured that place by his glorious presence and afterwards he moved towards Saruin-sar[4], an extremely fine and pleasant lake. Raja *sahib* Dhian Singh left Parmandal for Jammu for arranging requisite material and engaged himself making arrangements for reception while his Lordship accompanied the Maharaja. On the way His Majesty told Raja Hira Singh that since the beginning of his service Raja *sahib* Dhian Singh had never separated from the Darbar and had hardly remained at Jammu, and the Raja Kalan (Gulab Singh) had hardly ever concerned himself with the management of the Court, now when the latter was in attandance and Raja Dhian Singh gone to

Text, p. 470, V. S. Suri, Eng. Tr, p 413.)

الحاصل چوں با اینہمہ فریزدانی وشکوہ کشورستانی بارگاہ خدیو گیہانی برشاطی دریای اٹک فرقدین
سائے گردید صدای روتینہ کوسی گوش کرّوبیاں کرساخت وآوازداری ہندی شور ترکتاز
درگنبدِ رب ترک انداخت غیرہ طبل بدرنگ درنگ بیدرنگ تا اوضائی خراسان از رستخیز
خبرداد بانگ باجہ افرنگ از اخبارِ ظہورِ قیامت چیین بر پیشانی خطائیاں نہاد زنگ غلغلہ
در روم و زنگ افگندہ صدمہ نعل بادپایان شرارہ شرارت از دلِ آہن وسنگ برکند۔

3. On the 13th Chet (24th March, 1838) at about the third quarter of the day the Maharaja enjoyed the sacred sight of "*Sada Shivji*" and performed a sacred bath of *Sri Gangajal* and made an *Ardas* of Rs. 500. On the 14th (25th March, 1838) Rs. 5,000 in cash, one elephant, 2 horses, 5 gold pitchers, 51 suits of clothes and Rs. 5 per house were distributed among the Brahamanas and the deserving—After that the Maharaja rode his special conveyance and showered gold all over the town of Parmandal and inspected the shops-" *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. by V. S. Suri, p. 413.)

4. *Saurin-Sar*. "On the 15 (Chet) (26th March, 1838), he reached Saruinsar" *'Umdat'* V, S: Suri, p, 413). "A Journey of not many miles from Parmandal but by a rugged path over difficult hills—to the two strange little lakes named Saroin-sar and Mansar--8 or 10 miles apart--Sroin-sar is about half a mile long and a quarter of a mile broad, a pretty spot ; mango trees and palms adorn its banks and cover thickly a little island in the centre, while the sand-stone hills

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Jammu it was amusing whether proper arrangements for *Sarkar's* service would be forthcoming. Raja Hira Singh submitted that he found no difference between the two brothers, and the spiritual concordance of hearts which thay had, was not subject to nearness and remoteness.

In short His Majesty moved his standards towards Jammu and bestowed on it honour of imperial presence.[5] His Lordship and Raja Dhian Singh escorted the 'source of favours' in all devotion, set-up a poleless tent in Mandi and housed him therein. They offered[6] one lakh and twenty-one thousand rupees by way of *ziafat* (feast). Other illustratious chiefs in imperial attendance were also provided *ziafat* and sweets appropriate to their ranks, and of dainty dishes and most sumptuous drinks a feast was laid for the imperial cavalcade. On the same day the splendour of the glorious dynasty, the reared of the shine of prosperity's sun Maharaja Ranbir Singh[7] *sahib bahadur* received the felicity of attendance, and that one of angelic virtues seated him in a chair before himself and subjected him to favours.

(205) The next day he (Maharaja Ranjit Singh) went to have a look around the palaces (the inmates of which had moved to other place) and to attain the *darshan* of *Shri Thakaran* in the *Thakar-dwarah*[8] inside the palaces. None of the *hashiah-nashins* (retinue) was permitted to accompany, but he brought with him his Highness,

round are partly clothed with brush-wood and shaded, though lightly with the bright loose foliage of the long-leafed pine." (Drew p. 89).

5. Maharaja Ranjit Singh entered Jammu city on the 17th Chet 1895 (28th March 1838). and showered gold on the people. He was housed in a poleless tent in the Mandi. He also visited the gardens of Malka Zamani of Delhi, Pandit Jalla and Wazir Kesari Singh. (*Umdat* V. S. Suri, pp. 413-14).

6. According to Sohan Lal Suri, Raja Kalan, *i.e.*, Raja Gulab Singh offered to the Maharaja the following articles :--fine garments, 11 horses with gold and silver saddles and seven plain ones, and for the Maharaja especially five gold, two silver and two plain ones. Besides he presented two elephants, one with golden seat and the other with silver seat. Rs. 51,000 in cash, rare garments 101, articles of Jewellery 5, consisting of a pearl necklace, an armlet and underturban, a pair of gold bangles, and a diamond ring and 2 falcons. (*Umdat-ut-Tawarikh p.* 471).

7. Ranbir Singh was the third and the youngest son of Gulab Singh. He was destined to succeed his father to the throne of Jammu & Kashmir State as both of his elder brothers—Udham Singh and Sohan Singh—had predeceased him.

8. At about the third quarter of the day on the 18th Chet (29th March, 1838), the Raja *Kalan* requested the Maharaja to see the *Thakar* in the *zenana* palaces, and on his request the Maharaja went into the Haveli, enjoyed the sacred sight, offered a *Nazar* of Rs. 500 to the priest and gave Rs. 500 to the *khidmatgars* of the Raja *Kalan* (*Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, p.* 473).

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Raja Dhian Singh *sahib* and *Misar* Ram Kishan ; and out of intense affection, which fathers have for their sons, he subjected them to much favours. He ascended the balcony and casting a glance in all directions swelled his heart with tenderness. It escaped from the equity decreeing tongue that in the line of the exhibitor of material and divine truths (*One line omitted*)—Guru Nanak's inheritance was not destined for any physical offspring but for attandants and disciples. Similar is the object before His Majesty's august heart who belongs to the category of possessors of celibacy.

In short, after lending lustre on Jammu for two days, be broke up his camp of prosperity. His Highness presented precious *aqamashah* besides an elephant with a *haudah* of gold and fleet-footed horses ; and the world-conquering Majesty accepted them all with a liberal heart. Moreover, to every one of the chiefs and all the servants, who had become prosperous through respectable favours, were presented rich *Khilats* according to their rank. The world-conquering Majesty made some addition to the *khilat* meant for Frederick Mackeson *sahib* who was in attendance then, and it was communicated to *Faqir* Aziz-ud-Din, who acted as translator, that he should tell Mackeson *sahib* that Lahore was the superficial abode of His Majesty whereas this was the real one. To sum up, all the blessed ones, high and low, attained their objects, and none in the *Urdu-e-mu'alla* was left without a lion's share.[9]

9. Sohan Lal gives full detail of entertainment given by Gulab Singh to all the Sardars and their officers and attendants. The total is as under :

Cash :	Rs. 51,000
Pearl necklace	1.
Jewels	5.
Saddles :	
Gold	1.
Silver	3.
Plain	1.
Horses	6.
Quilts	2.
Clothes :	
Garments	144.
Turbans	45
Shawls	6.
Khes	30.
Dopattas	12.
Chaddars	12, pairs.

Mr. Makeson was specially given Rs. 500, 13 garments, one horse with a golden saddle and 5 Jewels including a pearl necklace and an under turban.

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CHAPTER
33

Setting of the Sun of the Panjab

(*Five introductory lines omitted.*)

(206) As the heat of the temperament of the ruler of the world, Maharaja Ranjit Singh (*Two lines omitted*) had swerved from the point of equilibrium, so at last he bid farewell to this treacherous world on Thursday, the 15th of the month of Har, Sambat 1896 (June 27, 1839) and left for the eternal abode.

(*Twenty-two couplets on pages* 206 & 207 *omitted*).

(207) When the information of this inevitable happening reached the glorious ears of his Highness, who was then halting at Peshawar, it caused so much heart affliction and internal confusion as is beyond comprehension. In fact the external and internal merits of that traveller of the pious world are beyond the compass of writing, particularly the description of all the charity, favours, valour and conquests performed by that adorer of the throne of royalty requires volumes.

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CHAPTER
34

Account of the Murder of Chet Singh

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(208) After the demise of that lion of the Panjab, Maharaja Kharak Singh[1] ascended the throne and entrusted the management of political and financial affairs in the hands of Chet Singh[2], who was of vile nature and base ambition. That shortsighted one, on account of

1. Maharaja Kharak Singh—was the eldest son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh He was born in about March, 1801 (*Phagan* 1857 B.E.) to Rani Raj Kaur, Ranjit's second wife, who had been married in 1792. Kharak Singh was married to Chand Kaur, daughter of Sardar Jaimal Singh Kanhaya. He was described as "little better than an imbecile." "His imbecility is such that he can scarcely return an answer to the most simple question." (Alexander Burnes, *Cabool*, pp. 122-23). In 1837, Fane described him as the "least interesting of the whole family. He looks as if he smoked away day and night and had smoked away the whole of his intellect." (Henry Edward Fane, *Five Years in India*, Vol. I, p. 171.). He ascended the throne at the age of 38, on June 27, 1839, the day of his father's death, and died on November 5, 1840 (22nd *Katak* 1897 B.E.)

2. Chet Singh---was Kharak Singh's "guardian, or tutor and factotum" (Honigberger, *Thirty-five Years in the East*, Vol. I, p. 101). He was married to the niece of Mangal Singh Sindhu, brothet-in-law of Kharak Singh, It was through Mangal Singh that Chet Singh was introduced to the hair-apparent. The prince had become so much attached to his favourite as to entirely depend upon him for guidance in all matters. But---"This man had nothing to recommend him, but arrogance and sycophancy". (M'Gregar; *History of the Sikhs*, Vol. II, p. 5); Yet "being desirous to become an independent minister, was a rival of Dhyan Singh, and was contriving to remove him". (J.M. Honigberger : *Thirty-Five Years in the East*, Vol. I, p. 101).

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evil nature and narrow mindedness, offended all the nobles of the State, hatched in his mind the foolish thought of killing[3] the celebrated ones and admitted to himself false ideas entailing a revolution in empire. Consequently, one day eminent *Sardars*, such as Raja Suchet Singh, *Jamadar* Khushal Singh, *Sardar* Lehna Singh Majithia and other nobles, went to the presence of *Kour* Nao-Nihal Singh[4], and revealed this fact to him. He had already the knowledge of the evil designs of Chet Singh, and said that though the opening of boil was no doubt painful, yet in reality was the cause of health and relief. Similarly the murder of this perpetrator of evil deeds would though cause grief to Maharaja Kharak Singh's heart, but according to the maxim 'nip the evil in the bud' doing away with him was desirable. Therefore, it was necessary that before the rising of the sun, all the influential *sardars* should gather at his place so that they might do away with him with mutual cooperation. So all of them contracted oaths and vows among themselves. But *Sardar* Lehna Singh (209) Majithia possessed of future comprehending wisom and consequence knowing conscience and handsome knowledge of intellectual and artificial sciences, especially of the subject of Mathematics, asserted that he might take oath of secrecy but would not participate in the murder.

In short, at dawn when the plundering sky tore the garment of Night, the said *Sardars* arrived in the presence of the *Kanwar sahib bahadur* and accompanied him to the sleeping chambers inside the fort adjoining the seat of throne. The company on guard, asleep at the gate, was awakened by the sound of footsteps, yet remained inactive on looking at the *Kanwar sahib* and Raja Dhian Singh. At that time Prince Kharak Singh was tying his turban and was occupied in his daily ritual when the late Lordship wielded his carbine and killed Khan Singh and another footman. At this incident the Prince *sahib bahadur* all at once tried to shut the door, but the *Kanwar* opened it by force and went in. The Prince threw his arms around Chet Singh and did not let him part. So, the said Lordship removed him from above Chet Singh and that doomed one ran into the vault. The Raja *Sahib* was constrained to fellow him and with his

3. See footnote No. 5 below.

4. Nao Nihal Singh---was the son of Maharaja Kharak Singh. Born in February, 1821, he was married at seventeen to a daughter of Sardar Sham Singh Attariwala. From his childhood he had been brought up with care. He was an ambitious youth "popular amongst all classes, especially the military" (Allen & Co., *History of the Punjab*, Vol. II, p. 216), described as bold and courageous. He "united at the same time, to great caution, discretion and forethought." (W.L. M'Gregor, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol. II, p. 5-6). Nao-Nihal was, however,

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own dagger sent him down to the dust of annihilation[5]. At the occu-

a bit rash and self-willed (Allen & Co., *History of the Punjab*, Vol. II, pp. 217-18). At a very early age he took up the profession of arms. He knew riding, shooting and other military exercises. As a boy he was made to take part in several campaigns. In Peshawar, campaigns he was very successful and Ranjit Singh appointed him the first governor of that province.

5. John Martin Honigberger gives the following account of the incident in *Thirty-five years in East. Vol. I*, p. 104 (Reprint Calcutta 1905).

"His (Maharaja Kharak Singh's) guardian, or tutor and factotum, Sirder Chet Singh, being desirous to become an independent minister was a rival of Dhyan Singh, and was contriving to remove him. He intended to assassinate him one morning in the durbar. For this purpose he had collected in the fortress, where he lived with Kurruck Sing, his two recently organised batallions of body guards and had ordered the sentinels at the three gates, devoted to Dhyan Singh, to be changed early in the morning fixed upon for the murder of the Minister; but this plot was not concealed from Dhyan Singh, and he hastened to prevent the treacherous act, in which he succeeded by the assistance of the royal prince. Nao Nihal Singh and a few of the Sirdars and with the aid of his own brothers and some relations, Kurruck Singh and Chet Singh were assailed in the fortress before the break of day, when Chet Singh and all his relations and partisans were destroyed. This was the beginning of the bloody scenes in the Punjab, which could only end by the interference of the English. The following connected account of Chet Singh's murder is given by Dr. Barkat Rai Chopra in his monumental work '*Kingdom of the Punjab*,' p. 29-30 :--

"Very early in the morning of 8th October, 1839 (two hours of the night still remaining)" the conspirators entered the fort by Dayawal's gate and proceeded towards the Maharaja's residence (G.C. Symth, *A History of the Regnining Family of Lahore*, p. 29) They were about fifteen men including the brothers Gulab Singh, Dhian Singh and Suchet Singh, the Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh the heads of the Sindhanwala family, Messar Lal Singh, Rai Kesari Singh, Alexander Gardner, and a few others (Hugh pearse *Memoirs of Alexander Gardener*, p. 218.) On the way they were met by two Bhais who were immediately cut down (G. C. Symth, p. 29). As they entered the gate of the palace, a voice accosted them, "who is it"? Dhian Singh replied, "The Maharaja goes tomorrow to bathe at Amritsar and we have to make the necessary preparations." (Hugh Pearse, p. 218). Stealthily they advanced up to the royal apartment. There a man seeing them ran forward to give alarm to the Maharaja. He was Khan Singh, a Gadwai, Kharak Singh had just gone into his sleeping room to say his prayers. (G. C. Smyth p. 29; *Tarikh-i-Sikhan* p. 95). Khan Singh was shot dead by Suchet Singh who was rebuked by Gulab Singh for his imprudence. The Subedar of the Maharaja's guards stationed quite close got alerted on hearing the shot but rendered instantly silent on recognising Dhian Singh (Hugh Pearse pp. 219-20).

The party approached the ruler's sleeping apartment where Chet Singh slept. Alarmed by the noise outside he slipped out of the place and hid himself in the long dark chamber called Khabgah. Dhian Singh, followed by the whole party, entered the apartment, but found Chet Singh missing. Kharak Singh implored that Chet Singh's life be spared. But he was held down by his sons and Attar Singh Sindhawala and other, while the rest of the party searched for Chet and found him hiding in a corner of the Khabgah. In his helplessness

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rrence of this incident the said Prince became distressed and afflicted at heart and started weeping and wailing and addressed everyone with harsh words full of wrath: particularly to the Kanwar *sahib* he sent maledictions and said : 'You perpetrate such a heinous crime for the sake of throne: but after me you shall not enjoy it even for a day: Better if you had imprisoned him alive.' In the same manner he treated the *Sardars* and the Rajas wantonly. Indeed, that affair seemed (210) expedient at that time but later on it turned out disagreeable.

he cried for mercy but instantly Dhian Singh plunged his dagger into his heart, crying out. "Take this in the memory of Ranjit Singh." (*Tarikh-i-Sikhon*, pp. 94-97 ; Hugh Pearse. pp. 220-221 ; Rattan Chand, *Khalsa nama*, p. 152.)

A general relief was felt by all at the death of Chet Singh. Wade prophesied that dissensions in the Darbar would be the only outcome of it (*Wade to Maddock*, December 11, 1839, *P.G.R*, 147/145). S. S. Thorburn commented on the incident, "That was the first of the political murders which in a few years. removed most of the men holding place in the Punjab at the time of signing of the tripartite treaty. (*The Punjab in Peace and War*, p. 26).

Dr. Honigberger, however, observed that "If Kharak Singh had followed the advice of his father in reposing trust in Dhian Singh and not yielded to the insinuations of Chet Singh, "everything would have proceeded in a prosperous manner."

The general opinion was openly expressed by all that "Now all will go straight (Hugh Pearse, *Memoirs of Alexander Gardener*, p. 222).

On one occasion General Venture had gone as far as to suggest to the Maharaja, that if Prince Nau Nihal Singh and Raja Dhian Singh were given a free hand, the administration would run more smoothly.

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CHAPTER
35

Pilgrimage of his Lordship to Gaya-Ji

(*Five lines and half and one couplet omitted.*) In the last of the month of *Magh* of the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-six the world conquering Lordship set out with the permission of *Kanwar* Nao Nihal Singh, for pilgrimage to *Gaya-Ji*, which is one of the chief places of divine worship. Among the attendants on him were *Wazir* Zorawaru, *Wazir* Ratnu and *Pandit* Charan Dass who were in the retinue of the exalted one But because he could spare only a short time from the affairs of administration and conquest of countries, he therefore travelled by palanquin-Dak, First of all he alighted at Kashi which is a big place of pilgrimage and an eminent city, and there performed all the usual ceremonies pertaining to worship, charity and pious acts. From there (**211**) he moved his presence towards the holy city of *Gaya-Ji*, and performed the formalities of worship there. The skirt of the destitute became loaded by his munificence and liberality. On account of want of time for cooking food, a fact considered propitious in the faith of Hindu religion, little arrangement could be made for eating food : rather many times he had to be content with the humble barley. Therefore, the royal nature habituated to delicacies, swayed from the equilibrium towards indisposition and the malady of diarrhoea appeared. Because of excess of devotion to God he directed his hope of health only towards the *True Physician*, so that in a very short time the delicate temperament got back health. Afterwards he returned to Lahore safely.

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CHAPTER

36

Occurence of the inevitable accident of Maharaja Kharak Singh, Kanwar Nao-Nihal Singh, Mian Udam Singh, and Maharaja Sher Singh's accession to throne and the battle of Samman Fort

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(212) (*Four introductory lines omitted.*) On the *Ikadashi* day, of *Katak* in the year one thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven[1] Prince Kharak Singh breathed his last. *Kanwar* Nao-Nihal Singh, after performing the due *Sanskaras* of the deceased took ablutions, and walked hand in hand towards the capital, abreast with the young *Mian* Udham Singh[2]. By chance the unkind hand of Fate rolled down on the heads of the two young ones, a piece of roof-plaster like a bolt from the blue, and the tree of life of those sapplings of the orchard of royalty and glory was uprooted by the hurricane of death[3].

1. Kharak Singh expired on the 22nd *Katak*, 1897 B. E. (November 5, A.D. 1840, in the morning of Thursday). (*Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* of Sohan Lal, Vol. IV, Part I, P. 67.)

2. *Mian* Udham Singh was the eldest son of Raja Gulab Singh and the nephew of Raja Dhian Singh.

3. This incident took place on Thursday, November 5, 1840 (22nd *Katak* B.E. 1897) (Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* Vol. IV, Pt II, p. 67 ; 150/34, *Clerk* to *Torrens*, Nov. 6, 1840, *P. G. R.*) After taking bath in the Ravi, Nao-Nihal along with his suit, started back towards the fort. He was on foot accompanied by Dhian Singh and *Mian* Udham Singh on each side. He moved to the adjoining portal of the northern gate of the Hazuribagh to breath fresh air and be relieved from the heat, he had been enduring from the rays of the sun and flames of the funeral pyre. As he was entering the gateway of the portal a crash

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(*Two lines and three couplets omitted.*) The late Lordship had left for

was heard. The heavy battlements of the gate fell and both the youths were struck to the ground (150/37, *Clerk to Torrens*, Nov. 10, 1840, *P.G.R*)." The largest stone fell on Udham Singh, broke his neck and killed him out right on the spot. (*Ibid*). "The Prince's (Nao-Nihal Singh's) left arm was fractured and his head smashed" (Rattan Chand, *Khalis Nama*, folio 154; Nur Ahmad Chisti, *Tehqiqat-Chisti* p. 516). Dhian Singh was also slightly hurt (150/37, *Clerk to Torrens*, Nov. 10, 1840). He instantly lifted the prince up in his arms placing him in a *Palki* got him carried in to the *Baralıdarri* of *Hazuribagh*. Mr. Clerk reported to Torrens in the letter quoted above that "An examination in the *Barrahdarri* showed that there was no hope of Nao-Nihal's life. "The whole thing that happened was accidental and none suspected it to have resulted from the premeditated machinations of any conspirators either. "None thought it worthwhile to make the inquiry, and the event was regarded as a punishment of God . . ." (J. M. Honigberger *Thirty five years in the East*, Vol. I p. 104) But a few English writers tried to throw suspicions on the accident and to make the accident look "a premeditation of Dhian Singh, who according to their opinion, ambitious as he was saw in the prince the only impediment and obstacle to the sinister purpose he had in the view" (*Ibid*). It was G. C. Smyth who coined such a charge and goes so far as to allege that the *Palki* in which Nao-Nihal was carried sensless" as it would seem, was in readiness for the purpose" (G, C, Smyth, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, p.35.) It was probably Captain Gardner who described the event in such dubious manner as to be cast a shadow of suspicion on the whole affair and to shroud it in mystery. His hint was taken by a few writers who concocted story of Dhian Singh's or Gulab Singh's machinations in the affairs. The whole affair has been confused unnecessarily. Gardner and Smyth accuse the Minister Dhian Singh of having secretly put Nao-Nihal to death. The fall of archway was attributed by some to design, and even Gulab Singh has been denounced as the author. On enquiry into the matter J. M. Honigberger found "more reason to suppose that the partisans of Kurruck Singh and Chet Singh were the authors of this plot against the prince, as he had intended to ask them for an account of their perfidions behaviour during his father's long illness . . . he (the prince) to order seven of their houses to be closed and inquiries to be made" (J M. Honig-berger, *Thirty five years in the East*, Vol. I, p. 105.) Steinbach. (*The Punjab*, p. 25.) opines that ' The whole affair was so enveloped in mystery, that even to the present day 1845, (when Steinbach wrote his book) it has been found impossible to attach suspicion to any party and the matter has now long since ceased to occupy men's thoughts." L. H. Griffin (*The Panjab Chiefs*, p. 328) expresses his considered opinion in the following words. "The only reason for the mystery which shrouded the death-bed of the Prince, was the necessity which Dhyan Singh felt for keeping the fatal news from being generally known until the arrival of Sher Singh. If there had been an organised plot, the Raja would have taken care that Sher Singh should have been present in Lahore at the time of the castastrophe. The absence of Sher Singh proves the innocence of the Raja." The contemporary English political correspondence, which details even the most insignificant happenings at the *Darbar*, also makes no reference to any such suspicion entertained in any quarters regarding the Jammu Rajas. So far as

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Ramgarh[4] when suddenly the news of this heat-rending incident came to him like a piercing arrow and caused distress of heart and confusion. The deluge of sorrow washed away the barrage of resolution, and the wind of grief uprooted the tree of patience. So with heavy heart and anxious mind, he reached Jammu. And since all and sundry were enamoured of his (Mian Udham Singh's) handsome look and perfection of nature due to his mighty courage, patronage of the weak, affability, liberality, valour, manliness, cheerfulness, modesty, bouyant heart and auspicious countenance, all the (213) people mourned his death, and struck their heads with their hands out of grief. They shed copious tears, and afflicted with grief, they raised pathetic laments. On Wednesday, the 27th of month of *Asuj* of the *Samvat* one thousand eight hundred and seventy four *Bikrami*[5], *Mian* Udham Singh had seen the day, and died at the age of twenty-three years and some days. *Rani* Chamial, the consert of the deceased had already died a few months earlier.

The said Lordship stayed at Jammu a few days for performing rites of condolence, and then left for Lahore. (214) Since this grave accident which wiped out in a day the line of heirs to the throne, brought about complete revolution in the Lahore Kingdom, Raja Dhian Singh, did not disclose[6] the demise of *Kanwar* Nihal Singh,

the contemporary European writers go it was their studied policy to denounce the Jammu Rajas. especially Dhian Sinhh., because of his anti-European attitude which he had consistently maintained throughout his career (Dr. B. R, Chopra, *Kingdom of the Punjab*, 1839-45, pp. 91-92).

"The fall of the archway was of course attributed by some to design, and Gulab Singh has been denounced as the author. But the proof is confined to the bare assertions of some of the Sikh courtiers and to the fact that some endeavours were made to conceal, at first, the amount of injury sustained by the prince. On the other hand it is not explained by what delicate mechanism the fall of a portion of the archway should be timed to a second, and unitl this explained the assertion must appear incredible, while accusation of Gulab Singh is inconsistent with the fact that his own son was one of victims." (*Gazetteer of the Lahore District*, 1883-84, p. 31, Foot-note.).

4. *Ramgarh*. Now an insignficant village some 8 miles to the south of Samba and 25 miles to the east of Jammu. It has an old mud eum brick fort where the police station is housed. It was given as *jagir* to the Dogra Rajas in 1814 as a reward for Gulab Singh's military services during Ranjit Singh's compaigns in the Jullundur Doab.

5. Corresponding to September 13, A.D. 1817

6. On the suggestion of Azizud-Din, *Bhai* Gurmukh Singh, *Bhai* Ram Singh and other high ranking men, a report was inductriously circulated that, though badly hurt, the Prince was still alive, (Sohan Lal, *Udmat-ut-Twarikh*, Vol. IV., I p. 71). In order to secure the city and afford time to Chand Kaur and Prince Sher Singh to reach Lahore the news of the death was kept secret for three days (Nur Ahmad Chishti, *Tahqiqat Chisti*, p. 516, W. Humbley, *Journal of*

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out of caution and removed the corpse to the *Bara-duri* of *Hazuri-bagh*, and according to the exigency of the times called for physicians and surgeons, and wanted them to do the business. After performing the funeral rites of *Mian* Udham Singh, he (Raja Dhian Singh) gave vent to grief and lamentations so inevitable for human nature. The crooked Fate had with its cruel pen, scratched out from the journal of Time the heirs physical of the Maharaja so Dhian Singh sent message to Maharaja Sher-Singh[7]. The latter, comprehending this opportunity as implying divine favour, rushed towards Lahore hastily. After his arrival the death of the *Kanwar* was made known and *Sahnskara* was performed in the way appropriate to his rank. But the Sindhanwalia *Sardars*, the late Lordship, *Jamadar* Khushal Singh, *Bhai* Ram Singh and other Chiefs, contrary to the opinion of Raja Dhian Singh considered the accession of Maharani Chand Kaur[8] to the throne proper on the ground that she was preg-

a Cavalry Officer, p. 75). The news of Nao Nihal's death was formally announced on Sunday November 8, on Sher Singh's appearing at Lahore and the funeral rites were performed that evening. According to L. H. Griffin Mai Chand Kaur returned to Lahore on the 6th November, i. e. Friday.

7. Sher Singh was a reputed son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh from Ran Mehtab Kaur who was married to Ranjit Singh in 1796. She was the daughter of Gurbaksh Singh, son of Jai Singh Kanheya. She was married more than ten years, without bearing any children. Her mother Sada Kaur, therefore took steps to remedy the defect. Soon, after Ranjit Singh's departure from Lahore on his cis-Sutlej campaign in 1807, it was given out that Mehtab Kaur was pregnant. On the Maharaja's return, the Rani presented him with Sher Singh and Tara Singh as her twin sons. The Rani actually never bore any children. Her mother Sada Kaur purchased them from their parents. Sher Singh was the son of a Chinty weaver, named Nihala, native of Mukerian in Hoshiarpur district. Maharaja Ranjit Singh was never deceived in the matter but he acknowledged the children as his own. They were always treated as his sons and bore the title of Shahzada. L. N. Griffin *The Punjab Chiefs* pp. 2-3)

8. Maharani Chand Kaur was wife of Maharaja Kharak Singh mother of Kanwar Nao Nihal Singh. She was the daughter of Jaimal Singh Kanheya the *Sardar* whom Ranjit Singh had deprived of his firtress of Pathankot, and soon after the marriage, he had become master of all his territories and treasures (Baron Charles Hugel, *Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab*, p, 385). Her marriage with Prince Kharak Singh was consummated in A.D. 1812. After eht death of Maharaja Kharak Singh and Nao Nihal Singh on 5 Nov. 1840, she became regent of Lahore State for a few months upto 20 January 1841. She preferred her claim to sovereignty against Sher Singh and to that purpose she made an unsuccessful attempt to gain British support for her cause "offering to transfer to the British Govt. any portion of the Punjab, if it would win her the throne, (151/53 *Clerk to Maddock*, May 7, 1841, P.G.R.). She was later on given the *jagir* of Manawar which she put under the Management of Gulab Singh. Fed up with her incessant intrigues Maharaja Sher Singh got her murdered at the hands of her madservents on June 9, 1843 (Sohan Lal,

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nant. Therefore, the carrying on of the political and revenue affairs was decided to be entrusted to his Lordship, *Jam'adar* Khushal Singh *Sardar* Atar Singh Sindhanwalia, *Sardar* Lehna Singh Majithia and *Bhai* Ram Singh, who conducted all the business after mutual consultation and agreement[9]. (315) Consequently Sher Singh went towards Kalanaur[10] without obtaining his desire, and Raja Dhian Singh stayed there for some time disappointed. At last he also left for Jammu on pretext of hunting of which he was eztremely fond. It is said that at the time of retreat of Maharaja Sher Singh, the Raja (Dhian Singh) had sworne on his honour to seat the former on the throne of Lahore in a short time.[11] Therefore in order to keep his

Umdat-ut-Twarikh, Vol. IV Pt. II. pp. 35-36 J. M. Honigberger, Vol. I, p. 105; L. H. Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, pp. 336-37).

9. This statement of Gulabnamah is partically true.

In order to reconcile opposing claims of Sher Singh and Chand Kaur, an arrangment was agreed upon on Nov. 20, 1840. The Govt. was now composed firstly of Chand Kaur as Regent, and she was to have chief authority in the State under the designation of "Mai" Next to her Sher Singh was made Vice-regent or President of the Council of Chiefs (150/39 *Clerk to Mcddock*, Nov. II, 1840 PGR.) The council comprised Sher Singh, Lehna Singh Majithia and Attar Singh and Ajit Singh Sindhanwalas (Kanhaya Lal : *Tarikh Punjab*, p. 388.) Dhian Singh was to remain *Wazir* as before and Azizuddin was to be the counceller of the state, as usual. All including Chand Kaur, took an oath "binding themselves to maintain this form of coalition. . . ." (150/48 *Clerk to Maddock*, November 21, 1840, PGR.) Gulab Singh and *Jamadar* Khushal Singh were not nominated to the council. This arrangment was, however frought with danger and hence proved unworkable. Soon a conspiracy developed to kill Sher Singh and it widened than ever the gulf between Dhian Singh and Chand Kaur whose faction was trying to take the reins of administration in their hands to the exclusion of the Raja Goolab Singh believing that the results to his family of their sudden alienution from the court might yet be very uncertain. is endeavouring to reconcile the Mae and his brother (Dhian Singh) but he has not a tall succeeded." (150/49, *Clerk to Maddock* Nov. 30, 1840, PGR.)

10. Sher Singh retreated not to Kalanaur, but to Kahnawan, the lake town in his *jagir* of Batala. Observing all this and "afraid of being involved in some infamy" Sher Singh left for Batala (155/80, *Kawnawar Sher Singh to Clerk*, December 21, 1840 P. G. R.). He left Lahore some time between December 5th and Ioth, Dhian Singh promising to establish him in the throne at the proper time (W.L M' Gregor, *The History of the Sikhs*, Vol. II , p. 7.)

11. The faction of Mai Chand Caur became ambitions and sought to strip Raja Dhian Singh of all civil and military authority. The expected crisis ultimately came, when Dhian Singh was deprived of control over his army. This caused much resentment among the troops, some of whom mutinied and a concilation was made only by the Raja's a intercession. (151/6 *Clerk to Mad dock*, January 9, 1840 PGR.) All this however, was too much for Dhian Singh to suffer. He finally determined to establish Sher Singh on the throne He wanted to be temporarily away from the scene, and got the permission of the Mai to go

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promise he secretly proposed to the officers of the Khalsa army, every one of whom was indebted to and owed allegiance to him, that as soon as Maharaja Sher Singh entered Lahore they should accord him royal reception and submit to his orders[12]. Moreover, Karam Singh, resident of Thoiah, who was of all the servants of the Raja *sahib* most subject to his affections and favours, was left there so that he should keep rolling the brisk market of Maharaja Sher Singh's affairs.

When a few days had passed after this, Maharaja Sher Singh suddenly reached Lahore at the hint of army officers, and encamped near Buddu's brick-kiln.[13] The Lordship sent for army officers in diligent search for measures to be adopted, and told them that the Maharani was the heir to the throne and therefore consideration of loyalty required submission and obedience on their part to that lady. On assurance from them the said Lordship bestowed on each of them exaltations and gifts worthy of their rank and honour.[14] But they

to Jammu for a month during the day of *Lohrj* and *Maghi*, because to bring her downfall openly seemed incongruous with his position as Chand Kaur's Chief Minister. "He probably preferred that they (troops) should fulfil his intentions by declaring themselves in his absence for the *Koonour* being as was most proper rather than declare for himself the Kanwar being away." (151/13, *Clerk to Maddock*, January 18, 1841, PGR; Nur Ahmad Chishti, *Tahqiqut Chisti*, p. 517.)

12. Raja Dhian Singh's withdrawal from Lahore led to confusion and disorder at Lahore. Chand Kaur was greatly alarmed and her advisers were convinced of their incapacity to govern. "Raja Dhian Singh's absence seems already to be regretted by all but some few *Sardars* who have not the sense to discern, or the patriotism to deplore, the ruin which in consequence is rapidly encompassing the Raj." (151/12. *Clerk to Maddock*, January 17, 1841, PGR.)

13. "On the morning of Thursday, January 13, (1841), Sher Singh with three hundred horsemen reached Avitabile's house on *Budhu-Ka-Awa* and occupied it." (Sohan Lal *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. IV, Pt. II, p. 9)

On January 14, Sher Singh got to the Shalimar Gardens at noon. Here an officer of General Gulab Singh's battalions waited on him. On January 15, a considerable proportion of the army went over to Sher Singh. By noon their strength rose to 14 or 15 thousand men with 21 pieces of ordnance. Then the Charyari Sowars under the command of Raja Suchet Singh's command, joined his standard. Till late that night not less then 2600 infantry, 800 horse and 45 guns joined the *Kanwar* (151/13, *Clerk to Maddock*, January 18, 1841, P. G. *R.*)

14. Raja Gulab Singh upheld the cause of Chand Kaur. He and Hira Singh, in concert with Chand Kaur and the other chiefs of their party, prepared for the defence of the Fort as well as the city. The leaders in the fort with Chand Kaur were Attar Singh Sindhanwala, Raja Gulab Singh, Hira Singh and Mangal Singh. (151/13, *Clerk to Maddock*, January 18, 1841, P. G. R.)

"Raja Gulab Singh . . . showed such an anthusiasm and effort in the control and management of the gates of the fort that entry into it became impossible

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were thinking otherwise in their heart of hearts so only outwardly they gave their approval. No sooner Maharaja Sher Singh had come and the platoons encamped near "*Pajawah Buddhu*" had presented royal salute than everybody deserted.[15] But the said Lordship for the sake of his loyalty at once (216) set himself strengthening and fortifying the Saman fort, and weapons of war and defence were properly arrayed.

Raja Hira Singh was instructed by his Lordship to leave the fort, for his respected father was away from the fort, and he himself was too young. The youth, however, did not agree and said, "You are like father to me. How can I desert my father and go out ?"

It is said that inside the Fort there were in all about two thousand Dogra soldiers of the said Lordship's army with one piece of artillery; whereas outside a numerous force over fifty thousand with a park of fire-spitting artillery, mustering some three hundred cannons, had set siege.[16] The basiegers, in short, marched across the Parade

for any one. He gathered together troops of the warlike Rajputs, who were experienced and chosen soldiers. inside the fort." (Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* Vol. IV, Pt. II, pp. 10-11).

15. Sher Singh was playing a double game. He depended to a large extent upon Dhian Singh to promote his interest at Lahore. But at the same time fearing his influence, he wanted as far as possible to win the throne without the aid of the Dogra family. For this purpose he found an active and willing instrument in his *Mukhtiar* Jawala Singh. "Thus while on the one hand he (Sher Singh) was assuring the minister all his reliance on him alone--he had on the other hand actually given Jawalla Singh a written promise, that in case Khalsa troops agreed to and succeeded in the capture of Lahore and the ejection of Chand Kaur and her party, without the aid of Raja Dehan Singh, he (Jawalla Singh) should be appointed *Wazeer*," (G. C. Smyth, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, p. 39) Meanwhile Sher Singh received a communication from Dhian Singh that the situation was ripe for his proceeding to Lahore where troops were ready to receive him. The Raja had observed from several unequivocal signs lately shown by the army of its fidelity to Dhian Singh. "The declaration (of Raja Dhian Singh) was confirmed by the arrival of secret agents from the army, pledging the troops to support his claim, on the condition he gave them a certain amount of donations which was specified in a written agreement (Allon & Co., *History of the Punjab*, Vol. II, p. 227).

16 On the comperative strength of the besieged and the besiegers Major Gardner Raja Gulab Singh's artillery commander makes the following observation :--"The situation was critical. At the utmost our force did not exceed 3000 men, and against us were probably not less than 1,50,000 men, with 200 pieces of artillery, encamped on the plain of Mian Mir." (Pearse, *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*, p. 230). "Two heavy siegetrains of forty guns each were laid against the fort, while no less than eighty horse-artillery pieces were drawn up on the broad road immediately in front of us on the city side." (*Ibid*, p. 233) "The part played by Gulab Singh on this occasion marked him out as one of the cleverest tracticians at the *Darbar*. It greatly enhanced his reputation as

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ground and passing through the Roshanai gate entered the courtyard of *Hazuri Bagh* and erected artillery opposite the *Deodhi Chati*. His Lordship circulated this emphatic warning to the army officers that unless the besiegers take lead in discharging muskets they should not make war on them. But the besiegers, sallied forth and addressed the defenders of the fort that they should throw open the gate of the Fort. Chhibba Chib the *Subahdar*, who had been at that time deputed to defend the *Deodhi* with a company and a piece of brass. replied that he would not at all open the gates without the Lordship's orders. At this they all at once opened cannon fire and the planks of the *Deodhi* broke to pieces; and Chhibba Chib along with his assistants was killed by a cannon ball. The army of the enemy was about to enter the fort when the *Diwan Sahib* the revered father of the author of this account, bravely came forward, and with all the courage, set himself reinforcing defence of the *Deodhi*. He ordered Charagha *Kumedan* and Chatta Singh (217) and Chhibu Charak the gunner, to show spark to the gun without delay. So when they opened cannon fire, all those from the invading army who were ready opposite *Deodhi* to attack, were blown off by the sudden cannonade. The remainder of the army finding itself wanting in courage to fight, took to flight. Now from the remparts of the fort also fire was opened. Especially the *Parmar* muskets, invented by the said Lordship despatched several enemies to the other world in an instant and did not give them time for intrenchment. On the part of the besiegers, who were in vast numbers and possessed numerous artillery, no effort was spared in storming that feeble fort, but no progress could be made, The result was that none survived of those gun-horses and cannoniers who had reached the court-yard of *Hazuri Bagh*. As a result of musket-fire and cannon-fire from the fort, the besiegers started fleeing.[17] One of the wonders

military leader and after-wards his name always inspired awe in the minds of the otherwise turbulent and uncontrollable Sikh soldiery." (Barkat Rai Chopra *Kingdom of the Panjab*, 1839-45. p. 127) "With the hour as I must say, is ever the case in critical periods, came the man; and nothing could surpass the calmness, the forethought, the activity, and the mental resource of Gulab Singh, ... His determination never failed him. He had a knack of seizing occasion for action with such rapidity of vision, combined with such immutability of purpose, that those of his actions that appeared most questionable were justified by the bright results by which they were always attended." (Pearse, *Memoirs of Alexander*, p. 232).

17. What followed has been described by Major G.C. Smyth in the following words :—"Presently the fierce cries of some seventy thousand wild infantry, and perhaps fifty thousand still more savage followers attracted by the sent of plunder, rent the air in loud acclamations...the host, disclaiming further atte-

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was that two Man platoons in the government pay had entered the fort and had held talks with Maharaja Sher Singh. By his smooth

mpts at secrecy, advanced to the assault. The small and silent band on the walls of the fort calmly beheld the approach of the dense columns of infantry, the squardrons of cavalry, and more fearful than all, the enormous train of the *Khalsa* artillery. The entire circuit of the fort now presented a closely wedged mass of men, forming close up to the very walls....The number of guns was sc great that they formed as it were one entire and connected battery round the fort ; and yet others, for want of room in the first rank had to take up positions in the rear, or to fire from wherever space could be found to work them...At this time the Hazooree Bagh was thronged with a motlry multitude of *Gorchars*, or troopers, Akalees, Infantry, Cavalry and Artillery. Sher Singh himself took up his position in a marble summer house in the middle of the garden...a space in front of the gateway of the fort was cleared with much difficulty and twelve guns were placed so as to bear on the wooden portals, at a distance of not more than thirty five or forty yards in front of them.

The scene at this moment was of a strange and fearful character,—the dense mass of fierce men heaving to and fro almost up to the walls of the fort like an angry sea beating against a rock...soon ow ever, the horror took another form. The entire two hundered and thirty pieces of artillery—simultaneously opened a fire of blank cartridge. This was done probably in the expectation of terrifying the defenders of the fort,...Loud and savage voices were heard, fiercely demanding the opening of the gate . But the call was unheaded:—immediately then the t welve guns were fired at once, and the old wooden gate, with thirty-seven out of thirty-nine men placed inside to defend it, fell before the terrible discharge. The two guns loaded with grape were now all that opposed the entrance of the besiegers, and there was left but one out of sixteen artillerymen to fire them...At this instant a band of two or three hundred Akalees rushed forward over the ruins of the gate and the bodies of its fallen defenders...when the sole remaining artillery man, with a little Khalasie who attended on him, fired the two guns at once, and nearly a hundred corpse fell of the mass of men that was rushihg forward. The assailants recoiled for a moment before this close and wethering fire, and the defenders of the gate were enabled to load and fire their guns again with as destructive an effect as before. Thus the twelve guns drawn up before the gate were almost unmanned, and the greater number of their horses were killed. This first gleam of success for the besieged was heightened by the promptitude with which the Dogra men, without awaiting orders from Rajah Goolab Singh, poured their fire of musketry from the walls upon the confused mass below. The effect was that in about ten minutes the Hazooree Bagh was cleared of the besiegers who left behind them about three hundred killed, one hundred wounded, and about fifty prisoners taken by a sally of the Dogras sword in hand. "During the confusion Sher Singh escaped from the garden back to his former quarters..."

"Thus repulsed in their first attempts, the Khalsa opened a heavy and general fire from their artillery all round the place, at a distance of not more than sixty or a hundred yards. This fire was continued with such vigour and rapidity that it threatened the destruction of the old walls.., But the artillery men being within the range of small arms, and quite unsheltered, fell so fast under the well-directed fire of the garrison on the walls, that in about an hour the whole

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and pursuasive dialogue the Lordship safely brought under the protection of the victorious army their weapons which had been collected in the '*Kotha*'.

In short, for three days and nights the conflagration of battle kept the two sides engulfed in flames. Outside, a large force and a fire-spitting park of artillery had laid siege to the fort; and as dragnian cannons were thundering and fort-smashing mortars were sending uprear to the skies none could consider his life safe and there was nobody there who did not avoid being killed. In the meantime

of the formidable line was silenced and deserted. The Dogras on the ramparts could now count no less than one hundred and forty six guns with none but dead and wounded men horses and bullocks around them, and so completely commanded by their fire that none dared to approach them." (Smyth, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, pp. 47-50). Colonel Alexander Gardner, who commanded Gulb Singh's artillery in side the fort, gives the following account of the Dogra defence. "The Dogras on the walls began to look over and were jeered at by Sher Singh's troops, The little fort was surrounded by a sea of human heads. Gulab Singh made contemptuous replies, and roared out to Sher Singh, demanding that he should surrender. There was a brief but breathless pause, and I (Gardner) had not time to warn my artillery men to clear out of the way when down came the gates over our party, torn to shreds by the simultaneous discharge of all the fourteen guns. Seventeen of my party were blown to pieces, parts of the body flying over me. When I had wiped, the blood and brains from my face and could recover a moment, I saw only one little trembling Klasi. I hurriedly asked him for a port-fire, having lost mine in the fall of the ruins. He had just time to hand it to me, and I had crept under my two guns, when with a wild yell some 300 Akalis swept up the *Hazuri* Bagh and crowded in to the gate. They were packed as close as fish and could hardly move over the heaps of wood and stone, the rubbish and the carts with which the gateway was blocked. Just at that moment, when the crowd was rushing on us, their swords high in the air, I managed to fire the ten guns, and literally blew them into the air. In the pause which followed I loaded the guns with the aid of the three of my artillery men who survived, and out next discharge swept away the hastile artillerymen who were at the fourteen guns outside, who had remained standing paralysed by the destruction of the *Akalis*. Then Sher Singh fled, and grievous carnage commenced. The Dogras, always excellent marksmen, seemed that day not to miss a man from the walls. The whole of the artillerymen round the field-pieces in front of us strewed the ground. In the *Hazuri Bagh* we counted the bodies of no less than 2800 soldiers. 200 artillerymen, and 180 horses . . . Many a time did Sher Singh; attempt a parley but Gulab Singh knew his countrymen too well to believe any protestations. He said, "Wait until Dhyan Singh comes". At last that noble Minister did arrive, furious, as it seemed with Sher Singh for his rashness; and after protracted delay, the firing on both sides was finally subdued. Our bombardment was over and the brothers arranged terms at peace." (Pearse : *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*, pp 234-36). The return showed that on the side of the besiegers 4786 men, 610 horses, and 320 bullocks had been killed; while the loss of the garrison did not in killed and wounded exceed 130 men" (G.C. smyth, *History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, P. 57).

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Gardanah *Sahib* (Gardner), an officer in the artillery, came and explained that there was no hope of escape from this place (218) so if permitted he would direct a shell on the window of the *Shahi Masjid* which was replete with gunpower and magazine. The gun-powder magazine would catch fire and that piece of earth along with Maharaja Sher Singh who sought crown and throne, would blow up at one stroke, and of the citadel no trace would be left, and that the *Khalsa* army, bent upon their destruction, would be burnt down all at once like a fire-works tower, and be annihilated. At this that model of patience gave a broad smile and said that he did not want the destruction of the *Khalsa* Kingdom.[18] In short the *Khalsa* forces became so demoralised, that the Sikhs, in a passion of perverseness and malice put to sword on sight every one of the Dogras who, during those days, could be recognised from heads shaven in condolence of *Mian* Udham Singh. Some of them out of confusion started even killing all those they found speaking Persian because of being antagonised to accountants of the army for their deficient entries. In the meantime, Raja Dhian Singh and Raja Suchet Singh got the news of these events from *Sardar* Fateh Singh Man and La'l Singh who had been sent for and had gone to Jammu before the commencement of the siege.

So Raja Dhian Singh[19] from Jammu and Raja Suchet Singh from Samba, travelled by forced marches on horse-back and joined the *Khalsa* forces. The Raja sent a message to the said Lordship that it was not possible to carry on struggle against the royal army any longer because whole of the army, along with an effective artillery and celebrated nobles, was attached to Maharaja Sher Singh. At this he replied that so long as cannons were not silenced outside, (219) the garrison of the fort would show no sloth in discharging cannons and muskets. The cannon fire was therefore suspended outside, and the *Bibi sahiban*,[20] terrified because of the innate female nature, had started despatching continuously emphatic rejoinders bearing on reconcilation and compromise. Copies of some of them

18. "On the following Morning intelligence was given to the garrison that Shere Singh had taken up his position in the Badshahi Musjid. They thereupon formed a scheme of blowing him and the building into the air, and made their preparation accordingly. It was well known to them that the Musjid contained a large megazine of powder stored in wooden boxes, skins, and c. They wished to explode if possible by means of shells and red hot shot.... "(G.C. Smyth, *A history of the Reigning Family of Lahore* P.54.).

19. "The same evening, Monday, (January 17,1841) Dhian Singh and Suchet Singh reached the capital and encamped outside the city." (151/16, *Clerh Maddock* January 21, 1841.)

20. Rani Chand Kaur.

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will be given below. But that idol of valour and pride did not turn his face from battle until he had seen *Bibi Sahiba's* interests safeguarded.

Copy of letter bearing *Bibi-Sahiba's* own signature : 'Exultations to the distinguished favourite Raja Gulab Singh, of shining look and pure intelligence. At this time this royal *irshad* is being issued in your name that whatever devotedness, loyalty, benevolence and obedience during the siege of Lahore fort has been shown by garrisons under you and by Raja Hira Singh, the faithful *Sardar* Mangal Singh and by all others who attend on you, such as *Sardar* Sultan Mohamed Khan and General Budh Singh, deserves a thousand applause. You have suitably equitted yourself of loyalty towarde the glorious *Sarkar*. Now as it is proposed to abolish all this riot and disturbance, so you should immediately approve of it as we have no objection to it. Whatever arrangement is desirable in this connection should be made without delay. It all rests on your shoulders. Glorious favours abundantly await you. From dawn to the four hours of night seven times glorious orders have been issued to you. Cause no delay in this respect, you are emphatically urged. Expect the bestowal of glorious favours'. (6 *Magh* of the year 1897).

(**220**) 'Since during the siege of Lahore Fort, the *Ujjal didar, nirmal budh, muqarrab-i-bargah-i-Khasul Khas* Raja Gulab Singh has equitted himself well in displaying loyalty towards the Late great Maharaja, and Maharaja Kharak Singh and *Kanwarji bahadur Kanwar* Nao-Nihal Singh,' now dwelling in heaven ; and secondly, in compliance to our imperial dictates, has given possession of the said Fort to the brave and illustrious Sher Singh the said Raja (Gulab Singh) has in this respect attained honour of loyalty to three generations. Moreover, by consigning firmly our arm to the *Baba Sahib*, the saviour of two worlds, *Baba* Bikraman Singh *ji* and *Baba* Kahn Singh and *Baba* Mihan Singh, and after being fully assured of *jagir*, honour and dignity he has gone out (of fort) to our satisfication and consent in this affair, the said Raja has proved true to his salt and that of the *Satgurus*. (8th *Magh* the year 1897.) By the oral permission of the Imperial Threshold')

Also a letter of Maharaja Sher Singh was received bearing signatures of the chief nobles such as Beja Singh (Teja Singh) and *Bhai* Ram Singh, *Sardar* Lehna Singh Majithia and the English signature of Mr. Ventura *sahib* and Sham Singh Atariwala. Copy of to same is given below.

'*Ujjal didar nirmai budh, muqarrab-i-bargah-e-Khas-ul-Khas*[21] Raja

21. This was the usual form of Parsian title given by the Lahore government to Raja Gulab Singh and Raja Hira Singh, which means: "Bright in appearance,

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Gulab Singh *ji* and the dignified noble *Sardar* Attar Singh[22] may be protected by *Akal*. At this occasion this high *irshad* in your name is issued that you should stop musket fire inside the fort, and should not reopen it at all. Moreover, *Uttam Saroop Baba* Mihan Singh has been deputed by the imperial threshold to escort you, and on the condition of constant attendance the protection of your dignity (221) and honour will be excellently accorded. Set your mind at ease. You are emphatically assured (in this respect). Further, know that imperial favours are on your side. If you do not accept the condition of constant attendance, then you should undertake to remove out of fort *Mami-sahiba* on oaths at *Sri Granth Sahiban*, etc: and the one who advises you that it is better to die in the fort he should be put in charge thereof and yourself come to our presence. The three stipulations requested by you will be acted upon on your personal presence and reconcilation. In every respect set your mind at ease, and you should harbour no doubts. It is not commendable that any losses are sustained by the imperial threshold. It is desirable that goodwill be kept foremost in every affair. (Written on the 7th *Magh* of the year 1897.)

In response to the issue of the said letter and the message of Raja *sahib* Dhian Singh, fire ceased from inside the Fort as well. When fighting remained suspended for about ten hours near the gate, then *Baba* Mihan Singh Bedi, one of the renowned *Katars*, came to the said Lordship bearing the royal mandate in order to mediate for the evacuation of the fort and opening the door of peace thereby. The copy of the letter is as under :

"Felicitations to *Ujjal didar, nirmal budh, muqarrab-i-Khas-ul-Khas* Raja Gulab Singh *ji*. After abundant favours and cares, be it noted that the application forwarded by him was received through La'l Singh, and was attended to word by word. The particulars of *Ujjal didar, nirmal budh, muqarab-i-Khas-ul-Khas*, the Prime Minister

of clear understaning, the most special and confidential counsellor of the Court."

22. *Sardar* Attar Singh Sindhanwala, the eldest of the Sindhanwala brothers belonging to the colateral faimly of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, residing at Raja Sansi village, the other important brothers being Ajit Singh and Lehna Singh. He sided with Mai Chand Kaur and upheld her claim to Regency as the true descendant of ruling line as against Sher Singh, who was only a reputed son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Later on Attar Singh, with the help of his brothers murdered Maharaja Sher Singh and his *Minister* Dhian Singh. He ultimately stood against the Dogra dominance at Lahore court and joined the camp of *Bhai* Bir Singh and was ultimately killed in a foray at that camp when it was surrounded by Sikh forces during the Ministership of Hira Singh Dogra, on May 7, 1844.

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of State Raja Dhian Singh's services rendered to the glorious *Sarkar* are known all the world over. It is apparent that in this age none else is as true to the salt and such a well wisher as the said Raja. The illustrious *Sarkar* first of (222) all out of regard for the aforesaid Raja moved the axis of Government from Lahore to grace Batala. Afterwards, a few days later, because of the lust of the churlish times, the said Raja becoming disinterested and fed up with the government duties, left his brothers and own sons, and set out for Jammu. It is well known to you, so why explain the obvious. Moreover, formerly the most bright emperor, now dwelling in heaven, so patronised you all the three brothers that all the subject people and soldiery etc, and State officers became envious and discouraged that the opportunity of serving the glorious *Sarkar* which they got would never fall to the lot of any one else all these days; that you people held the status of rulers, attendants as well as *wazirs*, and such position does not fall even to the lot of sons and brothers (of the *Sarkar*). Rather this much service which you now rendered could not perhaps have been rendered in the time of the late kings. Your service and goodwill is known all the world over ond even in the house of the glorious *Sahibs* (British Government) and is not subject of one man talk only.

'On the demise of the illustrious Majesty (Maharaja Ranjit Singh) and during the reign of the late brother (Maharaja Kharak Singh) it was thought all over the world that the sun has set. At that time such signal services were rendered by you that all people forgot the death of the great King. By the grace of *Sri Akal Purakh-ji* you installed on kingship in one day the owner of the kingdom and seated him on the throne; and in a day it became evident to the world, and became hope for both the worlds, that this thing had matured by none else than through Raja Dhian Singh. The illustrious *Sahibs* had been well satisfied with that development. But the late brother (Maharaja Kharak Singh) brought blemishes on your signal (223) services and harboured evil designs. So you meted out punishment to the wicked and recognising the rights of the late *Kanwar* (Nao Nihal Singh) made him the owner of the country. But none was aware of the will of *Sat-guru-ji*. (*One couplet omitted*).

'After that this grand *Sarkar* (Maharaja Sher Singh) had arrived there according to the wish and petition of Raja Dhian Singh and all other Chiefs of the Council. Whatever happened to the *Sarkar* and also to Raja Dhian Singh, is not concealed from you and also from the well-wisher who violated the rights of the *Sarkar*. Helplessely, Raja Dhian Singh had to leave all you people and retire to Jammu. Consequently, a state of affairs developed in the kingdom that so much fire had to be directed against own soldiers; and to

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what use ? This nasty situation was reviewed and was considered in heart and was realised that it was all our own harm; so we came riding to this place. What need be of telling and writing about the state of affairs which however is not without some good. Whatever happened must be for betterment, for the late Maharaja *sahib* had piled up all this ammunition for this very day. None is responsible (for what had happened). All is the *Sat-guru's* will, so there is nothing to feel sorry.

'Whatever three[23] things, such as agreement, etc., had been requested for, all these three may redeem the two worlds, for things worthy of respect must be honoured. Moreover, there is no flaw, in whatever you have written nor there would be, as formerly there had been no contradiction in what you wrote and said. Now be rest assured that all the circumstances of your devotion will be fully expressed by your confidential agent *Lala* Muhayyah Dass. Feel assured. Know that high favours are directed on your circumstances." The 6th *Magh*, 1897[24] (*Bikrami*)

(224) The said Lordship replied that if an agreement be contracted with *Bibi sahiba*, for whose sake all this battle and embroiled, guaranteeing her personal honour and dignity, and the sanction of *jagir* worth seven *lakhs* of rupees, the fort would be readily evacuated. Consequently, letters bearing assurances in response to every interrogation were received one after the other. Their copies are appended below verbatum.

Copy of the letter adorned with saffron hand-print and *Gurmukhi* signature of Maharaja Sher Singh.

"By the grace of *Sri Akal Purkh ji*, in precedence to all other affairs firstly, the security of honour and dignity of and showing respeet and courtesy to the *Mami-sahiba*, the bountiful, and *Bibis* would be kept in view. None will have any cause to differ on this point. *Sri-Sat-guru ji* stands witness to this. Secondly the maintenance of the honour and dignity of, on condition of goodwill, loyalty, obedience, devotedness and submission to the royal orders on the part of *muqarab-i-Khas-ul-Khas* Raja Gulab Singh, dear and most senior Raja Hira Singh, Chief of Illustrious house *Sardar* 'Atar Singh, *Sardar* Sher Singh, *Sardar* Mangal Singh and others, is in view of the *Khalsa ji*. There will be no deviation from this. Thirdly, whoever Government servants are besieged in the Fort, they have been

23. The three things asked for were probably a *jagir* of nine *lakhs* to Chand Kaur, renouncing on the part of Sher Singh the desire for Chand Kaur's hand, and assurance for the Dogra grrrison to march out of the fort unmolested. An agreement was signed by Sher Singh later on these very lines which have been reproduced by G.C. Symth in his '*A History of Reigning Family of Lahore*, p.59.).

24. This letter was sent to Gulab Singh probably on January 17,1841.

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pardoned in every way of the crimes and errors and would receive proper attention. Be rest assured, 8th of month of *Magh*, in the year 1897."

ANOTHER LETTER

'The sum of two *lakhs* and fifty thousand rupees. spent on account of

رُخصتانہ زخمانہ

are hereby remitted. In addition to this whatever has been expended will be carried to account. Nominally, those who have not got cash as per agreement of Devi Sahaes paper, will receive as gift from the Court. The letter sent impressed with saffron hand mark, should be complied with. (225) You have rendered service out of loyalty. For this you deserve commendation. You have written about *Baba* Mihan Singh. He will be sent along with *Baba* Bikraman Singh. By virtue of the custom of the *Sarkar* (Maharaja Ranjit Singh), no change will be made in bestowing attention on Raja Hira Singh. Set your mind at ease. No reduction will be made in the *Ghorcharas* and other troops of Kourji. In whatever form the agreement be concluded it will not be deviated from. The *Bhawaja sahib* (Mai Chand Kaur) should harbour no suspicious in her heart. *Sri Akal Purkhji* stands witness. As regards getting account from *Sheikh* Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din, it is asserted that it will be taken in quite good faith and honesty Similarly *Sardar* Mangal Singh's account will also be taken in good faith. They should rest assured. On no account in justice will be done. In the account of *Toshakhana* property, whatever they have written down from the *Jama'dar*, no change was previously made and no change will now be made. Whatever *Tosh Khana* is in arrears from former days stands remitted too, and whatever they have seized during the administrations of the brother, Prince Kharak Singh, and the late *Kanwar* Nihal Singh, will be recovered as per security and documents. All the goods belonging to the late brother Kharak Singhji, or to dear *Kanwar* Nihal Singh now in heaven, should be returned: old things are exempted. Whatever goods of *Tash-Khana* are with *Bhawaja-sahiba* of old, exempted. Whatever amount in cash and kind and other property belonging to the *Tosh Khana* of brother Kharak Singh and *Kanwarji* have been seized from *Misar* Beli Ram, La'l singh, *Shekh Faqirji* and *Sardar* Mangal Singh, etc., will be recovered. Whatever has been demaged will have to be made good. So it is

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proper that, except the old *Tosh-Khana* of himself, everything else whatever, should be returned. Whatever belongings of that well-wisher would have been plundered outside, their price, after the verification, will be paid. (226) Rest assured in every way.' Written on the 9th *Magh*, 1897.

When all the demands of the *Bibi* were concluded in accordance to her sweet desire and an agreement was obtained containing *Sanad* for the *jagir* worth seven *lakhs* of rupees and the sanction of other demands according to the eight clauses copied below, Raja Gulab Singh received the honour of attending on the *Bibi*. He submitted all the particulars and asked for orders to throw open the gate of the Fort. That great lady spoke such words of praise and approbation that nothing more could be imagined. She said that he had acquitted himself of his gratitute to salt properly by his valour, otherwise on what strength and support she could get this much *jagir* and such an agreement. The *ta'lluqa* of Manawar was sanctioned as *jagir* to his Lordship in recognition of his outstanding endeavours. The copy of the *Parwana* pertaining to this is reproduced below. Then he got permission to withdraw.

Copy of the text of agreement by way of *dharam* and with signature in *Gurmukhi* of Maharaja Sher Singh which the said Lordship got written for the *Bibi* containing eight clauses :

"Clause[25] one:The *jagir* is of seven lakh of rupees, never more than this. Clause second : Whatever was formerly in *Toshkhana* can be retained by them, and whatever they have laid hands upon afterwards will be deposited in *Toshkhana* after due inspection of the documents of *Toshkhana*. Clause third : Whatever have been removed from the great *Toshkhana* at Lahore and Amritsar, etc., should be returned, for that is State property. Clause fourth : Life-long respect, honour and dignity is accepted and personal supplication admitted. Clause fifth : Swearing on my '*dharma*', invoking the presence and witness of *Sri-Sat-guruji I* would always stick to these intentions. Clause

25. G.C. Smyth summarises the stipulated terms as under:
"The conditions on which it was agreed, that the fort of Lahore should be given up and Chand Kour resign her claims to the guddee, were, first, a jaghire of nine lakhs for the princess—Kuddee Kuddeealee was the place named, adjoining the Jummoo States—and Goolab Singh was to have the managment of it for her;—second, that is it is the Ranee's wish to live as the faithful widow of Kurruck Singh, Shere Singh should never make any pretensions to her hand;-third, that the Dogra garrison of the fort should be allowed to march out unmolested and with flying colours;—and fourth, that security should be given for the due fulfilment of these conditions." (*A Hist. of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, p. 59.).

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sixth : All the soldiery in the service of the glorious *Sarkar* keeping their positions (as before) according to the former custom will get their salaries (227) and will attend on service according to the will of the glorious *Sarkar*. Clause seventh : Men in service at Raja Gulab Singh's court will take post at the *Deodhi* and will live in the *Haveli*. Clause eight : At this time '*Uttam saroop kirpa-Nidhan*' *Baba* Bikraman Singh *ji* has been pleased to come ; in every affair he will be surety and responsible agent. Written eighth *Magh* of the year 1897 *Bikrami*.

Copy of the *parwana* of *jagir* of *ta'lluqa*; bearing personal signature of the *Bibi Sahiban*.

'At this time, as per practice of royal favours and generosity, in recognition of the goodwill, and service rendered earnestly by '*ujjal didar nirmal budh muqarab-i-bargah-khasul-khas*' Raja Gulab Singh *ji* in conducting the affairs and proceedings with imperial court, we bestow on and entrust to him the *ta'lluqa* Manawar. By the grace of '*Sat-guruji*' and on condition of service and good-will on the part of the said Raja, fundamentally no alteration will be made. In this respect the Raja should zealously devote himself the more in performing service to the great *Sarkar* (9, *Magh* of the year 1897.

In short in the dead of night[26] (Gulab Singh) sent out is advance mountain like elephants full of luggage and materials,[27] and afterwards he himself moved out and encamped boldly on the other bank of the river Ravi. In the meanwhile Raja *sahib* Dhian Singh and Raja *sahib* Suchet Singh had the honour of attending on him,

26. Here Kirpa Ram has followed G. C. Smyth in saying that Gulab Singh evacuated the fort in the midnight of January 19,1841 This is wrong. In fact it was decided that Dogra garrison should quit the fort in the afternoon of 19th January, and so, Gulab Singh, taking with him a large amount of gold and Jewellery evacuated it at the appointed hour. (Sohan Lal : *Umdat-ut-Twarikh, Vol. IV. Pt. II*, p.15)

27. G.C. Smyth gives a detail of wealth removed by Gulab Singh from the fort in the following words;—"Matters being satisfactorily arranged, it was settled that the Dogra garrison should leave the fort on the evening of the eighth day. In preparation for this movement, Gulab Singh employed himself in filling his tumbrils and waggons, sixteen in number, with silver money, allowing thirty rounds of ammunition for each gun, to be used in case of emergency. Furthermore, a bag of gold *mohars* was entrusted to the care of each of five hundered of his most faithful adherents; and again, a quantity of jewellery and valuable trinkets was delievered to the charge of his own orderly, *Gorchars* or mounted body guard. Then taking with him twelve of the best horses that had been in Runjeet Singh's stud and many valuable articles of *pushmeena*, and c., Goolaub Singh at the head of his men, marched quietly out of the fort after dark on the evening of the eighth day (of siege.)" (*A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, pp.59-60).

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they revealed that all around that place there was numerous *Khalsa* army, and since thousands of them had been killed by him in this expedition, there was every danger the fire of disturbance might flare up afresh. (228) Thus marching off from here seemed prudent. Consequently, the camp was moved to *Shah-darra* the next day. There celebrated *sardars* from the Maharaja arrived to welcome him. They led him with all respect and veneration before the great King. An allusion was made as to what for so much reproachable behaviour had been enacted. He submitted: "Divine will had concealed three rare decrees in this case, otherwise;

I could not but be meak & weak,
And dare not equal the glorious one.

The first is, the pen of fate has written the office of swordsmanship to the lot of courtiers of State, which has thus been forced in to action; Secondly, there was a vast treasure and property in this Fort the defence of which had to be accomplished or else all would have been plundered. Thirdly, the chastity of the veiled ones of the litter of virtue was protected in the manner behoving them.

Maharaja Sher Singh confessed that although it looked obviously stigmatic but implicitly on the strength of these explanations it was appreciable. He therefore treated him a variety of favours, bestowed on him a rich *khilat* and *sanad* of the *jagir* of Manawar territory, copy of which is written below, and dismissed him. From there he retired to the capital of Jammu[28].

28. Through the mediation of Dhian Singh and Suchet Singh, Gulab Singh and Hira Singh were reconciled with Sher Singh. (J.M. Honighberger, *Thirty five years in the East Vol. II.* P.106). Dhian Singh them arranged for a meeting of Gulab Singh with the new monarch (Hugh pearse, *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*, P.237.).

On the occasion of this meeting Gulab Singh took resort to a subtle diplomacy. "And now came a masterpiece of acting on the part of Gulab Singh. He presented, the *Koh-i-nur* with much embarrassment to the reigning sovereign, and took great credit for saving the royal property. In return he obtained a *firman* for twenty *lakhs* worth of villages west of Bhimber, and was recognised as guardian of the Maharani Chand Kour. He had not, however, lost the opportunity of securing about two millions of treasure in his honourable hands from the fort, which spoil was securely conveyed to Jammu." (Hugh Pearse, *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*, p.238.).

On January 21, Gulab, with the whole of his force, crossed the Ravi to Shahdara and took up as strong a position as he could. At the same time he sent for a reinforcement of two thousand of his best troops from Jammu. These precautions were taken lest the Sikh troops who were becoming utterly unruly might yet attack him at the instigation of Jowala Singh at whose behest Sher

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Ujjal didar nirmal buddh, muqarab--i-Khas ul-Khas, Raja Gulab Singh and the Prime Minister Raja Dhian Singh, should be protected by the Almighty. They should enjoy abudance of favours. In recognition of the services formerly rendered at Peshawar in the affairs of 'Azim Khan and Dost Muhammad Khan, by way of imperial favours and divine bounties, the *ta'lluqa* Manawar is gifted to and bestowed on you, and you occupy and take possession from (229) the beginning of *Rabi*, 1898. You should ever be ready in the service of the Court. Further felicitations to you. Written : 9th *Magh* of the year 1897.[29]

Singh had enticed some of his soldiers to desert. Soon through Dhian Singh's intercession, he obtained leave of absence and marced to Jammu. (G.C. Smyth, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, pp.60-61).

29. In addition to these letters and *sanads* or agreements another very important engagement was given by Maharaja Sher Singh to the Dogra Rajas on 11th April, 1841, of which following translation was conveyed by a British officer to Mr. Clerk, Agent to the British Governer-General:—

"By the favour of *Sree Akal Pooruckjee*, and of *Sree Jugut Deva Jee*, by the oaths on *Sree Grunth Sahib*, and of the ten Kings, and of the flower of the garden of prosperity and good fortune, *Koonwur* Paurtaub Singh *jee*, who is my chief desire in this world, I have given this engagement in writting as follows.

The great loyalty, obedience, attentive service, fiedelity and singular attachment of the devoted friend, the pure minded, possessed of a bright intellect, the confidential adviser of majesty, most rare prime minister, exalted counsellor, Viceroy of the empire, cordial well-wisher, most powerful noble, ruler of all, the Rajah of Rajahs Dhyan Singh, high and mighty, also of the virtuous, the possesser of bright intellect, the trusted follower, the superior Rajah Goolab Singh *Buhadoor*, also the possesser of spotless reputation, and shining talents, the immediate attendant on majesty, the very noble Rajah Suchet Singh *Buhadoor*, also of the single eyed, highly gifted, incomparable and most upright, chief in the State, Rajah Heera Singh *Bnahdoor*, are well known to this high and powerful state, the *Khalsa jee*, and it is their due and my heartfelt intention to secure to those illustrious *Vuzeers* distinguishing marks of my royal favor and bounty. My inmost heart expands itself upon them. In conformity with their loyalty, fine feeling, fidelity and dutiful attention and other transcendent qualities, I entertain sentiments of the great respect veneration, esteem, faver, and goodwill towards them, and am fully sensible of their surpassing merits. And these benefits shall be extended to all their posterity from generation to generation. As the *Vuzeers* have found the road to the sincere fervor of the high Director of events, the Dispenser of all honour, the *Jagheers* and other advantages coferred on them in the time of *Sree Rajah Buhadoor* (Ranjit Singh) now gone to paradise, are confirmed in perpetuity to these respected persons and their descendants; as also the commands and military power in the army furnished in lieu of the above Jagheers, whether horse, foot, or artillery including their own immediate retainers, the pay of these troops being on a lower scale than that allowed by government. These men shall not be entertained in any other service,and if any trooper, foot soldier, or officer, from among them, shall, for the sake of increased pay, or change of condition desert and prefer a petition, he shall not be countenanced but shall

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(*Continued from page No.* 193)

meet with a flat, refusal and be committed to the custody of his masters. On account of the extra—ordinary friendship, goodwill, and kindness, which under these circumstances flourish, this royal ordinance has in true hearted-ness and sincerity been accorded, and my royal heirs and scccessors, in camformity with the above solmn oaths, shall from generation to generation, consider this written engagement as most binding and sacred.

Lahore, 11th April, 1841.

Saffron hand English signature
Goomokhee signature French signature
State Seal."

(40-11/103, *Mackeson to Clerk*, April 23, 1841, *P.G.R.*)

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CHAPTER

37

The Reduction of Mangla Mai Fort

Due to divine mercy his Lordship prospered, and conquest and victory greeted him on all directions. Consequently, such a victory was accomplished by him as won him fame and exaltation. This opportune incident happened as follows. A hint was made by the said Lordship to my revered uncle *Diwan* Hari Chand *sahib* in connection with the conquest of *ta'lluqas* of Khari[1] and Khariali for which he had got permission of the *Bibi Sahibah* Chand Kour at the time of withdrawing into the Fort. The said *Diwan*, directed his lofty courage on carrying out the high orders and led troops in that direction at the beginning of the year one thousand eight hundered and ninety-seven *Bikrami* in the month of *Chait*.[2] First he laid siege to Sarai Aurangabad which was in the possession of the army of the late

1. *Khari-Khariali;*— To the South of Punch, Kotli and Rajaori states, and in the outer hills bordering on the plains, were Bhimber and Khariali principalities which were founded in the 15th century by a family claiming descent from the Katoch Rajas of Kangra. Bhimber held a large tract of country along the foot of the hills, and aiso the district of Naushehara, while Khari-Kariali was on the left bank of the lower Jehlam and probably included a part of the district of Mirpur. The earlier name of this region was Chibhan or Chibhal after the Chib tribe which had occupied it of yore. Alexander's historians mention its ancient name 'Darbabhisara.' (Hutchison & Vogel, *Hist. of Punjab Hill States, Vol.I.* p. 49; Stein, *Rajatarangini*, Vol. I. P. 432 ; *Jammu & Kashmir*, P.57). Also see footnote No. 58 of Chapter 4.

2. i.e. March, A.D. 1841.

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Prince Kharak Singh, and occupied it. When he moved his camp to the vicinity of *Qila'* Sukhchainpur, Surat Singh, the agent of the glorious Prince there saw no prudence in resistance and he surrendered the fort. On the other side one hundred valiant fighters who had been despatched to assail the Kot Qandhari fort. had reduced it.

(230) As these victories and successes fell in succession to the lot of the conquering army, so they directed their mettle on the reduction of Mangla Fort,[3] a strong castle atop a lofty hill. It was a fort difficult of access because of extreme sublimity and fortification of road. On three sides it was amazingly surrounded by a river, and on the fourth it had an arduous up-hill ascent. In the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Dev, *Mian* Rattan Dev, as narrated above, had conducted the siege of the fort for some years and after bearing immense privation had brought it under his possession. The *Diwan* with all the powers of a war veteran and the loyalist advanced personally on it. He sent a message to *Rae* Dhanpat, the commander of the garrison and asked him to deliever up the fort. But intoxicated as he was with the wine of haughtiness, the commander declined to submit and retorted arrogant replies. This enraged the *Diwan* into action. He briskly advanced his forces and set siege to the fort. The beleaguered garrison after strengthening its defences, chose the path of resistance. The conflagration of battle engulfed both sides. Ferocious skirmishes took place. The hostiles, sallying forth from the fort offered resistance, and the said *Diwan* himself drew out his blood-thirsty sword and furiously rushed at the enemy. Beholding this his battle-seeking veterans and furious fighters, started flourishing swords and swaying their daggers. A hell of slaughter and devastation was let loose. Seven (231) persons from the imperial army were killed and twenty from the opposite side were brought

3. *Mangla Fort*: Mangla was one of chain of forts on the left bank of the river Jehlam, which were commonly on the summit of some rocky hill, the other most known are Mangal Dev fort, near Naushahra; Troch, near Kotli. These are each on the summit of a rocky precipitous hill most difficult of access. (Frederic Drew) *The Jummoo & Kashmir Territories*, p.95).

"The Jhelam River, as it passes this tract, flows often between steep rocky banks several hundred feet high;....still again it comes between high cliffs, and in deep curves finds its way round lofty promontories such nearly isolated spots being often fort—crowned, as where Ramkot and Mangla stand." (*Ibid*, p.40). It was the capital of the former Khari-Khariali principality founded by Kharak Chand, the younger brother of Chib Chand who founded Bhimber, and the son of Raja Megh Chand Katoch about A.D. 1400 (Hutchison & Vogel, *History of Punjab Hill States*, pp. 725-28.) It is said that the Sikh *Sardars*, Sahib Singh of Gujrat & Mahan Singh Sukarchakia., invaded Khari-Khariali and attacked Mangla fort but without success. Finally, Maharaja Ranjit Singh occupied the fort after the death of its master, Raja Umar Khan. (*Ibid*, p. 728.).

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down into blood and mire.

At last the enemy withdrew and took shelter in the fort. The victorious army entered the tower in the vicinity of the fort and plundered all the property and dregs, and set fire to the tower. The Diwan *sahib* set up strong breastwork on the four sides of the fort. He posted Bhag Singh Major and Ram Singh *Jama'dar* to the west side where the village of Aran is situated; to the east side called *Deordhi Khari* a unit of horse was posted; to the north where the *Deorhi Aran* verges at a water-spring *Lala* Ganda-Mal *Kardar* of Mirpur was stationed, and to the east on the eminence of the Mound, Hazura Singh *Thanadar* and Murtza Khan Malkana were installed with a piece of brass. For fifteen days the contestants spit fire through cannon and musket and the contestants made undaunted assaults all through. At last the courageous among the besiegers tied scaling-ladders and with the object of storming the fort moved breast works nearer the walls of the fort. The garrison had made the tower at the head of the spring their mainstay and carried the water thereform nightly for themselves. *Lala* Gandamal, therefore, made an assault on that tower and set fire to it so that the enemy fell short of water, Moreover. all the equipment for storming the fort had also been put together. Thus the besieged were obliged to ask for quarter, and supplicated that if an emissary coming inside the fort gave them assurance for safe conduct, security of life, provision of victuals, and release of their property, the fort will be readily evacuated. Their supplication was granted and *Bakhshi* Nihal Singh was deputed to corroborate the terms requested for and assured them of quarter. On these terms the besieged handed over the key of the fort to the victors. (232) Success and victory which beggars description, fell to the lot of the dignitaries of the high state and the said *Diwan*, donated fifty thousand rupees by way of reward to the daring soldiery. In acknowledgement of their distinguished achievements several brave warriors were promoted to high ranks.

In short, when the said Lordship who was sojourning at Sudd Mahan-Dev was apprised of this magnificant victory he rubbed his forehead on the threshold of the Almighty God in token of gratitude and humility. He bestowed on the *Diwan*[4] graces and favours beyond proportion.

4. Diwan Hari Chand.
For a biographical sketch of the Diwan, refer to introduction.

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CHAPTER
38

Disturbances in Kashmir

In the month of *Jaith* of the year one thousand eight hundered and ninety-eight of *Bikrami*, *Kanwar* Partap Singh received instructions from the court of Maharaja Sher Singh to proceed at the head of Gurkha platoon for the chastisement of recalcitrant rebels and disloyal traitors who had murdered General Mihan Singh, the *Subahdar* of Kashmir. An urgent order was received by his Lordship at the village of Bahlolpur situated on the bank of the river Chenab, where he had encamped, directing him to accompany the celebrated Prince. In compliance of this his Lordship, aided by *Diwan* Jawala Sahae and *Diwan* Nihal Chand, set out for the destination. When the glorious tents struck at the town of Soiyan (Supeyon) heavy rain fell and the river water rose in spate. Consequently they were compelled to remain there for four days, and moved the (233) banners in the direction of Srinagar on the fourth day. They camped at Shergarhi. The other force under the command of *Diwan* Nihal Chand *sahib* camped in the environs of the village Natipur.

During the span of these proceedings two platoons of malefactors entrenched themselves opposite the imperial armies on the other side of the river Dudh-ganga, and embarked on creating mischief. Although through the good offices of the illustrious *Diwan Sahib* hint was sent to the war-mongers that if they submitted, they get quarter, and would be salvaged from the fury of devastation. But the vain-glorious creatures did not approve of it. Also a renewed order of

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Maharaja Sher Singh was received enjoining strictly on them the thorough extirpation of the mischief-mongers. Consequently, when only a *pass* (a watch of three hours) of the day light was left, *Diwan* Nihal Chand *sahib* was ordered to the effect that breast work should be set up nightly on the Dudh-ganga river and he should be prepared for action, and act as instructions follow. Accordingly, the said *Diwan* put about two hundred valiant youngmen on guard of the camping ground and arrayed the bulk of his army on this side of the Dudh-ganga river. The opposing force too persevered in resisting construction of breast work. When the night had advanced one hour his Lord ship visited the encampment, gave directions for monoevering of troops and conduct of breast work and retreated to his camp.

When a quarter of the night had passed, Nawab Singh Labana, one of the cavaliers, brought this information to the said *Diwan* that the enemy intended to carry night attack on the camp of his Lordship where there was very little force. The said *Diwan*, therefore, apprised the Lordship on this subject. It is said that on listening this the said Lordship asserted that if enemy came he will be engulfed by the whirlpool of annihilation. (234) When the night had advanced a half quarter unexpectedly black clouds appeared and hurricane and wind and rain swelled. On account of surging flood the enemy could not cross the Dudh-ganga river. The next morning at day dawn his Lordship visited the camping ground in the company of *Kanwar* Partap Singh, and organised the soldiers into three breast works (*Five couplets omitted.*) On the right flank he posted himself at the head of two platoons and fifteen pieces of swivels. To the other side Diwan Nihal Chand was deputed with two platoons and all the cavalry and twelve swivels and fourteen pieces of cannons, and on the third front Waris Khan with five thousand bionets were located. It was given out that unless fire was opened from the side of his Lordship the war-innured soldiery should not hasten to combat and arms. But when only half quarter of the day had struck, a *zamburak* fire was discharged by chance from Waris Khan's troop. The enemy all at once showered a volley of bullets and therefore fire was opened on all sides. (235) In the meantime Commandant Pehlwan Singh out of abundance of bravery advanced at the head of his platoon from Diwan Nihal Chand's breast works. When he reached in the middle of Dudh-ganga river, the opposing army again showered bullets, but the said *Diwan*, prompted by courage and valour, ordered the brave soldiers to reinforce the said platoon hatily and to fall furiously on the enemy and not to let the advancing units reach any harm from the enemy. So all the soldiers undaunted by the depth of water, darted at the enemy precipitately and furiously and by the powers of valour routed them. At the same time the world conqering

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Lordship and Waris Khan also made a charge and reaped a good harvest of enemy's heads by their blood-thirsty swords.

Of the victors, Raja Mustafa Khan Malkana, Hakhan Lahriwala and the two Malkana brothers Akbar Ali and Muhsin Ali, along with forty of the loyal soldiers were killed in this sword fight. Four houses of *zamindars* where the enemy had taken refuge, were occupied by the brave. But in the meantime the enemy fell upon the bionets and Varis Khan's troops and broke their resistance. Afterwards convulsing with bravery they forayed on the flank of his Lordship and the victorious army was about to retreat when the said Lordship alighted from his horse and infused courage in them. (236) The Brajraj platoon under Dharam Singh and the Dhani Platoon displayed conspicuous valour in these operations. The enemy lost six hundred men to the indiscriminating sword as killed. At last the enemy was routed and took to flight. The army under *Diwan* Nihal Chand ran in pursuit of the fugitives and relieved them of their baggage. When the pursuers reached their (enemy's) camps, by chance their gunpowder magzine caught flre and thirty of the pursuers were blown up and about hundred others burnt their limbs. Encouraged by this the bellicose enemy turned back, mustered courage and drew their swords. But his Lordship hastily contacted them and annihilated them by the flames of musket and cannon-fire. Those who escaped destruction took shelter in flight. A royal command was issued to the garrison guarding the Behram Gala and Punachh roads to the effect that the fugitives be seized with their arms and sent, and none should be allowed to escape with his arms.

In short, by divine blessings the ever-blooming country of Kashmir was cleared of the weeds and thorns of disturbance and sedition [*One line omitted*]. His Lordship pitched his imperial standards at Nati-pura village, and gifted away forty three thousand rupees to the brave and toiling soldiers befitting their services. He also instantly visited the sick and the wounded soldiers and ordered for their treatment. After deputing *Diwan* Nihal Chand for comforting and encouraging the victors he himself retired to Shergarhi. *Shekh* Gulam Mohi-ud-din, (237) was invested with the *Subahdari* of Kashmir by Maharaja Sher Singh; and Pehalwan Singh Kumedan was despatched at the head of his platoon in the direction of Ladakh in order to help *Wazir* Zorawar Singh Kahluria.

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CHAPTER
39

Peshawar Frontier Affairs

Meanwhile a '*farman*' of Maharaja Sher Singh was received to the effect that his Lordship should proceed to Hazara via Muzaffarabad, and take in his hands the strings of management thereof. Departure to that territory was therefore intended upon. *Shekh* Ghulam Muhi-ud-Din accompanied him upto the town of Barahmula where he was dismissed. The imperial forces marched by stages. At the village Ghakar-pura *Sultan* Zabardast Khan, *Marzaban* of Khatai came to pay obeisance and presented two steeds to the *Kánwar sahib* and his Lordship. From there he arrived at Muzaffarabad where he halted for five days in order to make arrangements for crossing the armies over the Kishan Ganga river. On the Sixth day he reached *Garhi* Habib-allah; and Habib-allah Khan, who had cherished enemity towards the *Khalsa* dominance, forthwith advanced to pay homage to his Lordship. Thence they moved to Chhankari where they happened to stay for two months. The refractories of Pakhli and the environs of Yaghstan who had stirred up an insurrection there, were again brought under the yoke of allegiance mostly by favours and partially by force. Thence they marched to the suburbs of Harkishan-garah fort. As Prince Partap Singh had alighted inside the fort, so his Lordship struck his tents at Barahkot, at a distance of four *kroh* from the former place, and directed his audacity towards the administration of that quarter.

It was at this place that the Lordship received the distressing news of *Wazir* Zorawar Singh Kahluria's laying down life in the path of

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loyalty during an attack on Mansarowar alias Mantalai. It caused him much anguish and vexation. In order to chastise and admonish the insurgents who had revolted (238) under the leadership of Paindah Khan, he had to stay there for sometime more. During this time the deceased Colonel Sir Henry Montgomery Lawrence *sahib bahadur* who accompanied the army of English Government which was advancing towards Kabul under the command of General Pollock *sahib* arranged a meeting through the mediation of *Diwan* Jawala Sahai and held a talk. He suggested the sagacious point that if he (Gulab Singh) advanced to Peshawar and caused the British troops to cross the Khaibar Pass safely and conveniently, it would in every way win for him the gratitude of the English Government and thereby reinforce the essentials of unity of hearts. Consequently, he moved his troops towards Peshawar. Also a letter from Maharaja Sher Singh was received to the same effect. Earlier Rae Kesari Singh had been deputed by Maharaja Sher Singh on this expedition, but he could not achieve the object .As soon as his standards reached in the vicinity of Peshawar, the late Lordship started shaking hands with and embracing General Pollock *Sahib*, Mackeson *sahib* and other dignitaries of the English army, and strengthened their hopes by words of amity and concord. Much time had not elapsed before *Sardar* Buddh Singh arrived from Maharaja Sher Singh, and brought round the *Khalsa* soldiery by insinuation to offer resistance and opposition to officers of British Government, so that as soon as English troops set off towards Kabul, they should raise confusion and disturbance.

The late Lordship got intelligence of this event. The very dignified Sir Henry Lawrence *sahib bahadur*, who, on behalf of the commanders (239) of English forces had always an access to the said Lordship as emissary, met him oftenly in public and in private through the mediation of *Diwan* Jawala Sahai. His Lordship attended the council of deliberations and revealed that the *Khalsa* soldiery was openly hostile and if the English officers had to act on their own discretion and interest they should give him in writing that he was least concerned in their affair. If they chose to accept his counsel, it was not advisable to take along the Sikh soldiery towards Jalalabad when they had displayed the signs of antagonism. The commanding officers of the English forces including Mackeson *sahib* and Lawrence *sahib bahadar* held mutual consultations. At first they were reluctant to reject or accept the counsel, but later on they unanimously agreed that whatever he had advised would be approved of by the English Government. The said Lordship with a view to make up and reconcile with *Khalsa* soldiers the lives of most of whose nearer and dearer ones had been destroyed in the battles of Saman Fort and Kashmir at the hands of his troops, resulting in their estrangement, donated Pudding (*halwa*)

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worth a few thousand rupees as an expiation. By honeyed words and flattering utterances, for the authors of destiny had lavished the qualities of wisdom and intelligence on this Plato of the tavern of wit and wisdom, he tamed these indignant and arrogant people. He then sent for the chiefest of this people in private and enlightened them that whatever opinion they held was verily not repugnant to him also. But it was prudent that (240) they should not invite the hostility of the English army, for this will result in the destruction of thousands of them for nothing and the exigency dictated by wisdom requires that they should open the passage of the Khaibar Pass to the English army and let them advance in safety through the pass. And when inevitably the (English soldiers) lose their lives in the Afghan battle, numerous of the treasures lying here, would fall to the lot of the noble *Khalsa* without any trouble. If they win victory over the Afghan forces, they would be under the obligation for ever. This view verged closer to the opinion of the commanders of the *Khalsa* soldiery, and they uttered word of praise and said that such advice could not emanate from any one else other than a wise minister.

In short, by this amazing contrivance he kept the *Khalsa* soldiery in abeyance from evil and fraudulous designs, and providing the English troops with sweetmeats and bread, he deputed one company of the platoon and two pieces of cannons from his own army along with Baj Khan, Commandant, and Charagha *Jama'dar*. He selected as much as three thousand soldiers from the Najib Platoons of the *Khalsa* and placed them all under the command of Gulab Singh Povindia to accompany the English forces. Upto the Jamrud fort he accompanied the forces in person and made them cross the Khaibar Pass. At Jalalabad he sowed seeds of affection with colonel Lawrence *sahib bahadur* and of friendship with the grandees of the English Empire. The copy of the '*Maktiba*' bearing sentiments of friendship received from Clerk *sahib bahadur*, Agent of the Governor-General runs as under :

Affectionate and kind Raja *sahib*, we earnestly wish you safety. Accept our candour for the exalted meeting, the description of which is interminable like the praiseworthy disposition of that affectionate one. (241) Let that concord-seeking heart know that when our amity-rejoicing heart was full of the ecstasy of joy on learning the account of his brave endeavours and signal gallantry at that time the writing from affectionate and amiable pen on the ominous subject of the proper fulfilment of the important task of the protection of road upto

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Ali Masjid, was cheerfully received and made a pleasent task for the eyes : *Distich* :

Bravo : bravo ; That lofty courage,
That sword, that arm, that counsel wise

Also from English letters of the illustrious *Sahibs*, the chiefs of the victorious British armies, and from the report received here as well, the wise plans and mature suggestions of that affectionate one, both in the field of counsel and battle, have become known to our heart and flooded it with pleasure and applause. Since that friend had from the first day of his appointment to this great expedition, aimed at mutual friendship, this has found expression in a becoming manner, Fortunate is the existence of a person [like you] who is adorned with the jewellery of high virtues and embellished with precious diamond of ripe wisdom and keen intelligence, and at the same time exhibits such praiseworthy deeds and brave expeditions. This is in fact a natural gift. It is evident that formerly also the high standard of friendship of the two Governments has won the praise of hermits and angels. Now, by the present endeavours which have been exhibited these have grown strong. From the fruits of this garden of lofty trees [of friendship] much benefit and welfare may accure to the mankind. Whatever praiseworthy endeavours and signal service have been rendered these have become inscribed letter by letter on the hearts of the officers of the Grand Court. (242) Thus finding the pen unable to cover the rocky stages of the eternal friendship between the high Governments, we have to be contented that till the time of meeting you will kindly send to me your exalted letters and the news of your well-being. Written on the 8th of April, A.D. 1842, at Lahore, in the Shalamar.

In short, he stayed in Peshawar for some time. There he received the intelligence of the enkindling of the conflagration of rebellion in the direction of Ladakh which had risen its head at the martyrdom of *Wazir* Zorawar, and the beseige of his soldiers in the Ladakh fort. Consequently he thought it necessary to move towards Srinagar. *Diwan* Hari Chand who was commander of the army, had already been despatched from Hazara to that direction. Also Raja Dhian Singh arrived at Jammu from Lahore, and after equipping the troops with arms he sent them in that direction. The said Diwan took the road via Kotli and Punchh and reaching Srinagar, he advanced with all the haste in order to demolish the fabric of sedition of the insrugents of Bhot and to confront the army of Lhasa and China which had encroached into Ladakh territory. *Wazir* Ratnu also reached Srinagar via Banihal and got deputed to that district. But

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in order to encourage and strengthen them his Lordship came to Srinagar via Muzaffarabad, and *Shekh* Ghulam Muhi-ud-Din welcomed him at Barahmula camp and won favours. For a period of four months Bagh-i Nasim remained his headquarters.

From that place he directed the operations and bestowed favours on the brave fighters who had been deputed towards Ladakh. (243) The late *Shekh* continuously waited upon him and had a daily audience. At last victory and success was achieved. Then his Lordsihp came to Jammu via Gulab-garh.

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CHAPTER
40

Facts of the occupation of the Regions of Ladakh and Battles in the quarters of Lhassa, the Lesser and Greater Tibet

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On the wise edowed with discerning perception, and the confidents of the repositories of faith, it is evident that whosoever is exalted to eminence by the Creator his conquering sword shines around the six directions and he drags into submission realms far and wide. The facts of the conquest of the territories of Tibet and Ladakh are now narrated. In the days when his Lordship was staying at Amritsar he was apprised of the report of achievement of *Wazir* Zorawar Singh Kahluria who was distinguished for dash and valour and had been entrused with the management of the *pargana* of Riasi, Arnas and Kishtwar. But no signal for 'yes or no' was given. The *Wazir* however, received permission to go to the territory under his charge. Encouraged by draught and damage to crops in that region he decided to render some signal services to his master.

So in the beginning of the year 1890, [*Bikrami*] he conferred with Uttam Bhadiar and other dignitories of Kishtwar, and (244) made up his mind on the conquest of "Saru"[1] [*One couplet omitted*]. After a preliminary assault he occupied the *pargana* of 'Saru' and its dependencies, and the '*pargana*' of Kargal[2] and Dras[3] in the environs of

1. 'Saru' is the Dogri form of the well known valley of 'Suru' river adjoining Kishtwar on way towards Ladakh.

2. Kargal is an important village in the Puring district of Ladakh, some 40 miles distance from Dras. Since the creation of *tehsil* headquarters of Kargil, the

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General Zorawar Singh, with the Gyalpo (Raja) and Gyalmo (Queen) of Ladakh

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Ladakh. Then he got ready in a short time for the capture of Janskar.[4] After completing that expedition he passed the winter in that territory in great pomp and splendour.[5] When the Zephyr lent renewed fresh-

whole region of Puring is now officially known as Kargil, although the name Puring is also in common use. Kargil is a wider opening between the hills, about 8,900 feet above the sea. (Drew : *The Jammoo and Kashmir Territories*, pp. 226-29 ; Hashmatullah Khan, p. 677).

3. Dras--The valley of Dras River is an opening among the hills which leaves a space nearly flat with a width of a mile and a half or two miles, and a length of nearly three, it is not one flet, but consists of alluvial plateaus of different levels. In this valley are scattered small hamlets collectively known as Dras.

Dras (Tibetan 'Hem-babs'--"snow-fed or snow-descended") is the most westerly of the small districts lying to the West of Janskar. Its Tibetan name of Hem-babs is descriptive of its most striking peculiarity, as the most snowy district of Ladakh. (Sir A. Cunningham: *LADAK*, p. 23 ; Drew, pp. 222-225.)

4. Janskar--is a district of Ladakh which includes all the country lying along the two great branches of the Zanskar river in a general direction from south-east to north-west. It is bounded by Ladakh on the north, by Rukchu on the east, by Lahul on the south, and by the small districts of Puring and Wanla on the west. The southern boundary is formed by the great Himalaya itself. Its greatest length is 72 miles, but its mean length is not more than 56 miles, and the mean breadth is about the same, or 55 miles. It has an area of 3,000 square miles and a mean elevation of 13,154 feet. (Sir A. Cunningham *Ladakh*, pp. 21-22). "Zanskar is a district of Ladakh which lies south-west of Leh, towards the Water-shed Range. . . . From all sides the approach to Zanskar, a place, as it is, in a maize of mountains; is of considerable difficulty." (Drew, pp. 280-81.)

5. Occupation of *Parganas* Saru (Suru valley), Kargil and Dras, & Janskar--

Zorawar Singh Dogra, who was *Hakim* of Kishtwar on behalf of Raja Gulab Singh had wished to extend his conquests towards the north. He got a pretext when in 1834, the Raja of Timbus secretly sought the help of *Wazir* Zorawar Singh against his overlord, Tse-Pal the *Gyalpo* (Raja) of Ladakh (Hashmatullah Khan, p, 345). There upon the Dogra general marched towards Ladakh with four or five thousand men (*Ibid.* but A. H. Francke gives the number as 10,000 (*A History of Western Tibet*, p. 139). The Dogra troops marched from Kishtwar and entered the Ladakh territory by the pass at the head of the Suru Valley, where on the 16th August, 1834, they were opposed by the Boti leader Mangal (Man-gyal), the young minister of Tog. (Sir A Cunningham : Ladak, p. 333). The Ladakhis were about 5,000 in number. They were dislodged from their position and driven back and the *wazir* occupied Suru where he built a small castle-- *The Zamindars* of Janguri and Shakhar submitted but Dogras conquered Lang-Karchu and Pashkyum after a hard struggle. The Ladakhi king opened negotiations for peace, but at the same time sent his general Banka *Kahlon* by a circuitous route to the rear of the Dogras. The Dogras were therefore compelled to retreat to Langkarchu in the Suru Valley and took shelter in the fort of Thai Sultans for the 4 winter months. Banka *Kahlon* tried to overpower the Dogras by attacking them in the mid-winter, but Dogras gave them a crushing defeat and in the middle of April 1835 (Vigne, II, p. 353 says the spring of 1835) advanced and occupied Shergol, Mulbil, Kharbu and Lama-yuru. (A. Cunningham, *Ladak*, pp. 335-38.)

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ness to the wearied hearts of the world, the spring set in and lent a blow to the winter.

(2 *lines and* 2 *couplets omitted*)

The Raja of Ladakh was not disposed towards submission and as he persevered in stupidity, so the glorious troops moved for the conquest of Ladakh, and Punchhak Charang Vangal,[6] the Raja of Ladakh, finding himself powerless to resist, agreed to pay a tribute of thirty thousand rupees[7], of which five thousand were remitted to him on account of shodding the horses of the victorious armies.

In the meanwhile Muhammad Shah, son of Ahmad Shah, Raja of Iskardu, offended with his father, sought protection of the State nobles and the *Wazir* entrusted him to the care of the Raja of Ladakh. When the echo of his gallantry and valour had spread far and wide, the *Wazir* came to pay his obesiance to his master. He was warmly received by *Diwan* Jawala Sahae on his arrival (245). His Lordship embraced him with affection and showered fresh favours on him. The *Wazir* angmented his fortune by remaining in attendance for some time. (2 *lines omitted*). The Raja of Ladakh had not driven out the idea of revolt and dis-obedience from his heart, so he was seeking the support and assistance of Rajas in his neighbourhood. He sent Muhammad Shah, son of Ahmad Shah, Raja of Iskardu, who had been entrusted to his care by the *Wazir*, to Iskardu in a rough manner

6. Punchhak Charang Vengal ; the Raja of Ladakh--His real name was Tsepal, Tonduk Namgyal and his title was Sultan Akabat Mahmud Khan (A. Cunningham, p. 338.)

7. Conquest of Ladakh; and Zorawar Singh's return :--

From Paskyum the Dogras marched by Shergol (Sarsgo-la) to Mulbil (Mulbye) ; where they halted for fifteen days, and then proceeded to Kharbu (Mkharbhu) and to Lama-Yuru, where they were met by an envoy with a letter from Sultan Akabat Mahmud Khan (Tsepal, King of Ladakh) suing for peace. On receiving assurance from the *Wazir* on acceptance of payment of annual tribute to Gulab Singh, the *Gyalpo* (*rgyalpo*, king) moved to Bazgo (Bab-sgo) where the *Wazir* met him along with Mehta Basti Ram and 100 men. The *Gyalpo* received the *Wazir* kindly (Basti Ram's Account, p. 260). Afterwards Zorawar Singh and *Gyalpo* moved to Leh, followed by whole of the Dogra army. The peace negotiations were finalised, the *wazir* restored the whole kingdom to Tsepal as a vassal of the Dogra Kingdom of Jammu. The King promised to pay Rs. 50,000 as indemnity and an annual tribute of 20,000 rupees. (*Ibid*). The wazir then fell back to Lama-Yura where he learnt that the chief of Sod has rebelled at the instigation of the Sikh governor of Kashmir, Mihan Singh. The rebels of Suru and Sod were suppressed with a strong hand and the *Wazir* came back to Jasku or Zanskar in the beginning of September 1835 to winter there. The Raja of Zanskar promised to pay a tax of 3 1/2 rupees for each house. After all this has been accomplisded the *Wazir* went apparently to Jammu, to report his success to his master, Gulab Singh (A. H. Francke, *A History of Western Tibet*, p. 148.)

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in order to surrender him to his father's oppression and tyranny, so that his feet became frost-bitten. On hearing of this occurrance the *Wazir* set out for Ladakh for the second time,[8] and reaching there he deposed the Raja from the throne. In his place he installed Mortanchin,[9] and chose one named Ladrak Ocha Gunpa as his manager. After the sattlement of important affairs in that country, he came back.

A little after, he once again set out for Ladakh. On the way he heard that Nadhan Singh *Kardar* of Dras and Kargal had been murdered[10] by Raja Alishir the governor of Kartashak at the instiga-

8. Zorawar's Second Expedition to Ladakh :

During the winter (apparently 1835-36) King Tsepal (Gyalpo of Ladakh) was instigated by Mihan Singh, the Sikh Governor of Kashmir, to revolt against the Dogra supremacy. He began to prepare for a revolution against the Dogra rule. He closed the roads to the trade and imprisoned and tortured the Dogra representative, Munshi Daya Ram, who was stationed at Leh. On receiving this intelligence Zorawar Singh reached with army at Chemre, (or Tsumur) a village above Leh, in ten days' forced marches. The Gyalpo was taken by surprise and hurried to wait upon the *Wazir* at Chachot (Chushod), a village on the left bank of the Indus, between Chumri and Leh, and expressed his sorrow and contrition for what had occured.

Old Tsepal had to accompany the *Wazir* to Leh, where the balance of 13,000 rupees and the expenses of the war was demanded. Tsepal and his ministers offered all sorts of things to meet the demand. As the *wazir* could no longer put faith in the professions of the Old King Tsepal, he was therefore deposed and was allowed a jagir in the village of Tok, on the left bank of the Indus, opposite to Leh. The government of the country was then bestowed upon Moru-pa-Tadsi, (Ngorub Stanzin), the Ladakhi general, a relation of the old King and the *Kahlon* of Banka.

Zorawar erected a fort outside the city of Leh, and Dalel Singh was appointed *thanadar* of the place with a body of 300 soldiers. After this Zorawar Singh proceeded to Jammu, taking with him the son of MarupaTadsi (Ngorub Standzin) the new King and some other respectable men as hostages. This must have taken place in the spring of 1836 (A.H. Francke : *A History of Western Tibet*, pp. 148-150 Sir A. Cunnigham : *Ladak*, pp. 340-342).

9. *Mortanchin*, Moru Tadsi, according to the account of *Mehta* Basti Ram, his real name being Ngorub-standzin general without any initiative." He was the young minister and general of King Tsepal and was taken prisoner by the Dogras in the battle of Lankartse.

10. Revolt in Dras and Kargil : This revolt took place during 1837-38. While Zorawar was at Jammu the news was brought that the new King had revolted, that he had killed the Dogra *Thanadar* of Balde, that is, Dras-Kargil region, and his 20 men and that the Dogra troops throughout the country were beleagured in their different forts. On hearing this the *Wazir* started with 3.000 infantry and reached the country of Balde" probably in July. Due to the swollen state of the river he could not accomplish anything for two month more. About the month of September 1837 the Dogras attacked the fort of Chatargarh and carried it by storm. Leaving a garrison in the fort of Chatergarh. *Wazir* marched into Zanskar over the hills in the month of October. He stayed there for two months and set

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tion of Fateh Singh Jogi, who was the servant and deputy of Colonel Mihan Singh, *Subahdar* of Kashmir, and that of Rahim Khan Pushkomah, and from the environs of Dras decided to escape and had gone to the Raja of Iskardu. The resolute *Wazir*, therefore, gave order to invest Iskardu Fort[11] which is the strongest fort of that country, and

the things right. After that he sent Raj Singh and Mian Tota along with 1,000 men towards Leh on which Moru Tadsi the new King fled from the capital towards Spiti but was captured and brought back to Leh where he was imprisoned. The *Wazir* now restored the old King Tsepal to the throne on the old terms of Rs. 23,000 yearly tribute and the expenses of the troops of occupation. Then *Wazir* returned to Jammu where he seemed to have remained till the beginning of 1839 when he was again compelled to go to Ladakh where Moru Tadsi was plotting against King Tsepal with Ladakhi nobles and Kahlons and Ahmad Khan of Balti. (Sir. A. Cunningham, P. 344-45; A.H.Francke. *A History of western Tibet*. pp.151-52; *Anti-quities of Indian Tibet* Part, II, pp. 252-53). The conquest of Balde' (Pal-der, pal-dar) or Padar:—

In A.D. 1835, Zorawar Singh led armies for the conquest of Ladakh. After the completion of this task a force under *Wazir* Lakhpat Rai was detached from the main army to annex Zanskar, which still held out, and after having done this the force crossed the Umasi Pass and passed through Paddar on the way back to Jammu. It is believed that Gulab Singh had no intention of encroaching on State territory, but the Paddar people offered some opposition to the passage of the Dogra army. The Dogras left behind about 30 men in Chatargarh fort to keep up communications. When there was a revolt at Padam in Zanskar, Ratnu, the Chamba official in Paddar stirred up the people, seized the Dogra soldiers and sent them to Chamba. So in the spring of 1836 Zorawar Singh came in person with a large force to avenge the insult, Ratnu had the bridge over Chander Bhaga broken down, and in this way kept the Dogra at bay for three months, but at last Zorawar crossed a portion of his army with the aid of a Jhula bridge to the other bank, and thus advancing under the cover of night effected an entrance into Chatargarh by the bridge over the Bhutna Nala, which had been left intact. Chatargarh was Razed to the ground and the name of the place changed to Gulab garh; and several of the Paddar deople were hanged or mutilated. The country was then annexed to Jammu. This tiny territory later on became famous by the discovery of sapphire mines in 1880 A.D. The right bank of Ganaur Nala in Pangi was seized at the same time and included in Paddar. (*Chamba Gazetteer*. 1963, pp.145-146; A.H. Francke: *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Pt. II, P.252).

11. *Conquest of Iskardu* :

The conquest of Balti or Iskardu by Gulab Singh's general Zorawar Singh created a wide-spread stir in the Sikh and British circles. This event, therefore finds mention in contemporary correspondence and intelligence reports.

As early as the beginning of 1835 Zorawar Singh got an opportunity to interfere in Balti affairs, when Muhammad Shah, the disinherited son of Ahmad Shah, the ruler of Iskardu had sought shelter in Zorawar Singh's camp at Suru. At this time he only gave promises of future assistance to the Balti prince. After a time the prince returned to his father, but the reconciliation could not have been very cordial and early in 1840 Muhammad Shah again fled to Leh and sought the protection of the *Gyalpo* of Ladakh. The *Kahlons* of Banka and Bazgo, however,

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about which it is said that Afrasyab Pashingi designed its reparation and named it '*Qila-i-Aharman.*'

were contemplating a general revolt against the Dogras and they were anxious to have Ahmad Shah on their side so they allowed him to send a party to seize his son. Ahmad Shah at once despatched a small party of fifty men and was allowed to carry off the Balti Prince without resistance. (A. Cunningham: *Ladak*, P.345-46). At that time Zorawar Singh had arrived in Zanskar on his way to quell the Ladakhi revolt led by one Sukamir during the winter of 1840-41. Zorawar Singh wrote a letter to Ahmad Shah informing him that his son, who had sought the Maharaja's protection had been forcibly carried off by a party who had invaded the Ladakh territory, and that unless the Prince was sent back again, the Dogra troops would enter Balti and force his release. To this letter Ahmad Shah deigned no reply. (*Antiquities of Indian, Tibet*, Pt. II P.264.)

Consequently, after punishing the Ladakhi rebels, the *Wazir* fitted out an expedition for Iskardu consisting of 15,000 Dogra and Ladakhi men. The Ladakhi rebels had destryed the bridge. Zorawar was therefore obliged to march down the right bank of the river for 25 days.The chiefs ofKhatakchau and Khapolu readily submitted. Mian Nidhan Singh was separated with 5000 men to advance by way of Shigar but this force was lost in cold and snow and only 400 men returned to the camp. The army under Zorawar was surrounded and was exposed to frost and hunger for 15 days. Only Basti Ram's chivalry saved the situation who crossed over it with 40 men only. However, the main force followed and the Botis were compelled to retreat leaving behind 200 dead and 100 wounded. The retreating Botis were pursued and slaughtered for nine miles, as for as Marwan, where the victorious Dogras pitched their Camp. (Sir A. Cunningham: *Ladak*, pp.348-49) After a few days stay there the *Wazir* then advanced to Skardu and after some desultory firing, the fort was surrendered by Ahmad Shah for want of water.

F. Drew gives some details of this conquest of the fort by the Dogras: On the higher part of the rock was a smaller fort, in a position very difficult to reach from below. But the Dogra invaders were good mountaineers. One dark night they stole round from this position in front of the chief fort to the north-western corner of the rock, and surprising the guards there posted, climbed the hill, and after a little fighting took the small fort near the summit. In the morning they began firing down, at an immense advantage, on the larger fort, and after two or three hours, the Raja and his people took to flight and the place was captured. All the garrison (except a few who escaped across the river) were either killed or taken; the Raja himself became a prisoner. This deed was boldly done of the Dogras; it resembled some what, on a small scale the capture of Quebec by the English. The strength of the position was such that it should never have been taken except by blockade and starvation. Soon after this victory the whole of Baltistan became subject to Gulab Singh; in one or two places as at Shigar, the minor rulers held out for a bit, but they were soon reduced, and the country was attached to Jummoo. This happened about the year 1840. (F.Drew: *Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*. pp. 362-363).

Ahmad Shah was deposed by Zorawar Singh, who installed his eldest son Muhammad Shah in his room, on the payment of an annual tribute of Rs. 7,000. The Dogras built a new fort and a small garrison of trustworthy soldiers was placed in the new fort on the bank of the Indus river. All the treasures were

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On its height a watch-man's lamp
Could not be distinguished from the Saturn star.

Because of exteme cold the water if the Indus river had frozen. (246) Pebbles mixed with dust were spread over it and it was thus crossed over. Although the Raja of Iskardu had strengthened the fort by collecting soldiers, yet due to the terror of the imperial forces and their muketry he found his temerity melting and so he withdrew inside the fort. Ali Shir begged forgiveness for his omissions and presented himself in the *Wazir's* service. The lion-hearted assailants set seige to the said fort and arrayed all the material of battle and assault, (*Two couplets omitted*). They brandished swords and opened connonade of brass guns. Afterwards they made brave onslaught and stormed open the gate of the fort. The Raja of Iskardu now became alive to the real state of affairs and sent his eldest son, Muhammad

taken out of the castle of Iskardu and carried to Leh, together with Ahmad Shah the former owner of them. (A.H. Francke: *A Hist. of Western Tibet*, p.159.)

The records of British Indian Government reveal some landmarks in the Dogra progress towards Baltistan—Lt. J.D. Cunningham, Asstt. Poltical Agent, Ludhiana, forwarded on 5th May, 1840 two letters from Ahmad Shah, Raja of Iskardu and his two sons, complaining of their detention by the Sikhs (Dogras), and soliciting the interference of the British in their affairs. (*ORPS*. VIII, No. 47/1, letter No. 30 of 5-5-1840) *The Punjab Akhbar* of 8th May (1840, *Baisakh* 28, 1897) carries the information that Zorawar Singh reported from Iskardu that in consequence of the dissatisfaction of the people of the country, owing to the oppression of Raja Ahmad Shah, his son Mohomed Shah, who had long found an asylum with the Governor of Cashmere had taken possession of Iskardu, and that order was now restored there.

"Orders were issued to Raja Ahmad Shah of Little Thibbat that all his past irregulatities and misconduct, viz, his refusing to pay usual *Nuzrana*, his assembling the troops and apprehending Mohomed Shah from within the *Khalsa* territory, his Killing Nidhom (Nidhan) Singh *Thanadar* and garrison, and lastly his omitting to send his agents like all the chieftains to pay a visit of condolence to Lahore *Darbar*, would at once be forgiven, if he still returned to obedience and despatched his Agents with tribute through *Vazeer* Zorawar Singh to the *Durbar*." (*Punjab Intelliegence*, Amrutsur—15th May (1840, Jeth 4, 1897 Bk.)

The Punjab Akhbars (Intelligence) from 16th June to 1st July 1840 (*Asarh* 5-20 1897) finally confirms that *Vazeer* Zorawar Singh has now possession of Iskardoo, and Raja Ahmad Shah is in confinement," and that the *Wazir* is "about to construct a fort at Iskardoo."

The Sikh interference in Gulab Singh's Tibetan conquest is revealed from the *Punjab Akhbars*. "In consequence of a request from Jubbar Khan of Jussdura (Hassura-Astor) to Cashmere ruler. Mehan Singh has despatched 3 companies to defend that place (1st July, 1840.) Again 'Secret despatches have been received by the *Koonwur* (Nao-Nihal Singh) from general Meean Singh, governor of Cashmere, complaining that Zorawar Singh, the Agent of *Surdar* (Raja) Goolab Singh, is obtaining complete possession of Iskardu and investing the fort of Jeswareh" (*Punjab Akhbars*, 20th July, 1840.).

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Shah, some account of whom has been given above, to the presence of the *Wazir* and begged for qauarter. The *Wazir*, therefore abstained from occupying the said fort and bestowed on Muhammad Shah the office of '*Wazarat*', and levied a sum of money by way of 'Nazrana' on the Raja of Iskardu and other chiefs of that country, such as Khapiu, Rondu and Kartashak. He arrested Rahim Khan Pashkoman and hanged him for his evil deeds and misconduct.

When the affairs of that quarter became properly settled, he directed his conquering army, along with Madin-Shah to invade Hasura. Jabbar Khan, (247) the Raja of Hasurah fastened the gate of the fort as also he fastened on himself the doors of fortune, and endeavoured considerably to strengthen and fortify it. After shutting himself in the fort for twenty days he brought into play various strategems. But as the seige was prolonged he was forced to repent and beg excuse. He then tendered his submission.[12] The *Wazir*

12. Conquest of Hasura (Astor): (The Dogras always call this place "Hasora" but its name in the mouth of a Dard is Astor: Drew, p. 397).

Astor or Hasora is a village situated on the western side of the valley of the river of the same name under the shadow of the Nanga Parbat Range. It used to be the seat of a Dard Raja. When the Sikh held Kashmir, the Astor Raja was tributory to them. He had become so without any force being sent ; for a time he remained in quite. But a curious thing happened. When *Wazir* Lakpat (who was lieutenant of Zurawar Singh who was servant of Raja Gulab Singh, who was a tributary of the Sikhs) was victorious in Skardu, he came over the Harpo La and invaded Astor. Lakpat besieged the Astor fort for four months; at the end of which time it was given up for want of provisions and the Raja was taken away prisoner to Skardu and this though he was on terms of friendship and (in a degree) dependent on the Sikh Governor of Kashmir. At last representations on the subject went to Lahore, and from there Gulab Singh received directions to desist from interfering with Astor, so the Raja was sent back. (F. Drew : *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, pp. 402-403). *The Punjab Akhbars* of 16th June to 1st July 1840 throw some light on the Dogra military moves on Astor. "Raja Jubbar Khan, ruler of the Jussoura (Husoura) district, nephew of Ahmadshah (of Iskardu), in consequence of the disturbance in Iskardoo has applied for Assistance to the Governor of Cashmere; and the latter having received permission from Lahore, sent ten of his sepoys to guard the Jussoura fort against any interference on the part of the *Vazeer*, but *Meean* Nadir on the part of the *Vazeer*, having marched against the fort, a fight took place between him and the Jassoura people, in which the *Meean* with some of his followers was killed, and his followers fled. The Jussoura people are now assembling in arms at Nuddoo and Kulent in order to rescue Raja Ahmad Shah. Order has been received from the *Darbar* by the officers at Cashmere to despatch Mahomed Alee Khan and Ahmad Allee Khan sons of Raja Ahmad Shah to Lahore, and they are preparirg to march to that place. "In consequence of a request from the Raja Jubbar Khan of Jussoura to the Cashmere ruler, Mehan Singh has despatched with 2 companies to defend that place.The sons of Raja Ahmadshah who were residing at Cashmere marched to Lahore on the 25th June." (Punjab

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returned towards Ladakh. As Punchhak Chrang-wangal, who had joined the victorious armies at Iskardu, died so he appointed the nephew of the deceased in his place, and imprisoned Mortanchin for failing to procure supplies. Madin Shah was also arrested on account of undesirable activities. After the completion of this task, the brave *Wazir* decided on the subjugation of Mantlao, and to that effect he despatched Magna *Thana-dar* via Vaya-charik, Sonham Bhot and Chaudhari Phulo from the direction of Tusini Ganga, and *Mian* Sangara and Man Singh from Lubrah toward Ghar. He himself advanced via Lubrah and alighted at Tok Garh. When whole of the army had collected there, he marched a stage twelve miles from Ghar and fought an action with the tumultous refractories there. Man Singh's son and a few others fell dead in the combat. The enemy offered a bold resistance but had to surrender at last.[13]

Akhbar, dated 1st July, 1840 Asarh 20, 1897).

"Secret despatches have been received by the *Koonwur* from Genl. Mean Singh, Governor of Cashmere, complaining that Zorawar Singh, the Agent of *Surdar* (Raja) Goolab Singh, is obtaining complete possession, of Iskardoo and investing the fort of Jeswareh" (Hasoura) (*Punjab Akhbar*, dated 20th July 1840 *Sawan* 7, 1897 Bk.)

". . . from recent intelligence from Kashmir it appears that the *Wazir* of Raja Gulab Singh has restored Ahmad Shah, Guelpo, to the possession of Iskardoo and at the same time invested the fort of Jessorah beyond Iskardo. The Darbar has called upon Raja Gulab Singh to send troops to check the aggressions of his *Wazir*" (*ORPS, VII*, P. 34, No. 149/60, of 24-8-1840; *G. R. Clerk to Torrens.*)

13. Mantalao and Zorawar Singh's Advance Towards Mansarovar :

In order to understand Zorawar's Tibetan expedition, it is necessary to know the topography of the South-western Tibet.

To the east and south-east of Ladakh lie the Tibetan districts of Rudok, Chang-Thang, and Nagri. Rudok lies immediately to the east of Ladakh and Rupshu or Rukchu. The Principal feature of Rudok is great Pang-Kong lake, which stretches through the whole length of the country from east to west, a length of about 80 miles. The mean height of the district is probably not under 14,500 feet and the lake has an elevation of 14,300 feet above the sea.

Chang-Thang comprises the two districts of Chumurti and Garo on the Indus. The monastery of Tashigong is the chief place in these districts. The government of the country was in the hands of the Gar-pon or Deputy Governor of Garo. Ngari (m Ngahris), called Hyen-des (Sanskrit Hima-des) "Snow-Land" embraces the whole of the upper valley of the Sutlej from the Manasarovara lake to the crest of the Progyal mountain. It is sub-divided into three smaller districts, Guge, Gangri, and Purang. Guge is the largest of the three and contains the well known towns of Tholing and Tsaprang. Gangri is the country around the holy lakes ; the Purang is the upper valley of the Gogra or Karnali river, adjoining Indian border. (Sir A. Cunningham: *Ladak*, pp. 39-40).

Manasarovar lake, or Mantalao, is some 15,200 feet above the sea level. From this lake to Garo is a distance of about 110 miles or ten days' journey-past the Rawanhrd, and over several lofty spurs of the Kailas range. Garo itself is situated

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Therefrom he marched two stages and encamped at Mansar locality some twelve *kroh* distant. From Mansar a distance of six stages was covered in three marches and Mantlao was reached. There he carried Gardang fort in one assault and left Abtara *Wazir* in its command. In the ancient books of the *Shaster* it is described that Mantlao is known as Mansarowar and to that date no ruler (248) of India except Raja Man Dhata had ever brought it under his possession. Its distance is some seventeen days journey.

He brought Mantlao under his control and occupied Purang Fort

on the main branch of the indus which is there called the Higong-chuor Higong river. From Garo to Chibra, and thence to Leh, the road lies down the valley of the Indus, and generally along the bank of the river. The distance from Garo to Leh is not less than 350 miles, or about 35 days journey. The chief places on this road are Tashi-Lhumpo, Galdan, Garo, and Tashi Gong the celebrated monastery. (*Ibid*, pp. 158-59). The Tibetan districts of Rudok and Chumurti lie to the east and south-east of Ladakh.

Zorawar Singh commenced his Tebetan expedition in May 1841 (*Antiquities of Indian Tibet* Pt. II. p. 267). His army was comprised of Baltis, Ladakhis and Kishtwaris and Dogras-6000-7000 according to A.H. Francke (*A History of Western Tibet*, p. 163), 5000 according to Cunningham (*Ladakh*, p. 351) and according to the authors of the *Himalayan Battle-ground* p. 50, 4000 men-a Mixed group of Balties, Ladakhis and Kishtwaris around a Dogra nucleus. The Dogra forces advanced in three divisions by three different routes; one moved up the Indus valley towards Tshigong, another through Rupshu and the third into Rudok district via the route south of Pangong lake (Fisher Rose and Hutten back: *Himalayan Battle-ground*, p. 50)

The column which marched through Rupshu comprised of 300 soldiers under Ghulam Khan who over-ran Tibetan posts of Churit, Chumurti, Tsaparang and Tholing. He met some resistance only at Tsaparang which was easily oversome (SC, Dec. 20, 1841, No; 40 *Cunningham to Clerk*, Nov.8, 1841). The second colum was placed under Nono Sungnam a relative of the Ladakhi King, who conquered and plundered Tashigong.

The Third column which marched along the Pangong Lake comprised of 3,000 men and was led by Zorawar Singh himself. He conquered Rudok on June 5, 1841. The fort there was occupied and the Garpon was made prisoner. (*Ibid*). Thence he invaded the military post of Gartok and defeated the small Tibetan force there. The military commander thereof fled to Taklakot, a place 15 miles from the border of Nepal. Zorawar now stormed Taklakot and occupied post on 6 September 1841. The other two columns had already met him at Gartok.

On their arrival at Taklakot, the Dogra army had traversed a distance of over 450 miles from Leh over a platoon some 12, 500 feet above sea level.

In the text above Mantalao is Mansarovar, Vaya Charik is Sonham Bhot is Nano sangnum, Tushini Ganga is Toshigong, Gar and Tok-Garh stand for Gartok or Garthong

Zorawar Singh built small forts and left small garrisons at strategic military posts which he and his lieutenants conquered.

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also.[14] He constructed a new castle[15] there in a month's time. The boundary of Purang verged on the territories under the protection of the English Government on one side, and touched the country of Nepal on the other at a distance of twele *krohs*. The agent of Raja of Nepal therefore, arrived at the camp accompanied by one hundred and twenty persons. He represented that although their Raja secretly cherished the sentiments of accord and amity and had desired comporise and unanimity with this glorious dynasty even earlier, yet he now desired that these sentiments should be strengthened than ever, but without making obligatory the inclusion of the British Government officials. The *Wazir*, by courtesies and consolation, upheld his (Agent's) hopes and dismissed him after five days. As the determinators of destiny had preordained the ultimate amity and unity between the exalted English Government and the world-conquering Lordship, so the beginning of unity and friendship had been made. In other words the glorious Cunningham[16] *sahib bahadur* had, with a view to

14. The Chinese Imperial Resident at Lhasa named Meng-Pao, wrote out an official account of the Dogra war in his reports (Tibetan memorials and reports), known as Hsi-Tsang Tsou-Shu. Of the Dogra conquests it reports.

"On the 17th day, 7th month of this year (September 2, 1841) it was reported that an army had been sent to meet the Ladakhi and She-pa (Singh' people-Dogras) invasion. The invaders took possession of Rudok and Gartok military posts, as no Tibetau border posts had been fortified. They then advanced towards Kardung (Gardung of *Gulabnama*) which is under the jurisdiction of the Taklakot military post. On (my) arrival at Taklakot a force of only about 1,000 local troops could be mustered, which was divided and stationed as guards at different posts. A guard post was quickly established at a strategic pass near Taklakot to stop the invaders, but these local troops were not brave enough to fight off the Shen-pa (Dogras) and fled at the approach of the invaders. The distance between Central Tibet and Taklakot is several thousand li. As the reinforcements of the Tibetan troops had not yet arrived, the force of over 3,000 invaders was able to occuppy successively the three military posts of Ta-po-koerch (Daba), Tsa-ren (Tsaparang), and Taklakot, on the 6th and 7th days of the 7th month (August (22-23, 1841). The fight took place against great odds, and both sides sustained some casualities. Because of the cowardice of the local troops, our forces had to withdrew to the foot of Tsa Mouutain near the Mayum Pass. Reinforcements are essential in order to withstand these violent and unruly invaders." (*Himalayan Battle-ground*." Appendix, p. 159).

15. Chi-T'ang Fort : General Zorawar Singh had built a strong stone fort at rugged spot called Chi-T'ang between Gardung and Taklakot. On its walls were mounted two large and some 8 or 9 small cannons, and was strongly guarded by a force of over 500 men under Basti Ram (Meng Pao : *Hsi-Tsang Tsoushu*, 15 a-17b.) From here Dogras planned "not only to prevent Tibetan forces from advancing, but they also intended to make gradual encroachments upon Lhasa territory." (*Himalayan Battle-ground*, by Fisher, Rose and Huttenback. 1963, p. 164.)

16. J. D. Cunningham—Joseph Davey Cunningham was born in 1812. He be-

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consolidate afresh the basis of friendship, requested the *Wazir* for the

came a cedit in East India Company's service and after a brilliant career sailed for India in 1834 and was first employed on the staff of tbe Chief engineer of the Bengal Presidency. In 1837 he was appointed assistant to Colonel (afterwards Sir Claude) Wade, the political agent on the Sikh frontier. For the next 8 years he held various appointments under Colonel Wade and his successors. During the first Sikh war he was attached first to the staff of Sir Charles Napier then to that of Sir Hugh Gough. He was present in some capacity at battles of Buddawal, Aliwal and Sabraon and served as an additional aide-de-camp to theGovernor General, Sir Henry Hardinge. Then he was appointed political agent to the State of Bhopal. In 1849 appeared his History of the Sikhs. The views taken by the author were anything but pleasing to his superiors. As a punishment he was removed from his political appointment and sent back to the regimental duty. The disgrace undoubtedly hastened his death, and soon after his appointment to the Meerut Division of Public works he died suddenly at Ambala in 1851, (Biographical Note, in *Cunningham's History of the Sikhs*, edited by H.L.O. Garrett, 1915.)

The editor of *Cunningham's History of the Sikhs* (H.L.O. Garrett) says in the 'Introductory' p. vi—"Indeed, as a result of certain strictures upon the policy of the Government of India in dealing with Gulab Singh of Jammu, the author was dismissed from his employment in the political Department . . . "Several of his remarks on Raja Gulab Singh and his brothers were prejudicial; particularly in Chapter of his History, which deals with events and results of the first Sikh war. Though he considerably modified this chapter in the second edition, "Even in that form the Chapter contains many statements of a injudicious nature" (*Ibid*). He has tried to under estimate the role and importance of the Dogra Rajas, as he belonged to the school of British Politicals who were temperamentally opposed to Hardinge's deal with Gulab Singh In his pro-Sikh Zest he made many anti-Dogra, derogatory remarks not becoming a politician and a diplomat. That he was of an intriguing nature, is proved by Hardinge's letter of 20 February, 1845 in which he says" Our Assistants on the frontier will persist in dabbling in the intrigues of the Punjab, and I fear I must withdraw Nicholson, and perhaps Cunningham." *Hardinge to Ellenborongh* Private 20 February 1845. EP (PRO) 30/12 (21/7). In another letter Hardinge calls him "a perfect Sikh" (*Ibid*), 22 March, 1845) But the serious allegation against him was that "he comments very freely on the Government and on the military proceedings of the day, *Dalhomie to, Hubhouse*—Private-25 May 1849-Brougton, BM.) The press opinion in England on his dismissal are : "Normally Captain Cunningham is dismissed for using official papers without leave in his book but really because his book says disagreeable things of the Government" and all Captain Cunningham has said we know is based on authentic public papers, therefore, it must be true" (*Ibid*, Simla, 6 Sept. 1849—Bronghton, Bm.), Cunningham's interest for Dogra history lies in the fact that he was deputed to some advance point on the frontier to acquire intelligence of proceedings in Chinese tartary" i. e. Tibet) *ORPS*, 128/142, dated 27-8-1841, *Thomson to Clerk*). He remained on the border of Kanawar and Bashahr" for the purpose of observing and reporting the movements of the Sikh authorities (Dogras under *Wazir* Zorawar Singh) east of Ladakh" *ORPS*,128/168, of 27-9-1841, *Maddock to Clerk*). He remained deputed on this duty from September 1841, to about the conclusion

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despatch of confidential Agent. When Mehta Basti Ram and Kalu *Jama'dar* arrived and presented their credentials he explained that as winter was fast approaching and the enemy was seeking opportunity, and in addition supply of rations and materials in those wildernesses was extremely difficult so if the said *Wazir* postponed the conquest of those regions till Spring season that would have been better.

On their return, therefore, they explained the affairs as they stood. (249) There upon he left Mehta Basti Ram[17] in command of Purang and himself went in the direction of Konpah-Khushhal, situated at a distance of twelve krohs on the bank of the stream Sarju-Ganga, with a desire to amass the next world's fortune by a pilgrimage to the Divine Sri Ramji and to get spiritual light and inner vision. After staying for a couple of days in that fascinating place he returned to Purang, and sent ten soldiers in order to inspect the boundary common between Nepal and Purang. After their return they informed that on two stones were inscribed letters in Shastri script and Bhot script, and the same are considered as the mark of boundaries.

The Wazir arrived at Mantlao via Gardang and halted there for

of peace treaty between the Dogras and the Chinese in August 1842.

Cunningham conveyed day to day information to his government regarding the proceedings of Wazir Zorawar Singh & his Dogra army in Tibet, which is very valuable for reconstructing an account of Dogra warfare on the Tibetan Plateau.

17. Basti Ram : Colonel Basti Ram was one of Zorawar's Chief officers in the conquest of Ladak and the expedition to Tibet (K.M. Panikar, P. 168). His undaunted chivalry saved Dogras from complete annihilation in the expedition to Balti & led to the conquest of Iskardu in 1840. He was "a Hindu Rajput of Kashtwar. He was the governor of Takla-Kot near the source of the Sarju or Ghagra river, at the time of Zorawar Singh's defeat and death, when he made his escape to the British province of Almora. He speaks in high terms of the kindness shown to him by the British resident, Mr. Lushington." (Sir A. Cunningham: *Ladak*, p. 331n.) He was one of the few who survived the disaster in Tibet. He was then made commandant at Zanskar where he greatly distinguished himself. (K.M. Panikkar, p. 168). He was one of the early *Wazirs* of Ladakh. His *Wazirate* lasted from A.D. 1847 to 1861. A Cunningham met him in Ladakh, procably in 1847 and asked him to write an account of the Dogra war, to which he agreed. . . . His account of the Dogra war is of particular importance for the simple reason that it is the earliest ever written. (A. H, Francke : *Antiquities of Indian Tibet* Part II, p. 657.) Cunningham says: The following account of the Dogra invasion was kindly dictated at my request, by Mehta Basti Ram, a Hindu Rajput of Kashtwar, now governor of Le, who was one of the principal officers of the expedition. As an authentic record of an interesting event of which no other account exists to my knowledge (*Ladak* p. 332) In A.D. 1847 Cunningham did not know of the memorials and reports of Dogra expedition and Dogra-Tibetan war written in Chinese by Meng-Pao.

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seven days. From there he advanced as far as Kankri and Kailas and encamped there for three days with the purpose of raising an edifice of worship.

In the meantime the crooked Time played the backgammon of treachery and the jugglar sky planned a novel trick. The said Wazir heard during his stay there that Ghhakjot from Lhasa travelling all the way in a desire of meeting, was about to arrive. Therefore, halting at Mansar he waited for his [Chhakjot's] arrivad. But that crafty imposte: evidently publicising his intention of meeting, procceded to beseige Gurdang fort out of sheer wickedness. Consequently Itbara, thana-dar theraof, and a few others were killed: Cheru Kotwul escaped alive and narrated the facts to the Wazir. This enraged the Wazir and vexed him out of proportion. Counting on his utmost dare and chivalry with which his very being had been fermented, and casting aside precaution, he despatched Man Singh, Bhupa Kotwal and Mian Sangara towards Gurdang and sent his family which was at Purang to Ladakh.

(250) He himself led the attack courageously from the rear and landed in the battle-field. But according to the verse :

He could compete not the heaven,
Freezing wind & hardships of cold

which were the mightiest of enemies and beggar description. The forces of Winter crippled his soldiers, and in every hill and dale the cloud and snow dismayed all the warriors. The rain caused havoc all around and lightening struck terror. The cloud and snow had disabled most of the warriors. Snow and Chill, freezing wind and frost plundered the army of its courage and strength and reduced Zorawar's soldiers to destitution and desparation.

[*Two couplet omitted*]

To add to their suffering, the victuals had become scarce. Provisions had run down and fuel wood had been exhausted. They made fuel of butts of matchlocks for fire in desperatioa.[18]

18. Predicament of Dogras in Winter and Snow.

"The Indian soldiers of Zorawar Singh" writes Sir Alexander Cunningham who had a first hand experience of the ravages of winter in those lands—"fought under very great disadvantages. The battlefield was upwards of 15,000 feet above the sea and the time mid-winter, when even the day temperature never rises above the freezing point and the intense cold of the night can only be borne by people well covered with sheepskins and surrounded by fires. For several nights the Indian troops had been exposed to all the bitterness of the climate. Many had lost the use of their fingers and toes; and all were more or less frost-bitten.

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(*Three couplets omitted*)

In that condition an action was fought from dawn till dusk in the midst of Gurdang and Purang (251) and death-defying warriors gave a good account of their valour in spite of these unsurmountable hurdles. Several of them were killed.

(*Two couplets omitted*)

At last, the undaunted Wazir was affilicted with fatal wounds and laid down his life in harness.[19]

(*Two couplets and two lines omitted*)

The only fuel procurable was the Tibetan furze, which yields much more smoke than fire; and the more wreckless soldiers had actually burnt the stocks of their muskets to obtain a little temporary warmth. On the last fatal day not one half of the men could handle their arms". (*Ladak*, p. 354)

19. Zorawar Singh's death in the Battle of To-yo, and its date :

"On the 12th December (1841), Zorawar received a bullet in his right shoulder. He was, howerver, not ready to give in atonce, and seized his sword with his left hand. But the Tibetans knew very well that the Dogra leader was wounded. They made a desperate rush on the trenches, and a Tibetan horse man thrust his lance through Zorawar's breast. This put an end to his life and to the resistance of his army" (A.H. Francke: *A Hist of Western Tibet*, p. 163).

Sir Alexander Cunningham (*Ladak*, p. 352) also gives the date 12th Decemher for the battle of To-yo and Zorawar's, death there.

The authors of 'Himalayan Battleground' give December 14,1841 as the date of Zorawar Singh's death, which they have calculated 'from Meng Pao's "Hsi-Tsang Tsou-Shu", S.C. Bajpai also follows that date in his book "The Northern Frontier of India" (p. 44), Sapru (Maharaja Gulab Singh, p. 28, fn. 3) adopts the same date. J.D. Cunningham too concurs with this date in his intelligence reports to G.R. Clerk sent on 4 March 1842. But A. Cunningham (*Ladak*, p. 352); and A.H. Francke (*A Hist of Western Tibet*, p. 163) give 12th December as the date of this event. A Letter of G.T. Lushington, *Commissioner of Kumaon*, dated 13-12-1841 (*ORPS*, BK No. 54, Sr. No. 201) Communicates the intelligence of the defeat of Zorawar Singh by the Tibetan force. This first intelligence supports the date of December 12. See also Hashmatullah Khan who has the Bikrami date 27th. Maghar, 1898 (p. 389) corresponding to December 18, 1841.

Estimate of Zorawar Singh.

"For, Oriental though he was, we cannot help admiring a greatness in this man by which he by far surpassed his surroundings. In the beginning of his conquests he was extremely by cautious ; but this was essentially necessary, considering the naturally protected position of Western Tibet and his entire want of knowledge of the geographical conditions of the country. But as he had a keen eye for the defects of his enemy, and was a great strategist, all these difficulties were overcome . . . He proved himself a true soldier in the endurances of the extraordinary hardships, and in setting an example of personal courage; and if he had not met an early end on the battlefield, he might have impressed his name on the pages of the great history of the world". (A.H. Francke: *A Hist o f Western Tibet*, pp. 164-165).

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This happened in the month of Maghar in the year eighteen hundred ninety-eight (of Bikrami). Mehta Basti Ram, Qila-dar of Purang, realised that the enemy was ill-disposed, so he found an opportunity to escape for Jammu via Almorah.[20] The Qalon Raga Shah, Qalon Razchak and Chhakjot[21] decided to capture Ladak, and Mortanchin, Ahmed Shah Raja of Iskardu, and all the zamindars

20. Basti Ram's Escape to Almora :

Mehta Basti Ram was incharge of the new Dogra fort of Chi-Tang near Taklakot in the Pargana of Purang. The fort was isolated after the death of general Zorawar Singh and it was repeatedly attacked by the Tibetan soldiers who were secretly sent by night to bypass this fort. These soldiers were sent to various points to cut the Dogra supply lines, and all theDogra soldiers engaged in transporting supplies were killed. Then it snowed for nine days. The Dogras fell short of food, so they planned to escape to a place called Chiang Nor. But that day the Tibetans received fresh reinfore cements and a few big guns, so they besieged and assaulted Chi-t'ang fort. The Dogras resisted the attack to death and more than 300 of them were killed there. Chi-t'ang Fort was thus captured by the Tibetans. (Meng-Pao. Hsi-Tsang Tsou-shu).

Basti Ram had held the fort bravely for some weeks after Zorawar's death. J.D. Cunningham informed his government on 17 December 1841 that the chinese had dispossesed the invaders of an advanced post in the Pargana of Poorungz . . . the Sikhs (i.e., Dogras) however still occupy the fort (*ORPS ;* 113/9, letter No. 9 of 17-12-1841, *J.D. Cunningham* from Camp *Chooret*, to *G.R. Clerk*). Basti Ram and his 500 soldiers held out the fort for many days and even on 24 December the British Agent in Bashahr received the Intelligence regarding a victory gained by the Sikhs (Dogras) over the Chinese force which had advanced into the Poorungz pargana, though it sounded somewhat doubtful (*ORPS*, 113/11; letter No. 11 of 84-18-1841, *Ibid*).

The Chi-t'ang fort of Taklakot may have fallen to the Tibetans by the first week of January 1842, probably on 2nd or 3rd day of that month, and Basti Ram with 240 sepoys had escaped by 9th January into the British territory at Askot and had expressed his desire to come to Almora (*ORPS*, 55/3, dated 9-1-1842, J.H. Batten to T.C. Robertson). Basti Ram also wrote an 'arzi' sealed by his own seal, describing what had occurred to him and Zorawar Singh and the same was forwarded by Mr. Lushington on 16 January (*ORPS*, 55/17, dated 16-1-1842, from Mr. Lushington, Commissioner Kumaon) Later on Basti Ram and 127 of his followers were permitted to leave for Ludhiana in the month of July (and thance to Jammu), whereas forty men who were unable to move, were left at *Almora* (*Ibid*).

"Raja Dhian Singh estimates the number of his troops and followers who have been lost at little short of 10,000, about 1/3rd. by the hands of the enemy, the remainder by starvation and cold. He says that he also lost wast material in the deepsnows".

G.R. Clerk Esq., Agents, Gor. Genl., N.W.F.P. conveys to, the Agent, Almora, the thanks of the Sikh Darbar for the care and protection afforded to the refugees from their broken army in Lhasa.

(*ORPS*, 86/480, letter No. 184 of 9-4-1842 *G.R. Clerk* to *G.T. Lushington*).

21. Chhak-Jot. Bakshi—see note 25 below.

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from Ladakh to Dras made sedition their password and cooperated with them. Pehlwan Singh Kumedan, Munshi Guran-ditta, the Futteh Platoon under Tegh Singh Suba-dar, who had left Ladakh to reinforce Wazir, heard of this shocking report and retreated in the midst of the march and reached Ladakh. They sought to fortify the cantonment of that place (252) as it had no strong foundation.

They held ground for six months against the overwhelming enemy, till the coming of Spring.[22]

22. Ladakhi--Tibetan siege of Leh :

The disasterous end of the Dogra compaign against Central Tibet had a result similar to Napoleon's retreat from Mascow. The hope of the Ladakhis regaining their independence was once more revived. Amongst the prisoners taken by the Tibetans during their battle with Zorawar Singh had been Gon-po (Mgon-po), the steward of the powerful Hemis monastry near Leh. Zorawar Singh's death aroused in him ths hope of freeing Ladakh from Dogra rule. He sent a secret information to Ladakh that "The Wazir (Zorawar Singh) is death and the Tibetan army is reported in pursuit. Therefore Upper and Lower Ladakh should be made ready for war" (A. H. Francke : Antiquities of Indian Tibet, Pt. II-- Arch. Surv of India, Vol. 1 Calcutta, 1926 p. 135).

Elated by the capture of Chi-t'ang fort the Tibetans began conceiving bold projects of conquests. As early as the first week of February, 1842, it was rumoured that the Chinese would advance on Ladakh. An advance party of the Chinese had occupied Garo and a detachment of 300 men was on way to Rohluk by the north bank of the Indus. (ORPS. VIII, 113/7, pp. 53-58 letter No. 16, dated 2-2-1842, J. D. Cunningham to G. R Clerk.)

A detachment of 400 Chinese was on its way to Leh but when hearing that small-pox had broken out in that city, the party had halted at Mimamut about 8 marches east of Leh. Another Tibetan detachment from Garo was reported to be marching to occupy Spiti (*ORPS*, 113/28, pp. 69, Letter No. 20 of 1-4-1842, Cunningham to Clerk). During the month of May Tibetan troops speeded up their movements for the occupation of Ladakh, In the third week 800 men from Lhasa arrived at Garo and other troops were also expected to reach that place (*ORPS*, 113/28, p. 98-102, letter No 27 of 20-5-1842. Cunningham to Clerk).

In Ladakh, the revolt became wide-spread and preparation for the liberation of the land from the Dogra dominance were set up on large scale as a result of the call to arms of Acho Gombo or Gon-po. He used to go to Lhasa annually as ambassador (Lop Chhak and in that capacity was well acquainted with the people there. He continued with the chiefs of Lhasa armies, Pi-hsi to drive Dogra armies out of Ladakh and revive the rule of Gyalpo there. Immediately after the massage the Gon-po himself arrived in Ladakh, followed by about 3,000 Lhasa men from the Garo province under the Lhasa Chief, probably in the beginning of April 1842, i. e., in the month of the Chet or Baisakh of 1899 Bikrami (*Hashmat-ullah Khan*, 1937, p. 394-5 Gan-po-Tse-wang-Raftan was deputed to collect soldiers from Sham, i. e., the Lower Ladakh, The Gon-po of Hemis himself raised an army from the Upper Ladakh and arrived at Leh at the head of Lhasa forces. Meanwhile the army of sham also reached Leh (*Ibid*)

A detailed account of the Tibeto-Ladakhi war preparation and their struggle

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(Two lines omitted)

When : *Spicy gale blew all around,*
And winter packed up for hurried retreat.

The report of this incident reached the ears of his Lordship durlng his stay at Kot Bahar (Barikot) in Hazara in the beginning of the year eighteen hundred ninety-eight in the month of Phagun, when he had moved his standards from Kashmir towards Peshawar with a view to help General Pollock about which a reference has already been made above. Peculiar pangs of anguish afflicted his heart.[23]

over Leh with the Dogra's has been given in the "La-Dvags Ragyal-Rabs" which is as under ;

"When the Wazir was dead and no grass or wood arrived from the Upper and Lower Ladakh, he (the Wazir's Qarter master) said to the Kumidan (Commandant Pehlwan Singh) and Magna, The Thanadar. "I am not sure whether grass and wood will arrive ? It looks like a rebellion. I do not know what will happen ?" Then these two became reflactive also. They sent a petition to the Sarkar (Jammu), and asked for an army. In accordance with what [had been said (before) Mgon-po, the steward and the noblemen of Gsam (Sham—Lower Ladakh) held a consultation. During winter they equipped an army ; and in the spring they sent hosts from Upper and Lower Ladakh, Sbalti, Kha-pul, Ldumra (to Leh). A Tibetan Captain of the archers, 100 cavalry, and 500 infantry were posted at Lac-hbre. Then the Ladakhi army surrounded both the Ki-la and Cha-hon (probably chaugan), and threw entrenchments. Then they fought for 12 days without intermission. In the Ki-la (Qila-fort) there were 50 sinpas (singh'—Dogra people) under Magna, The Thanadar , in the Cha-hon there were 300 Pal-tan Si-pas (Platoon of 'Singh people) under a Kumidan. On the following day (the Tebetans) surrounded the Cha-hons. Sbalti (Balti) army was (encamped) round the gate of the same. Suddenly Mian-Ranu, together with 30 Si-pas swords in hand issued from the Ki-la, careless of life and death. At first they surprised the Sbalties ; and after they had killed several Sbalties the Sbalties fled. Then half the Pal-tans left the Cha-hons ; but the combat came to a stop, and all the Ladakhi soldier returned to their encampment. From that day for six days they fought night and day without intermission. At that time a letter arrived (at Leh with the news) that Dewan Hari Chand and Wazir Runu (Ratnu) have reached Kha-la-tse with a great army and several guns. At night all the Tibetan soldiers encamped around the Ki-la- assembled in the castle. On the next morning the King's minister the Tibetan Lhags-the-pin-stobes-rgyas, destroyed the bridge of big-tse and remained (there) for several days. The Dewan Sahib arrived at Slel (Leh) and pursued the fugitives. Within two days he annihilated every trace of the (Tibetan) entrenchments" (La-Dvags Royal-Rabr" in Anticit of Indian Tibet, pp. 135-136).

23. Gulab Singh's Anxiety over Ladakh:

The manner in which Gulab Singh learnt the news of the Tibetan disaster has been described by Alexander Gardner, Gulab Singh's artillery commander who was present at Peshawar with him. "The rising political", Lawrence had an

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(*One complet omitted*)

At once a *farman* was issued, in the name of (*Two lines omitted*) the intrepid Diwan Hari Chand, whose terror kept the enemy on tentor hooks. He was engaged in battle at Karplian on the bank of the Atak against Painda-Khan, Hakim of Darband, in order to recover the Amb fort. He was summoned to present himself in the exalted audience. The Purbia-Paltan in the service of Maharaja Sher Singh reached there and relieved him and the said Diwan presented himself before the Lordship at Barahkot, and got permission for expedition against Ladakh. The next day his Lordship departed for Peshawar. The said Diwan left Hasan Abdal with all the firm resolve and determination of which he possessed in abundance, and reached Haripur in the environs of Jammu in one march of a night and a day, a distance of about one hundred fifty krohs. Thence he accompanied Raja sahib Dhian Singh to Jammu, who was going there from Lahore

interview with Raja Gulab Singh on the issue of getting his cooperation in crossing the Khaiber Pass and advancing on Jalalabad and Kabul. After the interview they had a tete-a-tete. "Lawrence had got some valuable news from down country", writes Gardner, "and he was well aware that Gulab Singh's direct news from Kabul would be of the greatest interest to the British. He jocularly offered to swap news. Gulab Singh laughed and agreed. 'Give and take' said he; 'let it be fair barter: you tell the truth, and so will I' The bargain was struck, and Lawrence led off by telling Gulab Singh that his expedition to Thibet had utterly failed, and that his agent, Wazir Zorawar Singh, with 9000 soldiers, had been cut off nearly to a man. 'I also have some news, 'said Gulab Singh in his turn, and then told Lawrence the horrid truth that all was over with the British at Kabul . . . shocked at the mtelligence, (Lawrence) demanded proofs, when the two retired once more to a private conference, and Gulab Singh showed bim the letter he had received". (Hugh Pearse: Memoirs of Alexander Gardner, p. 244).

Gulab Singh was very much troubled at the news of Tibetan disaster, as "The Grand Lama, elated with his victory (over Zorawar), prepared to March into Ladak, and drive the Dogra power back over the snowp range, (H. Edwards: The Life of Henry Lawrence, 226). Gulabsingh's life ambition of creating a kingdom for himself was in grave danger "These evil tidings slowly made their way across the Himalaya by Almora to British India, and reached Rajah Goolab Singh at Peshawar in the middle of February. It was now his turn to tremble. He at once sent his Minister to Mackeson and Lawrence to beg "that the news might be made as little public as possible: as, if known in his camp at Peshawar, it would probably cause a disturbance among the many friends and relations of those who had perished". He felt that it might cost him the loss of all his possessions north of the Himalaya, and his thoughts were now "bent towards. Cashmere, there to collect a force with which, as soon as the season admits, to March on Ladak". (*Ibid*)

Raja Gulab Singh might have received the news of Dogra defeat on 15th or 16th February 1842, as Capt. H.M. Lawrence, Assistant Agent, Governor-General, at Peshawar, informs G.R. Clerk in a D.O. dated 16-2-1842, that "the

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with the object of muking arrangements for war equippment.[24] Five or Six days after he got leave of the Raja Sahib and encamped at Mirpur for about fifteen days occupied in setting the soldiery in order. The troops were all fully equipped.

(*Two couplets omitted*)

At the head of a force of six thousand soldiers he advanced from Mirpur via Uri. When they descended in the lovely region of Kashmir Shekh Ghulam Muhi-ud-Din Hushiarpuria who had been appointed

Raja is such disconcerted at the rews converyed in the 'arzi' transmitted to him regarding the fate of Zorawar Singh" (ORPS VIII, Bk. 41B/45) The 'arzi' referred to was the one written by Mehta Basti Ram at Almora. On this affair captain H.M. Lawrence "reports having had an interview with Jawala Sahai, the Diwan of Raja Gulab Singh, who communicated the contents of a letter from Basti Ram at Almora detailing the "suicide" of Zorawar Singh and the destruction of his army . . . States that Gulab Singh is much affected at the disaster,as it may perhaps cause him the loss of Ladakh; that he contemplates collecting a force in Kashmir to march on Ladakh as soon as the season permits: and appears anxious to ascertain the feelings of the British Government on the measure." . . . (ORPS, VIII, 41B/45 A of 17-2-1842, Lawrence to Clerk). Cept. Lawrence appears to think that Gulab Singh's object in sending an expedition to the Chinese Tartary was to make enquiries "with the ultimate view of establishing a hill sovereignty; that his dearest hopes are crushed: and the reverses his army has sustained, occupies the whole of his attention" (*Ibid*).

Gulab Singh showed his anxiety on the matter several times and asked General Pollock to permit him to go to Kashmir to see to his Ladakh concerns However the Britishers were badly in need of his presence at Peshawar Lawrence thought it would have a bad effect "If the commander in Chief of the Sikh army leaves us" (dated 13-4-1842). The Raja made satisfactory arrangements so that British interest in Peshhwar might not suffer in his absence and the British Officers at Peshawar were satisfied that his departure might not be injurious though Capt. Lawrance doubts not it would be "laid hold of by the Afghans as a sign in their favour."

At last by May British authorities were in a position to allow the Raja to leave Peshawar, and in a letter of 6-5-1842, G. R Clerk intimates T. H Maddoek "having consentad to Raja Gulab Singh leaving Peshawar to superintend measures of defence against the advance of Chinese on Ladakh. Mr. Clerk also arranged that before his departure the Raja should complete a system of the occupation of the Khaibar defile and make proper arrangement for the command of the Sikh troops" (*ORPS*. 153/90, No. 206, of 6-5-1842).

After due preparations for a bold contest with the Chinese invading forces in Ladakh and the Ladakhi and Balti rebles, Raja Gulab Singh reached Leh in the beginning of August 1842 informs of the Raja's presence in Leh, where he "is now building a fort in place of the weak redoubt from which the insurgents at the instigation of the Chinese expelled his small party of troops."

(*ORPS*, VIII, 154/36, letter No. 349 of 16-8-1842, *G. R Clerk to Maddock*)

24. "Raja Dhian Singh is making great exertions to check the advance of the Chinese towards Ladakh". (ORPS, VII, 152/50, Letter No. 127 of 31-3-1842, *G. R. Clerk to T.H. Maddock*).

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Nazim of that territory by the Lahore government, came out to welcome and left no stone unturned in carrying out orders and rendering services. For a period of fifteen days they stayed there. During these days five hundred warriors left for Ladakh everyday. Wazir Ratnu departed a day in advance of the Diwan. Ultimately, the Diwan himself moved towards Ladakh. (254) He made first halt at Gandar-Bal, second at Gagnah-gir, third at Gand Sar-sang, forth at Sonah-marg, the fifth under the Pir at the village Matain-Pandras-wala, the sixth on the top of the Pir at the village Mar. At that place icewind and glare of snow impaired the eyes of soldiers so that they were disabled from seeing; and when acting on the advice of experienced wayfarers, they treated the seeds of Raihan and Nabat-i-Shahi, their eye-sight was restored in no time.

On the seventh day a halt was made at Pandras, and the eighth day at Dras and Rod. Magna the *thana-dar* of that place received him. After a stay of two or three days there, they reached Thakah. At that place was received an application from Sucheta thana-dar of Kargal informing that the fort of Kargal had been invested by the wicked enemy who had raised two solid towers in the middle of the mountain in order to block the road, below which there was a river and above a mountain. On learning of this the Diwan *sahib* despatched an army of three thousand and a piece of cannon under the command of Ram Singh jama'dar via Kohi fort, and himself, accompanied by Wazir Ratnu, marched straight to a point opposite those two towers. Bahadur Khan Kargal-wala stood there at the head of a large army to give them a battle. Ram Singh *jama'dar* crossed over the peak of the mountain and reached on a point above those rebels. Cannon balls from his side started raining on his men. The troops of the Diwan *Sahib* also weilded on them muskets and '*zamburaks*' from the front, and Sucheta *thana-dar* too, coming out of the fort of Kargal where he had been beseiged, opened another front. A terrible conflict razed for six hours and the enemy also gave enough proof of intrepidity and valour and did not swerve from firmness and stability.

(*One couplet omitted*)

An order was issued that from the three sides all the contingents should attack with all the fury. The *Diwan* himself led the assault and killed a number of enemy. Two hundred enemies fell dead and the remainder, numbering some three thousand, not finding any way of escape, helplessly threw themselves into the sanguinary waves. Not a one of them reached the other bank in safety and all were swept by the current. The victors set fire to those two towers and crossed the river in triumph. Then they landed opposite Kargal fort. The victorious soldiers were donated rupees twenty per head and the wounded

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and the disabled were supplied with required victuals. Physiciams and surgeons were deputed for their treatment.

(One line and two couplets omitted)

The next day when the Sun ushered from behind the Eastern mountain—the glorious Wazir marched to the village Kanar and thence he reached the locality Chhanah-jung. Raja Muhammad Ali Khan Pashkumiah, who was in accord with *Bakhshi* Chhak jot, stood on the top of the mountain with a large crowd and was looking for an opportunity. So the soldiers who went out for reconnaissance of that country were attacked by them as they reached near that hill. This ill news reached the ears of the *Diwan*. At the head of a contingent of horsemen and two platoons he atonce advanced to suppress the enemy. His very approaah smote the hearts of those miscalculating hordes, and all at once they retreated and took to flight. But from among them Mian Raja Muhammad Ali Khan remained in the field with two hundred jawans, drew his sword and rushed forward and struck twice with his sword at a certain Kalu of horse regiment. of Brahman caste. But his luck did not favour him. The cavalier instantly cut him into two by his dagger.

(One line and one couplet omitted)

The horseman Kalu also brandished his sword of revenge and slew many. After gaining victory the *Diwan* returned to the camp, and honoured cavalier Kalu by conferring on him golden sweepings and promotion to the *jama'dari* of a platoon.

He then marched to Malbah, and thence to Maleru called Rang-Mahal. The next day he alighted at the head of a bridge named 'Khalshi' ("Kha-la-rtse" of the Ladakhis) on the bank of the Indus river. The enemy had gathered on the other bank of the river and pulled down the bridge. So order was given for the repair of the bridge. A strong and firm bridge was therefore constructed and the surging army crossed it over to Puskam. He halted there for one day. Because of the narrowness of the defile along the bank of the river he divided the army into two groups. One group under *Wazir* Ratnu took the road along the bank of the river for Bazgoh. He himself led the other division and (257) traversing the mountains reached at Pari-mas and thence at Baz-goh. He combined with *Wazir* Ratnu who encamped at Thasgam two miles away from Ladakh. On the way a commander of Bakshi Chhak jot's army was seen at the head of five or six thousand soldiers approaching with the intention of causing some mischief. But at the very sight of the victorious armies he fled precipitately without giving a battle. At this news Bakhshi

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Chhak[25] jot withdrew from the seige of the Ladakh cantonment, and showed his back. Pehlwan Singh *Kumedan*, Tegh Sing *subadar*, and *Bakhshi* Guranditta and their men in Ladakh cantonment ran after them and pursued them till the setting of the sun.

The next day the victorious *Diwan* marched off from Thasgam and set his couquering banners at Labrang near Ladakh cantonment. The troops of Pehlwan Singh *Kumedan* and *Bakhshi* Guran-ditta presented guard of honour and they were therefore favoured by a donation of five hundred rupees in cash. Out of genial affection and heartfelt sympathy, he courteously and politely enquired after the circumstances of each one of them. All the wounded soldiers received rupees twenty each. After a stay of six days there, he deputed one thousand valiant *jawans* under the command of *Mian* Jawahir Singh towards Janskar and five hundred soldiers under the leadership of *Mian* Naraina in the direction of Lubrah. The porters and labourers from Kashmir were paid off, rewarded and sent back, and Rakzan-u-Chhag-tobdan-Gonpah, the chief of the marzbans of Ladakh, was exalted.

In the meanwhile, *Bakhshi* Chhak-jot who had fled to the fortress of Rodak, gathered from the sons of the Raja of Ladakh news about the movement of the army but ignorant of the advance of troops towards Lubrah and Janskar, and mis-construing the returning of porters to Kashmir as scarcity of troops due to his error of judgement and vain thinking, (258) sent his younger brother Achhan-jot and Karan-Shah, brother of Qalon Raga-Shah with a contingent of a thousand soldiers in order to give battle. When they had crossed the Ana mountain and reached opposite Gonpah-Chamrah which is at a distance of ten krohs from Ladakh, the Rak zan-Gonpah submitted the facts before the *Diwan*; and the latter deputed one platoon under the command of Sardul Singh *Kumedan* and *Lala* Ramji-mall *Munshi* in order to drive them away. After a stiff fight the enemy was routed and took asylum in Gonpah-chamrah [26] When a petition from Sardul Singh *Kumedan* and Ramji-mall *Munshi* denoting this fact was received the *Diwan sahib*, leaving back one platoon for the defence of Ladakh cantonment, moved his banners at the head of his troops in order to scatter those malevolents.

He made the first stage in a garden at Chhachot which is five kroh

25. Bakhshi Chhak-Jot of Dogra Chronicles is, no doubt the Tibetan commander Pi-hsi or "Pishi, the head of the bowmen, who lived in grand style at the Leh palace". (A.H. Francke: A Hist. of Western Tibet, p. 166) and had come to Leh in aid of Ladakhis who had rebelled after Zorawar Singh's death and defeat. (Hashmatullah Khan, p. 394, Calls him Pishi Shata).

26. These skirmishes occurred probably in the first week of August, 1842.

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distant from Ladakh. The next day he invested the Gonpah Chamrah A cannon was fixed atop a hill and cannon-shells started raining on Gompah. Also the water of the stream was cut off which the enemy used to drink. When four days had passed in this condition, those thirsty people helplessly sued for peace. *Bakhshi* Nihal Singh, therefore, went inside Gompah in order to confirm and regulate the terms on which to give them quarters, and led the army out. The *Diwan* sent Achhan-jot and Karan-Shah along with all their companions to Ladakh under guard of *Wazir* Ratnu, and himself stayed there for four days in order to re-assure the '*ri'aya*' of that place which had fled their homes. After four days he left Sardul Singh *Kumedan* and Ramji-mall *Munshi* in charge of that place, and moved his camp in the direction of Ladakh. (259) He forwarded a report stating these events to his Lordship who was busy in the Peshawar affairs.[27] His Lordship issued to him an order to the effect that he should look to the comforts of prisoners of China; and that when his camp would move to the country of Kashmir, a fresh order will be issued which should be duly complied with.

While the matters stood there, those wrecks (*One line omitted*) on the ninth day during the night fell upon the sentinels and killed some of them with stones and brick-bats and wounded others and escaped. When this incident was reported to the *Diwan* he at once pursued them and over took them after two krohs.

(*Two lines and one couplet omitted*)

The pursuing army surrounded on all sides the hill on which the enemy had mounted. From enemy side stones and brick-bats were hurled down and from this side volleys of bullets carried death and devastation so that a hundred of them were killed, and the remaining four hundred persons were taken captive.

When the news of this incident was reported to his Lordship an order was issued that the captives should be despatched under guard and custody of a regiment of horse to his presence. Consequently those ill-fated ones (260) were sent under the custody of 200 active *jawans* to the presence of his Lordship. As a few of those treacherous ones had escaped through another path and had apprised *Bakhsi* Chhakjot, Raga Shah Qalon and Raz-chak Kharpon, on the situation, so *Bakhshi* Chhakjot and Raga-Shah and Raz-chak came forward at the head of six thousand soldiers and one cannon which they had wrested from Wazir Zorawar Singh, to give battle and offer resistance. In six days' time they established a cantonment at a distance

27. Peshawar affair—see note 23 above.

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of thirty miles from Ladakh. When this information was conveyed to the *Diwan* through the petition of Sardul Singh *Kamedan* and Ramji-mall *Munshi*, these latter were ordered that they, along with their troops, should scale mountain after mountain and reach the foot of that moutain and confront the enemy firmly. He left behind one hundred *jawans* for the defence of Ladakh fort, covered twenty-five miles in one day at the head of his army and appeared at the spot where Sardul Singh *Kamedan's* platoon stood facing the foe. The weapons of soldiery were yet covered by dust. and their helmets and coats-of mail besmeared with clay when watchguards of roads reported that enemy had resolvad on night-attack. The mighty army, therefore, kept prepared for a combat. When the night hung loosely the black-pavilion of darkness, and the moon, lhe watchman of night opened his watchful eye—(*Two couplets omitted*) the vindictive enemy came fully equipped for the night-attack and unmindful of the *Diwan's* army drew nearer. The moonlight had bleached the surface of earth silver white (261) so the army of the enemy was visible from a distance. An order was given for opening cannon fire. Consequently, an action raged for four hours. At last the enemy showed his back and fled. (*One line omitted*).

The *Diwan* hurried in hot pursuit of the fugitives so that the fugitives sought asylum in the newly founded cantonment, which the pursuers invested and stage was set for another contest. (*Three lines and two couplets omitted*). For eight days battle raged in a sultry manner. On the eighth day the battle innured warriors, prompted by dauntlessness made a charge some four watches before dawn. And the enemy from inside the fort directed '*Sanachahs*' of gun-powder ablaze like sparks, with the result that three hundred *jawans* and Majja Singh *Kumedan* were scorched to death, and a chaos and confusion appeared among the besiegers. But on account of encouragement from the *Diwan* they did not lose heart, and stuck to ther guns.

After four days had gone by like this (262) victory showed its face; and it happened like this (*Two lines omitted*). One morning the *Diwan*, came out as usual on round and inspection of the breast works. He spied out a stream from the source of whose current water entered the fort. A stone-wall was, therefore, raised which obstructed the flow of water into the stream. Three days after the raising of that wall the refractories were surrounded by water and their equipment started submerging in it.[28] Inevitably they sought

28. But Jigsmed Namgyal's reign was destined only to last six weeks. For soon the news arrived in Ladakh that a fresh Dogra army of 7000 men, under the command of Devan Hari Chand and Ratun, was advancing to Leh with cannons

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safety from that deluge in sub-mission. The liberal *Diwan* sent *Qazi*

and excellent equipment. Pishi and other Tibetans had not come to Leh to be killed there, and they decided on fleeing, taking along with them the boyking and his ministers. They fled in the clirection or the Upper Sind Valley, whilst Ladakh Matchlook-men returned to their own villages. . . . . .

The firgitive party had arrived meamwhile at Drangtse, near the Western end of the Panggong lake, and there they were formed by a Tibetan army of 3000 men under the command of Rajasha and Zurkang. At Drangtse, the Tibetans dug trenches and erected a fortified camp, This camp was situated in the lower part of a narrow valley, and the storming of it would mean a considerable loss to the Dogras. Therefore the latter decided to drive the Tibetans out of their strongholds by means of a flood. The Dogras dammed up the water in the valley in such a way that the Tibetan trenches were flooded and had to be deserted. Outside their fortifications the Tibetans were not equal to the well-armed Dogras. Most of them fled, and several were made prisoners, among them their general Ragaha. Ragasha was decapitated, for he was a wellcome subject to the Dogras to revenge the death of Zorawar on the Tibetans." (A.H. Francke : A Hist. of Western Tibet, 165-67).

According to Nepal's re presentative at Shana, 5000 additional Tibetan troops left Lhasa for Ladakh in June (Enclosures . . vol. 89, 1849; Nepal Political Diary, sept. 1, 1842). The Ladakhi minor accounts noted by A. Cunningham gives the number "about 3000 men" (Antiquities of Indian Tibet p. 269).

According to Tshe-Britan the Dogras canght Tibetans at Chu-sul' where the final battle was fought and the Tibetans were beaten and the Tibetan general was also siezed. They (Dogras) said, 'It is in reply to their having killed Wa-zir Zo-ra-war first ?' and severed his neck with a sword, (Arch. surv. of India, New Imp. Ser., vol. L., 1926, p. 854). The decisine battle of the Dogras and the Tibetans was fought at Chusul, the site of Indian air-field in Ladakh.

This Dogra-Tibetan battle of Chusul was about to be fought some days after 10th. August, when the British agent J.D. Cunningham reported "The information received from Leh upto the 10th August 1842 as follows : The whole of the Sikh (Dogra) force had left Leh and had encamped near the Chinese Army. Negotiations were in progress. Raja Gulab Singh was expected in Leh shortly. A Sikh force has crossed from Kishtwar into the Ladakh districts of Zunskur, the Raja of which place had fled to the Chinese Camp . . . The young Raja o, Ladakh has been removed by the Chinese to Tashigong on the Indus". (ORPSf VIII, 113/41 of 28-8-1842, Cunningham to Clerk).

"The commander of the Sikh force is said to have turned the course of the Attock and inundated the camp of the Chinese and Tibetans, who were forced to capitulate". (ORPS, VIII, 419/147 of 18-9-1842, Capt. F. Mackeson to G.R. Clerk).

On 18th August, 1842, J.D. Cunningham reports "the arrival of Raja Gulab Singh at Leh and of his having sent Vakils to the Chinese leaders. (ORPS, VIII, 113/39, of 18-8-1842 Cunningham to Clerk)

On 31st August the Lahore Darbar informed G.R. Clerk through Rai Kishan Chand, Vakil, of the engagements between the Lhasa and the Khalsa (Dogra) troops in which the former were defeated many being killed and taken prisoners. All the old boundaries of Ladakh are now re-possessed by the Sikhs. (ORPS, VIII, 155/185, dated 15-8-1842, sent to Br. Govt. on 31-8-1842).

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Nadar 'Ali and *wazir-mutsaddi* to pacify them. Through their good offices the officers of the Chinese army came disarmed and won favours. The arms of the beleaguered army were confiscated and they were allowed to escape. The arms and weapens which fell into enemy's hand in the war with *Wazir* Zorawar Singh, were recovered and Jwala Brahman who had been made prisoner by the vanquished was released. The wicked, like Mortanchin, Achah Gunpa and 'Ahmad Shah, Raja of Iskardu became captives. The edifice of the said cantonment was completely razed to the ground. Thus a great victory was bagged by the intrepid soldiery.[29]

The Diwan then retuned to Ladakh on account of physical indisposition leaving behind *Wazir* Ratnu to escort the (Chinese) officers. But those preverse people, emboldened at the going of the *Diwan* towards Ladakh, refused to accompany the said *Wazir*. Consequently, Raga-shah Qalon got killed in that struggle, (263) and *Bakshi* Chhak jot and Razjang Kharpon came to Ladakh.

29. Defeat of sino-Tibetan force in Ladakh:

By the beginning of August 1842 the British agents reported inactivity of Dogra and Chinese forces and the "probability of the Chinese avoiding an engagement with tfie Sikhs (Dogras) until the winter sets in" (ORPS. VIII, 113/38, dated 5-8-1842, Cunningham to Clerk). But it seems that the contest between the Dogra army of Wazir Ratnu and the Sino-Tibetan forces had commensed by that time. Probably by the close of the month of July reienforcements from Kulu and Spiti had arrived for which the Dogra Commander at Leh had been waiting for before resolving on a final struggle with the Tibetans. (ORPS, VIII, 113/38, of 5-8-1842, *Ibid*). By the end of June the rebellion in Zanskar and other parts of Ladakh had been abated and the punitive force under Diwan Hari Chand had arrived at Leh to reinforce the Dogra troops there which were holding out against overwhelming Tibetan and Ladakhi forces surrounding them. At the very approach of these forces the Ladakhi rebels lifted the siege, the yonng Raja of Ladakh fled towards Garo and the Tibetan troops with drew to a place four marches from Leh (ORAS, VIII, 113/30, of 22-5-1842 and 113/31 of 116/1842.

By the middle of August the final struggle bad taken place and the reports of engagements between the Lhasa and Dogra troops flashed from various quarters "in which the former were defeated many being killed and taken prisoners. All the old boundaries of Ladakh are now repossessed by the Sikhs (Dogra troops)". (ORPS, VIII 155/185, of 15-8-1842). The Chinese force retreated. Towards Tashigong after a contest of several days' duration with the Sikhs (Dogra troops) and the asserted treacherous seizure by the Sikhs of two persons of rank sent by the Chinese to treat with them (ORPS, VIII, 113/43, of 18-9-1842, Cunningham to Clerk and 113/44 of 24-9-1842, Cunningham to Clerk). The tidings of this event reached Peshawar by the middle of September where "The Sikhs have fired a salute in honour of the victory gained by the troops in Ladakh over the Lhasa and Tibet insurgents" (ORPS, VIII, 41A/147, of 18-9-1842, Capt. F. Mackeson to G.R. Clerk)

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Since all the information about the circumstances described above had already reached his Lordship, he had despatched from Kashmir four thousand soldiers. But as now complete victory had been won the Diwan forbade the Kashmir contingent from advancing further. He conveyed the cheerful tidings of the victory and success to his Lordship. When this happy tidings was received cannonfire was discharged and festivities unleashed. Bakhshi Achh-jot and Karan shah, after being exalted by the receipt of rich robes of honour from the Lordship were allowed to leave. Accordingly, 'khilats' of exaltation were bestowed on Bakhshi Chhak jot and Raj-jang-Kharpon. The Diwan, in compliance of the order corroborated and authenticated the Treaty[30] (which will presently follow) between the two high governments. When the settlement of that territory took shape, he left Wazir Ratnu there for some time, and himself and beat his retreat and at Kashmir he accompanied the Diwan (Jawala Sahai) to Jammu where he received the honour of attending on his Lordship. After sometime Wazir Ratnu also presented himself at the royal threshold.

30. The treaty took the form of an exchange of documents on September 17, 1842 (Fisher, Rose and Huttenback, *Himalayan Battleground*, p. 55.)

Cunningham reports having heard from his Munshi that the Lahore agent with him at Shalkur has received a letter from the Sikh Commandant in Ladakh to the effect that peace had been made with the Lhasa authorities on the 24th September 1842 and that the Wazir Zoorking and others had been released. (*ORPS*, VIII, 113/48, of 28-10-1842 *Cunningham to Clerk*).

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CHAPTER
41

Copy of Agreement on Ladakh

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(264) "On this auspicious occasion, the second day of the month Asuj in the year 1899—We the officers of Lhasa, viz., firstly Qalon Sukanwalah and, secondly, *Bakhshi* Sapjuh, commander of the forces of *Kha-qan-i-Chin*, on the one hand, and on behalf of Sri Maharaj-*sahib*, Raja-e-Rajgan, Raja *sahib bahadur* Raja Gulab Singhji, two officers, firstly, Sahib-i-Mukhtar-al-Daulah Diwan Hari Chand, and secondly *Wazarat-panah Wazir* Ratnu, on the other—held in mutual concord assembly of reconciliation, agreement and treaty, and after swearing on the friendship and amity and sincerity of the parties and swearing repeatedly upon *Qonhaq sahib*, it was thus agreed upon that the bonds of peace and treaty and unity between Sri Maharaj *sahib bahadur* Raja Gulab Singhji and Khaqau-i-Chin and Lama Guru *sahib* Lhasa wala on dint of clearness of heart, will, remain firm and coherent from this day till eternity. Upon *Qon-haq sahib* by all manner of means, no deviation, disregard and error will ever occur; and as regards the boundary of the country of Ladakh including suburbs, fixed of ancient days, we will at all have no concern and nothing to do. We will export *showl-pashm* and tea according to old tradition by way of Ladakh yearly; and if any one of *Sri* Raja-*sahib bahadur's* enemies comes to our quarters and territorries, we will not entertain the word of the said enemies, and will give no shelter in our country to the aforesaid men; and whatever traders of Ladakh will come to our territories shall meet no hinderance; and whatever we stipulate in writing on the face of the contract about

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solidarity and friendship, unity and fixation of the frontiers of (265) Ladakh territory and the keeping open of the road for the traffic in *shawl-pushm* and tea, will not in the least be infringed by us. To this agreement and vow, *Qonhaq-sahib*, *Gatri* and *Pissi* and *zoh-mian* and *Khashal-Chah* stand witness.

The treaty written on the second day of Assuj of the year 1899."

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CHAPTER
42

Intrigues against Dogra Chiefs

Although Maharaja Sher Singh, as narrated above, had ascended the throne with the assistance and aid of Raja *sahib* Dhian Singh, yet in a short time, due to crowds of sycophants, and his own impatience he exhibited breach of promises and flaws of external connections, and became source of a number of unbecoming acts. He offended *Jama'dar* Khushal Singh on a trifling issue. Of the Sindhanwalia *Sardars*, *Sardar* 'Atar Singh and Ajit Singh crossed the river (Sutlej) in consternation, out of the fear that they had sided with Bibi *sahiba* Chand Kaur and sought refuge in the dominion of the glorious Sahib (British Government). *Sardar* Lehna Singh Sandhanwalia, who did not find any way of escape was made prisoner. He also subjected Bibi-*sahiba* Chand Kaur to various hardships and tortures through a tempted maid-servant. During a boating-trip he even ordered boats men to capsize the boat in deep waters so that the Raja *sahib*, *Jama'dar* Khushal Singh and other *Sardars* were washed away by the current. When boatsmen subverted the boat in a tumultuous whirlpool, all except *Sardar* Amar Singh Ahluwalia reached the shore in safety by some divine feat. Raja *sahib* Dhian Singh who knew the art of swimming, saved Raja Hira Singh from that gulf, whereas *Jama'dar* Khushal Singh *sahib* saved his own life ducking and dipping.[1] (266) In short, the said Maharaja outwardly polished the

1. Boat Incident—Mr. Clerk wrote to Maddock on March 29, 1841, and gave "the particulars of an accident which happened to the Maharaja and his Ministers on the Ravi, resulting in the drowning of Sardar Amar Singh Ahlu-

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late Lordship and the said Raja *sahib* with hypocrisy and praise, but inwardly waited for an opportunity.[2] It is said that Ventura *Sahib* and *Sardar* Lehna Singh Majithia, who were the confidential companions of the said Maharaja, submitted that unless all the three brothers were caught together at one place, it would be inconsistent with caution and success to lay hand on a single of them. So when the said Lordship, after the completion of Ladakh expeditions left the enchanting valley of Kashmir and came to Jammu, a series of letters of Maharaja Sher Singh toward him were issued. Although the Lordship knew his intentions, yet consigning himself to his faith in God, he left Jammu. Maharaja Sher Singh left Lahore for Kangra with some crooked motive and vicious thought. He reached the Jwalamukhi. When his Lordship arrived there Maharaja Sher Singh in sheer fraud,received him amicably with all the flattery and kept him in his attendance. As Raja Dhian Singh had the knowledge of this fraud and treachery, he found it expedient to leave Raja Suchet Singh at Lahore and dismissed Raja Hira Singh for Jasrota, who had accompanied him to the neighbourhood of Dinanagar. No doubt, Maharaja Sher Singh had cherished improper designs at heart. He wanted to take them all into the Kangra Fort and to do away with them. But the Lordship did not accompany him that day. Consequently they did not deem it advisable to murder Raja Dhian Singh *sahib* alone. It is said that Sardar Lehna Singh restrained him from this evil intention on the ground that Maharaja *sahib* Gulab Singh

walia." *(ORPS*, VII, 151/142, letter No. 53/29 III, dated 29,1841, *Clerk to Maddock.)*

2. Intrigues to murder Dogra Rajas—Sohan Lal has given some account of Sher Singh's intrigues to murder Dhian Singh :

"The Maharaja (Sher Singh) held a private conference with Sardar Ajit Singh and Sardar Lehna Singh and said to them .... that he knew no remedy as to what he should do because all the affairs of Kingdom and Kingship .... were in the hands of Raja *Sahib* (Dhian Singh) and he did not like that thing at all, and further added that they must bring about his destruction and annihilation with their suitable plans and proper consultations with the other responsible chieftains and so on. They said that only the order of the Maharaja was wanted for they were his servants ... The Maharaja went into the fort and a conference took place proposing that Raja *ji* (Dhian Singh) be invited into the fort and the other religious minded servants of the Maharaja would give him punishment there .... and would bring utter destruction and annihilation of his foundation.

A special *Khidmatgar* .... was present at that time. He at once informed Raja *ji* of all the aforesaid circumstances .... and just in the meantime Bhayyias of the *Sarkar* came in and said that the Maharaja invited him. Raja *ji* said that as he was suffering from severe headache at that time it was impossible for him to go immediately."

(Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Eng. Tr. V.S. Suri, pp. 247—48).

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and Raja Suchet Singh were at the *derah* and in Lahore respectively, (267) and if the design against Raja Dhian Singh was carried out a great disturbance was likely to explode, and Raja Suchet Singh at Lahore would avenge his brother by harming Kanwar Pratap Singh. Now during his stay at Rehlu, on pretext of hunting he secretly ordered his marksmen that they should shoot bullets at the Lordship and Raja Dhian Singh from behind and thus do away with them. When this vixen fraud was reported to the said Lordship and Raja Dhian Singh *sahib* to whose favours were obliged one and all, they seated their riflemen behind them, and after a while they got up and retired on pretext of attending to the call of nature.

At last, one night he made them to stay opposite his own tent and had planned that according to the maxim "sleep is the brother of death", they should be murdered when asleep. But fortunate as they were they get wind of this as well, and sent for a section of their musketmen from the *'derah'*, put them on guard around their tent. Raja Dhian Singh *sahib*, using as a plea for keeping awake a jackal which had been wounded in a hunt, remained occupied the whole night in nursing her. And strange of all, he (Sher Singh) had swore at the shrine of Jawalamukhi that he entertained so much goodwill towards him and his brother that *Shri Bhagawati* would bless him for it one day. When this deception and chicanery was unveiled by abundant vigilence, *Sardar* Lehna Singh Majithia who was of virtuous disposition and fore-thought and had cordiality towards his Lordship's family, surmised lest he should be mads off his guard by amiable talk. He prepared some goblets full of iced milk mixing saltpetre instead of sugar in it, and sent them to the said Lord under the custody of his personal trustee Baba Mian Singh. When he ate one or two of them (268) they did not taste sweet. So he turned to the escrot and said, "What a flat joke is it". The aforesaid person replied that this gobblet represented the times. The Lordship therefore, asked him to tell the Sardar *sahib* that he had got to the allegerical meaning. A day after this the said Lord, got permission to leave, and returned to Jammu in order to fix up the marriage of the splendour of the brow of the dawn of fortune and glory (*One line of superlatives omitted*) the lamp-bearer of the household of grandeur and eminence—Maharaja Ranbir Singh *sahib* (*One line omitted*).

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CHAPTER
43

An account of the Marriage[1]

When the bridge-groom of firmament had taken his seat on the throne '*hamal*' (Aries, or first sign of the Zodiac) in lively excellence and splendour, the bride of spring bedecked herself with floral garlands around her neck and adorned her curls; and the melodious chanters resonated the pleasure house of symphony with exquisite warbles, and the amorous nightingales sang in all directions. The tenet of rapture equipped itself afresh and the universal bride-dresser renovated the tradition of merriment for the festivity of mirth—On such occasion loyal servants collected all requisites according to the royal order for the celebrations, and made arrangements for a convivial party as desired. The experts decorated the blithesome assembly in a highly florid style. (269) In other words it was decided to celebrate the marriage of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, *sahib bahadur*—"Who was the life—soul of convivial parties",

1. *Marriage of Mian (afterwards Maharaja) Ranbir Singh.* Mian Ranbir Singh, the third and the only surviving son of Maharaja Gulab Singh, was born in uly 1830 at the Ramgarh fort in *Tehsil* Samba (Jammu Province). Mian Ranbir Singh's first marriage was consummated in June 1843 with the daughter of Raja Bije Singh of Siba in Kangra. In 1848 he was married for the second time with the sister of Raja Hira Chand, ruler of Kahlur (Bilaspur). Later on he married three girls from the tribes of Balawaria, Bandral and Charak. Maharaja Gulab Singh seated him on the throne of Jammu and Kashmir State in his own life-time, in February, 1856.

The account given in this section is that of the first marriage of the Mian.

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who had been betrothed to the handsome daughter of the chaste house of Mian Bije Singh Siba. So parties and dinners were arranged everywhere. (*One line omitted*) The rhythm of steps and the sequence of clap out-did the 'celestial dancer' (i.e., Venus), and the atmosphere of this worn out world became brimful with the chant of delicious melodies.

The air impregnated with sweet melodies,
The musician provides wings to the word
Tongues are tasting the wine of song,
Bosoms dance to the tune of claps.

Raja Dhian Singh left Maharaja Sher Singh & proceeded to participate in the marriage celebrations, and according to the hemistich--"How fortunate it is to kill two birds with one stone". The ecstasy of nuptial function and mirth became doubled. In that orgy of festivities the marriage party left for Siba in great pomp and splendour. By the perfume of the Almighty's blessings, in a delightful night which was wedded to glee like youthful days and rejoicing like the night of union, the countenance of desire enkindled and the wealth of lasting happiness was treasured. In other words, the people of the world were gleefully intoxicated by dance of mirth and all creatures clapped their hands in excess of joy. (*One line omitted*)

In fine, after holding imperial assemblies continuously for some days and organising festivals, and after the expiration of the fixed days of marriage, they turned towards Jammu. As soon as the marriage party entered the citadel of Jammu, the shouts of felicitations were raised by all high and low and a noise of congratulations echoed all around.

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CHAPTER
44

Developments at Lahore Darbar

(270) When they had indulged for some time in the celebrations to their hearts' content, Nikka Singh, a '*mukhlis*' of Raja Dhian Singh, who had won favour with Maharaja Sher Singh also, arrived at Jammu to summon the said Raja *sahib*. His Lordship spoke to the late Raja Dhian Singh that in his going to Lahore nothing else but mischief would strive. That traveller of the eternal world had replied, "How long I could stay at Jammu ?" Thus he left for Lahore. On his arrival there the said Maharaja subjected him to a variety of flatteries and favours, but he had beforehand sent for Ajit Singh and Lehna Singh Sindhanwalia, and conciliating them by showering great favours, had ordered them to keep the army in control, and had in seclusion ordered them to murder the Raja *Sahib* (Dhian Singh). Ajit Singh, who was in confidence with Raja Hira Singh, secretly conveyed this information to the said Raja, and also showed his preparedness, if so backoned, to take the life[1] of the fox-natured King who

1. *The Sandhanwalia coup ;*
Sadhanwalia Chiefs Atar Singh and Lehna Singh and their nephews Ajit Singh and Ranjodh Singh, were the collaterals of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. They were among the most powerful Sikh Sardars. They belonged to the Sansi Jat class. Sardar Amir Singh an uncle of Ranjit Singh was the first Sandhanwalia chief to rise to importance in the service of the Maharaja. His 'son Budh Singh, Atar Singh, Lehna Singh and Wasawa Singh rendered great services to the State. Their total income from *jagirs* granted to the family by Ranjit Singh was estimated at a million of rupees per annum. They were opposed to the succession of Maharaja Sher Singh and also to the Jammu Rajas who were at the helm of affairs. (*Rousa-e-Punjab, II, Amritsar Gazeteer*,—1892-3,60; *A Glossary of Castes*

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harboured the crooked intention of antagonising all the nobles of the State. But instead of (271) answering in 'yes' or 'no' he kept silence.

It so happened that, unmindful of the tricks of the time and ill-will of the wicked chiefs, Lehna Singh and Ajit Singh Sindhanwalia were ordered for special parade of their troops at Shah Bilaval. (*One line omitted*) When in the morning the marble-player of the chess-board of unkindness clad in red and yellow tunic of double-dealing appeared on the elephant of horizon and in a depraved manner, which is his ancient practice, tied tight the girdle of firmness, and the '*rukh*' Time suddenly became inclined to checkmate both the '*Shah*' and the '*Wazir*' by death, the Sindhanwalia *Sardars* rode from their encampment at full speed, and arrived to defraud the backgrammons, the Maharaja of elevated glory, who had come to the chessboard-like enclosure of death being pursued by the footman 'Death'. Ajit Singh arrayed his platoons and presented himself beforeMaharajaSher Singh and Lehna Singh after cautioning his troops went to the *Jama'dar's* garden where *Kanwar* Partab Singh was distributing alms and charities. Ajit Singh aimed his double-barrlled gun towards the Maharaja on pretext of handing it over to him for inspection. As soon as he caught it the bullets discharged and shot the lion-hearted king to death. Nikk Singh and Budah Singh were also killed. (272) *Eight couplets omitted.*

When Lehna Singh heard this loud snap, he severed the head of *Kanwar* Partab Singh and started towards the fort. As chance would have it, Raja *Sahib* Dhian Singh had come out of his *Haveli* riding his '*bhaggi*'. Ignorant of this happening he came face to face with these wretched plotters near the '*Saman*'. He was preplexed at these events. Ajit Singh explained that they had done what was proper to

and Tribes, iii, 379, G.R. Chopra, *Panjab As Sovereign State*, p. 162-3.

After the accession of Sher Singh to the throne of Lahore on January 20, 1842, the Sandhanwalia Chiefs took shelter in British territory. But the British Agent at Ludhiana, Mr. Clerk brought about a reconciliation between these chiefs and the new Maharaja. They were allowed to come back and occupy their *Jagirs*. Ajit Singh and Lehna Singh took their accustomed places at the Darbar (*Um-dat-ut-Tawarikh, Dafter* IV, *Pt.* II, p. 39.) But the malice of the reconciled chiefs had not, however, disappeared. They hatched a plot to kill both the Maharaja and his Minister, Dhian Singh Dogra, and usurp the throne. They prepared an order on the Maharaja's part to put the Minister to death, and obtained his signatures to it while he was drunk. Then, by showing this order to Dhian Singh, they roused him to fury and obtained his signatures to a similar order from him for Sher Singh's murder. "Thus by the cunning of the Scindinwalias', the Maharajah and his Minister were made the unconscious murderers of each other." W. L. M'Gregor : *The History of the Sikhs, Vol.* II, pp. 13-15)

The Sandhanwalias were dexterous enough to carry out the orders of the both on the same day, inviting theryby their own destruction as well.

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be done, and that now it was desirable for him to accompany them inside the fort for the rectitude and well-being of the State. He had only three or four attendants with him. So the Raja *Sahib* had willy-nilly to enter fort. As they reached *Deodhi*-Kharpavlian, the Raja *Sahib* was stabbed from behind. Lehna Singh came from behind and imprecated Ajit Singh and suggested it proper to cover the corpse of the Raja *Sahib* with a '*do-shalah*', send it to his '*haveli*' and be ready for a battle since the situation had grown out of their control. They acted like-wise. On learning of these transactions world turned dark in the eyes of the people and they were afflicted with consternation and despair. (*One line omitted.*)

When Raja Suchet Singh, who was in his '*haveli*', learnt of the murder of Maharaja Sher Singh, he became thoughtful, as nothing had by then been heard of Raja *Sahib* Dhian Singh. (273) At that very moment (*Raja Dhian Singh's*) riding horse reached the stables which bowildered him the more. He, therefore, sent Ishri Singh Sohad to the fort in order to investigate the truth. The latter went into the Fort on some pretext and getting wind of the secrets, apprised the Raja *sahib* of this affair. Hardly a watch had passed when *Sardar* Lehna Singh sent the deadbody of the Raja *sahib* to his '*haveli*'. At once Raja *sahib* Suchet Singh sent a word about this affair to Raja Hira Singh who was then at Shah Bilaval. He also wrote to Rao Kesari Singh to inform the army about the murder of Maharaja Sher Singh and the Raja *sahib*, and to inspire them to be ready for a war of revenge. He himself engaged with all his might in collecting war-materials.

On the other side Raja Hira Singh and Rao Kesari Singh collected their troops and set seige to the Fort at midnight. Although Sindhanwalia *Sardars* sent tempting messages to the soldiery, yet nobody paid any heed to these, for everyone of them was attached to the benevolence and virtues of the late Raja *sahib*. Consequently gun-and masket-fire was opened on both sides. At sun rise Raja Suchet Singh (*One line omitted*) personally went near the Fort,and gave orders to launch the attack. The undaunted soldiers came together, made a venturesome onslaught and ascended the ramparts. The garrison was badly cornered and cut to pieces. At last they made a bold bid and stormed the Fort and meted out those shedders of blood the punishment for their actions and the reward for their doings. They say that Ajit Singh (274) cowardly took to heels but was killed. Lehna Singh, however, fell down dead fighting bravely. (*Four lines & one couplet omitted.*)

The Fort had not yet been forced open when the vault of chastity Rani *sahiba* Pathani, unable to withstand the pangs of intense grief burnt herself moth-like on the deadbody of the late Maharaja and became a '*sati*'. (*One line & two couples omitted*)

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(275) It has reached my ears through conveyers of news and story-tellers that the Rani *sahiba* had uttered at the time of performing '*sati*' that it would have been nice if she had seen them with her own eyes avenging on those doomed wretches; and that Raja Suchet Singh is reported to have said that if the performance of '*sati*' was delayed a little, he might bring it to pass. But Pandit Jalla did not consent.

To be brief, that precious gem, (*Raja Dhian Singh*) was born on the eleventh of the month of Bhadron in the Samvat 1853.[2] After forty-seven years and twenty-six days the atrocious 'Death' rent his robe of life and clad him in the shroud.

Now the Rajas (*Suchet Singh and Hira Singh*) who were unanimous with each other occupied themselves, after avenging themselves on their enemies, in the management and control of the government. They installed Maharaja Dalip Singh to throne of royalty and Raja *Sahib* Hira Singh got exalted to the office of *Wazarat* in place of his father, on the merit of being the great son of the Grand Minister and being called ' the very special son" by the *Sarkar* (Ranjit Singh).[3]

But sometime afterwards difference crept up between uncle and the nephew. Of course, previous to this also, they had conflicting claims on the Jasrota territory, formed out with profit to Raja Suchet Singh and (Later on) conferred on Raja Hira Singh as *jagir*. But Raja *Sahib* Dhian Singh always sought by wise counsel to reconcile and pacify the praties, and restrained them from a situation which had always destroyed the foundations of unity. So in his life time the **(276)** semblance of concord was somehow maintained. When his august personality was removed, the old jealousy and enmity appeared with increased intensity and even verged on bloodshed. The reason was that Raja Hira Singh had permitted Pandit Jalla, who was the head of the tribe of the stupid and had proved himself worthy of the name, to meddle in various political and revenue affairs. That rascal usurped all the machinery of government to himself and became chief '*amir*'. Raja Suchet Singh desired promotion of Rae Kesari Singh to a *jagir* and '*mansab*' (office)which he(Pt. Jalla)did not approve of. Bhai Gurmukh Singh and *Misar* Beli Ram, accomplices of *Sardar* Ajit Singh in the

2. Corresponding ta about 22 August, 1796 A.D.

3. *Hira Siugh, Raja, "farzoud-i-Khas-ul Khas"*.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh had loved Hira Singh like a son from his birth. He bestowed on him the title of 'raja' in 1828, proclaimed him as a son and exalted him with the little of *Farzaud-e-Khas* (special son) by a special *farmon* of April, 1836. By another *farman* issued in October 1837, Ranjit Singh proclaims, ".....the title of the exalted *Farzand-e-Khas* (best beloved son) the proprietory rights over Jasrota, & the right of a seat in chair in the eourt of the *Sarkar* & his glorious princes, are conferred on the dutiful dignitary Raja Hira Singh". (Punjab State Archives, Patiala).

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murder of Raja Dhian Singh, too had been subjected to torture and punishment by Pandit Jalla who later on got them murdered. Raja Suchet Singh did not like this act, for they had agreed to pay heavy fines. Strange of all, Raja Suchet Singh accommodated very near to him the adherents of *Sardar* Lehna Singh inspite of all this evil and enmity they had cherished. This annoyed Raja Hira Sihgh.

His Lordship, therefore, left Jammu for Lahore in order to enquire into this affair. When he arrived at Shahdarah, Raja Hira Singh, Raja Suchet Singh, and other eminent chiefs came forward to welcome him and win his favours. When he arrived in Lahore he engaged himself in administrative occupations and government business and considered it proper to take away[4] Raja Suchet Singh from there. He did not prolong his stay there for the reason that short-sighted people

4. *Raja Suchet Singh and his rivalry towards Raja Hira Singh* :

Suchet Singh was the youngest and handsomest of the three Dogra brothers. He was born on the 8th Magh, 1858 Bikrami (1801 A.D.) and was killed on 17th Chait, 1901 Bikram, (*Gulabnama* 285) corresponding to March 27, 1844-159/43, *Richmond to currie*, March 29, 1844, P.G.R. He was one of the most polished courtiers of Lahore. He was a bold and gallant young man, and perfect soldier in appearance. He was made 'Raja' of Bandralta and Samba in 1822 (*ibid*, 163). He had the command of a large force of *Ghoredaras*. Ranjit Singg was very much impressed by his handsome looks and soldierly bearing. In political and administrative matters he was far inferior to his brothers. Ranjit Singh seldom employed him on active duty and his services were employed in the most congenial atmosphere of the court. (Osborne, *Court and Camp*, 66, Gough and Innes, *Sikh Wars*, 56 ; G.C. Smyth, *Reigning Family*, 98-9, 101, 110-1 ; Hugel, *Travels*, 301 ; *Undat-ul-Twarikh*, IV, iii, 45,48,53; Steinbach, 37,38; Lawrence i, 173-4).

Suchet Singh, however, aspired for Prime Ministership of Lahore, as he was very popular with the Khalsah army, "and unbounded ambition he shared in common with his brothers & nephews". Some differences had already crept up between him and his nephew Hira Singh. "Vain, coeceited and proud, he thought himself treated with less consideration by Hira Singh than he was entitled to claim, and had always cherished on that account, a dislike of him" (Anon, *History of the Punjab*, II, 290). There existed accute differences between Suchet Singh & Hira Singh's adviser, Pt. Jalla also. The latter left no stone unturned to widen the gulf between the uncle and the nephew. (Hugh Pearse *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*, 253-4). Suchet Singh instigated Fateh Khan Tiwana (Ganhiya Lal, Tarikh-i-Punjab 399) as well as *Sardar* Jawahir Singh. He was suspected of complicity in Kashmira Singh's insurrection (159/41, 23 March, 1844-PGRO). It was believed that the tsoops at Lahore were mutinying against Hira Singh at his instigation, and that to a certain extent he was reposible for the release of Jawahir Singh" (Cunningham's *Hist. of the Sikhs*, 275). On intervention of Gulab Singh Hira Singh tried to patch up with Suchet Singh but Jalla stood in the way. Suchet Singh also showed willingness to join the Sikh chief in opposition to Hira Singh and Jalla. He openly declared that "he would never rest until he had brought Raja Hira Singh and Misser Jalla to account" (*Abstract of Intelligence from Punjab, Lahore*, 11th to 13th Feb. 1844. NAI, New Delhi).

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were likely to hold the baseless idea that he had not relished the prosperity of his nephew whose father (277) was possessed of praise-worthy virtues and had always acted politely and submissively, and had taken to himself the State affairs. When he had decided to leave, all the far-sighted and comprehending wise men submitted that shouldering of the burdensome responsibility of running the government seemed impossible for Raja Hira Singh, who, on account of tender years was wanting in experience of the ripe wisdom of advanced age. If the most brilliant Lordship presonally handled manoverning of political and revenue affairs, verily the affairs of State would become settled. Especially, the sagacious and the most skilled, *Faqir* 'Aziz'-ud-Din who was well equipped with theoretical and practical virtues and was blessed with qualities of head and heart, more than all stressed the point that if the Lordship, taking Raja Hira Singh to his filial love, set his hand to the administration of political and revenue matters, the affairs of the State would certainly be disciplined and regularised. In the same manner *Sardar* Lehna Singh Majithia who had got precedence over all the peers and contemporaries in gifted wisdom, also expressed that better he remained at Lahore even if all of them had to be sent in exile. But inspite of all this he left for Jammu, and made Raja Suchet Singh also accompany him and did his best to gratify and appease him.

The continuity of family discipline depends on the existence of a son, and as Raja Suchet Singh had none, therefore he longed, to have a one. Consequently, the said Lordship, out of intense fraternal love and affection had (278) deputed to his '*frazandi*' his own son Ranbir Singh (*Two line omitted*).

Raja Hira Singh so tightened his grip on the government of Lahore that Prince Dalip Singh was left with no power in administration. The head of the tribe of idiots, *Pandit* Jalla, who had estranged high and low by his narrow-mindedness, dissoluteness, crooked nature, impatience, evil, vanity and confounded understanding, became counsellor in matters of State; and that wicked-natured undermined the foundations of the steadfast kingdom on account of his low morals and evil qualities. So the far-sighted ones thought it just to dissociate themselves from the mischief before any dilemma raised its head. Consequently, the truth-loving and wise *Faqir* 'Aziz-ud-Din' purposely connived to ignore such unworthy activities on the pretension of impaired sight and avoided to associate and mix up with people. *Sardar* Lehna Singh, scorning even at *mansab* and *sardari* (office and chiefship) and presaging a misrule, left for Banaras.

In those day the late Lordship had, out of the far-sight and practical wisdom, stationed at Shahdarah some troops under the command of Diwan Hari Chand *sahib* so that these could be useful to Raja Hira

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Singh in the time of need. As Pashaora Singh harboured wicked designs in his mind, so he had strenghthened Sailkot Fort and raised revolt. He also put to death Matab Singh Kalal who had been sent by the Lordship. To avenge this affair his Lordship moved his troops towards Sailkot, resolved on its conquest. *Diwan* Hira Chand, adept in conquering strong fortfications and castles, left Shahdarah for Sialkot at the head of his troops, set up shelters and prepared breast work in a day and entered Sialkot city which had been besiged for two months and which Pashaora Singh had bravely and heroically defended by intermittent sallies. He subjected the ramparts of the Fort to a close connonade. At last, Pashaora Singh abandoned the Fort and escaped. The Fort was occupied by his Lordship's officers.

(*One line omitted*) Raja Suchet Singh had personally been carrying on correspondence with the officers of the Khalsa army. *Diwan* Jawahir Datt had been deputed at Lahore to carry on this affair on behalf of the Raja *sahib*. Soon messages commenced pouring secretly from the army officers summoning the Raja *sahib*. He consulted his confidential advisers including Rae Kesari Singh and others, and left for Lahore wihout proper care and caution. Although his Lordship gave him a bit of advice and sermons but to no use. Due to obstiancy and misunderstanding, things took such a turn that Narsing-Das Raina chose the path of opposition and disaffection because of the false fear that his Lordship had wanted to imprison him. How silly ideas and anxieties they fondled. (280) These men, under the spell of elusive hope, prevailed upon Raja Suchet Singh to leave for Lahore.

His Lordship advised Raja Suchet Singh against going to Lahore. As this made no appeal to his heart so his Lordship removed his own blessed turban from his head and placed it before him importunating him never to act on his wrong decision, but to no avail. At last, he left for Lahore without his premission on pretext of hunting. It is said that Jawahir Mall had written from Lahore that he should carry himself to Lahore along with his family. That imprudent chief forgetful of his end, laid trap for sedetion and cherished the vain ambition of kingdom in his brain.

When Raja Suchet Singh set his foot in the stirrup, he bowed his high head and had sought prediction of his desire from a recluse named Sain Alif Shah, the leader of eminent '*walis*' (*two lines omitted*). Miraculously the sentence"Death has carried away the *Raja,Rae*", has escaped from his lips.

In short, he left, pretending to ride for hunt and excursion. *Mian* Randir Singh[5] and *Diwan* Jawala Sahai, the father of this histeriograp-

5. *Mian Randhir (Sohan) Singh*—was the second son of Maharaja Gulab Singh, the first being Mian Udham (Uttam in some books) Singh, who was kill-

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her, ran after him to bring him back, but it did not benefit. Thus in all haste he beat the trumpet of march within three hours from Samba which is from Jammu (281) at distance of six '*farsangs*' across a recky plateau He bid adieu to the ladies of the palace and started for Lahore in rapid haste as if things could be improved. After coming out of female apartments he received a letter from Jawahir Datt that he (Jawahir) had won ovor the Khalsa armies to himself by various devices. He, therefore, let the rein of caution slip away from his hand and left behind his army numbering some three or four thousand. Accompanied only by a few persons (*One couplet omitted*) he set out on journey. He met *Diwan* Bhimsen at Baddo-malli whom he had sent in advance from Samba, and now sent him to Lahore so that he writes from there the position of the Khalsa army. When he (Raja Suchet Singh) arrived at Malakpur, about three or four hundred Sikhs from Khalsa forces joined his service.

When he alighted near *Awah-buddri* in the environs of Lahore city, all told only some forty or fifty men armed and armless could keep him company. There Bhimsen came and submitted that the Khalsa army who were money-minded had in greed of rewards gone back upon their word and were up for battle, and that he considered it better to march back. But he replied, "It is not brave to retreat from a battle-field and to be afraid of being killed. The saying goes 'come what may, we have burant our boats" *Rae* Kesarsi Singh also suggested him to leave hurriedly for Firozpur and reaching there try to set thing right; they might make some headway.

That brave warrior replied, "At last we have to disappear from this transitory world, (282) What else can be better then to leave this fickle world bravely". It is said that the *Rae* again suggested that they should retire to Shalamar garden and wait for the arrived of their army which was coming in their wake. This also did not adpeal his heart. In the end the sympathetic *Rae* committed himself to submission and resignation and stood firm by the Raja. Jawahir-mall came and talked this and that and took leave.

They proposed to stay for the night in that foreign land till sunrise. (*One line omitted*) The *Khalsa* Commanders, at the head of a numerous army exceeding sixty thousand and fire-spitting cannons hurried to encircle that brave chief and surrounded him on three sides. (*One line omitted*). That gallant chief performed ablutions, and despaired of life, dressed himself in new robes with all the composure. He adorned with precious jewels his body which was embellished with

ed along with Kanwar Nao Nihal Singh as the result of the fall of a parapet. Randhir has been named Sohan or Saon Singh in all other sources.

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the ornament of chivallry and heroism. In the meantime a gardner presenetd a basket full of flowers and was duly rewarded. He placed with his own hands, one or two flowers on his own head. Similarly, he gave a few to *Rae* Kesari Singh and *Diwan* Bhimsen with his own hand. As a mark of great favour he bestowed a special *safah* (turban) on *Rae* Kesari Singh. In the meanwhile the *Rae*, the *Diwan* Fullo Kahna-Chakia and *Mian* Nihal Singh Agavaria came before that brave chief, and presenting their swords, begged for condonment of their sins. (rukhs-at-o-bakhshāish-i-namak khwāstand.)

It escaped from the commanding tongue: (283) "None of us should put his hand to a musket. Whoever has his life dear may ascape from this peril".

So he stood up from that place and got a page read out to him from the *Granth Sahib* which the messangers of the Khalsa troops had borne along with a view to swear on it, made an offering of a few rupees, cast a glance towards the Sikh force and said, "This numerous imperial force and artillery sent against us verily presents a fair fun".

No sooner had he uttered this than a volley of cannon-fire issued from the Khalsa troops and blew up the roof of the house. Meanwhile, Dara *darogha*, with all the sagacity he possessed, brought a special horse and represented that path of escape was open. But paying no head to it he took to argumentation.

Now musket-fire reached near *Rae* Kesari Singh so that he took shelter behind a wall and entrenching himself firmely, he heroically performed notable deeds. He killed a number of enemies. At that time Nidhan Singh Panjhatha, proud of his bravery and strength, came forward and struck his sword at Kesari Singh but it did no considerable harm and only cut his little finger. The said *Rae* lifted his sword to his shoulder and severed his (Nidhan Singh's) arm. In brief, the said *Rae* cheerfully and gallantly met his death while fighting. *Diwan* Bhim-sen who was also a brave soldier, laid down his life in the path of loyalty. *Wazir* Nihal Singh fled for fear of life. The Raja *sahib* made brave sallies and killed a number of Khalsa soldiers by his sword. Most of the enemies, unable to withstand his attacks, took to flight. As Khalsa army was countless, (284) how could he cope with it single handed ? So at last he left a fair renown for manliness and met a soldier's death.[6] (*Two couplets omitted*).

6. Suchet Singh's Bid to capture Power and his Death : (For piographical sumnp see Note 4 above).

During the anarchy that followed after the death of Ranjit Singh, Raja Suchet Singh took an active part and made a sudden bid for power against his nephew Hira Singh at whose hands he met a violent death.

Raja Suchet Singh's death :

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To tell the truth, Raja Hira Singh did earn an eternal blasphemy whereas Raja Suchet Singh left behind a name deserving eternal praise. The abominable *Pandit* bought eternal curse for nothing and besmeared his name with blot of disgrace. That despicable one did not only disloyaly, treacherously, vilely aud ungratefully provide material for mischief and quarrel in the life time of that chief but after his death also, by his imprudent foolishness, he kept back Raja Hira Singh from performing his funeral rites, though he had been moved by the love of kinship.

From friends I have so learnt that when artillery was directed against that chief, Colonel Alahi Bakhsh had twice or thrice sounded Raja Hira Singh's opinion on opening cannon fire, and he had spoken nothing in reply. But that malignant (Pandit Jalla), pungantly and harshly rebuked the said Colonel that he should go ahead without delay and do away with that chief. It is said that the said Colonel came out much distressed at heart. *Diwan* Ajodhia Nath and

Suchet Singh knew that Pt. Jalla "was at the bottom of estrangement between himself and his nephew" (Hugh Pearse, *Memoirs*, 254). He, therefore, got ready to leave for Lahore early in March 1844, to bring Jalla to account. He received an invitation from *Rani* Jindan who "bade him aspire to the *Wuzeerut* whlch she promised to bestow upon him" (G.C. Smyth, 99), and from her brother Jawahir Singh and some other army officers. Suchet Singh, however, assured the Sikh army that "he was not aiming at the Ministry, but he had only one objective in coming to Lahore, and it was to seize Jalla, and to put a string through his nostrills and in that condition to make him to dance through all the streets of Lahore" (*Tarikhnama*, Vol. i, p. 335).

He appeared at Lahore on 26 March 1844. On Suchet Singh's sending a word, Hira Singh immediately got ready to go to meet him. This greatly perturbed Jalla, who convinced Hira Singh that he would be murdered and to strengthen his prediction he "produced a *pothi* or horoscope in which it was written that Suchet Singh or Hira Singh would fall the next day". (Hugh Pearse, *Memairs of Alexander Gardner*, 254-56 ; Ganhiya Lal, *Tarikhi Punjab*, 400). "Raja Suchet Singh failed to win over the troops "partly because Hira Singh had been liberal in gifts and promises & partly because the rhrewd deputies who farmed the *Panchayats* of the regiments, had a sense of their own importance, and were not to be won for purposes of mere faction without delight and judicious seeking" (Cunningham's *Hist. of the Sikhs*, 1897, 275)

On the morning of March 27, Hira Singh with a large army marched against his uncle (129/43, Richmond to Currie. March 29, 1844-P.G.R.)

In the action which ensued Suchet Siugh & *Rāi* Kesari Singh were killed, though not without stubborn resistence. They had with them only 40 companions.

"Thirteen *Ranis* and slive-girls of Raja Suchet Singh and three widows of *Rai* Kesari Singh burnt themselves as *Satis* at Sambha, a large town in the Jammu hills, by order of Raja Hira Singh". (Ganeshi Lal : *Siyahat-i-Kashmir*, f. 9a).

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Sadhu Sihgh *Nihang* too tried to prevent him from this ill-intention, but in vain.

When the late Lordship got the report of this disagreeable incident, he helplessly shed copious tears of grief from his enraged eyes. (285) The ladies of the harem, the *Ranis* at Jammu. Samba and Ram-nagar became ablaze in grief of the brave chief. They burnt themselves on the funeral pyre (bacame '*Satis*'). (*Five lines omitted*).

Raja Suchet Singh was born on Tuesday the 8th of the month of Magh of the year one thouand eight hundred and fifty-eight of Bikrami, and left this mortal abode at the age of forty-three years, two months and nine days, on *the Ashtami*, Wednesday, the 17th of Chait of the year one thousand nine hundred and one Bikrami.

(*Six couplets omitted*).

When his Lordship was free from observance of the formalities of condolence of the deceased Raja, Raja Hira Singh took to his head the wretched idea of occupying the territory, *jagir* and petrimony of the deceased Raja.

(286) *Pandit* Jalla who always kept the thorn of evil desires run into his ambitions, brought him round on this thing. The late Raja *sahib* in his life time, and afterwards the *Ranis* at the time of becaming *sati*, had given possession of the territory and bequeathed own estates to (*superlatives omitted.....one line*) Mian Ranbir Singh, whom they had adopted as son. This fact shook the pillars of unanimity and edifice of concord between the said Lordship and Raja Hira Singh. Consequently, *Diwan* Jawala Sahai the revered father of this biographer, and *Pandit* Charan Das, a peace-loving man, went to Lahore to settle the said dispute, and by an emphatic guarantee proposed that Samba and Suchet Garh and lease territory would go to him (Raja Hira Singh). *Pandit* Charan Das, elder brother of *Pandit* Jalla, advised him to desist from misbehavior, but it made no effect on that hardened persons.

(*One verse omitted*)

As oftenly stated above, Raja Hira Singh had entrusted all his affairs to that chief of fools. He had none of the servants and counsellors who would, keeping in view his well-being, tell him the right thing. The group of persons who had realised wherein the welfare lay dare not utter a word for fear of the *Pandit*. So as desired the dispute remained unsettled. On the contrary, *Diwan* Hari Chand who had been stationed at shahdara, as narrated above, and about whose being there some suspicions had crept up in the heart of the people,

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was recalled to Jammu by his Lordship and experienced a great relief at being removed from that place. (287) Afterwords Raja Hira Singh sent as his emissaries Raja Dina Nath, *Bhai* Ram Singh and *Sheikh* Imam-ud-din and talked of peace. This cream of the wisest of the epoch endeavoured hard to display the formalities of reconciliation and to bring over a compromise. One day, during a round of talks, an analogy escaped from the tongue of Raja Dina Nath as to how Emperor Aurangzeb *Alamgir* treated his own father Shahjahan ? In the same manner Raja Hira Singh had filial relation to his Excellency the Lord. The said Lordship, who was an overbrimming ocean of gallantry and valour, said," It is no occasion to bring in the mention of Shahjahan. Though I am without power and pelf yet I should not be cansidered like Raja Suchet Singh who had not much experience of the ups and downs of this world. It does not matter if Raja Hira Singh possesses government resources and war material, but he has not as yet made use of the reeds of spear and lance in the flames of conflict in any field of encounter and bloodshed, battle and massacre, and has not yet measured strength with war-veterans and swordsmen. If matters end in war I will catch hold of them here, and so long as I am alive and proud of my star and my mighty fighters, I will so intend on war and coflict as to render the soil of Jammu red with blood, and by the thunder of war-drum an echo will agitate the transient vault and the noise of battle-drums would deafen the ears of the war-mongering enemy."

It is said that on listening such a strange talk Raja Dina Nath was bewildered and much distrubed and his body began to tremble like a weeping willow.

In short, those well-versed in talk discoursed on all matters for some time but returned unsuccessful. Raja Hira Singh issued orders for the confiscation of the territory of Gujrat, Jalal-pur, Pind Padan Khan and Qadir-abad, etc., which were under the occupation of the servants of his Lordship as lease. (288) He also took courage to depute the Khalsa contingents towards Jammu. He did not leave to him a single territory in Lahore kingdom. Consequently, a few platoons alighted at Aimanabad with the intention of making an attack on Jammu.

His Lordship, therefore, collected at Jammu a body of war-like Rajputs (*One line omitted*) and drew martial banners out of the city to the plain of Bhur[7] under the command of *Mian* Ranbir Singh and *Diwan* Hari Chand. An order for enrolling of fresh recruits in

7. Bhur, a locality some three miles to the south of the well-known Satwari Cantonment.

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armies was also issued. Every brave young man was invited to join his banners. Consequently, Dhani platoon and *sowars* of Rajput *Mians* in Lahore army deserted and joined the service of his Lordship. All Rajputs zealous of their honour swarmed from all sides.

At last, Raja Jawahri Singh[8] held talks with Raja Hira Singh and came for mediation and made Raja Hira Singh to be contented with the territories of Samba, Suchet-garh and half of the patrimony and property of Rrja Suchet Singh. The lease territories, etc., belonging to the said Lordship were to be restored to him as before. (*One line omitted*) *Mian* Randhir (Sohan) Singh *sahih* left for Lahore on behalf of the Lordship, so that going (289) there he strengthened understanding and unity. The said *Mian* remained for three months at Lahore in complete accord with Raja *sahib* Hira Singh.
(*Two lines omitted*)

After sowing seeds of evil *Pandit* Jalla grew to be a thorny tree of dispute. In other words, *Sardar* Jawahar Singh, brother of Bibi *Sahibah* Jindan, who had been kept under surveillance by *Pandit* Jalla for which reason she harboured ill-will, finding an opportunity, explained to officers of *the Khalsa* army that *Pandit* Jalla had spared no pains in showing rudeness. Raja Lal Singh too, though exalted to eminence by Raja Hira Singh, joined the opposition. Also Maharaja Dalip Singh and *Sardar* Jawahar Singh[9] approached *the Khalsa* army and exhorted that if the *Khalsa* were possessed of any sense of honour they should do away with the wicked *Pandit* On account of this whole of the army demanded that the *Pandit* should be handed over to them. But Raja Hira Singh did not agree to this.

The next morning when day dawned (Raja Hira Singh and *Pandit* Jalla) rode their horses. Although some prevented them from leaving Lahore, and especially *Misar* Joda who had been reared of the favours of the said Raja *sahib* represented that if ordered he might call his four platoons, but as death was hovering on their heads, he left Lahore and dismissed *Diwan* Jawahir at Shahdara so that he should admonish '*derah*' Char-yari encamped at Targarh.

(290) But as the *Khalsa* army was all unanimous so the talk

8. *Jawahir Singh* was the second of the three sons of Raja Dhian Singh, and the younger brother of Raja Hira Singh.

9. *Jawahir Singh Sardar* was the real brother of *Rani* Jindan and the maternal uncle of Maharaja Dalip Singh. At this time (1848) he was about thirty years old and was a "drunken debauchee". (Gough ahd Innes, 57). Duriua the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, he was uncared for, and was often seen by the author of *Tahqiqat-e-Chisti* 783, roaming about in the streets of Lahore, barefoot, with hawks on his hands. In Maharaja Dalip Singh's time, he aimed at becoming the Prime Minister of the Panjab (Latif, 520, 530).

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of the said *Diwan* made no mark at all. He, therefore, came back and informed that the *Khalsa* army was altogether hostile.

It is said that when the Raja *Sahib* came out of Shahdara, an elephant-driver submitted that a riding elephant was ready, and if they get on it he might carry the dignitaries to Jammu by the dawn. But *Mian* Randhir (Sohan) Singh *sahib* did not approve of this, and replied that the opportunity for their riding had slipped away so he should go and submit to the Lordship their respects and convey him their last obeisance.

In the meantime, a *Khalsa sowar* intoxicated with the wine of valour, led past his horse by the side of *Mian* Randhir (Sohan) Singh *sahib* and started driving it insolently. He flared up in rage and shouted, "Is there none to punish this senseless one for this aggression ?" As soon as he had uttered this he drove forward his horse named *Burchhi-bahadur*, and fell upon that doomed one like a shooting star, and killed him with his own sword.

In brief, they had not gone more then a few '*farsakhs*' from Lahore when the *Khalsa* army as numberous as ants and locusts, ovetook them from behind and challenged them for battle. Raja *Sahib* Hira Singh and *Mian* Randhir (Sohan) Singh *sahib bahadur* accompanied by a few warseeking soldiers entrenched near Kalah Shah Koko in the environs of the village Mekhowali and entrenched for battle. On the other side hostile Sikhs opened cannon and musket-fire and raised a terrific noise. No doubt, in that tumult of death *Mian* Randhir (Sohan) Singh and Chandan Dev, and sons of *Mian* Diwanu-Onkar Dev, Anokh Singh, and Sohnu; sons of *Mian* Bazsingh (291), viz. Udi Singh and Kahan Singh and Rasilan, etc., the Jandrahia *Mians* the companions of the Raja, and *Wazir* Indarju, the brother of *Wazir* Zorawaru Kashtwaria, gave a good account of bravery and made undaunted attacks on the enemy and laid down their dear lives in the path of loyalty.

At last, the Raja *sahib* and *Mian* Randhir (Sohan) Singh fell dead while fighting. Those cruel people who were secretly and openly offended with *Pandit* Jalla, severed with their cruel sword, the head from the body of that chief of illustrious chiefs and the leader of eminent leaders before whom all the *sardars* bowed their heads in respest only yesterday, and carried it to Lahore. This incident took place in 1901, one thousand nine hundred and one of the Bikrami,on Sunday, the '*Dwadashi*' day of the 8th Poh.[10] (*Four couplets omitted*).

10. *Raja Hira Singh and Pt. Jalla, murder of*:

On December 18, 1844, Raja Hira Singh reviewed the charyari force and ordered the distribution of pay. But with the assent of the officers, he discharged on the spot above five hundred men. Pay was also withheld for discharged *Muta-*

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As this incident became known to his Lordship he was stricken

saddis. "This made the timid abandon them and exasperated the soldiery. (164/24, *Broadfoot to Currie*, December 27, 1844, P.G.R.). On December 19, the army officers advised Hira Singh to make an accomodation with Jawahar Singh and to make peace with the *Rani*. But the same evening, the troops left cantonments in tumultous bodies, declaring that the *Rani* and her son were in danger. (*Ibid*). On December 20, Hira Singh, with a view to gain time for the arrival of hill troops, conferred with officers of the troops and sent a proclamation to be read to the men. Bnt the *Rani* sent his brother Jawahar Singh and the slave-girl Mangla into the camps of the troops who declared themselves her protectors.

On December 21, Mian Jawahar Singh moved from Jammu with 7,000 men towards Lohore But that very morning the *Rani*, attended by her brother, and other chief *Sardars*, formally appealed to the troops that "whether Daleep Singh or Heera Singh was to be King...." The troops declared with loud shouts, and the hands plunging, that Dalip Singh alone should be the King of the Panjab" (164/24, *Broadfoot to Currie*, December 27, 1844, P.G.R.). This sealed the fate of the Minister and his adviser. Both now mounted their elephaut s and passing the river to Shahdara joined a body of troops. These were about 2,000 or 3,000 hill troops. Along with these troops they began an immediate retreat ou the Jammu road. (*ibid*).

Jawahar Singh and Sham Singh Attariwala, with Lal Singh and about 6,000 men of all arms, set out in pursuit of them. They were soon overtaken by Sikh troops at a distance of about 9 miles from the capital and were attacked. *Mian* Sohan Singh, son of Raja Gulab Singh, being shot through the breast, was placed on an elephant, and sent off, and rest retired fighting. At length, the hill men being beaten gave way entirely and all fled. Mian Labh Singh, however, dismounted from his horse and fell fighting after killing five or six of his antagonist. Raja Hira Singh, *Pandit* Jalla, *Mian* Dal Singh, Chief of Akhnur, and some others in number about 25, continuted their flight till about 14 miles from Lahore with their horses, being worn out, they dismounted, killed the horses and entered a village. Sham Singh coming up set fire to the village on which Hira Singh and Jalla with all of any note came out and after a desperate resistance of about an hour, were overpowered and slain (*ibid*) Nicholson wrote to Broadfoot that about 200 hill men were killed with Raja Hirh Singh and others, while escaping to Jammū—(44-11/181, December 22, 1844, P.G.R.). Their heads were carried into Lahore and were exhibited hung on chains. (164/24, *Broadfoot to Currie*, December, 27, 1844, P.G.R.).

Another version of the flight is as under :

"From Shahdara the pursuit was closely kept up for some twelve miles until the *Pandit* fell from the horse, from exhaustion and was cut to pieces. Hira Singh continued his flight and headed his pursuers; but imprudently stopping at a village to get a draught of water, he was surrounded and slain, after a desperate resistence". (*Gazet. of Lahore Distt*, 1883-4. p. 32).

Sohan Lal writes that they took shelter in village Nekhwal which was soon surrounded by the *Singhs* on all sides. There fell dead while fighting, Hira Singh "who showed a great deal of fighting and battle in a various glorious and distinguished manner and accepted the call of death with perfect boldness" (*Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Eng. Tr. V.S. Suri, p. 3112).

Appreciating the worth of Hira Singh and Jalla, Broadfoot wrote to Lord Ellenborough (Private, 17 January, 1845, EP (PRO)—Pandit Jalla and Hira

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with great remorse. The people of Jammu were afflicted with grief. It is said that Baghel Singh had brought the head of *Mian* Randhir (Sohan) Singh from Lahore. This added the more to the sorrow and lament. Her Excellency the *Maharani sahibah*, the mother of the late *Mian sahib* (Randhir or Sohan Singh) who had not yet forgotten the breavement of *Mian* Udham Singh, was afflicted afresh by this heart-rending incident. (292) Out of maternal love she indulged in such bewailing and lementation as beggars description. (*One couplet omitted*).

Singh ended their government and lives fighting desperately. They had shown remarkable ability and courage, but difficulties were insuperable. The great Sardars on the one hand and the disciplined army or rather the drilled army, on the other, suffice severally to swallow up the revenue. Both together devour the country. Pandit Jalla tried by his rigorous economy and punctual pay to keep the Government going, while he reduced both these formidable bodies, using the one against the other, but he left out of the calculations the mother of the nominal sovareign, and she was suffered in contempt to intrigue against him, or rather the task undertaken was impossible and both the Sardars and the army, suddenly uniting, over-threw the Pandit and the Raja, and revived anarchy."

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CHAPTER
45

Invasion of Sikh Armies on Jammu

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(292) *Three couplets, two lines and one couplet omitted*).

The changeableness of the epoch and time is manifest from the incidence of the day and descent of night; every perfection culminates in decline and decline may be followed by prosperity; every spring converges into autum and vice versa : (*One line omitted*).

Similarly the affairs of his Highness were very much confused. On the destruction of illustrious brothers, noble sons and the royal nephew[1], every one of whon had achieved distinction and become the support of the State and eminence, his prosperity bacame eclipsed by the calamities of the world. Numberless persons were lacerated at these incidents. (*One line omitted*).

(293) But as he was possessed of tranquility of mind and sagacity so he bore all this with magnanimity and resignation.

1. Gulab Singh's nephew, Raja Hira Singh, was killed by the Sikh armies in the revolution of December 12, 1844, along with *Pandit* Jalla. Two of his sons, *Mian* Udham Singh and *Mian* Sohna Singh, were also lost in the Lahore service. The former was killed in the tragic accident which occurred on 5th Nov. 1844 (22nd Katak, 1897. B.E.) along with Prince Nao Nihalsingh, and latter was killed by Sikhs along with Raja Hira Singh, on December 21, 1844. His one brother Suchet Singh was surrounde and killed by Sikh armies on 27th March, 1844, and the other, Dhian Singh, was murdered by Sindhanwala chiefs on the 15th Sept. 1843.

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In the meantime the news of the invasion[2] by the cruel Sikhs reached him. *Sardars* Sham Singh[3] and La'l Singh[4] had been deputed from Lahore to conquer Jasrota[5] and other possessions and territories

2. The invasion of Jammu territories by the Sikh armies took place in the months of February and March, 1845 Jammu town was invested by Sikh armies under Sham Singh Attariwala and Lal Singh in the 2nd Week of March and they withdrew from the subnrbs of Jammu on 15th March after an unsuccessful attempt to occupy the Bahu fort.

3. Sham Singh was the son of *Sardar* Nihal Singh, and entered Ranjit Singh's service in 1803. He won fame in the siege of Multan in 1818 where he was the fiirst to enter the fort at the head of his battery. He participated in Kashmir compaign of 1819. He also took part in battles on the north-western frontier in 1834. His daughter was married to Prince Nau Nihal Singh in 1837. In 1841 he was sent to Hazara against the turbulent chief Painda Khan whom he compelled to deliver up his son as a hostage. He disliked the policy of Raja Hira Singh and *Pandit* Jalla. He was kiiled in the first Anglo-Sikh War at the famous Sobraon action. (*Rousa-e-Panjab*, 64-5; Massy, i.475; Ross, 191).

4. Lal Singh was the son of *Missar* Jassa Mal, an ordinary scribe in Ranjit Singh's treasury. He belonged to a village in Jelham district. Lal Singh succeeded to his father's office on his death in 1836. He was a crafty Brahmin. By intrigues he rose to be the Chief Treasurer in 1843 when *Missar* Beli Ram was executed. Lal Singh was a great favourite of the queen-mother, *Rani* Jindan. His illegitimate relations with Rani are alluded to in the contemporary correspondence, and these aroused the army against him. (*Panjab Records*, 164/24; Smyth, 155-60; Cunningham, 283; Steinbach, 47-7; Honigberger. 124; *Zafar-Nama-e-Ranjit-Singh*' 245).

In *Panjab Chiefs*, pp. 358-60, 596-8, Griffin gives the following estimate of Lal Singh : "Lal Singh rose to power by the exercise of arts, which in a civilised community would have sent him to the scaffold. He was one of the Chief instigators and chief actors in the murders of Raja Hira Singh, Beli Ram and *Bhai* Gurmukh Singh. His intrigue with *Rani* Jindan was so open and shameless that they even scandalized a people whose immorality was proverbial. By ingratitude, treachery and cunnings he succeeded in acquiring the wealth and power for which better men are indebted to their virtue or their genius He had great opportunities for serving his country, but he resolutely chose the evil in preference to the good."

In 1849 he instigated to revolt *Sheikh* Imamud-Din, the Sikh governor of Kashmir, handed over to Maharaja Gulab Singh by the Treaty of Amritsar of 1846, and for his proved implication in the rebellion he was exiled.

5. Jasrota is a small ancient town in Jammu territory, situated in the low Siwalik hills, some 50 miles from Jammu. It was the headquarters of a State of that name, which was founded in the beginning of the thirteenth century. It occupied a fertile country and its rulers were once very powerful and often came into coflict with Rajas of Jammu. In Mughal time its Rajas revolted many times in collaboration with Rajas of Lakanpur, Mau-Paithan, Basohli, Jammu and Chamba. Its Rajas sudmitted to Ranjit Singh in 1808 and Desa Singh Majithia was appointed the Governor of the hills including Jasrota. In 1834 it was given to Raja Hira Singh as *jagir*. The old ruling family was driven out and they shifted their haditat to Khandur near Nagrota. (Hutchison & Vogel, 275; *Tarikh-e Rajgam-e-Jammu-o-Kashmir*' 6).

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of Raja Hira Singh; and *Lala* Rattan Chand Dougal and *Bawa* Mian Singh reached in the presence of his Lordship on behalf of *Rani* Jindan and *Sardar* Jawahir Singh and delivered the message that "the circumstances of discourtesy on the part of Raja Hira Singh and *Pandit* Jalla, towards them and towards Raja Suchet-Singh, had been revealed to the people and become apparent and manifest to everybody; but the death of Mian Randhir-Singh,[6] who did not act on our advice that he should part company with Raja Hira Singh, and had been killed—is really a matter of great remorse and regret. But there is no remedy against fate. In the circumstances things happened as were appropriate to the occasion. Now it is desired that the territories and property belonging to Raja Hira Singh as well as the half of Raja Suchet Singh's which he had promised to give to Raja Hira Singh, be surrendered to us and Raja Jawahir Singh be handed over to our charge. However, the possession of territories and *jagir* bestowed by the *Sarkar* (Ranjit Singh) on him may be retained, for no interference is contemplated in that affair".

It is said that wicked enemies created confusion by their deceitful talk but the said Lordship weighed in his mind that Raja Dhian Singh, inspite of being fortunate and holding authority in the Court of the Maharaja, did not disobey his orders and remained firm in the investigation of principles of mutual prosperity—so now if he surrendered his (Dhian-Singh's) son to the clutches of enemies, it would be disgraceful indeed. (294) His decision, therefore, was to the effect that Raja Jawahir Singh remaining at Jasrota, organise the forces and artillery which Raja Hira Singh had collected there with a view to conquer the country of Chamba, and ingratiating every soldier to himself with money and encouragement, he be prepared to take up arms and give battle. (*One line omitted*). To Ranbir Singh[6](a) who was in those days heir-apparent to Raja Suchet Singh at Ramnagar,[7] the command was conveyed that with the little army present in his service there, he should be ready for battle and engage in providing himself with weapons of war.

In the same manner orders were issued in the names of *Diwan* Nanak Chand and other officers of Raja Jawahir Singh who were

6. *Mian Randhir Singh*, also called *Mian* Sohana Singh, was the second son of Maharaja Sulab Singh. See f.n.2.

6. (a)' *Mian Ranbir Singh* was the third and the yongest son of Gulab Singh. He was commonly called Mian Phena Singh.

7. *Ramnagar*, a picturesque hill town, situated 30 miles to the north east of Jammu. It was the capital of the Bandralta State on the Tawi, which was founded in the tenth century A.D. The town stands at a height of 2,700 feet above sea level. Ranjit Singh annexed it in 1821, and it was given to Raja Suchet Singh as *jagir* who developed the town considerably by building a fort, a palace, two long

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encamped in the Chibhal[8] district with two platoons of the said Raja and to *Diwan* Karam-Chand who was at Punch, making goodwill, faithfulness, management and defence of the district obligatory on them. Letters were also despatched to *Diwan* Hari Chand, who was sheltered in Garhi at the head of a few soldiers and a cannon, and to *Wazir* Lakhpat who had been deputed to help and reinforce the army of *Shekh* Muhi-ud-Din who had quarrelled with Sultan Najaf Khan at Kheri, desiring them to retreat to Jammu.

In short, as the news of the murder of Raja Hira Singh became know to the people many of the unfortunate traitors joined opposition, and secretly conspired with the oppressors, and several unfarsighted ones turned away their heads from obedience to his Lordship and sought to raise sedition.

(295) The result was that anarchy and sedition raised its head on all sides. During those days *Sardar* Chatar-Singh Attariwala[9], who professed friendship towards his Lordship and was not on good terms with Raja Hira Singh, had come to Jammu along with his son Sher-Singh and was residing there. At first he sent his son, Sher Singh, by way of mission, and then himself came for mediation so that things could be settled at the table.But the vain, avaricious *Khalsa* forces, cherishing ill-will towards his Lordship, attacked Jasrota, and the disloyal among the army and artillery which were there, including *Wazir* Bachna, Raja Hira Singh's manager, joined the Sikh arms. Raja Jawahir Singh, being deserted by his soldiers and the trusted ones, considered his position very weak, and fled along with a few followers and Jasrota passed under the possession of *Sardar* Sham Singh and La'l Singh.[10] Nihal-Singh, *Wazir* of Raja Suchet Singh,

pukka bazars. He populated it by inviting traders from far and wide. (Drew, 8526; Honigberger, 46). It is now the headquarters of the *tehsil* of the same name and the Dhar Udhampur Road passes by it.

8. *Chibhal* is the well-nown alpine region lying between the Jehlam and the Chenab rivers, inhabited by the lawless Chibh and Bhow tribes. Punch is the chief place of this region. The Chibhal was given as *jagir* to Raja Dhian Singh by Ranjit Singh.

9. *Chatar Singh Attariwala* belonged to the younger line of Atari family and was the son of Jodh Singh. This family had gained great influence in Ranjit Singh's Darbar. In 1843 Chatar Singh's daughter Raj Kaur was betrothed to Maharaja Dalip Singh. He was merely a stooge of Raja Gulab Singh. He was made *Kardar* of Hazara where he rebelled in 1848 and declared independence but was signally defeated. (Rouse-e-Panjab, p. 71-2).

10. *Jasrota*, the *jagir* of Raja Hira Singh, was confiscated by the Sikh rulers after the Raja's death on Decemnber 21, 1844. Gulab Singh, however, sent a detachment under Mian Jawahar Singh, the brother of Raja Hira Singh, to bring away the treasure and crown jewels left there by Raja Hira Siugh. The Sikh garrison there was attacked aud defeated, while plundering the wives of Hira

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who had, in the time of the said Raja betrayed and joined Raja Hira Singh, requested his Lordship that if permitted, he might go to Samba[11] and fight with the *Khalsa* army. Thus on the strength of deceitful words he got the appointment from the Lordship, but no sooner had he reached the place then he went over to the Khalsa army. Surprisingly enough, he raised an army of the refractories and the Samyal *Mians*, and descended on Jammu via Uttar Behni[12] and Kuli; and their families which were at Jammu escaped during the night.

Meanwhile this news reached his Lordship that Faqir-Ullah, Raja

Singh, when preparing to burn as *Satis* (P.G.R. 164/25, *Broadfoot to Currie* Dec. 30, 1844). Thereupon the Sikh government decided to take action against Gulab Singh and to reduce Jasrota. Ten battalions of infantry with increased cavalry and artillery were ordered to the hills under the command of Sham Singh Attariwala, who had volunteered his services. The force in Hazara was also directed to move speedily on Jammu via Kashmir. The widow of Suchet Singh had also been declared his heir and entitled to his *jagirs*. *Sardar* Ranjodh Singh Majithia was appointed to govern the hills, when conquered, and all the Petty Rajas were called on to cooperate against the Jammu family (*Ibid.*).

With a view to detach *Sardar* Sham Singh, Gulab Singh sent the *Sardar's* relative Sher Singh Attariwala, who had been for some time in Jammu as a refugee from the late Govt. (P.G.R. 164/27, *Broadfoot to Currie*, January 4, 1945). But the plan made no headway and the *Sardar* marched from Lahore for Jasrota towards the end of the first week of January, 1845. Gulab Singh's political manoevering to demoralise the Sikh authorities to acquisce into favourable terms of agreement with him bore no appreciable fruit as Lahore *Darbar* was faced with complete bankruptcy and a revolution was imminent, so the *Darbar* desired by any means to obtain part of the resources of Jammu Rajas as facilitating the acquisition of the rest of them (P.G.R. 164/40, *Broadfoot to Currie*, January 22, 1845).

On the other side *Sardar* Sham Singh had reduced Basohli and was about to invest Jasrota. Raja Suchet Singh's widow had thrown her lot on Sikh side and *Mian* Jawahar Singh had also opened separate negotiations with the Sikhs (*Ibid*). Compelled by these circumstances Gulab Singh sent messengers to deliver over the fort of Jasrota to the Sikhs in pursuance of the treaty. The fort was thus surrendered and occupied by about 2000 Sikh troops under Rattan Singh Mann. *Mian* Jawahir Singh departed to Jammu and *Wazir* Bachna, Hira Singh's *Diwan* was left there to hand over the treasure and stores to the Sikhs. (P.G.R. 164/41 *Breadfoot to Currie*, January 25, 1845).

11. Samba is situated 25 miles to the east of Jammu on the Pathankot-Jammu National Highway. It is the home of the royal Sambial Rajput clan which was one of the largest in the hills. In about the middle of the 18th contury Mughlani Begam settled here for some time and married her servant Shahbaz. After occupying it, Ranjit Singh transferred it to Raja Suchet Singh who built here palace for himself (Hutchison & Vogel, 574-5; *Tarikh-e-Rajgon-e-Jammu-Kashmir*, 21.)

12. *Uttar Behni*, see Foot note 4, Chapter 10.

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of Rajaor[13], who (296) cherised enemity in his heart of hearts and desired open hostility, had got a written agreement from the Lahore people, and had rebelled and deputed some armies on the conquest of Punch[14] and Naoshehra[15]. The two platoons of Raja Jawahir Singh that had settled at Naoshehra, had also rebelled, and they commenced killing officers and devastating the country.

In short, a great tumult raised its head, and the circumstances which undermine the very foundation of an empire, showed their ugly face. On the other side, the army of Lahore *Sarkar*, in Hazara[16], under the command of Colonel Uttam Singh, planned to invade Kahuta district, and had attacked the *Mian* of Thoh. Muaz-ullah Khan, who was one of the old salt-eaters of his Lordship, turned disloyal and joined the aforesaid platoon, ousted the said *Mian* and plundered his possession. (*One line omitted*).

To sum up, the *Khalsa* army and artillery which advanced towards Jasrota under the command of Sardar Sham Singh, reached that place, took the road to Samba and Har Mandir[17] and reached in the vicinity of Ramgrah. Some platoons and artillery under the command

13. *Faqir-ullah, Raja of Rajaor*, was the son of Rahim-Ullah Khan, old Raja of Rajauri. Faqir-ullah had resisted the occupation of Rajauri in 1846 by the Dogra armies when all the hill territorias, including Rajauri were transferred to Maharaja Gulab Singh. At last both the father and son opted to reside at Riblu in Kangra District under the protection of the British and a pension of Rs.16,000 a year was fixed for his support, payable from Jammu through the British Govt. (Hutchison & Vogel : HPHS, pp. 696-696).

14. *Punch*, see Fote note 55, Chapter 9.

15. *Naoshehra*, is a town in Jammu Province and is the administrative headquarters of a district of the same name. It is situated at a distance of 64 miles from Jammu on the road to Rawalpindi via Kotli (Drew, 92; De Bourbal, 16)

16. Hazara territory lies at the foot of the Himalayas in the North-west of the Panjab. This district included the territories of Mansehra and Haripur and a tract known as Upper Tanawal. The total area was 3,062 square miles. When Ranjit Singh occupied it, his governor *Diwan* Mul Raj sought to introduce a well-organised method of revenue collection. *Sardar* Hari Singh Nalwa, the governor of Kashmir, was sent to subdue Hazara country where he had to face numerous difficulties and he took three years to suppress the warlike tribes. Raja Gulab Singh was also sent to Hazara more than once to suppress rebellions there. This territory was transferred to Maharaja Gulab Singh by the Treaty of Amritsar of March 16, 1846. But in 1847 it was given back to Lahore Darbar in exchange for Manawar and Khari (*Gulabnama*, p. 360, *N.W.F.P. Gazetteer*, p. 126; *Hazara Dist. Gazetteer* 1907, pp. 196-7; Douie, p. 299).

17. *Samba and Harmandir*: Samba is situated 40 Km. from Jammu on Jammu-Pathankot National Highway to the east. It was the homeland of Sambial royal clan which was one of the largest in the hills. Ranjit Singh, transferred this State to Raja Suchet Singh, youngest of the three Dogra brothers, who established his headquarters at this place and built a palace and fort for himself. (Hutchison, ii, 574-76; De Bourbel, 77, *Tarakhi-Rajgan-e-Jammu-w-Kashmir*, p. 21).

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of Raja La'l Singh, General Mewa Singh, *Sardar* Sultan Muhammad Khan and other officers, aided by the platoons of Avitabile and Court *Sāhib* marched via Lala Chobara had occupied the villages of Lala Chobara, Charwa[18], which were the *jagiras* of his Lordship. Since the fire of revolt and sedition had ablazed in these regions the string of administration of Gujrat, Qadirabad, Dhanni, Pind Dadan Khan, and the territories of the Bar,[19] which were held in farm by his Lordship, slipped from his hands. Consequently, the *zamindars* of Mehri, Dhoria (297) and Khwaspore perpetrated sedition and raised the head of revolt. Therefore, *Diwan* Hari Chand who was encamped at Bar Dinga with detachment of *sowars*, decided to chastise and teach a lesson to the crooked rebels, and suppressed the revolt of wicked malefactors and burnt down their houses and property. *Wazir* Ratnu and *Mian* Jawahir Singh, who had been entrusted with the management of Qadirabad and the Bar territory, came hastily in the direction of Jammu but were intercepted by mischief-makers on the way, so they had to fight out their way. Meantime, *Misar* Amir Chand,[20] brother of Raja La'l Singh, was appointed by Lahore authorities to the district of Gujrat and territories of Bar. *Diwan* Thakur Dass, who had been honoured to the *Nizamat* of Pind Dadan Khan by his Lordship, stayed there. It is said that the *sowars* in the company of *Diwan Sahib* Hari Chand, instigated by Raja La'l Singh and the people of Lahore Darbar, rebelled and started for Lahore from the neighbourhood of Daulta-Nagar. Ghulam Ali *Chaudhari* of Kariala also joined the enemy.

The people of the foot-hills, however, such as those of Panjari, Kalri, Salru, and Dewa Vatala,[21] remainded loyal and joined the standards of *Diwan* Hari Chand *sahib*. In the meantime, a *farman* arrived from his Lordship in the name of the said *Diwan*, that he should retreat to Jammu with those soldiers who had not shaken off their obedience and loyalty.

In short, the *Khalsa* forces advanced from all the four quarters and encamped in the outskirts of Jammu.

(298)From Jasrota, a force desended in the direction of Samba and Pur-Mandal, and another army reached Ramgarh via Lala Chobara.

18. *Lala Chobara and Charwah villages*, were villages of considerable size and importance. These lie some 26 to 30 miles south of Jammu, close to the borders of the J & K State, in side Pakistan territory.

19. For geographical notes on these places, refer to Chapter 26 above.

20. Missar Amir Chand, brother of Raja Lal Singh, was the Superintendent of Toshekhana at Lahore. (ORPS, VII, 164/6 of 26-11-1844, and 166/27 of 13/2/1845, Broadfoot to Thoronton).

21. These villages were situated in the Chibhal region to the west of the river Chenab and north of Gujarat.

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Ranjodh Singh Majithia[22] and the Poadh[23] Rajas attacked Uttar Bahni from Basohli side.

Sardar Mangal-Singh[24] at the head of some soldiers, appeared from the direction of Manawar.[25] The Raja of Rajaor created disturbances in the northern hills towards Budhal and Arnas [26] From Nawshehra, Faiz-talib Khan in alliance with Sardul Singh *Kumedan* (commandant), the *namak-haram* servant of Raja Jawahir Singh, rebelled in the environs of Paoni [27] A group of evil-minded persons from Hazara made an assault of Kahuta which was one of the protected territories of his Lordship. Several unfarsighted ones collected at Rotas[28] and hatched in their minds the idea of storming Mangla Fort.[29] Also letters from the officials of Lahore Court and from Maharaja Dalip

22. Ranjodh Singh was the youngest son of Sardar Desa Singh Majithia by a hill woman, and thus he was a stepbrother of Lehna Singh Majithia. He was a general in the Sikh Army, and when Lehna Singh left Lahore in 1844 for a pilgrimage, he gave charge of all his estates to Ranjodh Singh. "Ranjodh Singh was, if anything", say Griffin, "superior to the other leaders of the Sikh Army, if leaders they can be called, who were ever the last to enter the fight and the first to run away. His generalship was contemptible as that of Raja Tej Singh, but he was no traitor". (Griffin, *Punjab Chiefs*, 88, *Rousa e-Panjab*, 89; *Tarikh-Nama*. i, 307).

23. Poahd (Rajas) : A small region lying in the hills to the north of Sambah, the chief town of the territory being Ramkot.

24. Mangal Singh, *Sardar*, was the son of Sardar Diwan Singh and was a descendant of the Ramgarhia family. Born in 1800 he joined the ranks of Ranjit Singh's courtiers at an early age. He took part in the Jamrud campaign and for his gallantry was awarded a jagir at Dharamkot worth 9,000 rupees. (Rouse-e-Punjab, 175,180-1).

25. Manawar : See foot note 60, Chapter 9.

26. Budil and Arnas : These are two habitations on the high altitude in the middle mountains, west of the Chenab, close to the borders of Kashmir Valley. Sopeyan, the first town of Kashmir valley on this route is only 36 miles from Budil. Budil is also a pass drained by the Ans river.

27. Paoni is a mountainous village west of the Chenab river, situated in the middle mountains, fifteen miles from Akhnur and about 33 miles from Jammu to the west.

28. *Rotas or Rohtas Fort*, a fortress about 10 miles north-west of Jhelam. It was contructed by Sher Shah Suri in 1540 to check the return of Humayun and to control the Ghakhars. The fort stands on a rock and measures two and a half mile in circumference with walls of solid masonary normally 30 to 40 feet thick and 40 to 50 feet in height. They are plastered with mortar and further lacked up by bastions. There was an efficient system of water supply for the garrison from the excellently constructed wells inside. The fort eonmands entrance to Kuhan Pass. It was farmed out to Raja Gulab Singh, along with territories of Jhelum, in the year 1890, V.E., (1833 A.D) (*Gulabnama*, p 179, Ross : *The Five Rivers and Sinde*, p. 157, Burns : *Travels*, Pt. I, pp. 61-62; *Imperial Gazetteers*, xxi, 325; *Panjab Dist. Gazetteer*, xxvii, A 30-2).

29. See footnote 3 of Chapter 43.

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Singh were received in the name of *Shekh* Ghulam Muhi-ud-Din,[30] the *Hakim* (Governor) of Kashmir, to the effect that he should move his armies in the direction of Kishtwar, and subjugate the people thereof, and create mischief in the territories behind Jammu, so that his Lordship loses hold of courage and firmness. His Lordship was, however, unique in strength of mind and valour. He did not lose heart even at the shattering blows and disruptive happenings.

Some well-wishers of the State, such as *Diwan* Jawala Sahai, the revered father of the writer of this Memoir, along with his renowned brothers, *Diwan* Hari Chand and *Diwan* Nihal Chand, *Wazir* Lakhpat, Zorawaru, *Wazir* Ratnu, *Lala* Roopchand, and, of all the servants of Raja Suchet Singh *only Shekh Sodagar*, remaind loyal and set themselves earnestly in the service of their Lord.

(299) Maharaja Ranbir Singh *sahib bahadur*, inspite of tender age but mature wisdom, kept a firm hold on Ramnagar, and carried on the management of that district. All the soldiers who were present were placed under the charge of *Wazir* Ratnu and Colonel Bije-Singh and were posted at Uttar Bahni in order to guard that road.

In the meantime Raja La'l Singh, suspecting that war might confound affairs and the object might not be achieved, held consultations in the matter, and sent *sardar* Fateh Singh Man[31] who was

30. Ghulam Muhi-ud-din was introduced to Maharaja Ranjit Singh for the first time by Diwan Moti Ram and he was appointed settlement officer of the Mandi state, after its Raja had been imprisoned. The Sheikh collected a sum of Rs. 285,000 in a comparatively short time and in return he was promoted to the post of the Governor of Kashmir in 1842. During his Governorship, the Sikhs suffered great losses at the hands of Bambas under Sher Ahmad. He was very extortionate and, hence unpopular. (*History of the Principal States in the Punjab*, 645; *Jullundur District and Kapurthala State Gazetteer*, 1901-40).

31. Fateh Singh Man, *Sardar*, was the son of *Sardar* Sham Singh. He was presented to Maharaja Ranjit Singh at a very early age and was employed in the service of prince Kharak Singh. He performed service in Kangra in 1809, then in Daska and Chunian, took Sahiwal from Fateh Khan, and was appointed commandant of that fort. In 1811 he was granted a jagir by Kharak Singh worth one lakh and was sent to Jammu to suppress a rising. He fought in the battle of Attock and Kashmir campaign in 1814. *Bhai* Ram Singh, agent of Prince Kharak Singh, felt jealous of the *Sardar*, and intrigued with Gulab Singh and Dhian Singh for his ruin. Kharak Singh confiscated all the *jagirs* granted to FatehSingh. The Maharaja, however, took pity and granted him *jagir* worth thirty-five thousand rupees in cash. In 1818 he captured Kot Bhai Khan in Multan. In 1816 he joined operation against Kashmir and in 1820 went across the Sutlet to look after the management of his *jagirs*. In 1821 he distinguished himself in the capture of Mankera fort attracted the attention of the Maharaja who appointed him commandant of the fort and granted new *jagirs*. In 1829 he accompanied Prince Sher Singh and Gen. Ventura against Sayyid Ahmad. In 1823 he followed the Maharaja to Peshawar. In 1841 he escorted a treasure of 10 lakh of rupees

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of pure heart, to advocate their cause. Perhaps he was prompted by the idea that he should first carry off by trick and treachery the wealth and property of his Lordship, aftertwards tempting the armies with that gold he should make them disaffected and then extend the hand of aggression. The said *Sardar*, therefore, accompanied[32] by *Wazir* Bachna[33] and Ganpat *Munshi*, servants of Raja Hira Singh, were given the honour of audience and vowed their friendship and accord in fascinating words and conciliatory tone. As the said Lordship had affection for the said *Sardar* (Fateh Singh Man) from earlier days, so he paid due attention towards treating him kindly and courteously, and began to caress and fondle him. In reply to his speech, he said with all the eloquence and subtlety of oration at his command : "The sapling of my great family has striven and flourished due to the waters of the deceased Maharaja's favours and patronage; and my brothers and sons have fallen martyrs in the path of loyalty at the hands of *Khalsa* soldiers. Certainly, all this dust of ill-will and conflict has been raised by the *Darbar* courtiers. I do not claim equality with Maharaja Dalip Singh and *Khalsa* forces. I will willingly submit to their word provided the authorities of *Darbar* give a solemn promise that they will not again molest (300) my possession and property ; and that the gold and wealth of Raja Hira Singh, which is in the possession of Jawahir Singh, be entrusted to me without delay. The district of Jasrota has already been occupied by *Khalsa* army".

In short, the *Sardar*, accompanied by Bachna and Ganpat who had been included in the mission in order to reveal the whereabouts of the wealth and possession of Raja Hira Singh, got permission to return towards the *Derah* (camp) of Raja La'l Singh and the *Khalsa*

from Ferozepur to Peshawar. (*Rouse-e-Panjab*, 184-6 ; *Gujranwala Gazetteer* 1893-4); *Amritsar Gazetteer* (1892-3) 63 f; Latif, 532).

32. The deputation consisted of Fateh Singh Mann, Mian Singh, *Munshi* Rattan Chand Duggal, and Sher Singh Attariwala. They were accompanied by confidential servants of Hira Singh, viz., Bachna *Wazir*, Hira Nand Keeper of the *Toshakhana* and Ganpat Rai *Munshi*. (P.G.R. 167/10 of March 5, 1845, and 165/6 of February 28, 1845; *Umdai-ud-Tawarikh*, Vol. IV, Pt. III, pp. 70-71).

33. Bachna a Rajput of Jasrota was manager of Raja Hira Singh's hill territories under Julla the *Pandit* until the death of Sher Singh, when, the *Pundit* going to Lahore, Bachna succeeded him in the hills with the title of *Wazir*. On the late surrender of Jusrota he remained to give over the treasure and was called to Lahore in the heat of anger and disappointment of the *Darbar* at finding so little. While at the capital he took advantage of the discontent excited by the excesses of the Sikh troops to get himself re-appointed governor of Jusrota under the *Darbar* and was on his way to assume the Government when called to Jammu. He is popular with the peasantry and respected by all parties for integrity and fidelity. (P.G.R. 165/6; *Broadfoot to Currie*, Feb. 28, 1845).

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f orces encamped[34] at a distance of about ten '*krohs*' from Jammu. As a precautionary measure the said Lordship deputed *Wazir* Zorawaru to conduct them in safety, so that no injury was inflicted on them at the hands of the devoted soldiers every one of whom had put into shade the ancient tale of *Rustam-e-Dastan* in the battle-field; like Mian Diwanu, who, inspite of his three sons being put to sword, even at the age of eighty, had yet in him the qualities of valour and pick and wine of youth brewing in the veins. But as the cups of their (of Bachna's and Ganpat's) lives had become full to the brim, so prudence was not assisted by Destiny. The Jasrota army, out of ingratitude for the favours received, had turned against Rajah Jawahir Singh and had joined the enemies. A few of them who had not strayed from the ring of loyalty, had accompanied the said Raja to Jammu. They had, by chance, been posted there at that time. They were very well aware of the treacherous transactions of Bachna and Ganpat carried out by them at Jasrota. Naturally they shouted that these '*namak-harams*' did not acknowledge the former favours, and forsaking goodwill, had joined the *Khalsa* with all the wealth and weapons they got from Raja Hira Singh, and that they had come in the garb of flatterers and spies with the object of carrying off wealth and property; so it was proper to do away with those corrupt people. Meanwhile a (301) hemp-intoxicated *sowar* named Bachan Singh challenged not to let those '*namak-harams*' escape, for they had orders to kill them. At this call bullets were fired on them from left and right and they were done away with. It is said that *Wazir* Zorawaru who had been deputed by the Lordship for guarding their lives, prevented them in a bold voice from doing this undesirable act, but to no avail. *Sardar* Fateh Singh Man was also seated on the same elephant with the said two persons, and this circumstance caused his death[35].

34. "The troops which had moved direct from Lahore against Jammu were concentrated under Raja Lal Singh near Devigarh, about 18 or 20 miles from Jammu". (B.R. Chopra : *Kingdom of the Panjab*, p. 381).

According to G.C. Smyth the main camp of Sikh forces was at "Bobliana". (*The Hist. of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, p. 134).

35. This incident was, no doubt, the result of some unbecoming words spoken by Fateh Singh Man and *Wazir* Bachna. Sohan Lal gives a detailed account of the insolence shown by them towards Raja Gulab Singh in his very capital : "In the end Fateh Singh Man and *Wazir* Bachna uttered many improper words regarding the aforesaid Raja (Gulab Singh). They said that troops of the state were under their orders and were waiting simply for entering into war and kindling the fires of fighting and remarked that if they (Fateh Singh and Bachna) gave permission and a hint from their tongues to them (the troops), they would at once engage themselves in destroying his foundation and would put him in the prison of failure and take him to Lahore. . . . . and boastfully said further that the time

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To cut short the narration, the dead body of the said Sardar fell

for the destruction of the Jamwals seemed to have drawn near". (*Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar IV, Pt. III, p. 70).

The British Government was also informed of a similar cause of the incident. "But an altercation arose between the Lahore and Jammu followers, when the promised donation was being removed, which ended in a fatal affray; and afterwards, an old Sikh's chief, Fateh Singh Man, and one Bachna, who had deserted Gulab Singh's service, were waylaid and slain". (*Major Broadfoot to Government*, 3rd March, 1845).

J.D. Cunningham says that the Raja protested against the accusation of connivance or treachery, but he attributes one motive to this deliberate incident when he says "nor is it probable that at the time he desired to take the life of any one except Bachna, who had been variously employed by him, and who nnew the extent of his resources." (J.D Cunningham : Hist. of the Sikhs, p. 242).

Lord Hardinge also calls this incident the result of Gulab Singh's deliberate action : ". . . . so it has happened that the negotiations having been closed by Gulab Singh consenting to make the payments, the army sent Vakeels to receive the money; they received four lacs as an instalment, and a short distance from Jammu were waylaid and deliberately murdered by Gulab Singh's orders".

(*Hardinge to Ellenborough* (Private), Calcutta, 22 March, 1845-EP (PRO), 30/12 (21/7).

Gulab Singh's deliberate order for these murders has been corroborated by Sohan Lal Suri who writes "As soon as those appointed persons left that place (Jammu) he invited the brave and courageous Rajputs and said to them to go to Phalla from the other side, and establish themselves there and to be ready and to kill at once Fateh Singh Man and Bachna on their arrival there and to fight with their companions, who remained behind to plunge into war, because on account of his listening to their mischievous talks a shudder was running through his own body in anger". (*Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar IV, Pt. III, pp. 70-71).

"Fateh Singh and his company had not proceeded more than a mile and a half from the town, when as they arrived at a barrier called Soorghur, from its being the entrance into some hunting grounds covered with thick jungle, they were suddenly assailed by about five hundred armed Dogras and Rohillas, who with one volley killed three ambassadors and seventeen of their small escort, only one foot soldier escaping to tell the news in the camp at Bobliana" (G.C. Smyth : *A Hist. of the reigning Family of Lahore*, pp. 134-35).

The number of casualities given by Smyth is not correct. Ganpat Rai was only wounded and he was sent to the Sikh camp. Rattan Chand Dugal came to know of all this and "so he hid himself in the way" . . . . (*Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar IV, Pt. III, p. 71) and thereby escaped death.

". . . . from latest intelligence from Jammu it appears that Raja Gulab Singh had attacked the deputation from the Sikh Army, who were negotiating terms, and that some of the members had been killed among them Sardar Fateh Singh Man, whose death is much lamented by the Darbar". (ORPS, VII, 165/7, dated 3-3-1845, *Broadfoot to Currie*).

"But Raja Gulab Singh denies participation in the affair . . . ." (ORPS : VII, 165/10, of 5/3/1845, *Ibid*).

"I (Broadfoot) believe these murders to have been planned by Raja Gulab Singh with a view to get rid of Wazir Bachna, who, if he held to the Sikhs being on confidential terms with Sham Singh Attariwala who from the first had advised his employment, would have been able to bring the hill men of Jusrota against

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down the elephant and Bachna and Ganpat fluttered like wounded fowls on the back of elephant when that creature terrified by bullet-shots ran into the jungle and began to creep and crawl through thistle wood. When this incident took place, his Lordship who stood at a spot opposite the Gumat Gate expressed great sorrow and deep remorse. The writer often heard from the lips of his Lordship that the grief and lament which afflicted his heart at the time of the murder of the deceased *Sardar* was in fact deeper than that he suffered at the death of his brothers and sons. This incident unnecessarily made him target of criticism by superfluous observers. Thus the said *Sardar* was killed along with those unfortunate companions.

His Lordship issued an order to *Diwan* Hari Chand, entrenched on the bank of the River Tawi ready for battle, to send the dead body of the said *Sardar*. It is said that soldiers had threatened even the member of the *Panchayat* of the *Khalsa* forces who had accompanied the said *Sardar*, but honourable *Diwan sahib* Jawala Sahai who was distributing rewards to the regiment restrained them from this uncivil act (302) and sent them safely the following days to the Sikh camp.

When information of this incident reached Sikh commanders they were all at once greatly insensed at the murder of the said *Sardar* and clamoured for revenge and war[36]. Consequently, the regiment

Jummoo and to have gained over to the Sikhs the bulk of Gulab Singh's followers. It is possible enough that Gulab Singh might have been as well pleased had only the Wazir fallen, but beyond that I attach no credit to his declarations of his innocene". (*Ibid*)

The Sikh deputation has no doubt tried in vain "to beard the lion in his den"—to use the phrase of G.C. Smyth.

This incident took place on 28 Feb., 1845.

36. Before this incident took place, Gulab Singh had succeeded in producing dissensions in the Sikh army. Not only were the troops suspicious of the Panchayats, but the brigades of General Mewa Singh Majithia were nearly unanimous in declaring Gulab Singh a loyal and injured man and the only fit man to govern while the other brigades denounced him as treacherous and desirous only of gaining time (165/7, *Broodfoot to Currie*, March 3, 1845, P.G.R.). The Sikh move on Jammu was, therefore, not very serious and effective, although "The Singhs of the Platoons got ready for sudden attack at once on hearing these details, and advancing forward with courage and bravery, reached very near Jammu". (Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar IV, Pt. III, p. 71).

Sham Singh Attariwala immediately wrote to Ranjodh Singh to disperse a body of 2,000 men of Gulab Singh on the borders of Jasrota and then close on Jammu by the hills. On March 1, 1845, Sham Singh himself moved at once with in six miles of Jammu, who, though originally nearer had only moved upto within about 12 miles. (165/10, *Broadfoot to Currie*, March 5, 1845, P.G.R.)

The death of Sardar Fateh Singh Man seemed to unite all parties among the Sikhs in a more vigorous prosecution of war against Gulab Singh (165/7, *Broadfoot to Currie*, March 3, 1845, PGR), But the army did not care about Sardars

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under Sardar Sham Singh that had encamped at Jasrota marched on Ramgarh fort; Raja La'l Singh fell on Devigarh fort with his unit and soldiers of Ranjodh Singh camping opposite Samba, joined Raja Suchet Singh's platoon, now under the command of Dharam Singh, in attacking *Wazir* Ratnu and Colonel Bije Singh. It is said that Jangi Bhalwal the *Thanadar* of Ramgarh, out of fear of life left the fort in cowardice and came running to Jammu.When he came to the presence of his Lordship, his wrath knew no bounds and he looked at him with eyes full of rage and roared : "O '*namak-haram*' What lack of courage you have shown ? Inspite of all the favours and protection bestowed on you, how you chose the path of escape in time of need ?" Thus saying, he drew his sword and cut his head off his shoulders which fell to the ground, so that it might serve as a warning to others.

On the other hand Arjan Mall, brother of Kanhayya with the help of about 250 valiant warriors and self-sacrificing sincere soldiers, remained firm at his post and made all endeavours for defending Devigarh fort which is a '*kacha*' building. Nevertheless the soldiers of *Khalsa* forces which numbered about forty thousand men, beseiged the fort on all the four sides and commenced direct attack on it, and a terrible struggle ensued. The brave and devoted warriors resisted heroically the invaders, and did not lay down arms. They carried on death and devastation for four days. (303) At last, on the receipt of orders from their master, they concluded a treaty, surrendered the fort and reached in the presence of his Lordship.

Kanhayya, the eldest brother of Arjun Mall, gave a good account of gallantry in the fort of Manavar but fell into the enemy's hands on account of the disloyalty and betrayal by his companions, and was made prisoner. The force under Colonel Bije Singh and *Mian* Hamir Singh Dalpatia, entrenched at Uttar Bahni obstructed the advance of the enemy. The opposing armies were, therefore, locked in a close and deadly conflict.

It is said that Ram-Dass wanted to drag a gun atop a hill in such a careless and coward manner that the *Khalsa* troops spied it out and making an assault dispersed that small party. That foolish one fled the battle-field, but Colonel Bije Singh stuck to the place and in the hot contest that followed, he was wounded by a bullet-shot.

Raja La'l Singh's forces darted against Jammu proper, encamped

and least of all about those of the old school who looked on the regular army as a dangerous innovation. Raja Gulab Singh knows this and he will, if he does not choose to prosecute the hostilities now begun, easily explain the matter sufficiently (*Ibid*). Gulab Singh's diplomacy of dividing Sikh army had succeeded.

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at Simbal, situated at a distance of six '*krohs*' and commenced burning villages and towns in the neighbourhood. Sardar Sham Singh arrived at the village of Nandni, hardly two '*krohs*' distant. They all attacked Jammu from all sides on the sixteenth[37] of the month of Chait. On this side loyal and brave soldiers under the command of *Diwan* Hari-Chand and *Diwan* Nihal Chand, were entrenched in the Satwari-field supported by infantry and cavalry, they effected an encounter and engaged in hot contest with the Khalsa soldiers.[38]

In the same way *Diwan* Jawala Sahai, the respected father of the author, kept firmly in the neighbourhood of *Talab*-Tillo with a small number of men arrayed in the battle-field with appreciable courage and valour. (304) They offered a stubborn resistence. (*Four lines omitted*). His troops held the ground even in the face of balatant odds and ultimately, the *Khalsa* forces were routed. Five pieces of artillery fell in the hands of the victorious warriors.[39]

37. The date of sixteenth of Chait recorded by Diwan Kirpa Ram does not tally with circumstances, as peace had been restorted earlier, and a formal meeting of Gulab Singh and Sikh leaders, with a few attendants on either side, took place on March 15, 1845, between the two armies in a garden at the Zillu tank (Talab Tillo). The actions described here seem to have been fought for two days, on 12th and 13th March, 1845.

38. This encounter probably refers to the reconnoitering advance of Rattan Singh Girjakhia who "put forth many suitable plans and appropriate efforts in courage and bravery and though many of his attendants died in the confusion of the battle, he reached near the Bawli and made a discharge of Topkhanna" (Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar IV, Pt. III, p. 71).

To overawe the enemy, Gulab Singh skillfully kept up the effect of murders by taking the initiative. "He caused one of the Sikh Generals (Rattan Singh Girjakhia), who approached Jammu to reconnoitre, to be vigorously attacked. It was only by powerful reinforcements arriving that the hillmen were driven back" (165/12, *Broadfoot to Currie*, March 18, 1845, PGR).

39. A little confusing evidence is forthcoming regarding the battle fought between the Sikh and Dogra troops. Ganeshi Lal gives a considerably detailed account of these battles which has been summarised by B.R. Chopra as follows: "From this time, there was a continued connonade & firing of musketry kept up on both sides with little or no effect. At length the Sikhs suffering from want of water made a general attack. After a fight of eight hours, they drove the hillmen from the river Tawi, the Zillu tank & the outer jungle. But instead of pressing on to invest a small fort commanding the approach to Jammu (probably the Bahu fort across the river Tawi to the east of Jammu city) and secure the jungle and river banks, the Sikh leaders went back to their camp.... There was a throny jungle on each side of the fort which served as a natural defence. The Sikh troops found it too difficult to penetrate this jungle & were obliged to retreat before the small number of hill soldiers who took sure aims at them from their ambushes in this wood and succeeded in carrying off their four guns. (Ganeshi Lal, Sayahat-Kashmir, fol.II-a). So the Sikh leaders and soldiers went back to their camp, the latter scattered over the neighbouring country, commiting all sorts of

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Consequently the Cammanding Officers of Khalsa armies, apprehended that if they engage in another such bout, they will surely lose their dear lives so they held mutual conference, and deliberated that coutiers such as Raja La'l Singh, Sham Singh, *Bakhsi* Bhagat Ram were afflicted with jealousy and wanted to create mischief. On the other hand the noble Lordship had sacrificed even wealth and life for the sake of the *Khalsah* kingdom, and inspite of the murder of his dearer ones and sons he had not swerved from loyalty. Now, these people had led armies against him and wanted to sacrifice lives of the *Khalsa* for nothing. So it was proper not to listen to their word, and they should open the doors of conciliation thereby fulfilling their duty as well as saving their own lives from the peril.[40]

But the leaders of the army who bore opposition and enmity in their hearts, calculated that if shortsighted Sikhs get victory the wealth and territory would fall to their lot, and if the Sikh army was cut down by the (305) merciless swords of the forces of the said Lordship their haughtiness will be broken. So when they saw that

atrocities. (*Ibid*). In the meantime, Gulab Singh's men re-established their posts everywhere, & by the second day parties of marauding Sikhs were fired on, as before.On the second night, the hillmen vigorously attacked Sardar Sham Singh's camp, driving all before them and capturing two guns. They were on the point of a complete victory when Sham Singh, dismounting from his elephant & putting himself at the head of some men he had rallied, recovered the guns & drove the enemy back with some loss even beyond their original position (*Ibid*).

The British Political Agent, Broadfoot communicates Jammu intelligence about an "Attack made by Raja Gulab Singh on the Sikh army and his defeat; and the failure of the Sikh to take advantage of their success" (dated 18-3-1845, letter No. 81, 165/12, *Broadfoot to Currie*, ORPS, VII) and further about "defeat by Sardar Ranjor Singh and Mangal Singh of the Hill troops and capture of forts near Jammu". (165/12, letter No. 88 of 26-31845, *Broadfoot to Currie*, ORPS, VII). But this was not the true picture as revealed by *Gulabnama* and other evidence.

40. Hardinge had already anticipated such a course of events while writing about the murder of Fateh Singh Man and his companion : "The army then closed up, "he writes to Ellenborough" and some fighting has taken place, but with no important result; and if the Sikh army find the undertaking more difficult than they expected, they will probably again resort to negotiation, each party by fraud or crime, trying to betray the other" (*Hardinge to Ellenborough* (Private) Calcutta, 22 March, 1845, EP (PRO) 30/12 (21/7).

"At length, when the news arrived that a doubtful action had taken place between Gulab Singh's Wazir Ratnu and Ranjodh Singh Majithia, who was advancing by the hills from the eastward, the Panchayats eagerly acquiesced in the terms of peace recommended by the leaders who were themselves disheartened and for the most part liberally paid by Gulab Singh. General Mewa Singh especially became, for the moment oracle of the troops". (Ganeshi Lal : *Sayahat-i-Kashmir*, fol. IIa—quoted by B.R. Chopra, *Kingdom of the Punjab*, p. 383).

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self-seeking Sikhs were turning disobedient to the commanders,[41] Pashaora Singh arrived from Sialkot, and the Sikh army gave him royal guard of honour and submitted to his command without reluctance. But the commanders induced him by humble and earnest supplications to go back to Sialkot. Afterwards they sought peace and concordance through the mediation of *Sardar* Sultan Muhammad and *Sardar* Chatar Singh ; and it was agreed upon that his Lordship should visit *Talab*-Tillo and finally conclude treaty of alliance with

41. The opposition of the Sikh soldiery to their commanders and chiefs is quite evident from their attitude. "It is to be observed too, that from the time when hostilities commenced, Gulab Singh had constantly a number of the Punches of the Khalsa with him in Jammu, and that these men who doubtless had good and substantial reasons for their advocacy, exerted all their influence to secure a favourable reception for Mee an Jawahir Singh and his terms" (G.C Smyth : *A Hisi. of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, p. 135-36).

"The generals were ordered by the Pa nchayats not to interfere with the negotiations which they had commenced on the part of the army with Raja Gulab Singh, These delegates, selected from the ranks, exceeding 150 in number, were most humbly received by Gulab Singh. He laid his sword and shield at their feet, and declared them, as the representatives of the army, to be his masters.

"Both the parties agreed in abusing the Ranee and her brother. He (Gulab Singh) contrasted the prosperity of the Sikh State when his family were employed with the misgovernment of a debauched woman and a brutal brother. . . . . " (*Hardinge to Ellenborough* Pvt., Calcutta, 8 March, 1845).

Gulab Singh felt that his troops would be no match against the Lahore troops and so started negotiations with the army (Hardinge to Ripen, 8 March 1845, Ripon Papers, Br. Mus. Add. MSS. 40,871 , f. 369). He won over the army representatives by humility and flattery and came to an understanding with them by agreeing to surrender certain portions of the general possessions of the family and to pay the state a fine of 3,500,000 rupees. (J D. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 275). At this stage, the Rani took fright herself and actually thought of crossing the Sutlej river and seek British protection. (*Hardinge to Ripon*, 8 March, 1845. Ripon Papers. Br. Mus. Add . MSS. 40, 871, f. 310).

Luckily for her at Gulab Singh's end there followed an affray between his troops and the Sikh army when the promised donative was being removed. An old Sikh chief Fateh Singh Man, and one Bachna, who had deserted Gulab Singh's service, were way-laid and slain. This compromised Gulab Singh's position with the army and the *panchas*, but he succeeded in gaining a section of them with the result that "he arrived at Lahore, early in 1845, half a prisoner, and yet not without a reasonable prospect of becoming the minister; for the mass of the Sikh soldiery thought that one so great had been sufficiently humbled, the *Punchayats* had been won by his money and blandishments, and many of the old servants of Ranjit Singh had confidence in his ability and in his goodwill to the state generally." (J.D. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 275). Gulab Singh's fate hung on the mood of the army *panchas* some of whom he had won over. That mood, however, fluctuated. For details see *Hardinge to Ellenborough*, 21 April 1845 (copy). B roadfoot Papers, Br. Mus. Add. 40, 130, ff. 93-94).

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Raja La'l Singh who will also reach that place for the purpose.[42] So it took place as decided, and the said Raja could speak nothing because of timidity of heart, and went back soon. But he sent message through the said *Sardars* that if Raja Jawahir Singh was handed over to him the armies would retreat to Lahore.[43]Thereupon his Lordship, after extracting due vows and pacts, entrusted the said Raja to their charge. But as Jawahir Singh reached the Khalsa camp, he was put under arrest.[44] This annoyed his Lordship. He at once directed Diwan *sahib* Jawala Sahai to go and take up the issue. But those dark-spirited people gave up the path of courtesy and politeness and commenced tempting and instigating the soldiery. *Bākhshi* Bhagat Ram, made an announcement that Maharaja Dalip Singh had deputed them in order to conquer Bahu Fort, and to hand over Jammu Raj to *Mian* Raghbir Dev[45], but so far they had achieved neither (306) of the objects.

42. This proposed meeting between Raja Gulab Singh and Lal Singh took place on March 15, 1845, the intelligence of which was conveyed by Major Broadfoot to F. Currie on 18-3-1845 (cf. ORPS : VII, 165/12, Letter No. 81, of 18-3-1845).

43. The terms of peace decided on the eve of this meeting were :

(i) Raja Gulab Singh to retain all his former possessions and all those of Dhian Singh ;
(ii) Those of Hira Singh and half of those of Suchet Singh to lapse to the Maharaja ;
(iii) the Raja to pay in lieu of *Nazarana* of Dhian Singh's territory, of the arrears of his own tribute and revenue due for three years, and of the property of Hira Singh and *Pandit* Jalla, thirty-five lakhs of rupees of which five to be paid at once and the rest by monthly instalments of five lakhs each ;
(iv) the Raja to visit the Sikh leaders as soon as the Sikh army made its first march towards Lahore, to which place it was to return forthwith.

Broadfoot conveyed intelligence of this settlement and the meeting between Raja Gulab Singh and the Sikh leaders and the inter-change of presents and also about the refusal of the troops to march from Jammu until informed whether the terms of the treaty with Raja Gulab Singh were accepted by the Darbar. (ORPS, VII, Bk. 165/12, Letter No. 81 of 18-3-1845; *Broadfoot to Currie*).

44. Jawahar Singh was the younger brother of Raja Hira Singh. Since he fought against Sikh army at Jasrota and had removed State Jewels and treasures from Jasrota to Jammu, his surrender was demanded by the *Darbar*. *Mian* Jawahar Singh, however, was popular with a part of the army. Raja Gulab Singh seems to have sent him either a hostage, or as a mediator to settle terms with army *Panchayat* and commanders.

45. *Mian* Raghbir Dev (Runghar of Rohkar Deo) and his brother *Mian* Devi Singh, were sons of the former ruler of Jammu, Raja Jit Singh, who was deposed by Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1816. After the assignment of the *Raj* of

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At this my illustrious father came forward and said in a loud tone that if his Lordship had come there personally none would ever had dared to talk of Bahu Fort and the wealth and property therein. Whoever boasted about Jammu, should realise that no worthy successor ever committed any aggression on the territory and property bestowed by former rulers. It is a pity, that grants bestowed by Maharaja Ranjit Singh were being taken back by his heirs.

These utterances pleased the *Khalsa* soldiers and some of them applauded these with open heart. But because commandets of the army were repugnant to peace, at their signal a few of the cruel persons aimed musket-fire at the said excellency, and caused him much grief. They proposed to put him under surveillance. At that very moment the noise of 'his lordship has come' and the news of his arrival in the Sikh camp accompanied only by a few companions informing of his high courage, fell in the ears of the *Khalsa* courtiers. All at once they stood up, and hurried to welcome the lordship. Many of them at the mere arrival of that leader lost hearts. Sardar Gurdit Singh Malwai, an inhabitant of Aimanabad, gesticulated to my revered father to go to that place.

In fine, his Lordship exhibiting firm faith in fate and trust in God arrived among the *Khalsa* armies as settled before with the *Diwan sahib*. He alighted amidst the troops of Mewa Singh with whom he had previously arranged matters.[46] At the time of ushering out of the

Jammu to Raja Gulab Singh in 1822, the family shifted to the south of Sutlej and took refuge in the British territories. Learning of the differences between Raja Gulab Singh and the Lahore Darbar he had repaired to Lahore to press his claim to Jammu Raj. The Sikh courtiers planned to make use of him against Gulab Singh and thereby un-nerve him and cow him down.

The British political agent at Ludhiana refers to this event in his letter to his masters that "Raghbir Deo, the ex-Raja of Jammu, and his brother residing at Thanesar have been invited to the Punjab by the *Darbar*". (ORPS : VII, 165/10, Letter No. 63 of 5-3-1845; *Broadfoot to Currie*).

46. The aforesaid commandant (Mewa Singh) showed a great deal of respect and civility to the respectable Raja in offering him reception and made him put up in his camp. The platoons and the horsemen accompanying the aforesaid commandant and the platoons of Manawala, in short all the platoons, including the *Topkhana*, became partners of the respectable Raja (GS) for all the days of good and evil. They entered one strong agreement with Raja *Ji* (GS) with the words, "We are willing to remain obedient and subservient and loyal to you, quite willingly and voluntarily. We would never deviate or show any kind of delay in showing respect to you and taking pride in you. We will afford protection and guard on behalf of all the *Singhs* of the *Panth*, for we would not allow anyone of the glorious Sardars to show any kind of audacity and courage against you".

Raja *Ji* felt pleased and gave reward to every one of the officers, commanders and the *Sardars*.

(Sohan Lal : *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar IV, p. 71-72.)

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Gumat Gate, he had deputed *Diwan* Hari-Chand *sahib* on conducting affairs of government and commanding armies and had instructed him (307) that in case his Lordship got arrested at the hands of the aggressive enemy, or bids farewell to this unstable world, they should not surrender the country of Jammu and Bahu Fort without turning the soil of Jammu red by sacrificing the blood of heroes.

When he alighted amidst the Sikh forces, Raja Jawahir Singh was despatched to Jammu. During the night his Lordship ingratiated to hims lf the *Khalsa* armies by bestowing a reward of five rupees per head. Twenty-five thousand rupees in cash and a horse with gold saddle was presented to Mewa Singh.[47] Consequently the *Khalsa* forces, inspite of the opposition of their officers did not act upon their orders, and broke up their tents for Lahore.

When the army camp reached the ferry of Kirawal in Labanwala village, they continually received written orders from *Bibi Sahiba* and *Sardar* Jawahir Singh, to the effect that they were carrying with them the Raja *sahib* against their consent, so their action would be called to account. Most of the *Khalsa* soldiers becoming confounded and backed out of the promise. But four platoons of Mewa Singh remained firm to their word, and thus divided they raised mutual dispute and

47. Raja Gulab Singh came to the Sikh camp on 16th March, 1845.

The day after the interview between Gulab Singh and the Sikh chiefs, the latter were astonished by the former's advanced tents being pitched in the plain and he soon after came down and occupied them. He was joined by General Mewa Singh Majithia and the *Panchayats* of that officer's brigade and that of General Sant Singh's brigade. Next day, they brought Gulab Singh and his attendants into their own camp and declared it to be the will of the army that Gulab Singh should proceed to Lahore and assume the regency. The chiefs and ofhcers who were already displeased with the Darbar were now envious of one another in professions of devotion to Gulab Singh.

(ORPS, VII, 165/15, of 26 March 1845, *Broadfoot to Currie*).

"Gulab Singh seems to have promised to raise the pay of the regular infantry from 12 rupees to 15 rupees a month per man. He was at the time distributing a gratuity of five rupees a man to the troops in camp. The result was that the regular troops were everywhere declaring for him". (ORPS : 165/17 of 28 March 1845; *Broadfoot to Currie*).

Some of Gulab Singh's adherents proposed to take him to Amritsar and there invest him with the *Wazarat*. They were thus marching towards that place and Lahore. (ORPS : 165/19 of 1 April, 1842; *Broadfoot to Currie*).

Major G. Broadfoot, C.B., Agent, Governor-General, informed F. Currie, Secretary to the Government of India that "from latest account it appears that Raja Gulab Singh had promised to increase the pay of the troops to Rs 15 per mensem and they were all declaring for him and had determined to march to Lahore and make him *Wazir*. (ORPS, VII, 165/19, dated 1-4-1845 ; *Broadfoot to Currie*).

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discussion so that as army camp reached Shahdara,[48] General Mewa Singh, who had got audience with Maharaja Dalip Singh, was put in confinement and the royal infantry and artillery present at Lahore was despatched in large numbers to oppose the said platoons. A *parwanah* in the name of officers of *Khalsa* army was received offering temptations of gifts and rewards. Consequently the *Khalsa* soldiers who were momenists, all at once backed out of agreement and swerved from the highway of justice.

Thereupon his Lordship made up his mind to entrust hmiself to divine support and to have resort to arms with the aid of the devoted servants who were with him (308) and thus lay down his life like a brave man. He, therefore, prepared by playing upon their sense of compassion his loyal companions to fight and to die a brave death. But in the meantime a prudent person from the *Misl* of *Sowars* of Nabha, who had seen enough of the ups and downs of the world suggested in that assembly that many of His Lordship's brothers and sons had lost their lives in this deluge of indiscernment. Now it was advisable that His Lordship should not give up resolution and firmness assigned to his sublime nature.[49]

In short, when the said Lordship saw that soldiers have turned their backs on articles of agreement on temptation of donations, he pointed out to the *Khalsa* soldiers that since they had brought him under promises and oaths, so proper course for them would be that in order to honour their oaths they should entrust him into the hands of Lahore army. The same was acted upon accordingly. A few soldiers of Lahore army came, seated his Lordship in a boat and led him to the other side of the river. Then they seated him on an elephant and

48. The army from Jammu with Raja Gulab Singh moved up to the Ravi on April 4, 1845. (ORPS, VII, 162/21, of 5-4-1845, *Broadfoot to Currie*). Broadfoot also reports Gulab Singh's "intrigues with the Irregular Troops who have sided with him, and the panic caused at Lahore in consequence". (*Ibid*).

49. The respectable Raja moved forward along with the platoons and *Topkhana* while the whole camp accompanying Raja Lal Singh marched on in his rear at a small distance. After covering the stages of journey he got down on the other side of the river Ravi near the ferry of Shahdara. According to a hint by Raja Lal Singh, Jawahar Singh took the whole of the *Topkhana*, the swivels and the troops of horsemen in perfect armour and equipment and went to the other side of the river on the *Naurata* day, on the 27th of Chet, (7 April, 1845 A.D), on Monday, and to inspire awe and terror into the heart of respectable Raja, laid a siege from all sides and surrounded him by the *Topkhana*. Mewa Singh commandant came forward and submitted *Nazer* and was at once put in the prison of failure, whereupon all the *Singhs* got ready for fighting. It was at this time that *Bhai* Ram Singh and some other near attendants made them understand that it did not look proper and good in any way for the troops of the

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mercilessly started poking bionets in the neck of that hill-like elephants, so that they sped fast in confusion.[50]

At that time, of the wellwishers of his Lordship, only *Diwan* Jawala Sahai, the revered father of the author of this accout, *Bakhshi* Hari Singh and Lehna *Khidmatgar* had the goodluck of attendance. Also Sadhu *jotshi* received the honour of accompanying him. My uncle, honourable *Diwan* Nihal Chand *sahib* was left behind at Shahdara to carry out the management of the *Derah*.

Meanwhile a letter from the courtiers (309) of the Darbar was received in the name of the Sikhs of cruel deeds that they should put his Lordship under arrest and torture and should not allow even a single faithful one to accompany him. But the *Khalsa* soldiers, because of their traditional simplicity which they had, handed over that letter to the said *Diwan sahib*. He read it and intimated to the *Khalsa* soldiers that *Bibi sahiba* and Maharaja Dalip Singh had emphatically written that they should bring his Lordship with all the due honour and respect and should observe all the forms of dignity and hospitality.

In short, when he arrived in Lahore city the residents and dwellers thereof crowded on roofs and balconies in order to catch a sight of the Lordship. They raised their hands in prayer for him. (*Half line*

Maharaja to enter into war. According to the statement of his counsellors Jawahar Singh turned backward. After that Raja *Ji* said to the platoons of the *Singhs* accompying him that they should put him in the charge of the special platoon of Ventura *Sahib* and should themselves become one with him in spirit and expression and in association and agreement with the *Panches* should go over to the contonment of Anarkali and should leave the special platoon to the other side of the river Ravi and should enter into strong agreement between themselves (*Ibid*).

50. It was talked of by all sorts of people that *Rani Sahiba* (Jind Kaur) sent to the Raja (Gulab Singh) during the night an impression in saffron of the fingers fixep upon a letter containing the meaningful contents, informing that he should come into Lahore with the heart full of all kinds of assurances and without any kind of hesitation and fear, adding further that she was writing at that time to him in the true spirit of her religion and faith that no deviation or oppostion will be shown in any way in point of the protection of the honour and self respect and gave him assurance that satisfactoy watch and ward would be afforded to him with respect to his life and property . . . . . On Tuesday 8th April, 1845 . . . . . when the day had advanced six or seven hours Raja *Sahib* entered Lahore with a covered face in great pomp and glory along with the platoons of the glorious Singhs, riding on a huge elephant, and went to put up firmly and victoriously in the mansion of Kanwar Naunehal Singh, while the platoons engaged themselves enthusiastically in affording him protection and guard. On the 29th of Chet (9 April, 1845 A.D.) Raja Lal Singh came to Lahore along with the platoons and the *Topkhana* and set up the camp of the platoons in the cantonment as before. (*Ibid*, p. 73),

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omitted). They addressed these words to the cruel Sikhs that they should in no way harm this dignified chief in whose heart yet was fresh the grief of the loss of his illustrious brothers and renowned sons who had been killed in this city and in these very quarters.

The said Lordship was at last housed in the *Haveli* of the Kanwar *sahib*[51] (the late Kanwar Nao Nehal Singh) and was put under the custody of a strong guard. Now by chance one of the *namak-haram*

51. When the respectable Raja entered into the mansion, on the Ist of Baisakh (11 April, 1845 A.D.) *Rani Sahiba* sent to him by the hand of her reliable person on the first day Rs. 2100/- in cash, sweatmeats worth Rs. 250/-, several bottles of rose water,*bedmusk*, fruits, and many garments, one pillow, one canopied *Charpaī* and several other things . . . . . .

On the second day(12 April) *Bakhshi*Bhagat Ram and *Dewan* Judha Parshad came out to offer him reception . . . led him along to the *Bagh-i-Hazuri*. A guard of the scpoys of the platoons also left to accompany Raja *Ji* . . . They kept Raja *Ji* sittiing in the *Baradari* for an hour . . . After that men of *Rani Sahiba* came to the *Baradari* to ask him to go in. The *Singhs* uttered aloud at the time of giving over charge of Raja *Ji* that they must beware that in no way any kind of interference with or molestation of Raja *Ji* should take place & added that they will hand over the Raja *Ji* just in the same condition in which they had taken charge of him otherwise no good result would accrue to them. After that Raja *Ji* went into the octagonal tower, where Jawaher Singh came out to offer him reception, under order of *Rani Sahiba* . . . After that according to the summons of *Rani Sahiba*, he went into the octagonal tower and Raja Lal Singh offered him reception and respect. Raja Ji presented by way of Nazar Rs. 4 lakhs in cash, 4 elephants, 4 horses, 25 camels, 4 bangles and 21 gold ducats in addition to Rs.2,100 by way of Narwarna. Missar Lal Singh said that 10 lakhs of Rupees before and 4 lakhs at that time had entered the Toshakhaha, amounting in all to 14 lakhs. Rani *Sahiba* (Jind Kaur) with her intelligent tongue said that he was a chosen one of the wisest men of the world, while the Maharaja was a very ignorant babe, and so according to his correct-thinking wisdom in whatever way he thought it advisable, he should carry on the affairs of kingdom and kingship with his own great efforts and should forget and remove from within his heart all past events, previous circumstances and the old disputes and the enemities, because since olden days, he had been brought upon the salt and held in great respect and honour by the patronage of the deceased Noble Sarkar. . . . and further added that henceforth the guard of the Singhs would be removed from the porte and he would be at liberty to go to wherever he liked according to his wish and inclination and nobody would interfere with his movements. After that Raja Ji (GS) was allowed to go to his mansion. Rani *Sahiba* orderded Raja Lal Singh to hold the umbrella in his hand. . . . The aforesaid Raja (Lal Singh) acted accordingly and the aforesaid Raja (GS), who was feeling very restless and distracted in his mind at the time of his entry into fort, showed a very glowing forehead and entered into his mansion with a smile and joyous look. All the Singhs of the Panth felt very much pleased at the occurrence of this event and thanked the Benefactor a great deal. (Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar IV, Pt. III, p. 74—V.S. Suri's, Eng. Tr.)

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platoons which had sustained a signal defeat in Kashmir at the hands of his Lordship's troops, had been put on guard duty. These kept back all the servants for waiting upon the Lordship and did not allow anybody except the *Diwan* Jawala Sahai to go inside.[52]

52. The whole affairs, from Gulab Singh's march towards Lahore to his reconciliation with the Rani Jindan, may be summarised as under :

Raja Gulab Singh's manoevers to divide the army and the Lahore Court were successful. The army of invasion sent by the rulers of Lahore to conquer Jammu & destroy Gulab Singh, was coming back to Lahore with a solemn resolve of installing him as Minister of Sikh State. But as Sikh soldiery was traditionally greeding and wavering, their mood changed from stage to stage. The Lahore *Darbar* sent messages to armies at Jammu through the *Panchayats* of troops at Lahore. The result was that the march to Lahore was suspended, the persecution of war spoken of and the life of Gulab Singh threatened. Gulab Singh's partisans Sultan Muhammad Khan Barakzai, Mewa Singh's Majithia and Chattar Singh Attariwala, however, pleaded his causes and they again won over soldiery for Gulab Singh, contrasting the existing disorder of the Government with the vigour and success under the management of the Jammu Chief and by assurance that only Gulab Singh's restoration to power could preserve the kingdom and secure regular pay of the army. (165/12, of 18-3-1845, and 165/15 of 26-3-1845—*Broadfoot to Currie*). His success at Lahore was more spectacular. His greatest protagonists there were *Bhai* Ram Singh *Fakir* Azizud Din and *Diwan* Dina Nath . . . On March 29, the *Bhai* sent for *Panchayats* of the troops at the capital & the long conference ended in the *Panchayats* solemnly taking oaths of fidelity to Raja Gulab Singh & promised to send a deputation ta support his friends in the camp. (165/17, of 28.3.1845, *Ibid*). Some of Gulab Singh's adherents proposed to take him to Amritsar & there invest him with the *Wazarat*. (165/19 of 1-4-1845, *Ibid*).

As soon as Gulab Singh reached the Ravi on April 4, at the head of half of the army of invasion (the other half being led by Lal Singh in the rear), the irregular cavalry moved atonce to Shah Balawal & declared for Gulab Singh. He promised the *Panchayats* to stand surety for the pay of the troops at fifteen rupees a month each man, making up all deficiencies from his own treasury, but on the understanding that all other chiefs contributed. For this purpose, he disclosed his plan for raising a total sum of six crores andseventy lacs of rupees from different chiefs, which he said, was just due from them. (165/21, of 5-1-1845, *Ibid*, Sohan Lal: *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (*Daftar IV, Pt. III*, pp. 71-72).

After this conference the brigades took up position & started throwing out piquets as if before an enemy. A deputation from Lahore was told that Gulab Singh would be given up as promised, the chiefs of opposite party were given up to the two brigades. They were futher told that the brigades would agree to a partition of the Punjab, the Ravi being the boundry, all east of it with Lahore going to Dalip Singh, and all west of it with Shahdara to Gulab Singh, it was added that if they chose to decide the question by arms, they were ready to set up Peshaura Singh against Dalip Singh as a competitor for the whole kingdom. (165/21, of 5-4-1845, *Broadfoot to Currie*).

At this surprising development the *Darbar* became panicy. The chiefs shrunk from the terror of being denounced as rich debtors to the army. *Rani Jindan* was eager to make terms last her son be excluded in favour of Peshaura Singh.

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Now I shall relate a little of the loyalty and service rendered by my revered father, *Diwan* Jawala Sahai. That day his Highness had not taken any food. The *Diwan sahib*, therefore, set himself to arrange for that. (310) When he wanted to draw the vessel full of water from the well his hands failed to do so. A kind woman saw all this from afar and getting at the fact drew out water for him. The *Diwan* then carried the vessel full of water to his Lordship and also arranged for victuals and drinks. Then he hastily ran personally to the presence of the Bibi *sahiba* and explained fearlessly to the courtiers that even if any one was imprisoned for a heinous crime and found guilty, it was obligatory on the government at least to provide him food and drink. But his royal Lordship, who had been put under surveillance on the very arrival, was in a strange plight, since neither any article of food and drink, nor equipment for comfort were made available to him. Indeed, on hearing this talk, the courtiers ordered that formalities of hospitality and civilities of service should all be performed properly and floor-spreading and furniture for comfort and repast be made available. Accordingly, footmen and servants were deputed on attendance.

One of the happy chances was that among the floor-spreading received for his Lordship there was one personal carpet of the King of Lahore (Ranjit Singh) from which the devoted chiefs sought divination.

The courtiers bore ill intention and planned improbable designs, and cruelly and wickedly collected means of mischief. But they were mortally afraid of the *Khalsa* solidery lest they might raise a riot, and inflict on them their due punishment. His Excellency,the *Diwan sahib*, fulfilled requisites of attendance with all the endeavours. Every day he collected the *Darbar* news and the deliberations which transpired

Jawahar Singh abandoned by every one was uncertain whether to take to flight or to trust for safety his sister and nephew (*Ibid*).

On April 6, Gulab Singh's hill troops, whom he had been allowed to send for, began to arrive in small parties and by the next day about three thousand had come in. (165/23 of 9-4-1845, *Broadfoot to Currie*.)

At one time, an open and armed conflict between the two opposing parties seemed unavoidable. But Gulab Singh did not want this. He, therefore, prevailed upon the *Panchayats* to hand him over to the Lahore officials so that a reconciliation could be effected between him and the regent, *Rani Jindan*. All the *Panchayats* liked this idea as it removed the possibility of a civil war. After many vicissitudes arising from the varying councils and impulses of the soldiery, acted on by the arts and promises of both parties, Gulab Singh's friends agreed to surrender him. Towards the evening of April 7, the Raja was brought into Lahore as a prisoner and lodged in the house of the late Kanwar Nao Nehal Singh. (Sohan Lal: *Um-dat-ut-Twarikh Dafter* IV, Pt.III, pp.72-73; Kanhaya Lal: *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 415, ORPS; VII, No. 165/23, dated 9/4/1845.)

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amongst (311) hostile counsellors. At night he used to relate all to his Lordship like a fiction. He also gave him pleasant advice and said consoling words.

A certain Mehra Karnail, reared in his Lordship's service, reported on account of his stupidity and artlessness, to *Sardar* Jawhir Singh with whom he was in league, that of all the servants of the Raja the *Diwan sahib* and *Wazir* Zorawaru were the most acquainted with the hidden government treasure. On this account the said *Sardar* decided that the two well wishers of the State should be tied to a cannon and be emptied into a defile over-grown with thistles, and hot iron bars be run into their bodies, so that the where-abouts of gold and wealth could be extracted from them. It is said that this fact was disclosed to his Lordship confidentially by *Pandit* Kanhi Nath, *Kardar* of Gujrat out of a sense of loyalty and sincerity, and it became a cause of deep concern for the Lordship. But the said Excellency, the *Diwan sahib* submitted dauntlessly that they might subject him to whatever torture they liked and hurt him in any manner they thought proper, yet in no case state secrets and the mysteries of the kingdom and clue to wealth and money would escape from his lips. It was, however, desirable to send away *Wazir* Zorawaru to Jammu lest he should, unable to bear all this pain and suffering, lose forbearance Thus,his Lordship,vigilant and discerning as he was, considered this suggestion to be beneficial, and he dismissed the said *Wazir* towards Jammu on pretext of the management of Kishtwar affairs.

The next day those tyrants (312) were about to arrest the *Diwan* and subject him to torture in greed of gold when *Diwan* Dina Nath possessed of ripe wisdom, kind disposition, and concern for the next world, prevented them from such unprecendented tyranny and flagrant injustice, and said, "If the well-wishers of their master are impailed on the accusation of loyalty, and the unswerving debotees, who are firm in their affection for their benefactors, are hanged, it would be transgreesing justice." The result was that this (speech) became a means for the safety of the *Diwan*.

When this violence and oppression on the part of the nobles of *Darbar* became known, the *Khalsa* soldiery bacame aware of the real intentions of the courtiers. They at once became restless and excited with zeal for honour. Rattan Singh reported this matter of Raja Lal Singh and added that if he valued his life, he should let off his Lordship or else the *Khalsa* army might take vengeance on him. *Diwan* Ajodhia Nath also out of truthfulness said that the Sikh soldiery had grown lawless and uttered that they had brought his Lordship on the strength of assurances and if,God unwilling, the nobles of *Darbar* who had gone astray from the path of justice, would cause him any sort

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of injury, verily all the state nobles and counsellors of kingdom would be put to the blood thirsty sword ; and that so long as they possessed life in their bodies and strength in their frames, they would not forsake him.

At this development the courtiers grew pale and in hairpricking (313) terror they gave up ill intentions. Now they wanted to go to the solidery and make up with them by holding out temptations and comfort. Consquently, the next day, Sardar Jawahir Singh took Maharaja Dalip Singh on the occasion of inspection of the troops arrayed in parade at Mian-Mir. Meanwhile, Ratan Singh, out of concern for wellbeing and loyalty, had spoken to the Sikh army that everyone of them who was firm on his oath, should concur with him. The whole of the army, therefore, unanimously renewed the oath ; and two representatives from each company collected in the heart of the armies and addressed *Sardar* Jawahir Singh thus : "Do not step forward. For, the *Khalsa* soldiery unanimously says that they have conducted the Raja under assurances and oaths. Now, if you hold your life dear, send him to Jammu with all the due honours, or else they would pick up Maharaja Dalip Singh off the elephant and spilt your blood in dust by the byonet point at this very spot."[53]

Now on witnessing this state of affairs, the courtiers lost their hearts, and as they found Sikh soldiery disposed to resist they became

53. As soon as Raja Gulab Singh was made a prisoner, the opposite party sought to dispose of his case without further delay in order to avoid amounting unrest and complications. He was, therefore, ordered to the Darbar. The Raja begged for instructions of the *Panchayats* in the matter stating that he was the servant of the army and not the *Darbar*. The *Panchayats* sharply rebuked the *Darbar* for acting without their permission and directed that he should be introduced to the Maharaja and *Rani* Jindan. In due time, Gulab Singh was conducted to the presence of the Maharaja and her mother, attended by the guards who had previously turned all persons they suspected out of the *Darbar*. Some of the Principal chiefs were ordered by the *Panchayats* to conduct Gulab Singh from the place of confinement and back again, and in all respects, the visit was one of triumph for him (*ORPS*, VII, BH. 165/31, dated May 5,1845; *Broadfoot to F. Currie.*)

Although his rivals once again tried to win over the army, but soon they started quarrelling and Jawahar Singh and Lal Singh now each aspired to the sole power and sought to destroy his rival. At length Lal Singh made overtures to Gulab Singh with the consent of the *Rani*.

On April 22, 1845, the troops directed the *Darbar* to be reconciled to Gulab Singh and conduct him as formerly under their own escort in a sort of triumph, to the *Darbar*. He was honourably received, gently rebucked by the *Rani*, by whom terms were dictated and at once agreed to by him. Finally, he was conducted back to his place of confinement in great pump when the guards were removed and he was declared a free man. (*ORPS*, VII, Bk No. 165/31 dated May 9, 1845. *Broadfoot to F Currie.*)

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afraid lest they rebel and might put them to sword. They were, therefore, compelled to open negotiations with his Lordship politely and courteously and begged to be excused. They sent words full of deceit and removed the guard and surveillance.The next day, they sent for him in the Darbar of Maharaja Dalip Singh and opened talks on the gold and wealth of Raja Hira Singh and the property of Raja Suchet Singh.[54]

54. When by the grace of God Raja *Sahib* (GS) got perfect assurance with respect to Lahore he invited his troops, who were established on the other side of the river, to come over for purpose of keeping watch and guard over him His men and his attendants at once came forward willingly and began to show enthusiasm in protecting and guarding him. On the 14th of Baisakh (24th April, A.D. 1845) *Rani Sahiba* (Jind Kaur) called Raja *Sahib* (GS) inside the fort and showed a great deal of kind attention to him. After a long conversation and discussion it became decided at that time that the country under the sway of Raja Dhyan Singh, Raja Suchet Singh and Raja Hira Singh must remain under the possession and sway of that respectable Raja (GS) along with all kinds of wealth property and other things as before and that on behalf of the Maharaja no interference would be made in future with him on any excuse and that the contract of that country would remain within the sphere of his conquest and realization just as it had been under the deceased Noble Sarkar. It was further decided that he should always keep on making payments about the contract of the country as before and should not show any kind of procrastination or deviation in being loyal, obedient, subservient, and humble in every way. After that the aforesaid Raja (GS) said that royal letters must be issued and despatched to the glorious chieftains who had gone over to those regions for purposes of settlement asking them not to interfere in any way with the country under the possession of the respectable Raja (GS) and to leave it exempted and excused from all kinds of payments as before. Thereupon, according to the orders of *Rani Sahiba* emphatic letters were issued to Sardar Mangal Singh and others, who were appointed in that country, asking them not to interfere with the country under the possession of the aforesaid Raja (GS) but to leave it exempted and excused as before, adding further that on the other hand they must obtain a certificate of satisfaction from the *Sardars* of the aforesaid Raja (GS) acknowledging their non-interference and send the same over to the Maharaja Dalip Singh.

(Sohan Lal : *Um-dat-ut-Tawarikh*, Dafter IV, Pt. III. pp. 322, V.S. Suri's Eng. II.)

"These terms though taken by the soldiers who crowed the *Darbar*, to be the spontoneous orders of the *Ranee*, who unveiled for the occasion, were prepared before hand in concert between the *Ranee*, Raja Lal Singh and Raja Gulab Singh.

A sort of account was struck of what Raja Gulab Singh had to pay. It amounted in all to sixty eight lakhs, which is less than he is known to have gained by the death of his brothers and nephews."

"But on the other hand allowance was made for the losses the Rajah had suffered and for what he had already paid—nay, he was allowed to count as part of his payments four lakhs which he said the widow of Suchet Singh would pay

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(314) When his Lordship got rid of the violence and surveillance by divine grace those ill-disposed people, who, in their heart of hearts, wanted to take his life and desired mischief and evil, started using deception and fraud every day. Thus, one day they hid carbine officers behind the *Darbar* screens and posted matchlockmen in the *Deodhi* so that when the said Lordship came, they should fire at him relentlessly and treacherously. Since all big and small were enamoured of his virtues, and were mad after compassion of his Lordship so whatever conspired amidst the malicious ones was reported to the said Lordship.

Over brimming with chivalry the next morning when the Emperor of the East left the sublime portice and sat in the golden saddle with all beauty and splendour, he washed his body with the water of the Ganga and besmeared it with *Qashqa* of sandal and saffron. He armed himself with sword and musket and other weapons and waited till a word from the people of *Darbar* was received. At this he left for the *Darbar* and reached majestically the place where state grandees and celebrities of dominion like *Sardar* Jawahir Singh, Lal Singh, Sham Singh and others, everyone of whom was intoxicated by the wine of obstinacy and proud of bravery and valour, held conference guarded left and right by musketmen and carbine-bearers. He thus surprised his enemies. The *Darbar* nobles busily engaged in offering him courtesy and respects and started conversation.

(315) Suddenly the face of his Lordship blazed in utmost anger, and he uttered from his mouth : "O illustrious *Sardars*; The late His Majesty patronised me in the lap of his affection because of our zeal for signal services and arduous exertions. We have thus run locked in serious conflicts and great battles which could territorise even bellicose warriors; but as destiny had ordained otherwise, no harm was ever sustained. Now that you strive to murder us by deceit and fraudulence and have set musketmen in ambush intended to kill us, you act like scoundrels and ruffians. If any one of you is haunted by the intoxication of conceit and hilarity of valour and is a legitimate son, he may readily arise for a combat and be locked with me in a duel of

and nineteen lakhs the said widow would recover for the Khalsa from the English at Ferozepur."

"After the Darbar was over and both sides of the account were reckoned up, the *Sardars* found, that the Rajah only to pay Twenty-seven lakhs of rupees-less than their own inertness after Heera Singh's death allowed him to carry off from Jusrota, and less than the Rajah himself had offered, and would have at one time gladly paid-but no man dared to oppose openly what was called the act of the army--especially with Raja Golab Singh at liberty and the leading personage at the Durbar."

(Settled on April 22, 1845 in Darbar).

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sharp swords and blood-dripping daggers, so that I may teach warlike men (like you) lessons in fighting and combat, and put to test the alloy of your courage and valiance. If none can dare single-handed, two of you may arise against me and see how I convert the *Darbar* floor into a rose meadow with blood of men and will let none of you escape alive".

Who could dare to challange that dountless warrior ? At once the hearts of the *Sardars* began throbbing in their frames and perspiration trickled down their faces, and they held their breath in silence; for, they knew that to rise in resolve to fight with the said Lordship was to throw oneself into a lion's jaws. It is said that Sham Singh who was distinguished for bravery and gallantry, reddened on listening this talk, yet spoke nothing. Helplessly, the grandees of *Darbar* begged excuse, and pacified his Lordship and swore in self-defence and of sincerity.

(316) But, a short time after this, those evil-intentioned people, not content with this, one day mixed diamond dust with sugar and ice and offered it to his Lordship in that summer heat. But he discovered it from context indications and declined to drink, and taking a lump of ice in hand started sucking it and said, "We hill people relish only such food". Indeed, as long as the True Protector guards there can be no fear from the trickery of the age.

If my Protector is that who to me is known,
He would keep glassware safe even beside a stone.

One day, they beckoned Rahim-allah Khan, *Marzban* of Rajaor, and Faiz-talib son of Sultan Khan, to sit in the middle of the road and open musket-fire on his Lordship when he returned from *Darbar*. Consequently, these evil-doers ready to commit that act and accompanied by two hundred musketmen, established themselves in the middle of the path in the darkness of night and waited. When his Lordship returned from the *Darbar* towards his camp an ascetic who practised austerities near Deodhi Khariavalian, sent for him, seated him before himself and started talking pleasant things **(317)** so that it became late in the night. The *Diwan*, the illustrious father of the author, got up and took another road to the camp. Those ill-wishers under the impression that his Lordship had left, became disappointed and stood up from that place. The musket fuses were yet burning when all of a sudden his Lordship reached there by that road and saw them falling into confusion and taking to flight.

So he got a couple of them arrested and made enquiries from them. Those evil-doers, finding no remedy, revealed the fact and disclosed the treacherous plan. Therefore, the next day, the *Diwan sahib*,

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was sent to the Darbar and the condemned prisoners accompanied him as witness, so that the grandees of state should get a perfect proof of their own misdeeds. When the said *Diwan sahib*, carried this report to the courtiers they became ashamed and repentant of their deeds and feigned ignorance and became sorry. The said Excellency opened his tongue in conversation that if they (courtiers) had not induced them (prisoners), these illfated crooks should be punished for their actions to his (*Diwan's*) entire satisfaction. Consequently, the grandees of *Darbar* sent for those persons in the *Darbar*, fettered their feet and sent them to Gobindgarh fort. This pacified the sparks of conspiracy a little.[55]

Sometime after this, by chance *Sardar* Jawahir Singh developed in his heart some grievance against Raja Lal Singh, and discord crept up in the *Darbar*. Everyone realised that if his Lordship, who was chosen of the age in ripeness of wisdom and abundance of valour, conspires with either of the two rivals, the settlement of affairs might become very difficult.

(318) Moreover, *Sardar* Sultan Muhammad Khan, out of devotion he professed for his Lordship, said to Raja Lal Singh by way of advice : "Your Highness are well informed of the dare of that gallant and wise chief, and also are well aware of the disposition of *Khalsa* army who are enamoured of his great virtues and liberal favours. As such, it has been detrimental to interests that his Lordship has been detained here so long. May it not breed some mode of disturbance and rouse rebellion. It is, therefore, desirable that he should in no time be permitted to leave for Jammu." These circumstances compelled Lahore *Darbar* to permit his Lordship to return to Jammu.[56]

55. Several observers testify to the murderous assaults on Raja Gulab Singh, contrived by courtiers, in particular by Raja Lal Singh and *Sardar* Jawahar Singh. "Several attempts were made to assassinate him, but no open outrage was attempted-a caution which entirely arose from the dread of displeasing the large portion of the army that had guaranteed his safety." (W.L. M'Gregor : *The History of the Sikhs*, Vol. II, p. 37.)

"Two or three times in the way some mischief makers shot at him; but by the grace of real Protector he escaped quite safe." (Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Dafter IV*, Pt. III, p.80.)

56. Raja Gulab Singh had been at Lahore for more than three months and had several times requested *Rani Sahiba* (Jind Kaur) to permit him to go to Jammu. Two or three time in the way some mischief makers shot at him; but by the grace of real Protector he escaped quite safe. He became very sad in his heart for he knew that the men of the *Sirdars* had a different attitude on that day and spread (V.S.P. 328) out the carpet of unity and friendship while in reality in their hearts they were resorting to the game of trickery. During these days when the aforesaid Raja showed a great deal of persistence in getting permission to leave, *Rani Sahiba*; who liked to show him respect, granted him a

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An evidence of the wonderful courage[57] of his Majesty is this that when grandees of *Darbar* accorded him permission to leave for Jammu, he replied that unless they restore to him all the districts and territories gone out of his possession, his return to Jammu might not be possible. Thus after extracting from the Darbar, *parvanas* purporting restoration of all his possession,[58] he left Lahore and reached Jammu in safety and by luck. Like the sun at its zenith, he gradually went up the highest mansion of prosperity, and like the emperor Spring which lavishly bestows free gifts of buds, petals and leaves, he burdened the nobles of the State and grandees of the Empire with gold from head to foot.

(319) After narrating thus far, I may add that while at Lahore

valuable robe of honour and allowed him to depart. He crossed the river Ravi, and covering the long stages of march, reached Jammu and considered it an escape from the dangerous situation connected with his stay in Lahore on account of the internal enmity of Jawahar Singh towards him. On the 27th of Sawan (9 August., A.D. 1845) he was honoured with a robe of honour (Sohan Lal: *Daftar IV*, Pt. III, p. 80). Gholab Singh judiciously persuaded the soldiers to allow him to return to Jammu, from whence he sent offers to the British of cooperation to enable them to march on Lahore if they would guarantee him the North Eastern Province as an independent ruler. The British however, declined to consider the proposal, being honestly desirous of maintaining the effort to establish a strong Sikh Government throughout the Punjab rather than of annexing it themselves. (Gough and Innes: *Sikhs and Sikh Wars*, p. 59).

57. Of wonderful courage of Raja Gulab Singh, W.L. M'Gregor observes that "It is a curious instance of moral courage on the part of Gulab Singh, that when he knew the dislike entertained towards him by Jawahar Singh, and the doubtful professions of his sister (*Rani Jindan*) he actually trusted himself in the power of both, and became a prisoner in reality, though without restraint; at Lahore. (W.L. M'Gregor: *The History of the Sikhs, Vol. II*, p. 37).

58. Khushwant Singh (*History of the Sikhs*, Vol. II, p. 37) summarises Gulab Singh's transactions at Lahore in the following words:

The Dogra (G.S.) displayed great presence of mind and a Machiavellian adroitness in extricating himself from a nasty situation. He showed calculated indifference to the summons to appear before the court, stating that he was the servant of the Khalsa army and not of the Durbar and that he would only answer to the pances. (*SC* 58 of 20-6-1845).

He had announced earlier that the monthly wages of infantry men should be increased from 12 to 15 rupees per mensem. (*SC* 49 of 20-6-1845).

He joined the faction of Lal Singh and became his brother-in-arms by exchanging swords with him. (*SC* 53 of 20-6-1845). A few weeks later he accused Lal Singh of attempting to assasinate him. (*SC* 34 of 15.8.1845). He was placed under house arrest; but he bought his way out in a few days He was fined 68 lac of rupees; but he got away with the payment of only 27 lacs (*Sc.* 58 of 20.6 1845). He let it be known that the Chinese had invaded his northern provinces and gained permission to return to Jammu. As soon as he was back in his mountain fastness, he reopened negotiations with the British and offered them his services in the event of war against the Sikhs. (*Sc.* 46 of 25.10.1845).

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when the royal Lordship had been put under surveillance in *Haveli* of *Kanwar* Nao Nihal Singh, the enemies had started disturbance and rebellion on all sides. Thus, in Kishtwar, Bikram *zamindar* of 'Kasti' on incitement and prompting from managers of Kashmir, had made the subjects of that district determined on revolt. Yusuf Khan *Munshi*, reared of high favours, threw dust of disgrace on his head and turned disloyal; so also Dalawar Singh, the unworthy son of Tegh Singh, the former Raja of Kashtwar, born of a courtesan, joined that wretch. Consequently, *Lala* Sarab Dayal, *Kardar* of Kashtwar and '*Mutsaddi*' (accountant) of Bhadiar, along with some warriors took refuge in Doda fort, and the enemy set siege to the said fort and hostilities broke out on two sides. *Wazir* Lakhpat, on order of his Lordship, sought to suppress the rebels and left no stone unturned in rendering signal services and commendable exertions. Molak *zamindar* of Ramban also showed no lack of loyalty and rendered all help to troops crossing the river Chinab. *Wazir* Zorawaru had been put in charge of the said expedition at Lahore. Like his illustrious father *Wazir* Lakhpat he rendered meritorious services. The rebels were, therefore, humbled down by loyal troops, and the fever of disobedience which had got hold of the brains of the rebels abated by the thundering cannons of the triumphant royal armies.(320)The insurgents sued for quarters.

Wazir Nihal Singh, a salt-eater of Raja Suchet Singh, joined the *Khalsa* forces and advanced upon Ramnagar. *Mian* Bachittar Singh Kahna-chakiya abjured loyalty and rushed to his assistance. They decided to attack via Nali, when Maharaja Ranbir Singh *sahib* who was firmly entrenched in Ramnagar, deputed *Mian* Zorawar Singh and *Wazir* Kor Singh with a numerous force in order to intercept the advances of the enemy. But as a letter from the royal Lordship had been received from Lahore through *Sheikh* Sodagar, directing that the said country which had formed part of *jagir* of Raja Suchet Singh *sahib* be surrendered to the *Khalsa* officers and he should withdraw to Jammu, so in obeyance of that *farman* he evacuated the place and reached Jammu. The Chibhial region which was a possession of Raja Dhian Singh *sahib*, was entrusted to *Sardar* Chatar Singh Atariwalah. In the Punchh fort *Diwan* Karam Chand remained loyal and firm resisting the rebels and insurgent. The regions of Jasrota and Manawar had already been occupied by the Sikhs. On Kahuta front, *Mian* Hatho, who had been deputed for management of affairs thereof, ran to take shelter in the Ramkot fort. Dhanpat Bali (321) made dignified endeavours in the defence of Mangla fort. In short, only Jammu territory had remained in possession of the officers of his Lordship.

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CHAPTER
46

Anglo — Sikh Wars

(*Two introductory lines omitted*)

If there be no ruler's authority soon all the four quarters of the world would become deserted and anarchy and disorder would appear all round. The circumstances of Lahore Kingdom were very much the same. When the presence of the late Maharaja Ranjit Singh was removed[1] from amidst, the pillars of State were shaken. A great discord developed amongst the government nobles. Everyone girt up his lion to murder the other and every head cherished ambition for the crown. Everyone mad after crown would win the army by allurement of increase of pay; while others would attract it towards himself by a promise of general donation.[2] Consequently, administration deteriorated

1. Maharaja Ranjit Singh died on 27 June, 1839.

2. *Disposition of the Khalsa Army* : During the disturbed years following the deaths of Maharaja Kharak Singh and Nao Nihal Singh on the same day (Nov. 5, 1841), the army not only grew indisciplined and powerful, but also became a cancerous growth in the body politic. Money became the driving force for troops and they upheld the authority of the highest bidder in the State. The army gained considerable power during Maharaja Sher Singh's reign. He got the throne by winning over the Sikh army by promising, and later on increasing their pay from Rs. 7 to Rs. 9. In addition they received *inams* or gifts, rewards and donations in the form of money and gold. Besides, the Sikh army seldom let slip an opportunity to plunder people and princes alike. (H.R. Gupta : *Punjab on the Eve of the First Sikh War*, xc.). Next, Raja Hira Singh used Sher Singh's technique and won

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and the apple-cart of law and order toppled town. The circumstances of Sindhanwalia *Sardars*,[3] Raja Suchet Singh[4] and Raja Hira Singh,[5] which have been related above, stand witness to this statement.

Prince Pashora Singh had harboured a false fancy, so he first raised disturbance and sedition at Sialkot.[6] But when he could not

over the Sikh army to take vengeance on the Sindhanwalia chiefs, by raising their salary to twelve rupees and of the cavalry from 20 rupees per month to one rupee a day. (*Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar IV, Pt. III, p. 35; *Tarikhnama*,i, 443-4) "Meanwhile, the attitude of the army was becoming steadily more aggressive; they were under no efficient control, the rulers not venturing to treat them with a strong hand; and the regiments began mutinying and deposing their officers"(Gough and Innes, *Sikhs and Sikh Wars*). By the beginning of February(1841) the insubordination had become almost universal among the troops at Lahore(*Clerk to Maddock*, 9 Feb. 1841. PGR; Gyan Singh, *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, III; 654-55) "Apart from the military organisation of officers and men, there was a system of what were called *Panchayats*, or committees of five chosen by the men, for companies regiments and battalions. . . . . The committees guided the united action of the soldiery, were able to dictate to their officers, and later on found themselves able to appear as representing the *Khalsa* in arms and to dictate to *Darbar* or Court itself". (Gough and Innes : *Sikhs and Sikh Wars*, 51). This was done clearly on the presumption that whatever the *Kkalsa* wished it could do (*Tahqiqat Chishti*, 518), and the "Sikh soldiers regarded themselves without the least hesitation as a privileged body controlling the state." (*Tarikhnama*, i, 311-2, Ganhiya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Panjab*, 407).

The demands for the services of the army, for contending princes and dignitaries,—Chand Kaur, Sher Singh, the Sandanwalias, the Dogra, Kashmira Singh, Peshora Singh and Jawahir Singh — made them realise their power and importance. "Gold medals were frequently struck and presented to different regiments so was money paid in cash and for distribution of sweets".

The appalling insubordination among the ranks became general so that "We have the painful records of the men in authority looking helplessly at each other in the face of defiance from the army, officers confessing meakly that their men were not under their control", "ministers taking their cues and orders from the uncouth and ill-bred soldiery", "the whole civil set-up listening patiently to the threats and denunciation piled on each other." (H. R. Gupta, *Punjab on the eve of First Sikh War*, XCIV).

3. *Sindhanwalia Coup* : See Chapter 43.

4. *Raja Suchet Singh's end* : See Chapter 43.

5. *Raja Hira Singh's murder* : See Chapter 43.

6. *Sialkot* (now in Pakistan) one of the most ancient cities of the Panjab is situated between the rivers Ravi and Chenab 72 miles north-west of Lahore and 27 miles from Jammu. Before the time of Ranjit Singh it was in the possession of a Sikh *Sardar* named Ganda Singh. After its occupation by Ranjit Singh it passed into the hands of several *jagirdars* and governors till at last it was conferred in *jagir* on princes Kashmira Singh and Peshora Singh, reputed sons of the Maharaja. Shahamet Ali thus reported to Captain C.M. Wade, Political Agent about his visit to Sialkot on 22 October, dated Baba Nanak Ka Derah, 27 October 1837: "This place is celebrated for the manufacture of fine native paper which is gene-

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succeed there (322) he went towards Atak and insited rebellion there. *Sardar* Chatar Singh Atariwala[7] and Fateh Khan Tiwana,[8] received message from *Sardar* Jawahir Singh, played deceit and fraud and persuaded him to leave the fort by swearing vows and oaths, and then killed him.[9] When the Khalsa soldiery became informed of this event,

rally used throughout the whole of the Panjab. There are about 200 shops of paper makers here from which is collected about 1400 rupees annually as government duties at the rate of two annas per quire. The principal substance of which paper is made here are flax and potash. The former is consumed yearly about 60 maunds and the latter 25 maunds at 3 annas per maund are levied as duty from each of these articles".

(National Archeives, *Foreign Department Political Consultations*, 9 May 1838, No. 47; Douie, 164,247,350; Rose, 141-2, *Sialkot Gazetteer*, (1894-5) 165-6; Capuchin Mission, 104).

7. Chatar Singh Atariwala was the son of Jodh Singh, a member of the younger family of Atari. During the reign of Ranjit Singh, Chatar Singh had little hold over the affairs of administration. But his family had gained great influence in the Darbar. In 1843, his daughter Tej Kaur was betrothed to Maharaja Dalip Singh. He was merely a stooge of Gulab Singh of Jammu. He was a coward and a man of little ability. It was his habit always to support the views of those who were wiser than he. (*Rousa-e-Panjab*, 71-2; Massy, i, 481-2).

8. Fateh Khan Tiwana son of Khuda Yar Khan, *Jagirdar* of the neighbourhood of Dera Ismail Khan, held till 1837, a command under *Sardar* Hari Singh Nalwa in the Tiwana country. Thereafter, Raja Dhian Singh, hoping some day to utilize him as his instrument, took him under his patronage and "got him appointed manager of the Mitha Tiwana country." His mission to Tank country too was successfully conducted. He was, however, a thoroughly unscrupulous creature and intrigued even against his own patron in whose assasination he is believed to have been an accomplice. After this he fled to Derah Ismail Khan, rallied the native Muslim tribesmen and unfurled the standard of revolt. "He had in cold blood taken the lives of perhaps more of his fellow creatures than any other of his time." (*Shahpur Gazetteer*, 1883-4 21; *Foreign Deptt. Secret Cons.* No. 72 ; Smith, *Panjab Records*, Book 158, Letter 162, Conninghum, 1897 edition, 274 ; Latif, 524, Massy, ii, 194-9; Grey 174 *Rausa-e-Punjab*, 511, 532, 533, 534, 535, 540).

9. *Peshaura Singh* was the son of a shopkeeper in Lahore. Kashmira Singh was the son of a Jammu Rajput. Ranjit Singh, although not unaware of the fact, treated them as his sons and gave them the '*Ilaqa*' of Sialkot, worth Rs. 50,000 in jagir.

Peshaura Singh was killed in Sept. 1845, at Attock, by Sardar Chattar Singh Attariwala at the instance of Sardar Jawahir Singh. He left one son named Jagjot Singh. (L. H. Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, pp. 4,6 and 7).

Both Peshaura Singh and Kashmira Singh were the reputed sons of *Rani* Daya Kaur, who, following the example of *Rani* Mehtab Kaur, procured two boys on different occassions and gave them out as her own children.

Daya Kaur was the widow of Sardar Sahib Singh Bhangi, of Gujrat, and was taken into Maharaja Ranjit Singh's harem in 1811, soon after the death of her husband. She died in 1843 (*Ibid*).

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they at once turned away their head from submission, and became intent on murdering *Sardar* Jawahir Singh. Thus Raja Lal Singh, Raja Dina Nath and *Bakhshi* Bhagat Ram were put under surveillance.

Peshaura Singh :

The Prince was vain and of slander capacity, but his relationship to Ranjit Singh gave him some hold upon the minds of the Sikhs. He was encouraged by Gulab Singh, then safe in the hills, and he was assured of the support by the brigade of troops which had made Jawahir Singh prisoner, when that chief threatened to fly with the Maharaja into the British territories. . . . Peshaura Singh felt himself contenances and he endeavoured to rally a party around him at Sialkot which, he held in fief. But the Sikhs were not disposed to thus suddenly admit his pretentions; he was reduced to straits: and in the month of June (1845) he fled, and lived at large on the country, until towards the end of July, when he surprised the fort of Attock, proclaimed himself Maharaja and entered into a correspondence with Dost Muhammad Khan. Sardar Chattar Singh of Attari was sent against the pretender, the troops were moved from Dera Ismail Khan to aid in reducing him. The prince was beleagured in his fort, and became aware of his insignificance: he submitted on the 30th August and was directed to be removed to Lahore, but he was secretly put to death at instigation of Jawahir Singh, and through the instrumentality, as understood, of Fateh Khan Tiwana--" (J. D. Cunningham: *History of the Sikhs*, p. 244).

Peshaura Singh had been "for five years Governor of Attock in Ranjit Singh's time and was removed it is said for omitting to salute or for some other incivility to Lt. Col. Wade . . . . on the invasion of Afghanistan. He knew the place and people thoroughly therefore and by the last accounts was gaining ground."

(Lt. William Barr, *Journal of a March from Delhi to Peshawar* pp. 192-93 and 404-405: 167/9 *Broadfoot to Currie*, July 26, 1845, P. G. R.)

"On the night of 14th July, 1845 Prince Peshaura Singh led a band of seven desperadoes into the fort of attock and bluffed its entire garrison into laying down their arms , . . . The story of the way the Prince seized Attock made him into a hero. "The true son of Ranjit Singh', said the peasants and the soldiers . . . . The troops sent out to crush the revolt were not only reluctant to fight but were inclined to bring the Prince to Lahore to replace Dalip Singh, and the coterie which surrounded him. The Commanders of the punitive expeditions, Chattar Singh Attariwala and Fateh Khan Tiwana, pretending to share the sentiments of the troops and pleaded with Peshaura Singh not to fight them. The Prince accepted the assurances given to him and evacuated the fort. The Lahore force greeted the Prince with a salute of guns and both Attariwala and and Tiwana paid their homage to him. The convoy started on its way back to the capital.

Twenty miles from Attock Peshaura Singh agreed to break journey to hunt for wild pig which abounded in the country ; the troops were ordered to continue their march homewards. When the Prince was without his personal guard and was relaxing after a strenuous morning of pig-sticking, he was seized and taken back to Attock. He was strangled to death, and his limps were cut up and thrown in the Indus that ran below the ramparts. Chattar Singh Attariwala made his way towards the Jammu hills: Fateh Khan Tiwana went to Dera Ismail Khan. These men had connived at the murder of Prince Peshaura Singh and were handsomely rewarded by Wazir Jawahar Singh."

(Khushwant Singh : *The Fall of the Kingdom of the Punjab*, p. 82-83).

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Sardar Jawahir Singh passed some days in pretexts; but at long last, on summon from the Misranwala platoons that harboured illwill to wards him, he, accompanied by Maharaja Dalip Singh, came riding on an elephant in the midst of the army stationed at Mian-Mir. Those devil-natured people, brought down Maharaja Dalip Singh from the elephant forcibly and took the life of Jawahir Singh with byonets.[10]

10. *Sardar Jawahar Singh's murder* :

The murder of Peshaura Singh was a pathetic affair. The murder of Sardar Jawahar Singh at the hands of turbulent *Khalsa* troops was equally pathetic. "As soon as the terrible news of *Sahibzada* Peshaura Singh being known in the *campu-i-Mualla*, all the officers and commandants and others gathered together and expressed the evil plan with the words that Jawahar Singh being killed and murdered for he had taken that bad step in committing that evil act with respect of *Sahibazada* Peshaura Singh." (*Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Dafter IV, Pt. III.* p. 82: 3 V. S. Suri, p. 330).

"The Panches (of the army) deliberated in the contonment at Mian Mir and after prolonged discussion decided that the Army should take over the administration. The Panches began to issue orders in the name of the *Khalsa Panth* under the seal *Aka! Sahai*---'The Lord is our helper" They ordered Jawahar Singh, *Rani* Jindan and Dalip Singh to appear before an army tribunal and explain the death of Prince Peshaura Singh." (Khushwant Singh : *The Fall of the Kingdom of the Punjab*, pp, 83-84)

Jawahar Singh ignored the summons but when situation became grave for him, he offered bribes to make an escape. But his attempts to leave the fort on Sept. 20, 1845 were failed by the guards. In the afternoon of the 21st, the *Panchas* sent 4 battalions to destroy all in the fort at which the garrison with artillery and all generals left the fort and went to Mian Mir. Thereupon immediate e- parture for the camp was considered to the only course of safety. Jawahar Singh, his sister *Rani* Jindan and her son mounted on the state elephants and proceeded to join the troops, along with all the members of the *Darbar*. Lt. Col. Gardner, an eye witness describes the dramatic scene that followed in the following words :

"Then a terrible scene took place. The *Rani* was dragged away, shrieking to the army to spare her brother. Jawahar Singh was next ordered to descend from his elephant. He lost his head, attempted to parley, and a tall Sikh slapped his face and took the boy Dhulip Singh from his arms, asking him how he dared to disobey the *Khalsa*. Dhulip Singh was placed in his mother's arms, and she, biding herself behind the walls of her tent, held the child up above them in view of the army, crying for mercy for her brother in the name of her son. Suddenly, hearing a yell of agony from a well known voice, she flung the child away in an agony of grief and range. Fortunately he was caught by a soldier, or the consequences might have been fatal." "Meanwhile the bloody work had been done on the hated Minister. A soldier who had presumably received his orders, had gone up the ladder placed by Jawahar Singh's elephant, stabbed him with his bayonet, and flung him upon the ground, where he was despatched in a momoment with fifty wounds." (Hugh Pearse : *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*, p. 260 -261.

When Jawahar Singh had been murdered, *Rani* Jind Kaur engaged herself weeping and crying bitterly and continued bewailing all the night and abusing

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It is said that Lal Singh though himself under surveillance, had desired the murder of Jawahir Singh in his heart of hearts.

In short, the *Khalsa* army proclaimed *Mian* Prithi Singh Kahnachakia[11] the Officer for some days in that indiscriminable chaos, and letters from the *Khalsa* were received one after the other through footmen and messangers, summoning his Lordship to Lahore. That *Iflatun* of the tavern of wisdom, who had profusely sought wit from Enternal training school, procrastinated his departure on this pretext or that.[12] In the meantime the courtiers of Lahore *Darbar*, cons-

the *Khalsa* "All the *Khalsa* kept on reciting verses of Sahiban and Mirza and Sassi and Punoon shouting loudly upon *Rani sahiba* that in the same way the mother of Sahibzada (Peshaura Singh) must have cried and wept." (*Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* p. 85).

Gulab Singh was a man not to let slip the opportunity of taking revenge on his arch-enemy, Jawahar Singh. As soon as he heard of the murder of Peshaura Singh and the hostility of the *Khalsa* towards the *Wazir* "he invited *Mian* Prithi Singh and some other Rajputs and said to them: "Jawahar Singh is a foolish and ignorant person, Hira Singh died with such a disgrace by his hand. Two or three times he attempted on my life. In whatever way you may, you should go and join the people of the platoons and destroy the foundation of his existence and fix up something by way of reward for the sepoys of the platoons in view of that service." Consequently the aforesaid persons reached Lahore with the other Rajputs, joined the platoons of the *Singhs* and held a conference and consultation with him." (Sohan Lal : *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, p. 83).

11. Pirthi Singh *Mian*, was the cousin of *Rai* Kesari Singh of Jammu. He was Gulab Singh's man, and at the same time wielded great influence on the Sikh soldiery being a member of their *Panchayat*. As described in foot note 10 above he was entrusted by Gulab Singh with the task of exciting the soldiery to kill *Sardar* Jawahar Singh, the Prime Minister of Lahore. Prithi Singh seems to have faithfully endeavoured to fulfil his mission, as the whole of the *Khalsa* confessed before *Rani* Jindan.

"We committed that act, which was so bad, according to the advice and instructions of Pirthi Singh. You may make your minister whomsoever you like all this time. All the *Khalsa* are ready to accept him whole heartedly and sincerely. But you should know that Raja Gulab Singh would never come from Jammu to Lahore and would remain over there." Mai *Sahiba* (Jind Kaur) said that they should hand over Prithi Singh to her; but the *Khalsa* at once made him take to flight. (Sohan Lal: *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, *Daftar IV. Pt. III*, p. 86).

12. The correspondence of British Agent at Ludhiana reveals Gulab Singh's great influence in the Lahore *Darbar* and particularly on an important portion of the army. After the death of *Sardar* Jawahar Singh, Court's brigade demanded that Gulab Singh should be made *Wazir*, whereas the other brigades were pretending to acknowledge *Rani* Jindan. Some tumult occured among them at first and some lives were lost. But in reality, they were unanimous on selling the government to the highest bidder, whom they all agreed in thinking to be Gulab Singh. But Gulab Singh had no faith in the *Khalsa* army; he therefore, procrastinated in coming to Lahore and the khalsa had to tell the *Rani* Jindan.

"But you should know that Raja Gulab Singh would never come from Jammu

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ternated at the activities of armies, held a council of consultation at the hint of *Bibi sahiba* Jindan who had been vexed at heart on the murder of her brother. She admonished the *Khalsa* army that whereas they clamoured (323) for increase in their monthly (salary) and rewards, the English Government *bahadur* had a mind to occupy the protected territories (of Lahore kingdom) as on cis-Sutlet side. Since the*Khalsa* army was possessed by the wine of haughtiness,it belived the far-fetched talk and left the cantonments, and fell in martial array opposite Mian-Mir. All the officers and chiefs gathered at the Shalah-Bagh and after mutual consultation they speeded up preparations to

to Lahore and would remain over there" (Sohan Lal: *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar* IV, part III., p. 86).

The chief agent of Gulab Singh in the army was *Diwan* Jawahar Mal with whom acted *Mian* Prithi Singh, Bichittar Singh and *Mian* Naurang Singh. These *Mians* and the *Diwan* took an active part in the murder of *Sardar* Jowahar Singh. *Mian* Prithi Singh was also one of the prime movers on behalf of Gulab Singh and instigated the demand for the attack on Ferozepur, to prevent a government of which Gulab Singh was not a member. The troops, however, at the desire of the *Rani*, plundered and imprisoned the three *Mians* and *Diwan* Jawahar Mal. But they were soon set at liberty by the troops who were becoming much dissatisfied with the Rani. (*ORPS*, VII, 167/37 of 1.10.1845, and 167/38 of 3 10.1845, *Broadfoot to Currie*).

The moderate party at Darbar, including such men as *Bhai* Ram Singh, *Faqir* Aziz-ud-Din, and the Lahore *Vakil* at Ludhiana, and the Chiefs in general were disposed to put forward Raja Gulab Singh as minister and he was, thus, though keeping ostensively in the back ground, in some measure the leader of the party. But Jawahar Singh's, having gone farther in his enmity to the English than they intended led to his sudden death. This premature explosion having deranged their plans, Gulab Singh was not, as intended, in a position to take immediate lead. (B. R. Chopra, *Kingdom of the Punjab*, 1839-45, p. 14-15)

The British Governor General, Lord Hardinge, also observed "Golab Singh is hanging back, and prudently declines the dangerous distinction of being the Sikh *Vazier* biding his time, if ever it should arrive, when an opportunity may occur of restraining the Sikh army" (*Hardinge to Ellenborough*, Agra - 23 Oct., 1845).

"Before the end of the month, however, the *Panchayats* formally assumed the Government, declared the *Vazier*(Jawahar Singh) guilty of the murder of Peshora Singh, put him to death, and offered the *Vizlership* to Golab Singh--an offer which the Rajah was much too astute to accept, remarking that he wished to live more than six months."

(Gough, Gen. Sir Charles and Arthur D. Innes, *The Sikhs and the Sikh Wars*, p. 60).

When the Sikhs expressed their wish "that he would supply the place of Jawaheer Singh as Prime Minister," he replied "that on certain conditions he would consent to accept the office. One of these was, that 'he should have the full power of capital punishment, without any appeal from his decision." (W.L. M'Gregor, *History of the Sikhs*, p. 38).

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leave.[13] Rajah Lal Singh, welcoming the evil design, also fell in line with the soldiery. Although experienced, intelligent persons warned that it would not be proper to break the treaty for nothing, yet it did no good. The *Khalsa* armies wielded their hand of rapine on their own country and reached the bank of the river Sutlej hurriedly.[14] The *Bibi sahiba*, out of the vain ambition which she cherished, wrote to

13. "The Sikhs crossed with the purpose of not simply vanquishing the British in one or two battles and then returning to the Punjab, but of forcing their way to Delhi, Benaras, and Calcutta. Their ambition and arrogance knew no bounds." (W L.M'Gregor : *History of the Sikhs* p. 63).

"Gholab Singh sent a messenger affirming positively that the Sikhs were determined on war, and offering to throw in his own lot with the British." (Gough and Innes: *The Sikhs and Sikh Wars* p. 60-61) "The *Rani* and her advisers courted collision for the purpose of employing their unruly soldiers against their friendly neighbour, as the safest means of extricating themselves from the personal dangers to which they were constantly exposed." *Governor-General to Secret Committee*, Camp Ferozepur; 31st December, 1845--BISL (II)—Bikramajit Hasrat: *Punjab Papers*, p. 136.

Governor General to Secret Committee, 4 Dec. 1845--BISL (I)

"This morning news up to the Ist instant has been received. The *Ranee* and the *Sardars* are becoming more and more urgent that the army should advance to the frontier, believing that, in the present posture of affairs, the hope of saving their lives and prolonging their power is to be found in bringing about a collision with the British forces. The Sikh army moves with evident, reluctance, and is calling Gholab Singh, who is collecting forces at Jummoo and is watching the progress of events."--Hasrat : PP, p. 126--*Governor-General to Secret Committee* 4 Dec., 1845.

"During the last few days, we have reports that the *Ranee*, the mother of the Maharaja of the Punjab, in despair at the state of affairs and in fear of her own life from the ferocity of the troops (but above all anxious to save the life of her lover Lal Singh, whom she had appointed her Minister) had been using all her exertions to induce the army from Lahore to move down upon our advanced stations and invade our provinces. Thus our ally and fiend is endeavouring to cause the destruction of her own army in desperate expectation of saving her own life," *Lord Hardinge to his wife*, Camp Umballa, 3 Dec., 1845 (Hasrat : PP., p. 99).

14. According to information received by Major Broadfoot late in November the plan of the Lahore Durbar was to send five out of the seven divisions of the regulars against the British. Allowing for the Artillery, this would seem to mean a body of from 40,000 to 50,000 men (Gough and Innes *The Sikhs and Sikh Wars* p. 66)

"The Darbar army was split up into seven divisions: four were ordered to proceed against British advance points at Rupar, Ludhiana, Harike and Ferozepur, two were to man the other frontiers, one the southern along the Sindh the North-Western at Peshawar and Attock, one was to remain at Lahore. Each Division was to consist of between 8,000 to 12,000 men (Khushwant Singh: *The fall of the Kingdom of the Punjab*, p. 90-91)

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the late Highness that he should go towards Peshawar and engage himself in the maintaining of law and order there.[15] The said Highness, out of consideration for the privileges of service, sent a note that "no perfidy which is unconsistent with the professions of love and sincerity and injurs understanding and agreement, has occurred on the part of the British Government. Lend, therefore, an ear to my advice and guard yourself cautiously against such an intention, and never plant your foot on that country". The *Bibi sahiba* sent back no sensible reply. A mandate in the name of *Khalsa* officers was sent by his Lordship for circulation that on the part of British rulers no deviation had been made from the path of pledges and agreements, and they had not acted in a manner which could shake the pillars of faith. Thus making naked agression would bring misfortune.[16] That (circulation) concluded with the following lines :

(324) "A child was enamoured to sport. The father, lending him precious advice said, 'Dear! Play the game. But do not play with your life. But you, who have taken to your head the hostility of the British Government without cause, do play with your lives. Although you have taken the lives of my sons, brothers and brothers' sons unnecessarily, yet I have been reared of the late Maharaja *sahib's* salt, I have borne all this patiently; and I have no other notion except loyalty. Wisdom requires that you may behave as you like in your own territory, but in no case should you perpetrate aggression on the territory of the British Government."

But the Sikhs, afflict as they were by ignoraace and vanity, paid no heed to it, and stepping aboard the boat of conceit crossed over the river Sutlej. Meanwhile, they received the information that a big

15. *Political Agent to the Commander-in-Chief*, 20 Nov, 1845. (Hasrat : PP, pp. 123-24) : "Since I had the honour of waiting on your Excellency today, I have received Lahore letters of the 18th instant (morning).

During the night of the 17th, the Chiefs had agreed on, and the *Darbar* had ordered in writing the following plan of operations."

"The army was to be divided into seven divisions, one to remain at Lahore and the rest to proceed against Rupar and our hills, Ludhiana, Hurrekke, Ferozepur and Scinde; while one was to proceed to Peshawar; and a force under Rajah Gulab Singh was to be sent to Attock."

16. "While these hostile proceedings were being enacted at Lahore, Gulab Singh demanded the reason of the Sikh Government breaking treaty with the British; and required, 'whether the latter had given any cause of offence ?' To these questions, no satisfactory reply was returned. for none could be given .... Gulab Singh knew well that the Sikhs would fail in their endeavours to fight against the British." (M'Gregor : *History of the Sikhs* II, p.,41.)

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force of the British Government had marched from Ludhiana to reinforce and defend Firozpur city. So they moved forward to block their advance. The authorities of the glorious British government were ignorant of this unprovoked aggression by the Sikhs which they had made out of insolence and adversity. When this report had been confirmed Brathah Fateh *Sahib* (*Maj. Broadfoot*), the agent to the Governor-General *bahadur* submitted this fact in detail for information to His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Sir Lord Henry Hardinge *sahib bahadur*, Governor-General of the Indian Empire. The British victorious troops under the command of Lord Gough *sahib bahadur*, Commander-in-Chief of India, and the Governor-General left in that direction by forced marches.

(325) On the 8th Poh of the year ninteen hundred and two, the two forces encountered each other at Buddaki and Feru.[17] On both

17. Buddaki and Feru refer to the historical battles fought at Mudki and Ferozeshahr, on 18 and 21 December, 1845 respectively.

The *Darbar* army was divided into two : Tej Singh proceeded towards Feroze pur. Lal Singh entrenched the larger part of his force near the villages of Pheru Shahr, later known as Ferozepur, and himself marched on to intercept Gough and Hardinge. The British had advanced as far as Mudki and entrenched there. Lal Singh ordered his men to commence hostilities while he himself retired to Firozeshahr. The leaderless Sikh troops fought upto midnight with full fury. After the loss of half of their force and fifteen guns, *Khalsa* forces withdrew from the battle.

"During the whole of the night, the *Gorechars* came dropping into their camp from the different directions in which they had fled. Lal Singh himself did not make his appearance till after day break the next morning, having it was reported, been hid in a bush for sometimes." (G.C. Smyth: *A History of Reigning family of Lahore*, p. 174).)

On the morning of December 21 Gough found the Sikhs entrenched at Ferozeshahr. General Littler joined forces with Gough by the afternoon. The battle commenced late in the afternoon. The British tried to over run Sikh trenches in one massive cavalry, infantry and artillery onslaught. The battle was fought late in the night. The British suffered terrible casualities. That frosty night "the fate of India trembled in the balance." Next morning Tej Singh arrived from Ferozepur with troops, fresh and eager for combat. His guns opened fire, but soon these became silent and Tej Singh ordered troops to retreat. Lord Gough made a cavalry charge on entrenchments at Ferozeshahr. The Sikhs fled from their entrenchments, abandoning their guns, 80,000 lb. of gun powder and all their stores. The battle of Ferozeshahr has been considered "the severest ever fought in India."

"Soon after the defeat, Tej Singh visited the British camp and had an inter view with Lord Hardinge. What passed between the two is not known but from subsequent treatment the British accorded to the traitor, it is not hard to guess" (Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, Vol. II. p.50, f.n. 24).

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sides belligerants enkindled the flame of war. A terrible carnage and conflict ensued. (*One line & two couplets omitted*).

At last, after many encounters and such bloodshed, a great defeat fell upon the *Khalsa* army on account of unfavourable luck, and whatever equipment they had was left there. Raja La'l Singh, who was the commander of the army, took to flight so that his whereabouts were even not known.[18]

It is said that in this battle the British force had scarcely taken rest from the tiredness of journey, when the *Khalsa* detachment commenced attack. Brathah Fateh *sahib* (*Maj. Broadfoot*)[19], took a regiment of *Gorah* cavalry, entered the enemy lines with elecrity and haste and performed signal feats of bravery. The Sikhs, unable to keep to their positions and to withstand the onslaughts of British force, scattered in confusion.

The *Khalsa* troops held consultations, and in hope of receiving help, sent a few Sikhs to wait upon his Lordship. When the Sikhs got audience, they submitted these facts to him. The Lordship wanted the *Khalsa* army to remain at present whenever it was (326) and not to yield to haste and impatience.[20] But the Sikh army did not follow the

Ferozeshahr was about ten miles in advance of Ferozepore and about the same distance from the village of Moodkee (*History of Punjab*, vol. II p. 337 Anonymous).

The British force consisted of 16,700 men and 69 guns, chiefly horse artille.y; the Sikhs, who were commanded in chief by Tej Singh, numbered from 48,000 to 60,000 men, with 108 cannons, of heavy calibres, in fixed batteries. *Ibid*, p. 340. See also Gough and Innes: *Sikh Wars*, pp. 75-109; A non: *History of the Punjab*, II. pp. 337-344: G.C. Smyth, pp. 173-176 : J.D. Cunningham : *History of the Sikhs*, pp. 264-270: G.A. Henry: *Through the Sikh War*, pp. 142-158 : Hugh Pearse, *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*. pp. 263-268, Khushwant Singh, *History of the Sikhs. II*, pp. 48-50.

18. "Lal Singh ran away and hid himself for twenty days in an ovan at Ludhiana, in which the Sikhs would have baked him if they had caught him" (Hugh Pearse : *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner* pp. 263-264).

19. Maj. Broadfoot, the British Political Agent at Ludhiana, was killed in the battle of Ferozeshahr fought on December 21, 1845.

20. In the words of William Edwards : "Gulab Singh urged the army not to attempt attacking the British until he joined them and this he evaded doing on one pretext or another knowing full well that in due time the British would attack and capture the position of Subraon." *Reminiscence of a Bengal Civilian*, page 104.)

It was by means such as these that Raja Gulab Singh earned the gratitude of the British diplomats and paved the way for the establishment of the Dogra State in the north of India. (M'Gregor, *History of the Sikhs*, II, p. 129).

After the defeat at Ferozeshahr, Lal Singh fled to Lahore and Tej Singh sent an urgent request for more troops.... He doubted his ability to again

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precious advice and nurtured in their minds the idea of constructing a bridge. The said Lordship again wrote them an advice for not crossing the bridge. But on account of haughtiness and the fever of enemity and disobedience lodged in their brain, they crossed the river and took positions on the other side. *Sardar* Ranjodh Singh, who had been endeavouring to raise troops in the *Doaba* territory, came therefrom, and entrenched at Fillaur on the bank of the Sutlej river. The *Khalsa* army, made a night attack. They left the encampment, reached Ludhiana and set fire to the cantonment there. The stores and equipment there was thus burnt.[20](a) The Raja of Ladwah joined *Sardar*

resist the British without the aid of Goolab Singh, who appeared, however, but little inclined to leave Jammoo and perhaps rejoiced at the overthrow of the Sikhs in the fields of Moodkee and Ferozeshahr, for he conceived, as the power of the dominant party declined, his own would be in the ascendant. His object and that of the *Ranee*, was to preserve friendly terms with the British since they well knew that in the event of the complete conquest of the Punjab. their position as hostile parties would not be an enviable one.

"The Rajah had a difficult part to play and the repeated demands of the Sikh army that he would join it, obliged him to leave Jammoo and proceed to Lahore, but he had determined to keep clear of the struggle until the onset should show how he was to act," (M'Gregor : *History of the Sikhs, II*, p. 42).

"After the defeat of the Sikhs at Ferozeshahr, they urgently appealed to Gulab Singh for assistance, and requested his presence, but the Rajah, as already hinted, had a deep game to play and though he obeyed the summons of the *Ranee*, or, in reality, the order of the *Khalsa* troops, and reached Lahore, he was determined not to mix himself up with either in the ill-judged opposition offered to the British." (*Ibid*, p. 149).

20-a. A Sikh force of 8,000 men with 70 guns were posted at Phillaur to keep an eye on the enemy movements at Ludhiana. It was commanded by Ranjodh Singh Majithia who had with him Raja Ajit Singh of Ladwa—the only Malwai chief who had joined his compariots. The two *Sardars* crossed the river and in rapid marches liberated the forts of Fatehgarh, Dharamkote, Gangarana and Buddowal and encamped at Baran Hara, seven miles from Ludhiana. The Sikhs stole into Ludhiana Cantonment and set many barracks on fire. The enemy depot at Bassain was also threatened" (Khushwant Singh : *The Fall of the Kingdom of the Punjab*, p. 102).

"Ten thousand men under the *Sirdar* Ranjoor Singh were also thrown across the river near Ludhiana, in order not only to menace the place with its small garrison, but to cut off the passage of supplies for Ferozepore and to interrupt the communications between the two places". (G.A. Henry : *Through the Sikh War*, p. 159).

General Harry Smith was ordered to go to the relief of Ludhiana.Smith went upstream from Ferozepur. Ranjodh Singh Majithia sought to engage him. Smith tried to make a detour when he came to Buddowal on 21st January, 1846. Ranjodh Singh attacked his rear with great vigour and captured Smith's baggage train and stores. "It is the most scientific move made during the war" was the tribute paid to Ranjodh's tactics by Smith (*The Autobiography of Lt. General*

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Ranjod Singh with seven pieces of artillery and his troops. As the news of the burning of cantonment reached the glorious *Sahibs*, their fire of fury flurried up. The British army, accompanied by Maharaja of Patiala advanced and looked for an opportunity. On the other side, *Sardar* La'l Singh Mararia who had been deputed from Lahore to the management of Jasrota territory, was directed by Lahore Darbar authorities to join the troops with a small force. Also, Platoon of Avitabile separated itself from Commandant *Sardar* Teja Singh and marched to that side. Raja La'l Singh out of shame tarried for some time in the *Doaba* and Lahore territories and joined the forces only under direction of Lahore Government. It is said that the Sardars and army officers had stood up to welcome him and had offered '*Sarwarna*'.

(327) In fine, for the second time a few Sikhs from the army went to Jammu with the object that his Lordship should personally carry his presence to the *Khalsa* camp and take the affairs in ! is own hands. One day, in an assembly of conversation, the *Khalsa* emmissaries, proud of audacity and intoxicated by the wine of foolishness talked of a prophetic maxim and uttered the said hemistich in the Panjabi language :

The army of the Holy Guru
Will sit on the Delhi throne ?

That is, the elders of the *Khalsah* had spoken in prophecy that the *Khalsa* army would succeed on the throne of Delhi (kingdom). The late Lordship who was distinguished for his intelligence, and wit and eloquence, told them that he wanted to add a word to their adage. If the *Khalsa* would not take it ill, he would say that the said throne was a very small place, and how the *Khalsa* army, about one hundred thousand men, would possibly sit on it.

As he said this all the assembly burst into laughter. Prudent as he was, his Lordship prolonged affairs on various pretexts and enter-

Sir Harry Smith. II, 186-187). But a few days later, Smith received reinforcements and he fell on the Sikh forces at *Aliwal* and inflicted a sharp defeat on *28th January* on Ranjodh and Ajit Singh Ladwa so that both of them fled the battlefield. But soldiers fought desperately. Large numbers were killed or drowned. The British captured 56 Sikh guns.

J.D. Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*, pp. 272-277; Anon. *History of the Punjab, II*. 345-350, Gough and Innes, *The Sikhs and Sikh Wars*, 110-119, G.A. Henry, *Through the Sikh War*, 159-164, W.L.M 'Gregor, *History of the Sikhs, II*, 133-140, G.C Smith, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, p. 178, Khushwant Singh, *History of the Sikhs, II*, p. 50-51.

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tained them with his pleasant word and eloquence.[21] He served them with delicacies and sweets, savoury dishes and thereby sought to delay his departure. Accordingly, he left *Diwan sahib* (*Jawala Sahai*) at Jammu in order to treat them courtesies and cares and himself moved his camp in the direction of Riasi on pretext of pilgrimage to the *Trikta Bhagwati*.[22] Then he would put forward the excuse of lack of auspicious hour, and left for Purmandal.

In brief, the said Lordship in view of no summons from the *Bibi*

21. "The Sikh army moves with evident reluctance, and is calling Golab Singh who is collecting forces at Jummoo, and is watching the progress of events". (*Governor-General to Secret Committee*, 4 December 1885-BISL (I).

He seems to have honoured the Sikh deputation by assuring them : "I am not going empty-handed to the great campaign that is to end at Calcutta," gave out Gulab Singh. "When all is ready for campaigning, off I start. This will be a long war", said he. "It's a race to the capital, and devil catch the hindermost". Thus he temporised (Hugh Pearse, *Memoirs of Alexandär Gardner*, p. 269).

It had indeed for some time been evident that unless Gulab Singh accepted the office of Prime Minister troubles must come. He was the one man in the country whose personal power and influence would enable him to control the mutinous army, and his refusal to accept the post rendered it certain that the struggle would come sooner or later. (G.A. Henry, *Through the Sikh War*, P. 120).

Gulab Singh possessed talent and astuteness equal to that of his brother Dhyan, and was, like him convinced that the power of England was too great for that of the Sikhs; he was, therefore, strongly against war. On the other hand his position was a difficult one. Had he attempted to stem the tide of popular clamour his own army would have turned against him, and he might have lost both his possessions and his life. He was, therefore, obliged to temporize, and believed that he would gain advantages whichever way the struggle went.

To the Sikhs, then, he professed a complete agreement with their views, but at the same time under one excuse or another he remained at Jammu, replying to their repeated requests that he would advance with his army to Lahore, by saying that he was perfectly ready to do so, but that he thought it would be in all respects better to keep his army as a separate force and so cooperate with the main body. On the other hand he sent secret massages to the British, assuring them of his friendship, and promising them that, whenever he saw the opportunity he would throw the whole weight of his influence and power into the scale of their side.

22. Trikota Bhagwati or Devi is the cave temple close to *Trikoti*, a picturesque triple peak, 32 miles from Jammu. The place famous as *Vaishno Devi* shrine, was a much frequented one in those areas (as it is even in wider areas today). "The Triketar Devi", writes Vigne, "near it is a very noble mountain it is visible from a great distance from the south divided, as its name would imply, into three peaks, and rises directly from the edge of the plain with an elevation (at a guess) of not less than five thousand feet above it." (Vigne]216; Murray, 233; Huge, 66, 74).

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sahiba, showed no inclination in the said affair.[23]

Meanwhile a letter of *Bibi sahiba* from Lahore was received through *Baba* Mihan Singh and Diwan Singh demanding his presence. The said Lordship too had despatched from Jammu a '*marasala*'. (328) towards Edward Lake *sahib* through *Baba* Nand-gir. Though the said *Sahib* gave no written reply, yet sent an oral word that 'whoever wants to ascend a lofty mountain should make his mind to start early in the morning'[24]

Thus his Lordship paid attention to this affair and sent '*parvanas*' towards the *Khalsa* army to the effect that they should keep their firm foot wherever they should be till his arrival. He called *Diwan* Hari Chand, the Commander of his troops to his presence from the territory of Manawar—where the Chibs and Bhaus of Deva-vatala had revolted and had stopped paying land revenue. He had been deputed to chastise the doomed rebels whom he had meted out punishment.

When the said *Diwan* had joined his Lordship, they left for Lahore. When they alighted in the bed of the Ravi river, *Bhai* Ram

23. "At this time Gulab Singh, who could have brought 40,000 men by a sign of his finger, was being implored by the Sikhs to aid them. At that moment he had a difficult and critical game to play. The army offered to make him (Dogra though he was) Maharaja, and kill the traitors Lal Singh and Tej Singh. Fortunately for the British, their prestige had its influence on his mind, and his memory recounted the treacheries of the Sikhs to himself and his countrymen; and he decided otherwise. He remained firstly at Jammu, the *Rani* Jindan telling him not to stir unless she required him . . . . ."

"But he held the power and would have used it . . . . to create an insurrection which could have shaken the British power more even than the mutiny of 1857." (Huge Pearse: *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*, p. 269).

24. The full text of the advice is: "He who wishes to climb the submit of a lofty mountain, must start at day break; should he delay, night may close over him ere he h s gained the desire of his heart ; the treasure which is burried in the depths of the mountain will become the prize of that man, who is the first to reach its submit." (*Secret Consultations, Foreign Deptt.*, N.A.I, New Delhi, No. 319; dated 27 Dec., 1846).

Lieutenant Edwards Lake was then Assistant Agent to the British Governor-General Lord Hardinge. Gulab Singh had been in constant communication with the Governor-General through various agents. His offers of an alliance with the British date back as early as the Sikh invasion of Jammu in December, 1845 when the unprovoked invasion forced this loyal vassal to look to British protection for his self-preservation, because he realised that in this deluge of indiscriminate oppression by the uncontrollable voracious army none was safe, not even the eminent courtiers, the child Maharaja, and his regent, *Rani* Jindan, who in their turn, all depended on British help for the preservation of their lives. They only realized late what the sagacious Raja of Jammu had perceived immediately after the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in June 1839.

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Singh, Raja Dina Nath and other *Sardars* who were there then, came forward to receive him on behalf of the Lahore Government. On the 19th Magh he entered Lahore[25] and presented himself in the *Darbar* of the *Bibi sahiba*. The *Bibi sahiba* bestowed on his Lordship a rich '*Khilat*' of *Wazarat* (ministership). The Lordship following his own dictates of well-being issued, *parwanas* in the name of army officers concerning the administration of that place. But as the planners of destiny had willed otherwise, information (329) was received that *Sardar* Ranjodh Singh Majithia had crossed the river at the head of an army, and had confronted the British forces. Consequently, a severe battle was fought between the two sides, and the *Khalsa* army, unable to withstand the attack of British forces took to flight. Whatever equipment and magazine the Sikh armies had, was lost to them. But ninety Europeans from the armies of the British Government were made psisoners by *Khalsa* army.[26]

On receiving intelligence of this event his Lordship wrote a *marasala*[27] of unity towards the British officer presenting excuse for

25. In the skirmish of Buddowal on 21 January 1846 Ranjodh Singh Majithia had captured the baggage of General Smith's contingent along with a number of Europeans as prisoners.

"The Sikhs on their side were correspondingly elated ; the presence of European prisoners added to their triumph ; Lal Singh and Tej Singh shrank within themselves with fear, and Gulab Singh, who had been spontaneously hailed as Minister and leader, began to think that the *Khalsa* was really formidable to one greater far than himself, and he arrived at Lahore on the 27th of January, to give vigour and unity to the Councels of the Sikhs" (*The Governor General to the Secret Committee*, 3rd February, 1846) .... The Sikhs seemed again to be about to carry them into the country of their enemy, but Gulab Singh came too late ; their fame had reached its height, and defeat and subjection speedly overtook them."

(J. D. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, p. 275).

The very next day, on the 28th January, the Sikhs were ignonimously defeated in the battle of Aliwal.

26. This refers to the battle of Aliwal, fought on 28th January, 1846, in which Sikh armies were signally defeated by the British General Harry Smith.

27. The British Governor-General Lord Henery Hardinge has in his letter of 31st January referred to this (*marasalah*) or communication. I have a communication from Rajah Golab Singh, which may lead to overtures for an arrangement ; he is to be made minister and says he is ready to do whatever we like to order. I am obliged to be cold and haughty ; but propose to allow him to come to propose terms and make a beginning." (*Lord Hardinge to his wife*, 31st January, 1845; Camp Ferozepore-Bikramajit Hasrat, Punjab Papers, p. 101).

The Governor-General was not displeased that the Lohore authorities should be ready to yield, for he truly felt that to subjugate the Punjab in one season . . . , was a task of difficult achievement and full of imminent risks . . . .

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the invasion by the Sikhs which was carried out of haughtiness due to the minority of Maharaja Dalip Singh; and he requested for the stability of Lahore Kingdom in view of the friendship of the late Maharaja. He sent it through Lala Chuni Lal *Harkarabashi*. A reply bearing the following script was received from the elevated Sir Henry Lawrence *Sahib bahadur* :

"Kind Raja *sahib* and true friend, Peace be on you. Please accept my heartfelt boundless longing for an auspicious meeting. May it be revealed to you that the writing of your friendly pen has been received and the purport laid down thereon had become known. Whatever you have written prudently therein is appreciable. Although, on account of help and assistance on the part of Lahore *Darbar* and trustees thereof to the army of refractories, it is difficult at this time to know the rebels and non-rebels, yet the vigilant officials of the British Government do not at all feel happy at the anarchy of the Lahore State. The intention of the Government of the British Company *bahadur* is only that (330) the wicked bands of rebels be

but the first object was to drive the Sikhs across the Sutlej by force of arms, or to have them withdrawn to their own side of the river by the unconditional submission of the chiefs and the delegates of the army ; for until that were done, no progress could be said to have been made in the war, ... But the total dispersion of so large and so well-equipped a body of brave men, as that which lay within sight of the available force of the British Govt., could not be accomplished by one defeat, if the chiefs of the country were to be rendered desperate and if all were to place their valour and unanimity under the direction of one able man. The English; therefore, intimated to Gulab Singh their readiness to acknowledge a Sikh sovereignty in Lahore after the army should have been disbanded ; But the Raja declared his inability to deal with the troops, which still overawed him and other well wishers to the family of Ranjit Singh. This helplessness was partly exaggerated for selfish objects; but time pressed; the speedy dictation of a treaty under the walls of Lahore was essential to the British reputation and the view of the either party were in some sort met by an understanding that the Sikh army should be attacked by the English, and that when beaten it should be openly abandoned by its own government; and further that passage of the Sutlej should be unopposed and road to the capital laid open to the victors. Under such circumstances of discreet policy and shameless treason was the battle of Sobraon fought. (f. n.i. Cf. *the Governor General's letter to the Secret Committee* of the 19th February, 1846; from which, however those only who were mixed up with the negotiations can extract caught indicative of the understanding with Gulab Singh which is alluded to in the text. It was for this note chiefly, if not entirely, that the author was removed from political employment by the East India Company. This was the author's own conviction, from careful inquiries made in India ; and has been the result of equally careful inquiries made by men in England) ÷ (H. L. O. Garret, *J.D. Cunningham's History of the Sikhs*, pp. 278-79).

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properly punished. In the opinion of the British Goverment such law and order should be restored that in future anarchy and breach of covenants should not even be thought of, not to speak of committing it. Consequently, as a token of friendship this situation has been explained in detail, *Lala* Anat Ram will personally explain the matters. In case of delay in carrying them out matters may grow worse. It is known that four times the fire of battle and bloodshed flared up, and in retribution for each occassion amends and redress was proposed.[28] If in future it becomes necessary even to punish the rebels, the reparation for the losses thus incurred will be imposed on the Lahore *Darbar*. From this suggestion it will be clear enough that inspite of all that has occurred, we are still sincere well-wishers of that *Darbar*, I hope you will always favour and please me with your exalted communications about your well-being. Written on February, 11, 1846, Station Ferozepur Cantonment."[29]

28. The four battles referred to here are those of Mudki (18-12-1845), Ferozeshah (21/22-12-1845), Buddowal (21-1-1846), and Aliwal (28-1-3846).

After every defeat Lafore *Darbar* sent its messengers for negotiation of peace "After Ferozeshah Tej Singh had himself come into the British camp to propose terms and ingratiate himself with the Governor-General. After Aliwal the Lahore *Dardar* thinking the power of the soldiers sufficiently crushed, and anxious on their own account, had sent a deputation on a similar errand, which had to be content with the vague announcement, that as soon as the Sikh forces had been disarmed and disbanded and an indemnity paid, the British Government would not object to the occasion of a restricted sovereignty to the boy Maharaja, Dalip Singh (S.S. Thorburn, p. 61). The last mentioned deputation was that led by Raja Gulab Singh, which fact has been mentioned by the Governor-General, Henry Hardinge in his *letter to the Secret Committee* dated 19th Feb., 1846., and to which J.D. Cunnigham (*Hist. of the Sikhs*, p. 278-79) refers in the following words :

> "The victory (of Br. at Aliwal on 28 January 1846) was equally important and opportune, and the time serving Gulab Singh, whose skill and capacity might have protracted the war, first reproached the vanquished Sikhs for hastily engaging in hostilities with their colossal neighbour, and then entered into negotiations with the English leaders." (c.f. *the Governor-General to the Secret Committee*, of the 19th Feb. 1846).

29. Early in February 1846, Gulab Singh sent a private emissary to Major Henry Lawrence. The present letter seems to be a reply to that communication. Lawrence wrote out this reply a day after the final defeat of Sikh armies in the battle of Sobraon on 10 February, 1846. It seems wrong to allege "that an understanding was reached between the British and Gulab Singh before the battle of Sobraon".(Khushwant Singh: *Hist. of the Sikhs*,II, p.55, fn.1) Lawrence's personal letter of 11 Feb.contains no such hint or assurance. GulabSingh, however, had anticipated break of Sikh kingdom and its ultimate absorption in British Empire of India, and being a vassal he had wished that his *jagirs* be continued to him in the same relationship to the sovereign as these stood in the time of Ranjit Singh. In this matter we can safely say that Gulab Singh had initiated

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But I may tell that the *Vakils* had not yet conveyed massnge and the reply not yet consigned to paper when the victorious British army was ready for battle, and mounted their drgon-mouthed cannons an hour before day break. Due to deep sleep the *Khalsa* armies knew nothing. The British forces, therefore, advanced swiftly up to the 'breastworks of the Sikhs and attacked them on the right wing first. The belligerants confronted each other and gave a good account of

this problem when he met Lawrence for the first time at Peshawar during Anglo Sikh combined operations against Kabul in 1842. He seems to have struck a bargain with Lawrence in camera and perhaps Lawrence agreed to plead his cause in case the imminent break up of Lahore Kingdom occurred, in return for Gulab Singh's active support in crossing the Khaiber Pass and reaching Jalalabad.

In his private letter to Ellenborough written on 19 Feb., 1846, more than a week after Sobraon, Hardinge revealed his plan of compelling Lahore court to agree to "the cession of Cashmere. These arrangements will deprive the Sikhs of more than 1/3 of their territories, and Cashmere added to hills, which are to be independent of the plains". (Bikramajit Hasrat : *The Punjab Papers*, p. 92). This plan might have occurred to the governor-general after the battle of Aliwal on 28 January, 1846 when the ultimate defeat of Sikhs became evident.

As early as January,1846 when Jammu was threatened by Sikh aggression Gulab Singh had tried to sound Hardinge and Broadfoot whether the Governor-General could assure him of the continuation of the *jagirs*. For this assurance he was prepared "to see the whole of the remaining country in the Punjab made over to the Hon'ble Company". The offer was then rejected. (*Hardinge to Ripon*, 7 Feb. 1845—Ripon Papers, British Museum, Add. MSS. 40,871 ff. 180-197. C.S., *Hardinge to Ventura*, 6 Feb,, 1845, *Ibid.*, 200).

Gulab Singh had thus aspired to maintain his vast *jagirs*, and perhaps this was the assurance which he had desired and what the Governor-General and Lawrence seem to have assured him. "He had been told by Major Lawrence on the 3rd of Feb. (1846) in a written document that we appreciated his wisdom in not having taken up arms against us, and that his interests would be taken into consideration". (Hardinge, pp 135-136).

The genesis of this "consideration" may be traced back to the days of British expedition to Kabul in early 1842 when they sought Sikh help under the Tripartie Treaty and were compelled to realise the all-pervading influence and importance of Raja Gulab Singh. . . . We need such men as the Raja and General Avitabile and should bind them to us by the only tie they recognise, self-interest. . . . In plain terms, the troops would be paid extra *batta*; the Rajahs (Gulab Singh and Dhyan Singh) secured in their territory . . . '(Edwardwes and Marivale : *Life of Henry Lawrence*, p. 229).

Lawrence went to the length of proposing, even above the authority of Gulab Singh's sovereign (apparently on the 29th January, 1842) "that on the terms of efficient support we assist Raja Gulab Singh to get possession of the valley of Jalalabad and endeavour to make some arrangement to secure it and Peshawar to his family....." (*Ibid*). Gulab Singh's intentions and political aspirations were, therefore, well known to Lawrence since January, 1842. And again it was Lawrence who mediated for bringing about an understanding between the Raja and the Governor-General,

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their courage and valour, and sent the glare of swords and hissing of bullets to the sky. The British troops achieved signal successes on all sides.

(331) (*One line and three couplets omitted.*)

At last, after sustaining heavy losses, the *Khalsa* troops showed their back. When *Sardar* Teja Singh saw that the Sikhs had been vanquished and were retreating across the river, he pulled down the bridge. Some of the*Khalsa* fugitives threw themselves into the river for fear of life. Of all the Sardars only *Sardar* Sham Singh Atariwala kept his honour and laid down his dear life in the battle-field.[30] Raja La'l

30. *Sobraon*: The decisive and the last battle of the first Sikh War was fought at Sobraon on the 10th February, 1846. The larger portion of the Sikh army was entrenched in a horse-shoe curve on the Sutlej near the village of Sobraon, so as to block the enemy advance on Lahore. Lal Singh was posted a little higher up the river at Harike to prevent a surprise move on Amritsar. Tej Singh was the leader of Sikh forces at Sobraon. He had a pontoon bridge in the rear connecting with their base camp on the right bank of the Sutlej. The bridge was guarded by Tej Singh's personal guard. He had a bricktower built well behind the front line and close enough to the bridge "for a quick get-away".

"In the first week of February, Lal Singh sent his emissary to the British Camp with a map giving the disposition of the Sikh entrenchments at Sobraon. . . . The Punjabi army had traitors to lead it at the front and traitors in the rear to stab it in the back". (Khushwant Singh : *The Fall of the Kingdom of the Punjab*, p. 106).

Hardinge gives a cryptic picture of the battle. "On that day the enemy's strongly entreched camp, defended by 35,000 men and 67 pieces of artillery, exclusive of heavy guns on the opposite bank of the river, was stormed by the British army, under the immediate command of his Excellency Sir Hugh Gough, Bart. G.C.B., and in two hours the Sikh forces were driven into the river with immense loss 67 guns being captured by victors". (*Despatches and General Orders*, p. 97--February 14th 1846).

W.L. M'Gregor on Sikh loss : "Hundreds fell under the connonade; hundreds upon hundred were drowned in attempting the perilous passage." This awful slaughter, confusion and dismay, were such as would have excited compassion in the hearts of their generous conquerors". (*History of the Sikhs, II*, p. 165).

The traitor, Tej Singh, indeed, instead of leading fresh men to sustain the failing strength of the troops on his right, fled on the first assaults, and had the pontoon bridge destroyed.

"But the ancient Sham Singh remembered his vow; he clothed himself in simple white attire, as one devoted to death, and calling on all around him to figh t for the Guru, ... he repeatedly sallied his shattered ranks, and at last fell a martyr on the heap of his slain countrymen". (*Cunnimgham's History of the Sikhs*, p. 285).

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Singh, who had already had an experience of the battle-field and had heard the roar of the thundering cannons, remained hidden in some corner.[31]

In the meantime a '*marasala*' from Major Lawrence was received in the name of his Lordship, of which the copy is given below :

"Kind Raja *sahib* and true friend. Peace be on him.

Please accept my heartfelt boundless longing for an auspicious meeting. Let it be known to that heart, glorifying in friendship, that this friend wants to say something to the ear of that kind (friend) which will be to his utmost benefit. Thus he should so manage that this person conveys personally this matter to that dear friend. He should make no delay in this matter. Hope he will gladden me from time to time with his friendly letter.

Before leading his men, Sardar Sham Singh dismissed his syce and told him to return to his village Attari; 'Tell them that Sham Singh will not be coming here'. The band, which rallied around him were killed to a man (Khushwant Singn, *The Fall, etc.*, p. 109).

Gradually each defensive position was captured by the enemy, but "no Sikh offered to submit, and no disciple of Gobind asked for quarter (Cunningham, p. 284). Wonderment upon the indomitable courage of the Vanquished". (*Ibid*, p. 285).

Lord Hardinge who saw the action wrote : "Few escaped, no one, it may be said, surrendered. The Sikhs met their fate with the resignation which distinguished their race".

Gough, the British C-in-C who led the Sobraon action was also full of warm "sentiments on the splendid gallantry of our foe" and "the acts of heroism displayed not only individually but almost collectively, by the Sikh Sardars and the army" (Gough and Innes, *The Sikhs and Sikh Wars*, p. 138).

It is estimated that nearly 10,000 Sikhs were killed in the action at Sobraon fought on 10 February, 1846. All their guns were either captured or lost in the river. It was a complete and crushing defeat.

(Gough and Innes : pp. 120-138; Anon : *History of the Punjab. II.* pp. 350-354; G.A. Henry : *Through the Sikh Wars*; 159-175; A.D. Cunningham, pp. 279-294; W.L. M'Gregor : *The History of the Sikhs*, pp. 154-165; Khushwant Singh, *History of the Sikhs*, pp. 51-54, and '*The Fall of the Kingdom of the Puujab*, pp. 105-110).

31. "Lal Singh ran away at Mudki; he preferred the embraces of Venus at Lahore to the triumphs of Mars; and was, as all *brahmans* are, held in the highest contempt by the Sikhs. He fled, hid himself in a bayrick, and skulked off from the army, swapping his handsome horse for a "tattoo" and smearing his face with ashes like a poor fakir, he hid himself in an oven belonging to an old bakeress at Ludhiana. The *Rani* Jindan led him a dreadful life at first, when he returned to Lahore after twenty days' absence, jeering at him for his cautious behaviour; but he being her favourite, orders were given to stop any further hilarity". (Hugh Pearse : *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*, p. 267).

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Written on February 13, 1846 A.D. from Lawrence *Sahib bahadur*".

In short, the triumphant British armies of the illustrious British Govt. amassed the gifted wealth of the conquest of the country of the Panjab and (332) crossed over the river and alighted within Lahore frontier. A proclamation[32] was issued by the Governor-General the

32. Proclamation by the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India. (English version) Kussoor, Feb., 14th, 1846.

The Sikh army has been expelled from the left bank of the river Sutlej, having been defeated in every action, with the less of more than 220 pieces of field artillery.

The British army has crossed the Sutlej, and entered the Punjab.

The Governor-General announces by this proclamation, that this measure has been adopted by the Government of India, in accordance with the intentions expressed in the proclamation of the 13th December last, as having been forced upon tbe Governor-General for the purpose of "effectually protecting the British provinces, for vindicating the authority of the British Government, and for punishing the violators of treaties and the disturbers of the public peace."

These operations will be steadily persevered in, and vigorously prosecuted until the objects proposed to be accomplished are fully attained. The occupation of the Punjab by the British forces will not be relinqueshed until ample atonement for the insult offered to the British Government, by the infraction of the treaty of A.D. 1809, and by the unprovoked attack of the British provioces, shall have been exacted. These objects will include full indemnity for all expenses incurred during the war, and such arrangements for the future government of the Lahore territories as will give perfect security to the British Government against similar acts of perfidy and aggression.

Military operations against the government and army of the Lahore state have not been undertaken by the Government of India from any desire of territorial aggrandisement. The Governor-General, as already announced in the proclamation of the 13th December, "Sincerely desired to see a strong Sikh government re-established in the Punjab, able to control its army and to protect its subjects." The sincerity of these professions is proved by the fact that no preparations for hostilities had been made when the Lahore government suddenly, and without a pretex of complaint, invaded the British territorries. This unprovoked aggression has compelled the British Government to have recourse to arms, and to organize the means of offensive warfare ; and whatever may now befall the Lahore state, the consequences can alone be attributed to the misconduct of that govarnment and its army.

No extension of territory was desired by the Government of India; the measures necessary for providing indemnity for the past, and security for the future, will, however, involve the retention by the British Government of a portion of the country hither to under the government of the Lahore state. The extent of territory which it may be deemed advisable to hold will be determined by the conduct of the Darbar, and by considerations for the security of the British frontier. The Government of India will, under any circumstances, annex to the British provinces the districts, hill and plain, situate between the rivers Sutlej and Beas, the revennes thereof being appropriated

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copy of which is given below :

"It should be manifest that the Sikh armies had been signally vanquished in every battle and successively defeated and driven back across the waters of Satluj river. More than two hundred and twenty pieces of their field artillery have been captured and seized by the victorious Goverment. Finis. The triumphant British army has crossed the river Sutlej and entered the Panjab territory. Through this proclamation, therefore, the Governor-General announces that the sovereign Government of *Hindustan* have been forced to put into operation such measures in accordance with the provisions laid down in the proclamation issued on the 13th December last, by the *Nawab* Governor-General on the authority fully and exclusively vested in

as a part of the indemnity required from the Lahore State.

The Government of India has frequently declared that it did not desire to subvert the Sikh government in the Punjab; and although conduct of the Darbar has been such as to justify the most severe and extreme measure of retribution (the infliction of which may yet be required by sound policy, if the recent acts of violence be not amply atoned for, and immediate submission tendered), nevertheless the Governor-General is still willing that opportunity should be given to the Durbar and to the chiefs to submit themselves to the authority of the British Government, and, by a return to good faith, and the observance of prudent counsels, enable the Governor-General to organize a Sikh Government in the person of a descendant of its founder, the late Maha Raja Runjeet Sing, the faithful ally of the British power.

The Governor-General, at this moment of a most complete and decisive victory, cannot give a stronger proof of the forbearance and moderation of the British Government, than by making this declaration of his intention—the terms and mode of the arrangement remaining for further adjustment.

The Governor-General, therefore, calls upon all those chiefs who are the well-wishers of the descendants of Runjeet Sing, and especially such chiefs as have not participated in the hostile proceedings against the British power, to act in concert with him for carrying into effect such arrangements as shall maintain a Sikh government at Lahore, capable of controlling its army and protecting its subjects, and based upon principles that shall provide for the future tranquillity of the Sikh state, shall secure the British frontier against a repetition of acts of aggression, and sahll prove to the moderation and justice of the paramount power of India.

If this opportunity of rescuing the Sikh nation from military anarchy and misrule be neglected, and hostile opposition to the British army be renewed, the Government of India will make such other arrangements for the future government of the Punjab as the interests and security of the British power may render just and expedient.

By Order,
F. CURRIE,
Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor-General.

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him by the said Government for the purpose of security and safety of British territory and for punishing the breach of treaty and rebellion, and for the comfort and convenience of all the people. Unless the aims and objects envisaged to be accomplished by this measure are fully achieved, the operation of all these plans will be steadily presevered in the best possible manner. So long as the British Government do not fully avenge themselves on the Lahore Government for the situation arising out of the agreement of A.D. 1809 the unprovoked attack by the Lahore armies on the empire of British Government, purporting insult, dishonour, disgrace and hatred towards British Government, the imperial forces will not relinquish their occupation of the Panjab country. Thus on the whole the object desired is this that all the expenses of this expedition be made good (333) and all such arrangements and devices desired by the British Government for future law and order be made to the entire satisfaction of the British Government, so that no such treachery and fraud in the form of such invasion and plunder is repeated. Finis.

It should not remain concealed that military action by this prosperous Government against Lahore Government and their army was not in any way actuated by expansionist motives. This fact has already been announced in the proclamation issued by *Nawab* Governor-General *bahadur* on the 13th December that the *Nawab* Governor-General *bahadur* earnestly desires that in Lahore State such law and administration is restored that the armies remain under Government control and subjects live in peace. The verification of what we say and the truth of this matter is borne out by the fact that no attack and aggression was planned in advance; but in the event of sudden and unprovoked aggression and inroad on the part of Lahore Government on the British territory, a reaction in the shape of battle and inroad into Lahore territory became a compulsion. Therefore, whatever harm and injury will be incurred by the Lahore State, that has to be considered acruing from the misdeeds and hostile acts and behaviour of the Lahore Government and thereof. The British Government do not desire and expect the expansion of their territories. But surely the acquisition of reparation for what has been done and the assurance for the future renders it expedient that the part of that country which is now under the Lahore Government should be annexed and occupied. Consequently, the extent of territory as is considered proper for confiscation with a view to assure the safety of the boundaries of British Government will be ascertaiued after observation of the behaviour and attitude of Lahore *Darbar*.

(334) Certainly, in any case, the Government of India will annex to the British Empire the districts between the rivers Sutlej and Bias along with the hills. All the property and revenue of those districts

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will be carried to account against the sums of money stipulated to be paid by the Lahore Government. Whereas the sovereign government of *Hindostan* have oftenly proclaimed their intention not to the ruin of the *Khalsa* State; but the attitude of Lahore *Darbar* had been such that they deserved to be subjected to whatever is exigent by statesmanship in view of hinderances to settlement of reparations and indemnity, and indispostion to give up the attitude of non-payment of compensation and hurrying up matters. Nevertheless the *Nawab* Governer-General *bahadur* is adament to do so for the present so that the Lahore *Darbar* and chiefs thereof get ample opportunity to show submission and loyalty towards the British Government; that *Nawab* Governor-General *bahadur* should, in view of their professions of devotion and prudence, consent to perpetuate the State in the person of one of the sons of Maharaja Ranjit Singh *Bekunthbashi* (dwelling in heaven) who was the founder of this State and a party to treaty with the British Government. In this connection what other argument can, on behalf of *Nawab* Governor-General *bahadur*, be better than the forbearance and patience on the part of British Government who, inspite of a complete victory give vent like this to their secret designs so that durable conditions and wholesome system get shape in the form of management. All those chiefs who are well-wishers of the descendants of the late Maharaja Ranjit Singh, those who did not take part in hostilities (335) against the British Government, may be informed that in cooperation with *Nawab* Governor-General *bahadur* such an administration is set up whereby the Kingdom of the successors of Maharaja Ranjit Singh survives in such a manner as to keep the army under control and ptotect its people, and in future well-being and peace prevail in the *Khalsa* State; that the frontier of the British Empire also becomes secure against such depredations. The equity and justice of the great ruler of *Hindostan* should stand proven and established before the people of the world.

If during the period which may be sufficient for relieving the *Khalsa* State from anarchy and indiscipline of army, they again take the opportunity of taking recourse to battle and bloodshed on the British army, the British Government reserves to themselves the right to carry out such other devices towards the Punjab State as may be expedient to the fulfilment of all obligations in best possible manner and to the entire satisfaction of the British Government".

When his Lordship heard the report of this event he expressed great concern, and he distinguished by bestowing *'khilats'* on those prisoners which they had captured from the British army, and sent them on elephants and under escort to Qasur. He also held a council for deliberations and held consultations in this matter with the authorities of Lahore *Darbar* including *Bhai* Ram Singh, *Diwan* Dina

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Nath and *Faqir* Nur-Din *sahib*. They submitted that he should strike a settlement which should strengthen the foundation of the State. In addition, the said Lordship asked for orders from the *Bibi sahiba*, and from her similar '*irshad*' was received; rather a '*parvana*' bearing the personal seal of the *Bibi sahiba* and the signatures of all the chiefs was written out to the effect (336) that whatever his Lordship settled of his own goodwill with the glorious *Sahibs* in the affair, would be acceptable to all of them.[33]

His Lordship, therefore, accompanied by Chiefs including *Diwan* Dina Nash, *Faqir* Nur-Din, *Diwan* Devi Sahai and *Sardar* Gulab Singh son of Chatar Singh Atariwala, left for British camp. They stayed at night in AnarKali. Every one of the five Sikh platoons which followed him got a donation of five rupees each. The second day they moved from that place and stopped at Kachha Kahna. The next morning they marched off and alighted at the village Chari-dan which is four miles from Qasur towards Lahore. A letter from *Sardar* Teja Singh and Raja La'l Singh was received to the effect that they should march off from the village Charaion and camp at the village of Naushehra Kuhna On the last day he hurried to the presence of the Governor-General[34] (Lord Hardinge),

As a group of ill-meaning rivals was quite close to the royal retinue, he therefore with a view to the comfort and satisfaction of companions, ordered that none but only one company of horse and orderlies should accompany him. When he was about a '*kroh*' away from the Governor's camp the exalted Sir Henry Lawence *Sahib bahadur* who had formerly been deputed to the office of Resident of

33. "On the arrival at Lahore of the news of the complete victory of Sobraon, the *Ranee* and *Darbar* urged Rajah Golab Singh to proceed immediately to the British camp, to beg in the name of the *Darbar* and the Sikh Government for the offence which had been committed, and to endeavour to negotiate some arrangements for the preservation of the country from utter ruin.

"The Rajah first stipulated that the *Darbar* and the chief officers of the army, as well as the members of the *Panchayats*, should sign a solemn declaration that they would abide by such terms as he might determine on with the British Government. This is said to have been immediately acceded to ; and on the 15th (Feb., 1846) Rajah Golab Singh, *Dewan* Dina Nath, and *Fakeer* Noor-ud-Deen arrived in my camp at Kussoor, with full credentials from the Maharajah, and empowered to agree in the name of the Maharajah and the Government, to such terms as I might dictate. The Rajah was accompanied by the Barakzai chief, Sultan Muhammad Khan and several other influential *Sardars* of the nation." (*Governor General to the Secret Committee*, Camp Kanhacuchwa, 19 Feb., 1846--BISL (I)-Bikramajit Hasrat: Punjab Papers, p.141.)

34. See note 33 above. The deputation led by Raja Gulab Singh met the Governor-General, Lord Henry Hardinge, on the 15th February, 1846 at Kasur.

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Nepal and had come from there on Governor-General *bahadur's* directions as a correspondent, came forward to receive him. When the special retinue reached near the large tent Sir Frederick Currie *Sahib bahadur*, the Chief Secretary, welcomed him and shewed him into the Governor's tent with all honour and courtesy. The Governor-General *bahadur* personally came out of the tent and holding his (337) hand seated him in a chair. In proper words the said Lordship delved on the obstinacy of *Khalsa* army which had stepped out of the sphere of obedience; and then talked of reaffirmation of basis of agreement and the strengthening of the foundation of unity. His Excellency the Lord Governor-General *bahadur* agreed to it on stipulation of two *'crore'* of rupees and annexation of the *Doaba* territorry to the British Government. The said Lordship presented excuse and objected that providing of such a huge sum seemed quite impossible.

At this moment Mr. Currie *Sahib bahadur* and Sir Henry Lawrence *Sahib bahadur* took him aside and made him to understand by intelligent advice and admonition that his glorious brothers, very dear sons and illustrious nephews had all been annihilated in that hurricane of indiscimination. Thus it was not for him to press on so much resistance and dispute for the Lahore *Darbar*. Moreover, they added, His Excellency the Governor-General *bahadur* had very kindly offered to exclude *Kohistan* territory from Lahore Kingdom for him and exalt him by the title of 'Maharaja'.[35]

35. It was very politic on the part of Hardinge to alienate Raja Gulab Singh from the interests of the *Khalsa* by making a direct and express offer of an independent hill sovereignty at this juncture when the British needed his help, or at least, his inactivity, the most (so far only very vague assurances for the 'consideration' of his inrerests had been offered). If Gulab Singh had been offended and provoked and if he had been compelled to see his interests in reviving hostilities, he could have easily done so, and by his "skill and capacity might have protracted the war" (J.D Cunningham, p. 278) Gulab Singh, too, had shown his dexterity in wrentching out of the Imperialist and expansionist British aurhorities his heart's, desire. He made his power and prestige keenly felt by the victors at Kasur. "It was remembered that at Kasur he had said the way to carry on a war with the English was to leave the sturdy infantry entrenched and watched, and to sweep the open country with cavalry to the gates of Delhi, and while negotiations were still pending, and the season advancing, it was desired to conciliate one who might render himself formidable in a day, by joining the remains of the Sikh forces, and by opening his treasures and arsenals to a warlike population" (J.D. Cunningham, pp. 287-288). The Britishers were conscious of Gulab Singh's power and influence, particularly now when he had been unanimously acknowledged the Minister of Lahore *Darbar*. He could have "brought 40,000 men by a sign of his finger" (Hugh Pearse : *Life of Henry Lawrence*, p. 266). When he repaired to Kasur to negotiate terms with Hardinge, he had 20,000 or 30,000 of his men within hail

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The said Lordshi p sumitted in reply: "The word of the Governor-General *bahadur* amounts to divine mercy but the fact is that my brothers and sons who had been killed were all reared of the salt of Lahore *Darbar*. Now when Maharaja Dalip Singh has not yet reached adulthood and I have come as emissary on his behalf to mediate, and have participated in deliberations, if I prove faithless to that boy king in expectation of territory and kingdom, myself aud my offspring might go down to disgrace for ever. So it is hoped that the Governor-General *bahadur* would liberally and large-heartedly adopt forgiveness and mercy for the sake of treaties and covenents concluded (338) between the late Maharaja *sahib* and the eternal British Government, and in view of the minority of Maharaja Dalip Singh who is innocent and sinless".

Conseqnently, the said *Sahibs* went in the presence of the Governor-General *bahadur* and represented the case. Discussion between the parties continued till late in midnight. At last payment of one *crore* and fifty lakh rupees and the cession of the *Doaba* territory was agreed upon. The said Lordship proposed that rupees fifty *lakhs* would be paid instantly whereas the remaining one crore would be paid in three harvests. The *Doaba* territory would be surrendered at once.[36] He also discusses about Maharaja Dalip Singh's visit, which

(*Ibid*, p. 270) and it was ascertained that the Sikhs still held together to the number of twenty thousand men in the direction of Amritsar (J.D. Cunningham, p. 286) who would have been too glad to rush on the Governor-General under the leadership of Gulab Singh. The Governor-General had, therefore, in spite of himself "to appease Gulab Singh in a manner sufficiently agreeable to the Raja himself". (*Ibid*, p. 288). This Hardinge had to do when he know his successful advance upto Kasur was not due to the efficiency of his forces only.

"Thus he (Gulab Singh) temporised. But he held the power, and would have used it (if Dhyan Singh would have been alive or if he himself had been a Sikh) to create an insurrection which would have shaken the British power more even than the mutiny of 1857. All the protected Sikh States in the Malwa—Nabha, Jind and Patiala—were ready to envelope the British army in case of a reverse". (Hung Pearse : *Memoirs of Alexander Garden*, p. 270).

36. "The term offered are 1/2 million sterling compensation, the Jullundur *Doab*, the disbandment of the Sikh army and its reorganisation; complete control of the navigation of the Indus, and if we can manage, the cession of Cashmere. These arrangements will deprive the Sikhs of more than 1/3 of their territories, and Cashmere added to hills, which are to be independent of the plains". (*Hardige to Ellenbnough*, Agra, 19 February, 1846—EP (PRO) 30/12 (71/7).

Commenting on Raja Gulab Singh's endeavours in conducting negotiations and bringing about reconciliation between the victor and the vanquished W.L. M'Gregor writes :

"The Rajah deserve credit for the above manner in which he arranged matters between the two governments;" . . . (*Hist. of the Sikhs, II*, p. 259).

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was duly approved of.

Then his Lordship returned to his '*derah*' and sent his letter to *Bibi sahiba* asking for sending Maharaja Dalip Singh. So, the next day Maharaja Dalip Singh arrived in the '*derah*' in a '*Bhaggi*'. The said Lordship received him. A salute of guns was discharged. Then the '*derah*' moved from there to the village Laliani. There the meeting of Maharaja Dalip Singh with the Governor-General *bahadur* took place. The Governor-General bestowed precious '*khilats*' on the Maharaja and his Lordship.[37]

The authorities of the British Government had expressed their fondness to visit Lahore to which the said Lordship raised certain objections, but after a considerable disputation it was settled that they would stay in Lahore for some days and then return to Ferozpur. Consequently, the camps halted at Kahna-Kachha for the night. They entered Lahore the next day.[38] The will of the British ruler was so

"The chiefs remained the greater part of the night (on 15-2-1846) in conference with Mr. Currie and Major Lawrence, and before they separated, a paper was signed by them conceding all the demands" (Ann : *Hist. of the Punjab, II*, p. 359; "Despatches and General Order--*Governor-General of India to the Secret Committee*, Camp Kanha Cuchwa, 19 Feb., 1846, p. 92).

"Indemnity . . . and a *crore* and a half of rupees, equivalent to one and a half millions sterling, was demanded. But only half a million was forthcoming from the exhausted Lahore treasury, so the cession of Kashmir was accepted in lieu of the other million. Then Ghulab Singh of Jammu obtained his deisre, as a reward for his consistently friendly attitude, he was confirmed in the independent sovereignty of Jammu, to which the newly ceded Kashmir was added in exchange for a crore of rupees. . . ." (Gough and Innes : *Sikhs and Sikh wars*, p. 144.)

37. Hardinge gives dates of this event in his despatch of 19/2/1846 to the Secret Committee --

"It was determined that the Maharaja should meet me at Lalleana on the 18th February, 1846, when the camp arrived at that place. On the afternoon of the 17th, it was annonced to me that the Maha Raja, with *Bhai* Ram Singh and other chiefs had instantly on receiving the summons from Raja Golab Singh, hastened from Lahore, and that they had arrived at Raja Golab Singh's camp.

On 18th, afternoon, Maharaja Dalip Singh, Raja Gulab Singh, *Bhai* Ram Singh, *Diwan* Dina Nath, *Fakir* Nurud Din and ten or twelve other chiefs had an interview with the British Governor-General, Lord Henry Hardinge. Raja Gulab Singh acted as Master of ceremonies for the Durbar. "Gulab Singh's oriental form of expression was rather fine", wrote General Sir Hope Grant, who was present at the meeting. 'If', said Gulab Singh, 'my son or dearest friend were taken ill, I should immediately send for the most eminent physician, and throw the sufferer into his hands, request his advice, and make the patient swallow the physic drescribed. I now place the Maharaja in the hands of the Governor-General as that skilful physician. I know everything he will do with regard to him will be for the best, and for his advantage,"

38. The Governor-General and the British army arrived at Lahore, the Sikh capital, on 20th February, 1846.

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17. Bindra-bani Ragini
(Raja Ram's Raga-mala manuscript)

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18. A Ragini illustration
(from a manuscript by anon)



19. A Ragini illustration
(from a manuscript by anon)

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(339) expressed that they would retire to Ferozpur after taking fifty *lakh* rupees as stipulated by terms of agreement. The *Bibi sahiba* held talks with Raja La'l Singh and sent her letter that Raja La'l Singh was the empowered absolute agent and that Raja Gulab Singh had no powers.[39] So La'l Singh became surety for the payment of the above amount and held talks about the stationing of British troops at Lahore. It was thus agreed upon that in exchange for a *crore* of rupees the territories on that side of the Bias waters including Kangra and Kohistan regions with the countries of Kashmir, Hazara and Chamba would be ceded in perpetuity to British possessions, so as to transfer Jammu, etc., the estates of the said Lordship under the occupation of British authorities.[40]

When they had thus committed themselves, his royal Lordship, was afflicated by acute distraction and surprise beyond expression. He sent *Diwan* Jawala Sahai to the presence of Sir Henry Lawrence *Sahib bahadur* with whom he was acquainted during their stay at Peshawar, to represent that Jammu territory be granted as sustenance to his dependants and he should be permitted to retire to Banaras. The said *Diwan*, therefore, went to Sir Henry Lawrence *Sahib* and submitted the facts before him. He took up the matter with Mr. Currie *Sahib bahadur*, Chief Secretary to the Foreign Department, and informed him (Jawala Sahai) of this happy tiding that the British Government heartily regards the goodwill of Raja Gulab Singh *sahib bahadur*, and though previously they offered him territory of the British Government but now they would bestow it for money. When the *Diwan*

39. This decision of *Rani* Jindan and her courtiers concerning Gulab Singh seems to have been prompted by the knowledge that Gulab Singh was going to be installed as ruler independent of Lahore *Darbar*. Hardinge has kept this plan a secret confined to himself and perhaps to H.M. Lawrence. It was usually believed that Kashmir and hill country was being taken by the British Government in lieu of *crore* of rupees which the Sikh Government was unable to pay and to keep it under their control. But later on when Governor-General's plan became public it excited the jealousy of *Rani* Jindan and most of the Sikh chiefs.

In his despatches of the 3rd and 19th February 1846, Lord Hardinge indicates that he intended to do some thing for Gulab Singh, but he does not state that he designed to make him independent of Lahore, nor does he say that he told the Sikh chiefs the arrangements then on foot might include the separation of Jammu.

The fact, therefore, came as surprise to the Sikh court and the *Rani* promptly withdrew the powers delegated to Raja Gulab Singh. Her reaction to this proposal described below by *Diwan* Kirpa Ram betrays the acute jealousy which afflicted *Rani* Jindan and her friends.

40. See Article 4 of the Treaty of Lahore, dated 9th March, 1846 in the Appendices.

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sahib carried this happy tiding to the Lordship he prostrated in gratitude on the threshold of the Peerless Almighty at this unexpected development, and showered various favours on the (340) said *Diwan sahib*. So, for some days the said *Diwan sahib* remained busy day and night in catering for mutual goodwill at the British camp and attending on the very exalted Colonel Lawrence *Sahib bahadur* and Sir Frederick Currie *Sahib bahadur*, and made signal endeavours till by the blessings of God and by dint of varied mediations and intercourses of these *Sahibs*. it was determined by the Governor-General *bahadur* to bestow territories lying between the source of the river Bias to the river Sindh, and the countries of Kashmir and Hazarah including the whole hill frontier attached thereto in return for a sum of one crore of rupees as '*nazarana*'.[41]

When the *Diwan sahib* conveyed this happy tiding to his Lordship, his happiness knew no bounds. But words were exchanged on the non-availability of such a huge cash amount. At this the *Diwan sahib* spoke many encouraging words and guaranteed the payment of the required money. Whenever this fact came under discussion with the said *sahibs*, the *Diwan* always assured them that his Master was renowned the world over for his treasures and opulence, so there was no doubt in his possessing one *crore* of rupees. A cash amount of about fifteen *lakhs* of rupees belonging to Raja Suchet Singh and lying as a deposit at Ferozpur, would be adjusted by the British

41. The *Durbar* was unable to pay the full war indemnity and instead ceded the hill territories between the Beas and the Indus, including Kashmir and Hazara. Hardinge was reluctant to occupy the whole of this area. In pursuance of the policy to weaken the Punjabis by strengthening the Dogras, he drew a line at the Chakkee river and retained only Kulu, Mandi, Nurpur, and Kangra (which were beyond the Beas); the rest was sold to Gulab Singh Dogra for 75 lac rupees. On March 16, 1846, another treaty was signed at Amritsar recognising Gulab Singh Dogra as Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. The Dogra got considerably more than he had expected as a reward for his services." (It was necessary last March to weaken the Sikhs by depriving them of Kashmir. The distance between Kashmir and the the Sutlej is 300 miles of very difficult mountainous coutry quite impracticable for six months. To keep a British force 300 miles from any possibility of support would have been an undertaking that merited a straitwaistcost and not a peerage." (*Viscount Hardinge*, p. 133).

On 16th March 1846, another ceremony took place in Amritsar. This was to rectify treaty with Gulab Singh and formally give him the title to Jammu and Kashmir. The Dogra who had only hoped to be Chief Minister of a truncated Punjab, became instead the Maharaja of a State about the size of Italy. Thus the *richh* (bear), as he was known amongst the people, got the best honey out of the Durbar's honey-comb. He accepted the gift with due humility, describing himself unwittingly as *Zar Kharid*--a slave bought by gold." (Khushwant Singh: *The Fall of the Kingdom of the Punjab*, p. 116-117.)

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Government towards the stipulated sum. Moreover, as the Maharaja *sahib bahadur* had not agreed from the beginning to the possession of the country lying to the right side of the river Bias valued at twenty-five *lakh* rupees, therefore, there was an understanding about this side of the stream only. Ultimately the river Ravi including Chamba territory except Lahal to its east became fixed as the boundry.[42]

On such developments, the *Bibi sahiba* who harboured in her hearts baseless ambitions, (341) sent Rajah Dina Nath, *Faqir* Nur-ud-Din and *Bhai* Ram Singh to wait upon Colonel Lawrence *Sahib bahadur* and Mr. Currie *Sahib bahadur* so as to prevent the *Sahibs* from this deal. They received the felicity of audience and represented that if the country would be gifted away to the Rajah *sahib*, the *Bibi sahiba* might go to London to file a complaint. The said *Sahibs* told in reply that if the *Bibi Sahib* went to London she might find it congenial but the agreement concluded with Raja *sahib* Gulab Singh would suffer no change. But the intention of the *Bibi sahiba* and her straightforwardness also remained unaltered. Although she did not then go to London, yet the same intention found expression in another way. A quarrel between his Highness[43] and the *Khalsa* Government had showed its ugly face on this account. One day a

42. Article I of the Treaty of Amritsar of 16th March, 1846 specifies "all the hilly or mountainous country, with its dependencies situated to the eastward of the river Indus, and westward of the river Ravi, including Chamba and excluding Lahul . . .' "The figure of a million pound sterling was subsequently reduced by one fourth. Suchet Singh's treasure estimated worth fifteen or twenty *lakhs* of rupees, which was with the British, was also given over to Gulab Singh . . . ."

The whole amount of Rs. 75,00,000 was paid by Maharaja Gulab Singh to the British Government in easy instalments, the last instalment being paid on 14th March, 1850 and the final receipt for the whole amount was procured which was signed by the Board of Administration on 30th March, 1850. Copy of the Final Receipt is as under :

"The Honourable The East India Company having received from His Highness the Maharaja Gulab Singh the sum of Rs. 75,00,000 (seventy five lakhs) in payment of the amount guaranteed by the III Article of the Treaty between the Hon'ble Company and His Highness, dated Amritsar, the 16th March 1846. The single acknowledgement of the receipt of the whole amount is granted by the Board of Administration for the affairs of the Punjab, at the request of Diwan Jawala Sahai, in addition to the receipts already given to His Highness' agents by the receiving officers, for the instalments received by them from time to time between the date of the Treaty and the 14th March 1850 the day on which the last instalment was paid into the Lahore Treasury . . . . (Punjab Government Record Office Museum, Lahore).

43. Since Gulab Singh had been created Maharaja so he has been now referred to as "His Highness."

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band of Sikhs came to capture Jiwan Singh who was in his Highness' '*derah*'. This led to an open conflict between the parties when Major MacGreger *sahib bahadur* came along with a European cavalry on behalf of the authorities of the British Government, and escorted the said Highness to '*Urdu-e-Mu'alla*' and housed him there.

After the treaty and agreement with the British Government had been signed, the copy of which is given one the next page, the retreat of the camp towards Amritsar took place.

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CHAPTER
47

Copy of the Treaty with Lahore Government[1]

Whereas the treaty of amity and concord, which was concluded in the year 1866(Bikrami)[2] between the British Government and the late Maharaja (342) Ranjit Singh, the ruler of Lahore, was broken by the unprovoked aggression and inroad of the armies of Lohore Government on the provinces of British Government, in the month of December last, and whereas on that occasion, by the proclamation dated the 18th of the month of December, the territories then in occupation of the Maharaja *sahib* of Lahore, on the left side of the river Sutlej, were confiscated and annexed to the British provinces; and since that time, in the same manner hostile operations have been prosecuted by the two Governments, the one against the other, the result and outcome of which resulted in the arrival of British troops in Lahore; And whereas it has been determined that the cord of peace and concord shall be re-established upon certain conditions. Thus the following treaty of peace between the Government of the British Company *bahadur* and the Government of Maharaja Dalip Singh *bahadur* the ruler of Lahore, and his children, heirs and successors, has been concluded on behalf of the Government of the British Company *bahadur* by Frederick Currie *sahib bahadur* and Major Lawrence *sahib bahadur* by virtue of the full powers to that effect vested in the said *Sahibs* by His Excellency the High titled *Nawab* Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-Gen-

1. For English version of the Treaty of Lahore, March 9, 1846, see Appendix.
2. Corresponding to A.D. 1809.

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eral *bahadur*, one of the Britannic Majesty's most special councillors, appointed by the Government of the British Company *bahadur* to direct and control all there is in the part and the whole of Hindustan; and on the part of Maharaja Dalip Singh *sahib bahadur*, ruler of Lahore, by *Bhai* Ram Singh, Raja Lal Singh, *Sardar* Tej Singh, *Sardar* Chatar Singh Attariwala, *Sardar* Ranjodh Singh, *Diwan* Dina Nath and *Faqir* Nur-ud-Din, the trustees vested with full powers and authority by Maharaja Dalip Singh, ruler of Lahore, for concluding the said treaty.

(343) *Article First*

The condition of peace amity and the mode of friendship and unity between the British Government on the one part, and Maharaja Dalip Singh *bahadur*, his heirs and successors, on the other, shall, in succession and generation after generation, continue and perpetuate.

Article Second

The Maharaja of Lahore renounces for himself, his heirs and successors, in succession and generation after generation, all claims to the localities and territories whatever lying to the south of the left bank of the river Sutlej, i.e. towards Ludhiana and Ferozpur side, and engages never to have any connection or concern with those territories or the inhabitants thereof.

Article Third

The Maharaja *sahib* cedes to the Government of the British Company *bahadur* in perpetuity, the territory lying between the two rivers, the Sutlej and the Bias, along with the adjoining hill country situated betwwen the said two rivers which lapses on account of no claim on the part of the Lahore Government.

Article Fourth

The British Government having demanded from the Lahore State as indemnity for the expenses of the war, in addition to the cession of the territory described in Article Third of the Treaty, Payment of one and a half crores of rupees: and the Lahore Government being unable and powerless to pay the whole of this sum, or to give security trustworthy and satisfactory to the British Government for its eventual payment; the Maharaja *sahib*, therefore, cedes to the Government of the British Company *bahadur*, in prepetual sovereignty, the

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forts, territories and rights, in the hill countries situated between the river Bias and the Indus on Hazara side,(344) including the provinces of Kashmir and Hazara, as equivalent to one crore of rupees out of the whole sum demanded.

Article Fifth

The Maharaja *sahib* will pay to the British Government the sum of fifty lakh of rupees on or before the retification of this treaty.

Article Sixth

The Maharaja *sahib* engages to disband the mutinous troops of the Lahore army, taking from them their arms, and it is agreed to reorganise and discipline the '*Fauj-e-Ain*' (regular regiments of infantry), upon the system, and according to the regulations as to pay and allowances, observed in the time of the late Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The Maharaja *sahib* further engages to pay up all the arrears due to the troops so discharged under the provisions of this article.

Article Seventh

The Regular and necessary army of the Lahore State shall henceforth be limited to twelve thousand cavalry, and twenty five battalions of infantry consisting of eight hundred bayonets each; this proposed number at no time to be exceeded without the concurrence of the British Government. Should it be necessary at any time, for any special cause, that this force should be increased, the information concerning this shall be conveyed to the officials of British Government; and, when the special necessity shall have passed, the number of regular troops be again reduced to the quota specified above.

Article Eighth

The Maharaja *sahib* engages to surrender to the British Government all the guns, out of a number of 236, which were directed against the British troops, and which, having been placed on the right bank of the river Sutlej, were not captured at the battle (of Sobraon) by the British Government.

(345) *Article Ninth*

The control of the rivers Bias and Sutlej to the confluence of the river Sutlej with the river Indus, and therefrom to the borders of

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Baluchistan, shall, in respect of tolls and ferries, rest with the British Government. The provisions of this article shall not interfere with the passage of boats belonging to the Lahore Government on the said rivers, for the purposes of traffic. The proposal regarding the receipts at ferries on the said river forming the boundary between the territories of the British Government and the Lahore Government, shall be like this that, after defraying all the expenses, one-half of the net profits of the ferry collections shall go to the Company's Government, and the other one-half to the Lahore Government. The provisions of this article have no reference to ferries on the boundary of Bhawalpur territory.

Article Tenth

If, at any time, the British Government should find it necessary to pass British troops through the territories, of the Maharaja *sahib* for the protection of their territories, or those of their allies, thus on such special occasion, due notice being given, the British troops shall be allowed to pass through the territories of *Sarkar* (Lahore Government) without any resistance on the part of the said Sarkar. Rather, the officers of the Government of the Maharaja of Lahore will afford help and facilities in providing the troops with the material required, such as earthenware, rations and fodder for quadrupeds; and the said Government will pay reasonable price thereof, and will make fair compensation for the agricultural damage thus suffered. The British Government will moreover observe all due consideration to the religious feelings of the inhabitants of the Lahore territories.

(346) *Article Eleventh*

The Maharaja *sahib* engages never to take, or retain, in his service, any British subject, nor the subject of any European State, nor any of the American people, without the consent and acceptance of the officers of the Government of the British Company *bahadur*.

Article Twelfth

In consideration of the services rendered by Raja Gulab Singh, *Rais* of Jammu, by way of loyalty in the establishment of Lahore State, towards the enhancement and restoration of relations of amity and unity between the Lahore Government and the abode of felicity the British Government, the Maharaja *sahib* hereby agrees to recognise the independent sovereignty of Raja Gulab Singh, in such

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territories in the hills as may be made over to the said Raja by a separate agreement between the said Raja and the British Government, with the dependencies of that hill-country, which may have been in the possession of Raja Gulab Singh since the time of the late Maharaja Kharak Singh, and the British Government in consideration of the good conduct of Raja Gulab Singh, also agrees to accept and recognise his independent sovereignty in such territories, and to admit the said Raja, considering him among the allies of the Government, to the privileges of a separate treaty.

Article Thirteenth

In the event of any dispute and difference arising between the Lahore Government and Raja Gulab Singh, the Maharaja *sahib*, ruler of Lahore, engages to refer the said dispute to the officers of the Government of the British Company *bahadur* . and whatever decision the said officers give by way of arbitration, the Maharaja *sahib*, Ruler of Lahore, (347) engages to abide by it with compliance and willingness.

Article Fourteenth

The limits of Lahore territories shall not, at any time, be changed or readjusted, without the concurrence of the British Government.

Article Fifteenth

The British Government will not exercise any interference in the administration of internal affairs of the Lahore State ; but in all such affairs which may be referred, by the Maharaja *sahib*, to the British Government, for consultation and advice, Nawab the Governor-Genrral *bahadur* will give his good advice for the proper administration of the said State.

Article Sixteenth

The subjects, servants and merchants of the British and the Lahore Governments, on visiting the territories of the other, be on the footing of the subjects of other countries with whom relations of friendship have been established.

This treaty, consisting of sixteen articles, has been this day settled by Frederick Currie *Sahib bahadur* and Major Lawrence *Sahib bahadur* acting under the direction of High Excellency the *Nawab* of High Titles, the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge G. C. B., Governor

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General *Sahib bahadur* appointed for the conclusion of this affair on the part of the abode of Felicity, the British Government; and by *Bhai* Ram Singh, Raja La'l Singh, *Sardar* Tej Singh, *Sardar* Chatar Singh Attariwala, *Sardar* Ranjodh Singh Majithia, *Diwan* Dina Nath and *Faqir* Nur-ud-Din, appointed on the part of Maharaja Dalip Singh *bahadur* ; and has been ratified by the seal and signature of High Excellency the *Nawab* of High Titles, the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, *Sahib*, G.C.B., Governor-General *bahadur* and Maharaja Dalip Singh *bahadur*. Done at Lahore, this 9th day of March, in the year of our Lord 1846, corresponding to the 10th day of *Rabi-ul-Awwal* 1262 *Hijri*, corresponding further to *Phagan* 29 of the year 1902 (*Bikrami*).

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CHAPTER
48

Copy of Articles of Agreement supplementary to the Treaty, concluded on the 11th of March (1846)[1]

(348) Whereas the Lahore Government has solicited for the stay of a British force for the protection of the *Shabzada sahib bahadur*, the *Maharani sahiba* and the inhabitants of Lahore, and for disbanding

1. After the conclusion of the Treaty of 9th March between the Lahore Darbar and the British Government, which contained as one of its Articles (No.12) whereby "the Maharaja (Dâlip Singh) agrees to recognise the independent sovereignty of Raja Gulab Singh", Lal Singh was made minister once more "but he and all traitorous chiefs knew that they could not maintain themselves, ever against the reduced army, when the English should have fairly left the country, and thus the separation of Gulab Singh led to a further deparature from the original scheme". A supplementary Treaty was signed on 11th March, 1846. "It was agreed that a British force should remain at capital until the last day of December, 1846 to enable the chiefs to feel secure while they reorganised the army and introduced order and efficiency into the administration". (*Cunningham's History of the Sikhs*, p. 289).

But before the expiry of the period stipulated *Sheikh* Imam-ud Din, the Sikh Governor of Kashmir revolted and refused to surrender Kashmir to Gulab Singh. On inquiry Raja Lal Singh, *Wazir* of Lahore, was found implicated in the revolt. He was tried, found guilty and exiled. This political change required another political set up at Lahore. "The remaining members of the *Darbar*, in concert with all the *Sardars* and Chiefs of the State, solicited the interference and aid of the British Government for the maintenance of an administration, and the protection of the Maharaja Dalip Singh during the minority of His Highness." (The Second Treaty of Bhyrowal, dated 22nd December 1846). This solicitation led to a temporary modification of relations between the British Government and that of the Lahore, and the new ones were

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of the mutinous troops and the reorganization of the army according to the provisions of the treaty concluded on the 10th March of the said year; and whereas it has been acceded to, after due deliberations by the servants of His Excellency Lord Governor-General *bahadur*; the following agreement, constituting eight articles, has, therefore, been concluded between the high contracting Governments.

Article First

Such force shall be left in the City of Lahore, till the close of the year A.D. 1846, as shall seem to the Governor-General adequate (for the purpose). And obviously that force shall be withdrawn at any convenient time before the expiration of the specified period, if the object to be fulfilled shall, in the opinion of the Lahore *Darbar*, have been fulfilled, and if and when request for such withdrawal of the force from Lahore is made; but the force shall not be detailed beyond the expiration of the said period.

Article Second

The Lahore Darbar agrees that on the arrival of British force at Lahore, the City of Lahore shall be placed in full possession of the British force, and that the Lahore troops shall be removed away from within the city. The Lahore Government engages to pay all the expenses in regard to the said force, such as travelling expenses and allowances, which may be incurred, in excess of the usual salaries, in consequence of their stay in Lahore, away from the British cantonments, and to furnish quarters for the stay of officers and troops as per convenience of them all.

(349) *Article Third*

The Lahore Government engages to apply itself immediately without delay and earnestly to work for the reorganization of their army according to the prescribed conditions laid down vide Article Sixth

regulated by the Treaty better known as the Treaty of Bhyrowal. By this treaty Lahore *Darbar* agreed to keep a British force at Lahore for the aid of "A British officer (Resident) to be appointed by the Governor-General to remain at Lahore, which officer shall have full authority to direct and control all matters in every department of the State." A Council of Regency was to run the administration of the country under the guidance of the British Resident. *Rani* Jindan was pensioned off. The Lahore State had to pay for maintenance of the British force. This new arrangement was to last upto September, 1854, the date on which Maharaja Dalip Singh attains majority.

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of the Treaty ratified on March 9th of the current year, and to communicate fully as to the progress of such reorganisation, with the *Sahib* Agent to the Governor-General *bahadur* and his Assistant, along as to the location of the permitted number of their troops thus re-organised.

Article Fourth

If the Lahore Government fails in the "performance of the conditions laid down, in that circumstance the British Government is at liberty to withdraw the force (from Lahore).

Article Fifth

The British Government agrees to respect the bonafide rights of those *Jagirdars* who were attached to the families of the late Maharaja Ranjit Singh *bahadur*, the late Maharaja Kharak Singh, and the late Maharaja Sher Singh, and whose *jagirs* lie within the territories, which, by virtue of Articles Eighth and Fourth of the Treaty, dated the 9th March of the current year (1846) have come under the possession of the British Government, and their *jagirs* will not be confiscated in their life time.

Article Sixth

The Lahore Government shall receive assistance and help of the British Government in collecting the arrears of revenue justly due from their former *Kardars* (in the territories ceded) to the close of the last Kharif harvest of the year 1902 of Bikramajit.

Article Seventh

The Lahore Government shall be at liberty to remove from the forts specified in the Articles 3rd and the 4th of the Treaty dated the 9th March of the aforesaid year, all treasures, State properties and stores, with the exception of guns. The British (350) Government shall, however be at liberty to retain (any part of the property) whatever they desire to purchase, paying for the same at a fair valuation; and the officers of the British Government shall give their assistance, if so desired by the Lahore Government, in disposing on the spot of whatever remains, and the returns thereof shall be remitted to the Lohore Government.

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Article Eighth

Commissioners shall be immediately appointed by the high Governments to settle and lay the boundary between the two States, in respect of the territories ceded to the British Government as defined by Articles Third and Fourth of the Treaty dated 9th March last.

Dated the 11th March, A.D. 1846, at Mian-Mir Cantonment.

In short, after strengthening the foundation of peace and the retification of the treaty and the agreement copied above, the camps of His Excellency Nawab Governor-General and his Highness who accompanied the British armies moved in the direction of Amritsar.

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CHAPTER
49

The auspicious circumstance of the Bestowal of Kashmir Territory on Maharaja Gulab Singh Sahib bahadur

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On this happy occasion and blessed territory, when desire for pleasure had breathed intoxication into the head of Prosperity, and the ecstacy of spring had infiltrated into the brain of Time; and when mystical spring-tide had put on fresh adornment, and the moderation of '*naoroz*' had dyed the exterior in the hues of the interior, and when

> *The window of bud in that happy chamber*
> *was unlocked by key of spicy gale,*

the lovely district of Amritsar had become centre of peace and security by the benedictions of the arrival of the authorities of British Government. (351) After their arrival in Amritsar His Highness went to meet the Governor-General *bahadur* and on behalf of the said Excellency, glorious *sahibs* came forward to receive him. When the retinue arrived in the centre of the troops arrayed for salute, Sir Henry Lawrence *sahib bahadur* stepped forward and welcomed him and led him to the Governor's tent. A volley of gunfire was discharged in salutation. For a few hours, the meeting continued resulting in intimacy and valuable talk. After receiving distinction of favours and dignified '*khilat*' he got permission to leave.

The next morning at sun rise Maharaja Ranbir Singh, who had been sent for urgently arrived from Jammu, and got the felicity of audience. The sagacious Highness adorned a banquet in a highly

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grand manner, and commissioned him to go near the Gobind Gharh fort to welcome the *Nawab*, Governor-General *bahadur*. The *Diwan sahib* (Jawala Sahai) accompanied him. The Governor-General personally came forward to the last array of the troops to conduct them and offered them noble respects and dignified honours.

In that festive gathering, an agreement was concluded and authenticated by the parties and ratified by the seals and signatures of the Nawab Governor-General *bahadur* and the said Highness the copy of which is reproduced on the next page.

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Maharaja Gulab Singh in Procession (Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu)

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CHAPTER

50

Copy of the Treaty of Government of the British Company Bahadur concluded with Maharaja Gulab Singh Sahib

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(352) Treaty between the Government of the Honourable British Company on the one part, and Maharaja Gulab Singh, *Rais* (Chief) of Jammu on the other, concluded on the part of the British Company, by Frederick Currie Barnett and Major Lawrence by virtue of full powers to that effect vested in the said *Sahibs* by His Excellency the High-titled *Nawab* Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge *Sahib bahadur*, G.C.B., Governor-General *bahadur* one of the Honourable Privy Council of the Source of Favours, Exalted in Rank, Her Britannic Majesty, (May her glory radiate) appointed by the Government of the Honourable British Company to direct and control all their affairs in part and whole of Hindostan, and by Maharaja Gulab Singh in person. Finis.

Article First

The British Government transfers and makes over, for ever, in independent possession, to Maharaja Gulab Singh, from generation to generation and succession after succession, and the heirs male of his body, all the hilly-country situated between the river Ravi on the one side and the Hazara side of the river Sind on the other, with dependencies of the hilly-country situated to the eastward of the river Sind and westward of the river Ravi, including Chamba territory of

1. For the English version of the Treaty, *see* Appendices.

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excluding Alahul being part of the territory of the Lahore Government ceded to the British Government, according to the provisions of Article Fourth of the Treaty dated 9th of the month of March, A.D. 1846.

Article Second

The eastern boundary of the territories transferred by the Article First of this Treaty to Maharaja Gulab Singh, (353) shall be laid down after settlement by commissioners appointed by the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh respectively, and shall be defined in a separate engagement, after survey.

Article Third

In consideration of the transfer of the tract made to Maharaja Gulab Singh by the provisions of the foregoing articles, the said Maharaja will pay to the British Government, in lump the sum of seventy-five lakh *Nanak-shahi* rupees, i.e., fifty lakh rupees to be paid on the ratification of this treaty, and twenty-five lakh within six months from this date. Finis:

Article Fourth

The limits of the territory of Maharaja Gulab Singh shall not be at any time changed and readjusted without the concurrence of the British Government.

Article Fifth

In the event of disputes and questions that may arise between Maharaja Gulab Singh and the Government of Lahore, or any other State neighbouring the territory of the said Maharaja *sahib*, the said Maharaja engages to refer the said dispute to the officials of the Government of the Honourable British Company *bahadur*, and the Maharaja shall abide willingly and cheerfully by whatever decision the said officials may pronounce by way of arbitration.

Article Sixth

Maharaja Gulab Singh engages for himself and his heirs, to join, on demand, with whole of his military force, the victorious British troops, when employed and deputed within the hill country or in the territories adj oining Maharaja *sahib's* territory.

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Article Seventh

Maharaja Gulab Singh engages never to take, or retain, in his service any British subject, nor any European person, nor any inhabitant of America, without the willingness and consent of the officials of government of the British Company *bahadur*.

(354) *Article Eighth*

Maharaja Gulab Singh engages to respect, in regard to the territory transferred to him, the provisions of Articles Fifth, Sixth and Seventh of the separate engagement between the British Government and the Lahore *Darbar*, dated the 11th of the month of March, A.D. 1846. Finis.

Article Ninth

The British Government engages to give its aid to Maharaja Gulab Singh, in protecting his 'raj' and territories from external enemies. Finis.

Article Tenth

Maharaja Gulab Singh, acknowledging supremacy, grandeur and power of British Government, will, by way of '*nazrana*' present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve perfect shawl goats of approved breed, six male and six female, and two pairs of Kashmir '*do-shalahs*'.

This treaty, consisting of ten articles, has been settled by Frederick Currie *Sahib bahadur* and Major Lawrence *Sahib* acting under the directions of His Excellency the High-titled *Nawab*; Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General *bahadur*, and by Maharaja Gulab Singh in person, and ratified by signature seals.

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CHAPTER

51

Events in Jammu & Kashmir State after its occupation by Maharaja Gulab Singh

It is said that at the same pleasant spot, adorned marvellously by the painters of spring with rarities of convention and festivity. His Excellency the Governor-General *bahadur* had recommended to his Highness his sons who had wished to visit Kashmir and desired that he should treat them as his own and take them around Kashmir.[1] His Highness, being delighted and pleased at this, left for Jasrota the next day. On the way some Khalsa troops, such as Platoon of General Uttam Singh (355) and others paid their homage and were enlisted.

When he alighted at Jasrota, he granted, in suceession and gener-

1. *Kashmir visit of Governor-General's Sons* : The two sons of the Governor-General, Charles Stewart and Arthur Edward Hardinge, who had been Private Secretary and A.D.C., respectively, to their father, Viscount Hardinge, during his tenure of office in India, undertook journey to Kashmir barely a fortnight after the creation of the new State of Jammu and Kashmir. They were accompanied by James Thomas Walker of the Bombay Engineers and latar of Trigonometrical Survey of India, Edward John Lake, Political Agent Ludhiana and Captain Bates, A.D.C. to the Commander-in-Chief. *Lala* Ganeshi Lal, *Tahsildar* of Ludhiana, was specially selected to accompany the party as an account writer. They started from Ludhiana on 28th March, 1846, and Journeyed to Kashmir through Jammu and Kishtwar and back to Simla which place they arrived on 11th June, 1846. The account of the journey was compiled on the 17th April, 1847 from observation notes maintained by *Lala* Ganeshi Lal, and is usually called '*Siyahat-i-Kashmir*' or *Kashmir Namah*.

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ation after generation, to the *Diwan Sahib*, the revered father of the author of this Memoir, a jagir worth rupees ten thousand in royal coin yearly. It was in addition to the former fiefs, i.e. rupees four per thousand out of which two rupees had been fixed in the past in recognition of his services rendered during the defence of the Saman Fort.

Diwan Hari Chand was deputed at the head of a part of the Sikh platoon and others on the reduction of Hazara. In consideration of former services and the former devotion exhibited by the late *Sheikh* Gulam Mohi-ud-Din during the Ladakh expedition his son *Sheikh* Imam-ud-Din was deputed to the conduct and control of the revenue and political affairs of that region[2] (Kashmir). After halting for a short time in that region His Highness arrived in the capital city of Jammu.

Some troops had been despatched towards Hazarah and when they arrived in that district, the natives thereof, acting stupidly, intercepted them at Magam. They brought into play whatever intrepidity and bravery was inherent in the *Marzban* class of that frontier region. But because of divine aids and the gallantry of the dauntless soldiers the rebels were defeated and curved in a battle (*One line omitted*).

For some time past the noble dispotion of the pious *Maharani sahiba* had deviated from the axis of equilibrium. So at last in the month of Har she bid farewell to this (356) fickle world, and hid herself behind the veil of non-existence. For this reason His Highness was inevitably held up at Jammu.

Although *Wazir* Lakhpat, had formerly been deputed to Srinagar, yet afterwards *Wazir* Ratnu got appointed on the request of *Sheikh*

2. *Sheikh Imam-ud-Din* :—Kashmir had been conquered by Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1819. In 1846, the Governor in charge of Kashmir affairs was *Shaikh* Imam-ud-Din, whose pen-portrait has been drawn by Edwards and Merivale as under :

"The Sheikh is perhaps the best mannered and best dressed man in the Punjab. He is rather, under than above the middle-height ; but his figure is exquisite, 'as far as it goes', and is usually set off with the most unrivalled fit which the unrivalled tailors of Kashmir could achieve for the Governor of the Province. His smile and bow are those of a perfect courtier, whose taste is too good to be obsequious; his great natural intelligence and an unusually good education have endowed him with considerable conversational powers; and his Persian idiom would do no dishonour to a native of shiraz. Beneath this smooth surface of accomplishment and courtesy lies an ill-assorted and incongruous disposition, ambition, pride, cruelty and intrigue, strangely mixed up with indolence, effeminacy, voluptuousness and timidity". (*Life of Sir Henry Lawrence*, Vol. II-p. 72).

Maharaja Gulab Singh had offered him to continue as Governor of Kashmir on a salary of one lakh per annum.

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Gulam Rasul the messenger of *Sheikh* Imam-ud-Din. Even before the arrival of *Wazir* Ratnu, *Wazir* Lakhpat had, by proper contrivances taken the Hari-Parbat fort from *Sheikh* Imam-ud-Din and brought it under his own possession. But a dispute arose on the question of giving a receipt and acknowledgement of balance in the treasury and the stores which the *Sheikh* asked for, whereas *Wazir* Lakhpat demanded his property as well. When *Wazir* Ratnu reached there he failed to take proper precautions and encamped his troops in the plain of Mahi-sum. He also exchanged harsh words with *Sheikh* Imam-ud-Din. Consequently, out of great embarrassment and short-sightedness,and induced by Raja Lal Singh and other wicked seducers, the *Sheikh* behaved in a highly offending manner and led the matters to open conflict.[3] A battle thus broke out, and slaughter and blood-shed followed. All the troops showed loyalty and devotion. *Wazir* Lakhpat particularly, against whose will all this dispute had occurred, gave a good account of his bravey and fell a martyr in the path of loyalty. The imperial troops suffered a great loss. At length, *Wazir* Ratnu shut himself up in Hari-Parbat fort for protection and defence. They carried sallies and foreys and the contest continued. Ram Singh *Kumedan* was killed in this struggle.

Faqir-Allah (357) and Faiz-talab raised revolt in the environs of Rampur Rajaor territory. When this information was reported to His Highness during his stay at Riasi by the *Maliks* of Khori and Narwah, it caused him great restlessness. He said, "Now when the cash balance has all been remitted to the officials of British Govern-

3, *Sheikh* Imam-ud-Din, the Sikh Governor of Kashmir, with the aid of feudatories, the Chief among them being *Mirza* Faqir Ullah Khan of Rajouri and Faiz Talab Khan, took arms to oppose the entry of Gulab Singh, and his troops obtained some advantages. Maharaja Gulab Singh could not himself drive the recalcitrant *Sheikh* out by force of arms. The British Governor-General had therefore to be appealed for assistance in taking possession of Kashmir.

"Cashmere is in an unsettled state by the obstinacy of the Lahore Governor to relinquish his government. He has got about 8,000 good troops, 5,000 bad and 7,000 camp followers and seems disposed to delay the evacuation of the country till the snow closes up the passes" (*Hardinge to Hobhouse-Private*—Simla, 2nd September, 1846—Broughton Papers in the British Museum—MS No. 36475—Bikramajit Hasrat : *Punjab Papers*, p. 110).

Governor-General further analyses the *Sheikh's* revolt in the following words :

"My conviction is strong that Vizier Lalsingh has encouraged the Sheikh to resistence, and by his intrigues, he is the cause of mischief, combined with the folly of Maharaja Gulab Singh, who has allowed to be duped by the Sheikh in the hope of saving his money."
(*Hardinge to Hobhouse, Private*---4 October, 1846).

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ment, our victorious troops have been faced with such a strange plight. In what way the string of management can be secured now ?" *Diwan* Jawala Sahai submitted that "My going to Simla to the presence of His Excellency Lord Governor-General would be expedient." Accordingly, the said *Diwan sahib* left for Simla and on the way he had a talk with Akshat-*sahib bahadur* and got the family of the said *Sheikh* at Hoshiar-pur, put under surveillance. He reached Simla by forced marches and got audience of His Glorious *Nawab* (Governor-General) through the mediation of Colonel Lawrence *Sahib bahadur* and begged for assistance.[4] Thence he came via Lahore accompanied by Colonel Lawrence *Sahib bahadur*. His Highness met Colonel Lawrence *Sahib bahadur* at Dandesar and strengthened ties of unity and friendship.

A large British force marched into Kashmir territory. A part of it alighted each at Jasmer Garh, Kulowal ferry and at Simbal near Jammu. His Highness Maharaja Ranbir Singh *Sahib bahadur* equipped out an army at Jammu for his Highness at Riasi. A Sikh force, briefed by Sir John Lawrence *Sahib bahadur* moved via Bhimbar.[5] (*Two lines omitted*).

4. *British Assistance in Kashmir* : On request for assistance from Jawala Sahai on behalf of Maharaja Gulab Singh, the British Governor had to intervene and coercive measure were resorted to. Without an hour's hestitation, the Governor-General declared that the clause of the Treaty of Lahore by which Kashmir was to be transferred to Gulab Singh must be enforced and that "the British Government would give every possible support to Maharaja Gulab Singh in compelling the servant of the *Darbar, Sheikh* Immam-ud-Din, to evacuate Kashmir, holding the *Darbar* responsible for the acts of their officer, in this gross violation of the Treaty, (*P.G.R. Press List Vol.* IX, S. No. 217, dt. Simla, the 25th September, 1846; from *F. Currie, Secretary to the Govt. of India with Governor-General, to H.M. Lawrence, Agent, Governor-General, North-West Frontier*).

Jawala Sahai had reached Simla probably in the beginning of the fourth week of September, 1846.

5. The British officials asked Lahore *Darbar* to place at Maharaja Gulab Singh's disposal from one-half to two-thirds of the forces at any, or all, of the stations between the Ravi and the Attack and to instruct their officer Commanding within that tract, on receipt of Maharaja's requisition, to move instantly, on to such points as he might desire and to act on his instruction. (*ORPS, IX, No.* 193, dated 12-9-1846; *H.M. Lawrence to F. Currie*).

The Governor-General on September 12, 1846, ordered six Regiments of Native Infantry, two Regiments of Irregular Cavalry, and twelve Field guns, under Brigadier Wheeler, Commanding the Jullundur Doab, to be held in readiness to move fully equipped for field service from Jullundur towards Jammu for purpose of protecting the Maharaja's rear in his absence (*ORPS*, IX, No. 200 of 17-9-1846, from *Adjutant General to the Army of the Secretary to Govt. of India, Military Deptt.*).

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(358) Mr. Edward came on behalf of Sir Henry Lawrence to reassure His Highness and joined his camp at Riasi. He despatched Fateh-Khan-Tiwanah, Diwan Hakam-Rae Sialkotia, Ganesha Singh and Puran Chand *Vakil*, to warn the rebel Sheikh and to compel him to lift the siege, otherwise he should expect an attack by the British force on him.

It is said that Brown *Sahib*, Nicholson *Sahib*, and Forkes (Falkies) were already touring Kashmir before the *Sheikh*'s clash with the Maharaja's troops. When leaving for Panjab via Shahabad they were apprised of this behaviour of his, they had written to him that war with the Maharaja's army would amount to refraction against the officials of the glorious British Government. Therefore, it would be better for him to keep his hands off such an act or else he would suffer due retribution. The terror of the British army had, therefore, taken lodgement in his heart. On the very approach of the persons sent by Mr. Edwardes he sued for reconciliation and he presented himself at Thanah and waited on Colonel Lawrence[6] *Sahib bahadur* and His Highness. The royal troops under the leadership of *Diwan* Nihal-Chand thereupon entered Kashmir territory and occupied it.

"The object of the movement, the Governer-General wrote "is to enable Mabaraja Gulab Singh to move all his disposable forces on Kashmir, from protecting his rear from the confines of our frontier up to Jammu. And then was seen the very remarkable spectacle of the British Agent marching at the head of Sikh troops, supported by Britith forces, to wrest Sikh territory from Imam-ud-Din in order to hand it over to the last of those Rajput brothers, who had always inspired the Sikh with intense jealousy.
(*ORPS, Press List Vol. IX, Sr. No.* 237, dated 29.9.1845; from *H.M Lawrence to F. Currie*). At the request of *Diwan* Jawala Sahai (Maharaja Gulab Singh's *Vakil*) the following officers were asked to go with the Sikh troops to Kashmir :

Sardars Tej Singh, Sher Singh and Mangal Singh; Generals Kahan Singh Lal Singh Moraria, Amir Chand Topi and Cortlandt; and Colonels Khan Ali Khan Gobarchi " . . (*OPS*; *IX, No.* of 22-9-1946 ; *Governor-General to the Commander-in-Chief*).

The troops ordered by the Lahore *Darbar* for the Kashmir expedition were : Under S. Sher Singh--His own troops, the *Kohistani's* (mountaineer) about 5,000 in number, four guns under General Doab Singh-Two Regiments, Kahan Singh—Two Regiments, Lahore Troops under General Iman Singh Two Regiments, two guns. Moreover, ten other guns and necessary ammunitions were got ready at Lahore under the direction of Capt. Brind. (*ORPS, IX, No.* 237 of 29.9.1846; *H.M. Lawrence to F.Currie*).

6. Leaving the Kashmi r valley on October 25 and proceeding via Shopian, the Sheikh, . . . reached Bairam-gulli on October 31, and surrounded by his officers, made submission to Lieut. Edwardes, who, on the following day, conducted him to the Camp of Henry Lawrence at Thana, the latter having a few days earlier come up with his army (*PGR, Press List, Vol. IX, Sr. No.* 1001 dated 2nd November 1846, from *H.M. Lawrence to Sir John Littler*).

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(*One line omitted*). The *Khalsa* troops along with Raja Teja Singh beat their retreat from Thana.

In the auspicious hour on the 6th day of Katak of the year 1903, His Highness entered the lovely valley of Kashmir.[7] (*One line omitted*).

(359) Colonel Lawrence *Sahib bahadur*, who accompanied his Highness asked for the Chamba territory from him as desired by the officials of the British Government, and the same was transferred as a token of friendship and unity. Afterwards, the said Colonel *sahib* along with *Diwan sahib* returned to Lahore capital via Punchh and Mirpur. At Lahore, with the concurrence of Frederick Currie *sahib* Chief Secretary, enquiries were made from *Sheikh* Imam-ud-Din concerning the revolt and disturbance. He produced the writing of Raja Lal Singh in original,[8] so La'l Singh, suffering retribution for

7. Maharaja Gulab Singh entered the city of Kashmir about 8 a.m. on November 9, 1846,--it had been declared the auspicious time by the astrologers. He was accompanied by the British Agent Colonel H.L. Lawrence. (*P.G.R. Press List, Vol, X, Sr. No.* 335, dated the City of Kashmir, the 12th November, 1846, from *H.M. Lawrence to F. Currie*).

8. *Lal Singh's Implication in Kashmir Affairs* - *Sheikh* Imam-ud-Din placed in Henry Lawrence's hands at Thana three original documents, purporting to be instructions from Lal Singh to the *Sheikh* to oppose Gulab Singh; and to the officers and soldiers in Kashmir, to be faithful and obedient to the orders of the *Sheikh*. (*ORPS* : *IX. Sr. No.* 322, dated Camp Thana 1-11-1846; from *H.M. Lawrence to F. Currie*).

These papers were put in as evidence at the subsequent trial of Raja Lal Singh for his complicity in this affair.

Two of the three original papers are reproduced below :

No. 2.

Translation of an *Ikrarnama*, or Deal of Promise, accompanying letter No. 1.

"By the grace of God, sign manual of Raja Lal Singh.

I hereby promise that if my friend Imam-ud-Din Khan *Bahadur*, with good-will and fidelity to his proper masters, duly performs the task imposed upon him in a separate letter, my whole interest shall be exerted to secure him from being called to account by the British Government. Whatever allowance either he, or his *jagirdiri* horsemen, or the *Sheikh*, his late father, received from the Lahore Government, the same *jagirs*, and something added to them, as a reward for service, shall be assigned to him in the Lahore territory. By the grace of God I will not fail to fulfil this that I have written.

Date Lahore, 12th *Sawan*, 1903 (or 25th of July, 1846).

No. 3

(Translation of a letter from Raja Lal Singh to *Sheikh* Imam-ud-Din)

Doubtless you will have pursued the contents of my former letter.

My friend, you are not ignorant of the ingratitude and want of faith which Raja Gulab Singh has exhibited towards the Lahore Sarkar. It is indeed sufficiently glaring. I now write, therefore, to request you, my friend, that you will not set before your eyes the example of your late father's former relations with the aforesaid Raja, and consider both your duty and your interest to lie this way,

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his deeds was exiled.[9] (*Seven lines and four couplets omitted*).

(360) The year one thousand-nine-hundred-and-four Bikrami set in, and the flowery soil of Kashmir became the headquarters of His Highness. During this auspicious year, the following incident took place. When the Hazara tract, situated in the foothills, became appended to the protected territories, the *zamindars* thereof raised insurrection and set up armed resistance. Although *Diwan* Hari Chand was already there, yet afterwards the *Diwan* (Jawala Sahai) also went there and improved matters. After his return therefrom he submitted this suggestion to His Highness that he should renounce territories of Hazara and Kahuta in exchange for the territories of Manawar and Khari, which have been transferred to Lahore

and inflict such injury and chastisement upon the said Raja that he shall have reason to remember it. It is to be hoped that if the Raja takes but one false step, he will never be able to re-establish himself again. For your security and confidence, my friend, I have sent you a separate written guarantee, that you may have no misgivings as to the conseqences. Let me hear often of your welfare.

P.S. - Tear up this paper when you have read it.

Dated 13th *Sawan*, 1903 (or 26th of July. 1846).

(*Punjab Govt. Records - Memo graph No.* 16-8 *Trial of Raja Lal Singh* by R.R. Sethi, pp. 32-33).

9. *Trial and Exile of Lal Singh*--On being reported about the implication of Raja Lal Singh, the Lahore *Wazir*, in *Sheikh* Imam-ud-Din's Kashmir rebellion, the Governor-General deputed Mr. Frederick Currie "to investigate in conjuction with Lieut. Col. H.M. Lawrence, the conduct of *Sheikh* Imam-ud-Din, in resisting by force of arms, the execution of the Lahore Treaty, relating to the cession of the Province of Kashmir to the British nominee". (*The Governor General to the Secret Committee*, dated 4-12-1846-*Parliamentary Papers*, 1844-47).

The Governor General further instructed Mr. Currie that in case Raja Lal Singh's instigation for violation of the Treaty was with held by evidence, the immediate consequences should be the deposition of the Wazir.

"The Sheik (*Sheikh* Imam-ud-Din), being called on to make his statements, boldly denounced Raja Lal Singh as the instigator of the rebellion in Cashmere; and three papers (two to his own address, and one addressed to the Sheikh's troops) were produced in evidence-all signed by the Rajah, The most significant of the papers, viz. that addressed to the troops, was acknowledged by the Raja; and the other two, though denied, were in the opinion of the court, fully established to be genuine also. The evidence indeed, was conclusive; the defence miserably weak; and after two sittings, the court, on the 4th instant, pronounced a unanimous sentence of "guilty" against the Rajah" (Edwardes and Maivale : *The Life of Sir Henry Lawrence*, p. 404). Also *ORPS. Vol. IX, No.* 365, dated 17.12.1846; *H.M. Lawrence to Currie*).

A large number of Sikh chiefs were invited to witness the court proceedings. The Ministers and the Principal *Sardars* willingly acquisced in the judgement and acknowledged the impossibility of the Raja continuing any longer as the *Wazir* (*Ibid*). He was, therefore, deposed and removed from Lahore into a merciful banishment to Ferozepore, enroute to Agra in British territory, where he lived upon a pension of Rs. 2,000 a month from Lahore State.

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Government during the settlement of boundary by major James Abbott *Sahib*, Accordingly, (361) under orders from the Highness, he submitted this request to Colonel Lawrence *bahadur*,and consequently the territories of Hazara and Kahuta upto the other side of the river Jehlam were given up and the territories of Manawar and Khari were made part of the protect d territories.[10] The copy of the agreement thereof is as under :

"The agreement concluded between the Government of Maharaja Dalip Singh *Sahib bahadur* and the Government of Maharaja Gulab Singh *bahadur*, with the consent of *Diwan* Jawala Sahae *mu'tamid* and *Qazi* Mohkam-ud-Din *Vakil* of Maharaja Gulab Singh *sahib*, subject to the approval of His Excellency Colonel Sir Henry Montgomery Lawrence *Sahib bahadur*, Agent, Governor-General, North-West Provinces (362) and Resident at Lahore, concerning the exchange of Hazara, Pakhli and Kahuta, upto the boundary of Muzaffar-abad in the territories of Maharaja Gulab Singh *Sahib bahadur* situated to the west side of the river Jehlum with the territory of Lahore Government situated estwards of the river Jehlam to Jammu side. The contracting parties engage themselves, that the glorious

10. By the Article 1 of the Treaty of Amritsar, dated 16th March, 1846, the British Government had transferred and made over, independent possession to Maharaja Gulab Singh "all the hilly or mountainous country, with its dependencies, situated to the eastward of the river Indus. and westward of the river Ravi, including Chamba and excluding Lahul." Later on certain adjustments were made. According to original plan the sum to be paid by Maharaja Gulab Singh was fixed at one crore of rupees. Out of this sum he was exampted from the payment of Rs. 55 lakhs because the company retained possession of the trans-Beas portions of Kulu and Mandi, for, "their occupation by us will be attended with little cost and great advantage." As stated by *Diwan* Kirpa Ram, Chamba was taken away from Maharaja Gulab Singh by request of the British authorities. The Maharaja was unwilling (and unable) to take Hazara. Through the mediation of Capt. James Abbott and Col. H.M. Lawrance this tract was given over to Lahore Darbar. He was compensated with territory adjoining Jammu, Khari-Khariali and Manawar, Kathua and Suchetgarh. A public proclamation (No. 6, dated 25 May, 1847) was made by the *Darbar* regarding the exchange of the country of Hazara situated to the west of the river Jhelum .... for an equivalent east of the river towards Jammu : *Secret Consultationss Foreign Deptt. No.* 134, dated 16.6 1847-NAI, New Delhi). The boundary was further altered in 1847, when the State handed over the district of Sujjanpur and part of Pathankot in lieu of an annual payment to the disinherited rajas of the hilly districts who took up their abode in British territories and to whom the Maharajah agreed to pay a perpetual pension amounting in aggregate to Rs. 62,000 per aunum. The most important of these pensioners were the Rajahs of Rajouri, Jasrota, Ramnagar, Basohli and Kishtwar. (K. M. Panikkar, *Founding of the Kashmir State*, p.120.)

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Captain Abbott *Sahib bahadur*, after judicious study and consultation of the documents concerning Hazara territory, etc. etc., west of the Jehlum should ascertain the land revenue after deducting grants, and fix full amount of annual receipts thereof and should settle corresponding to the equal of the half income of this, a tract on the east of the river Jehlum towards Jammu, excluding free grants from its annual receipts, and lay down a permanent boundary for the removal of dispute and misunderstanding for ever, in such manner as it should pass along the west of the river Jehlam, inclusive of Muzaffar-abad boundary, and thence along the Kohinar-nalah via the Kohistan road. i.e., through the places whereby the boundary could be as straight as possible; and join it straight to the river Sind so that no doubt as regards the separation of that territory remains. After that the exchange between the two countries shall be carried out, and the two countries shall not turn aside and infringe upon this proposal and consequential exchange, and shall keep firm possession on their acquisitions. In case, a dispute arises, it shall be settled through the arbitration of the Department of the Agent, Governor-General, North-West frontier and Residence at Lahore. A copy each of this agreement, bearing the signature of the representatives of both the parties, shall remain in Lahore office, Jammu Office and one in the office of his excellency the Resident at Lahore. Finis.

Done on Tuesday the fourteenth of the month Jeth of the Sambat year 1904, corresponding to the twenty-fifth May, A.D. 1847.

Place Lahore, with Signatures of all the four.

Signature of *Sahib Kalan Bahadur*. Signatures of all the four."

(362) In the meantime His Highness issued a *farman* from his Kashmir Camp in the illustrious name of the diamond of the grand empire, His Highness Maharaja Ranbir Singh[11] *sahib bahadur* who was at Jammu, bearing instructions about his visit to Simla. The grand standards of the said Highness, therefore, joined by the Excellency *Diwan* (Jawala Sahai) *sahib*, *Wazir* Zorawar, and with about three thousand victorious troops, departed towards Simla, situated on the spur of a mountain, for meeting with His Excellency *Nawab*

11. The *Mean* Ranbeer Singh, is a young man, apparently between two and four and twenty, and a stylish person, but not possessing in his countenance the signs of superior caste or intellect. His manners appear more easy than ordinary, but in these he is, of course, far behind his accomplished father." (*Mr. P. Sandays Malvill, Extra Asstt. to the Resident at Lahore-Lahore Political Diaries-Vol. V.* p. 230. 7th Sept. 1847).

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Lord Governor-General *bahadur*. On the arrival of the party at that place, Colonel Lawrence *Sahib bahadur* came forward a few *'krohs'* to receive and escort them. During the meeting, high honours and respects were showered on the part of His Excellency the *Nawab*. After a few days' stay there he returned with his retinue.[12]

12. *Mian Ranbir Singh's visit to Simla* :

The Mian's mahoorut has been fixed on for next Sunday, the 12th instant (Sept., 1847) (for departure to Simla).

(Diary of P. Sandys Melvill—*Lahore Pol. diaries, vol. v.*, p. 225)

A letter was received by P. Sandays on 12/9/47 from Simla that *Mian's* meeting with His Lordship would not take place before the middle of October and that too in the plains. But it was the *Mian's* wish that the meeting should be allowed in Simla on 1st Oct. as per previous plan.

Mian Ranbir Singh arrived Melvill's camp at Choon on 13-9-1947 on way to Simla.

Choon on the Ravi, about 8 miles from Sukho Chak.

At Hariana a letter from Lawrence, Resident at Lahore received to the effect His Lordship would not receive the deputation till the 25th October (1847). At Balachur a letter from Simla was received on 23rd that His Lordship would receive the *Mian* directly, provided he arrived within six days from the present time . . .

P. Sandys Melvill and *Mian* Ranbir Singh reached Simla on 29th Sept. 1847, and were met by colonel Lawrence, Col. Grant C. B. & Lieutenants Edwardes and Lake who accompanied the Mian to the camp prepared for him, next to that inhabited by Colonel Lawrence.

"1st October (1847)--At half past 2 O'clock P.M. I went with Lieutenant Edwardes to meet the *Mian* and conduct him to the Durbar at the Governor-General's, which had been appointed for 3 o'clock. A company of Rifles lined the road (within the gates) leading upto the Government House, a salute of 13 guns being fired in honour of the event. Mr. Secretary Elliott presented the *Mian* to the Governor-General. The tribute shawls etc., were first produced by the *Mian*, to whom some valuable presents were given in return. The honours were bestowed on departing as on arriving.

"4th October--This being the day named for *Mian's* departure from Simla, he was accompanied by Colonel Lawrence to the end of the Simla bazar from his own house. I rode on with him as for as Boileaugunge, and then left him. it having been deemed unnecessary that any officer should accompany him on his homeward route.

"The following is the list of the escort which accompanied the *Mian* to Simla, as furnished by *Dewan* Jawala Sahai for Colonel Lawrence, and would, therefore, be the proper one to refer to on any similar occasion hereafter, viz -

35 *Sowars*
1 Adjutant.
3 *Subahdars*.
3 *Havildars*.
3 *Naiks*
3 Buglars and Drummers.
78 soldiers (foot)
56 orderlies
Total 176

P. Sandays Melvill Extra Assistant Resident (at Lahore).
Lahore Political Diaries, Vol. V pp. 235-250).
(*Col. Steinbanbach also joined them at Khairee to escort them to Simla*).

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CHAPTER
52

The claims of Mian Jawahar Singh and Mian Moti Singh

Raja Jawahar Singh, who had been granted territories of Punchh and Chibhal by His Highness, was misled by some one, and by his own perverse thinking, and approached the officials of the British Goverment through a petition. He demanded Jasrota and an equal share in all the territories and property. From the court of the said Highness, *Diwan* Jawala Sahai was deputed to expedite this affair. On his going to Lahore the said claim was rejected. The copy of the decision by Sir Frederick Currie *sahib* is as under :

Proceedings of the Court of Sir Frederick Currie Barnett *Sahib bahadur*, Agent to Governor-General, North West Provinces, Resident at Lahore, and Chief Commissioner midst the Jumna and Bias rivers, held on the 11th May, A.D. 1848. Station, Lahore.

Mian Jawahar Singh *sahib* and *Mian* Moti Singh *sahib*, sons of the late Raja Dhian Singh *sahib*, Plaintiffs.

(363) Maharaja Gulab Singh, defendant.

Claim of the territories of Chibhal and Punachh etc., *jagir* of Raja Dhian Singh their own father, estimated income four lakh and a half, and Raja Hira Singh's *jagir* of Jasrota etc., income five lakh rupees; half of cash *jagir* of Raja Suchet Singh, without figures of cash and kind; and a part of Jammu, income rupees three lakhs.

Today the file of the said case was brought under consideration in the presence of the claimants Mian Jawahar Singh *sahib* and *Mian* Moti Singh, the nephews of Maharaja Gulab Singh *bahadur*, and

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Diwan Jawala Sahae invested with full powers by the Government of Maharaja Gulab Singh *sahib bahadur*. The papers attached to the file were examined and heard from cover to cover. Except the documents and *sanads* belonging to the late Maharaja Ranjit Singh's reign all those produced by the parties were seen. It became evident that on the 11th August A.D. 1847 the above named case was presented with the statement of Muhar Singh Agent of the complainants in the court to the glorious *sahib* Colonel Henry Montgomery Lawrence *sahib bahadur*, the former Agent to the Resident at Lahore, and the said *Sahib* made Muhar Singh write down remarks and had it sent to the office without his signature but under his own orders.

November 18, A.D. 1847. The proceedings were written in summary that by this time *Diwan* Jawala Sahae, Prime Minister and accredited Agent (*Mukhtar-i-kull*) of the Government of the Maharaja *Sahib bahadur* had arrived at Lahore. Our intention is that a perfect and earnest amity should be brought about between the kind *Mian* Jawahar Singh *Sahib* and Maharaja Gulab Singh *bahadur*. On this account talks were held with the said *Diwan sahib* and it was ordered that a letter should be written to the said *Mian* on the subject that at present it is (364) better that that gentleman (*Mian* Jawahir Singh) should send, ar soon as possible, his special *muhatomid* i.e., *Diwan* Nanak Chand, *Munhsi* Harnam Das and one or two other such persons who are possessed of sound commensense and kind behaviour and desirous of their own as well-being, and who are not the source of dispute. The '*mu'tamids*' of both the parties should come to one unanimous decision in the form of a proposal. He should also give a writing under own seal and signature investing the '*mu'tamids*' with full powers and bearing the undertaking that whatever decision the said '*mu'tomids*' may arrive at under the judgement of Colonel Lawrence will be accepted and agreed to by him. Consequently, a letter on the above subject was duly issued. Finis.

November 26, A.D. 1847 Received a letter from *Mian* Jawahir Singh *sahib* bearing the subject that from the beginning *Sri* Maharaja *ji* has been considered in place of the deceased Maharaja (*Raja Dhian Singh*) and the claims of a son and father (on each other) have been in every way determined for ever. It is earnestly expected that a personal letter from *Sri* Maharaja *ji* will be received concerning paternal and fraternal inheritance and his treatment towards this house. Received a ring as a token of gift from the Governor-General *bahadur*.

After a closer inspection it was found that the letter neither bore the seal on the top, nor the name, nor it mentioned the name of the person who brought it. A provincial person who mostly knew Persian langauage and knew nothing at all about the house of the hill Rajas

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brought it and presented it through *Qazi* Mohkam-ud-Din. On account of this a second letter bearing the same subject matter has been written to the said *Mian* on this date. It was handed over to the provincial man on the responsibility of *Qazi* Mohkam-ud-Din. How it could be ascertained that it was a letter from that dear friend (*Jawahir Singh*) since it bore no reply of the first letter neither expressed thanks for the gift of His Excelldncy the Governor-General. Nor the bearer of this letter possessed any authentic writing from that *sahib*. Because of this, suspicious arose regarding this letter.

(365) So the best course is that the worthy friend (*Jawahir Singh*) should himself move to Lahore and meet the great John Lawrence. It is proper to act according to the decision after consultation with the said *Sahib*. Finis.

Afterwards, in order to decide the case at an early date, there was a plan of John Lawrence, the officiating Resident at Lahore, to go to Jammu personally. Consequently, he had sent a word to *Diwan* Jawala Sahae that he would arrive at Jammu to decide this case there. But because of the affairs referred to him by the Lahore Government the said *Sahib* ordered *Maulavi* Sayyid Rajab 'Ali Khan *bahadur*, Chief Secretary of this Department, to write a message to *Diwan* Jawala Sahae that the arrival of this side there had been suspended. So *Mian* Jawahir Singh should come to Lahore as per previous writing. The said *Diwan* wrote in reply that Ranbir Singh *ji* wished the said excellency to come to Jammu for a hunt and excursion. but if due to excess of work he had postponed this intention it was his sweet will. *Mian* Jawahar Singh will therefore leave for Lahore.

December 4, A.D. 1847--The said *sahib* made the said *Maulavi* to write in reply that his coming along with *Mian* Jawahir Singh will be highly gratifying to this side.

December 5, A.D. 1847--A *parwana* had been written to *Diwan* Jawala Sahae asking as to when *Mian* Jawahir Singh was expected to arrive, what caused the delay, what was the intention as such, and asked him to inform of whatever had taken place.

December 27-.It was again wrltten that he should inform positively whether or not he was coming with *Mian* Jawahir Singh (366) and that he should tell what has caused him delay. In response the *Diwan's* petition was received carrying the information that the said *Mian* was procrastinating his departure for Lahore. A letter was written to the *Mian* on the third January, 1848, that this side had waited for that friend's arrival to this day. Neither he had come, nor written anything in reply. Now it is desirable that he should come, and if even now he delays as before, it may cause him difficulty afterwards. To *Diwan* Jawala Sahae it was written that if *Mian*

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Jawahir Singh comes soon, well and good, or else he should come all alone. If *Qazi* Mohkam-ud-Din comes, the letter should be handed over to him.

January, 18, A.D. 1848--Received a letter from *Mian* Jawahir Singh *Sahib* bearing the gist that all this delay has been caused by disputation of the '*mu'tamids*' of the Maharaja. The 17th of the month of Magh, Samat 1904 had been fixed for their departure.

January 27, A.D. 1843 A note was received from the said *Mian* denoting his postponement of leaving for Lahore to the 10th of the month of Magh due to earthquake and no favourable '*mahurat*' according to the '*Shastar*'. The same day, due to the prevarication of the *Mian* in coming, a reply was quite helplessly written that he had every option to come or not to come and he might do as he liked. This side had no anxiety on that account.

March 13, A.D. 1848. A letter from the *Mian* was received informing that he had on receipt of the letter of the former Acting Resident at Lahore, made up his mind to leave for Lahore, but some circumstances had caused delay. Now since he had heard about the arrival of this side, he had eagerly travelled all the way and arrived at Shahdara to seek interview and achieve all his claims. (367) On the said date it was written to the officials of Lahore *Darbar* to suggest where he had to be housed. According to the usual custom he was made to alight outside the city of Lahore. The *Vakil* of Maharajah Gulab Singh was given a hint that the arrival of *Diwan* Jawala Sahai at Lahore as per former proposal of Colonel Lawrence was proper for the settlement of the case.

April 27, A.D. 1848 The said *Diwan* arrived. He produced a letter from Maharajah Gulab Singh with this subject that he had known from the letter of *Malik* Mohkam-ud-Din that *Mian* Jawahir Singh and *Mian* Moti Singh (May they have long life) had received the blessing of high presence. So *Diwan* Jawala Sahae had been sent to the presence in spite of much business concerning him. He would present all the particulars and customs of the family of this humble servant. In case there be certain matters to be asked from this humble servant, these he would reply.

In the meanwhile a few meetings were held between the *Mians* and *Diwan* Jawala Sahae. The *Mians* had, apart from the claims above mentioned, sumbitted an application for the inclusion of their names in the Treaty, and the conferment of title 'Rajah' on them and of their equality with *Mian* Ranbir Singh on account of inclusion of their names in the documents of Maharaja Gulab Singh *Sahib bahadur* and other *sanads* of the court. *Diwan* Jawala Sahai was interrogated as to the remaining affairs. *Diwan* Jawala Sahae submitted his proposal in writing along with his petition with the

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contents that in his opinion whatever was maximum in this affair on the part of the Maharaja, had been documented and submitted to the presence, provided that (368) the acceptance of the exalted *Sahib* according to that decision should be received by *Sri* Maharaja *Sahib bahadur*.

The summary of the proposed decision, of which *Diwan* Jawala Sahae had shown the documents, was that after the death of Raja Hira Singh the territories of Chibhal and Puachh were confiscated by the *Khalsa* Government and were firstly given to Faiz Talab Khan and then to *Sardar* Chatar Singh. Whole of the territory of Chalayar, etc., with an estimated revenue of rupees forty thousand, was given over to this side, and had continued in the same mode till the occupation by the British Government. Afterwards when the British Government got from the Government of *Khalsaji* the hill country, etc., with all rights and privileges, they handed it over to this side in succession. Since that day Chibhal and other territories had passed under the occupation of this side. And this side had, out of kindness, bestowed the territories of Chibhal, Punachh, Saila and Kotli, excluding the region of Chalayar, etc., on *Mian* Jawahir Singh, in exchange for a levy of one platoon as had been formerly imposed by the Government of *Khalsaji* on Raja Dhian Singh. Now as the said *Mian* had gone to Lahore to file a complaint and as the opinion of his excellency *Sahib Kalan* (elder) *bahadur* seems to be in favour of providing for them all, therefore it is suggested that the levy of platoons on the said *Mian* at an estimated expenditure of a lakh of rupees be remitted; the Chalayar territory may also be granted, and the title of Rajah may too be conferred on the two youngsters. In exchange for the remittance of the levy of one platoon at a cost of a lakh of rupees or more than that and the gift of Chalayar territory, etc., which has a revenue of forty thousand rupees, the territory of Punachh be bestowed on the '*barkhurdar*' *Mian* Moti Singh, May be live long. Either the two brothers may live together, or separate. As required by the proposals written in the letters (369) of the Resident, Agent to the Governor General, the provision for the permit of collection of revenue has to be consolidated. Therefore the permit of '*mahsul*' from the territory of the said *Mian* be abolished. As for the permit of '*mahsul*' amounting to a sum of rupees thirty thousand of Kashmir mint may continue to be charged every year. An amount equal to thirty thousand rupees due to be given to Faiz Talab Khan, Sher Baz Khan and Hasham 'Ali be duly adjusted. All these proposals are accepted in view of the prosperity of the '*barkhurdars*' and the wish of the *Sahib bahadur* and subject to the approval of the *Sahib bahadur*. But the '*barkhurdars*' are bound to present a cash of seven thousand *Nanakshahi* rupees and two horses with gold trap-

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pings as '*nazar*' every year on '*Dussahra*'. They should also continue paying the dues of the Prime Minister Diwan Jawala Sahai in accordance with the '*parvana*' of the lata Raja Dhian Singh which as per our proposal amounts to one thousand and six hundred rupees. They should not undertake any big expendition withont our permission. Fins.

In consideration of that proposal it was decided on the 9th May, A.D. 1848, in the presence of both the parties that next day at 12 O'clock the *Mians sahibs* should come and sit in the room of this side, and the '*mu'tamids*' (Agent) of the Government of Maharaja Gulab Singh *bahadur* and the accredited '*mu'atamids*' of the *Mian sahibs* should sit together in the Court Room of John Angels *sahib bahadur*, and should after due deliberation and discussion in the presence of *Maulvi* Sayyid Rajab 'Ali Khan *bahadur*, the *Mir Munsht* (Chief Secretary) of this Department, arrive at one final proposal from which the parties should not budge afterwards. Consequently, on the 10th day of May of the said year (A.D. 1848), sitting in the proposed manner in accordance with the suggestion of Colonel Lawrence *Sahib bahadur* vide the said *Sahib bahadur* dated the 18th November 1848, the *Mir Munshi* (Chief Secretary) of this Department (370) got in writing the consent of *Diwan* Jawala Sahai. *Maulavi* Mazhar 'Ali and *Malik* Mohkam-ud-Din, *Vakils* of the Maharaja *sahib bahadur*, and *Diwan* Nanak Chand and *Munshi* Harnam Das '*mu'atmids*' (agents) of the *Mians sahibs*, of the detailed proposal of the Maharaja *sahib bahadur*. The said *mu'atamids* (agents) explained that the acceptauce of the proposed was prejudicial to their interests, so it was desirable that his excellency the Resident *Sahib bahadur* should send the *Mians sahibs* with *Diwan* Jawala Sahai to the presence of the Maharaja *sahib bohadur*. If some settlement is arrived at there they would inform, if not even then they would do so. Finis.

Whereas Maharaja Gulab Singh *sahib bahadur* and the *Mians sahibs* who are sons of the deceased Raja Dhian Singh, his younger brother, have a mutual dispute and altercation leading to trouble and dissention and such is expected because of instigation by mischief mongers, it is, therefore, decided by us that the claim of the *Mian sahibs*, in view of past *sanads* and agreements contracted before the conclusion of treaty between the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh *bahadur*, in the partrimony of Raja Hira Singh and Raja Suchet Singh *sahib* are not worth hearing. At the time of the conclusion of the Treaty the said country was not in the possession of the said *Mian sahibs*, and before that treaty the Labore Government had full powers to grant or confiscate its territories. After the settlement of the Treaty the Maharaja *bahadur* had sanctioned Chibhal and

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Punachh, etc., (371) totalling to three lakh fifty thousand rupees to the *Mians*, and now he grants them territories of Chalayar and Danala and other villages with a yearly revenue of forty thousand rupees. Whatever had been the possessions of Raja Dhian Singh have therefore been surrendered to the *Mian sahibs*, his sons. The remittance of the levy of one platoon is additional, besides the title of Raja for both the brothers. This proposal of the Maharaja *bahadur* is quite reasonable. Thus, whenever *Mian* Jawahir Singh and *Mian* Moti Singh go to Jammu they may stay there in the manner the late Raja Dhian Singh used to stay there. As regards the alternative of the permit of the said country. The seven thousand rupees in *Nanakshahi* currency and two horses with gold trappings which has been fixed as amount of *nazar* on property and '*dussehra*', are hereby abolished. On the other hand the two *Mian sahibs*

(372) should present yearly, by merit of being born of a brother to the Maharaja *sahib bahadur*, one horse with gold trappings and seven hundred rupees cash in *Nanakshahi* currency. As regards the sum of one thousand six hundred rupees which has been proposed to be charged on the estate of the *Mian sahibs* on account of the dues of *Diwan* Jawala Sahae-since the said *Diwan* is a great well wisher of the Maharaja *sahib bahadur* so if he likes he may himself pay him so much or even more. As the hill territory has come under the possession of the British Government from the *Khalsa* Government with all the rights, and has been granted by the British Government to the Maharaja *sahib* by virtue of the Treaty, and since it is desirable and incumbent to uphold the reasonable rights of old proprietors, so the *Mian sahibs* should not carry out big expeditions in their territory.

The Maharaja *sahib bahadur* should feel assured that for the management of whole of the country either under his direct possession or under those of Maharaja's '*Zaildars*', the imperial Government will have dealings only with the Maharaja. As this decision is in no way deficient for the *Mians*, it also envisages no harm to the Maharaja's interests. Whatever is hereby decreed, a copy of this Court decision is being handed over to *Diwan* Jawala Sahae so that he gets occupation to the *Mians* accordingly, and makes the title of 'Raja' conferred on both the *Mians*. Another copy is hereby handed over to the *Mians* so that they should withdraw all their claims contained in the said decision."

During these days another incident broiled up. Mr. Agnew had gone to Multan. He was murdered at the hands of troops of Mulraj, the '*Hakim*' of Multan. And Edwardes (373) *sahib bahadur* led the *Khalsa* troops commanded by Raja Sher Singh Attariwala, for the subjugation of Multan.

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He halted at the Suraj Kund. *Sardar* Chatar Singh, who was the government manager at Hazara, revolted and murdered Gandra (Colonel Canora) *Sahib* He conspired with *Amir* Dost Muhammad Khan and strove to occupy the tract for himself. Consequently, a British force under his excellency Lord arrived there and started action, first in the battle of Ram Nagar and then in the battle at Chilian (*One line and two couplets omitted*).

In the meanwhile Multan was reduced. On the 22nd of the month of Phagan an action was fought at Gujrat between the British and the Sikh troops in which Sikhs suffered a signal defeat. During this affair *Diwan* Nihal Chand was in the service of Mr. Currie on behalf of His Highness. But later on the excellency *Diwan* Jawala Sahai went there. *Diwan* Hari Chand led his victorious troops at Mirpur and advanced on Buta, the *jagir* of *Sardar* Chatar Singh, in aid of the British troops. He ferried at 'Hal' and carried a raid and occupied that *jagir*. At last (374) the *Khalsa* submitted at Rawalpindi and surrendered all weapons and arms. The rose garden of Panjab was thus weeded clear of the rubbish of insnrrection and revolt.

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CHAPTER

53

An account of Sardar Chattar Singh's insurrection, and Revolt of Mulraj

The detailed description of this event is as under. When the territories of Multan[1] came under the possession of the King of Lahore these did not have proper law and order which was necessary for the settlement and readjustment of revenue and administrative affairs. *Diwan* Sanwan-mall,[2] the youngest brother of *Lala* Nanak Chand

1. Multan, according to traditon, derived its name from *Rishi* Kashyap and was called Kashyapapura. The celebrated Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, names it as Mulasthanapura. It is situated 4 miles east of the R. Chenab. The distance between Lahore and Multan is 208 miles. According to Alexander Burnes the circumference of the city was upwards of 3 miles, while Elphinstone estimated it at a little over 4-1/2 miles. Ranjit Singh conquered it in 1818. It was a great centre for commercial and banking transactions. It was commercially linked with Lahore, Amritsar, Ferozepur, Southern Afghanistan and Iran. "Its principal manufactures", says Thornton "were silk, cotton, shawls, lungis and brocade tissues". Vigna noted that its principal industries were carpets and embroidery. It produced 1,500 maunds of tobacoo annually. He also says that Multan imported 700 maunds of raw silk from Turkistan every year. It was manufactured in 150 workshops. The revenues of the Multan province about this time (January 1844) exceeded 4 1/2 lakh rupees. (National Archives, *Foreign Deptt. Secret Cons. No.* 53, 20 March 1809; Ms. No. 205 p,45; Ms. No.336, p. 14; Ms. No. 351, p. 125; Elphinstone, *Caubal*, 234; Masson, i, 395; Shahamet Ali, Bahawalpur, xxvi; Burnes, *Travels*, iii, III; Osborne, xxix; Thornton, ii, 60; *Imp. Gazetteer*, xviii, 31; *Multan Gazetteer*, (1883/4), 151; (1901/2), 330f; Andrew, 147; Capuchin Mission, 120 Steinbach, 5.)

2. *Diwan* Sawan Mal, the youngest brother of *Lala* Nanak Chand, who had

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who had been appointed to the *Daftardari* of Lahore through the medium of *Diwan* Moti Ram,[3] had been deputed the *Kardar* of Kot-Suje-Khan. Sometimes after this the late Lordship was appointed to that district for the conduct of expeditions, and while returning therefrom, he submitted (to the Maharaja) words of praise for *Diwan* Sanwan-Mall that he was unrivalled in managing affairs. Influenced thereby the great ruler (Ranjit Singh) appointed the said *Diwan* after sometime to the governorship of Multan with full powers.

As the said *Diwan* was well acquinted with administration he populated the country and pleased the subjects by various concessions. The wells out of use and deserted for long were brought under cultivation by settling permanently on them seven rupees for *Rabi'* and five for *Kharif* harvest. If somebody grew a harvest of hundred rupees even none took notice of it. Thieves and robbers who had fearlessly weilded the hand of oppression and violence, were disciplined (375)

been appointed to the '*Daftarduri*' of Lahore through the medium of *Diwan* Moti Ram, and the youngest of the three sons of Hoshnak Rai, a 'Chopra' Khatri of Akalgarh who was in the service of *Sardar* Dal Singh, was born in 1788. In 1820 he was appointed the Accountant of Multan at Rs. 250 per month. He was made Governor (Kardar)of Kot Suja Khan, half of Multan District, in 1821, and was later on made Governar of whole of the Province of Multan in 1829, and retained this post till his death in 1844. Before him the whole province was in chaos on account of lawlessness and warfare. The State of revenues had fallen into arrears. After 1829 he set the affairs of the province right. "By his energetic, firm and just government of the province Sawan Mal succeeded in raising the province to a state of prosperity it had perhaps never before attained.

Mohan Lal who travelled through Multan province when Sawan Mal was its Governor, says that "the tranquility he has established in the territory of Multan surpassed that of Hindustan which is governed by a body of law." Due to his liberality and love of justice, Sawan Mal was very popular with his subjects. He was an oriential rular of the best type."

(*Gulabnama*, p. 58 ; *Roussa e Punjab*, 280 6 *Gujranwala Gazet*, 1893-4, p. 29; *Multan Gazet.*, 1883-4 pp. 30-31; *Ludhiana Akhbar*, 9 Sept., 1837, 9 3; Foreign Deptt. Misc., Ms. No. 312 ; *Punjab Records*, 160/64; Sita Ram Kohli *Trial of Diwan Mul Raj.* pp. 3-4; *Cunninghum, History of the Sikhs*, p. 260; *The Calcutta Review*, ii, No. iii, Oct/Dec. 1844, pp. 208 f ; H. R. Gupta, *Mohan Lal Kashmiri* 79 n.)

3. Moti Ram, *Diwan*, the only son of *Diwan* Mohkam Chand, was a man of great ability. After his father's death he was made the *Diwan*, and mas confirmed in the governorship of the Jullundur Doab. After the annexation of Kashmir he was appointed the first governor of that territory and served in that capacity for seven years. For some time he went out of favour with the Maharaja, but later regained his lost position and was made a member of the mission that waited upon Lord William Bentinck at Simla. On his return, weary of public life he retired to Benaras and died there in seclusion in 1839. Griffin, *Panjab Chiefs*, 556-9; *Rousa-e-Punjab*, 567.71; Chopra, 166-7).

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and held back from highway robbery. Consequently, in a short time as is the wont of stability—that the face of the world and time becomes adorned in the reign of the just rulers, that country presented a fresh bustle and briskness, and the profits of that territory multiplied fourtimes. The *Diwan* who owed a fixed tribute to the Lahore Government, made large profits and amassed a large treasure. He continned in that administration till the time of Raja Hira Singh, when he was wounded by a murderer kept under arrest by him in his palace, and died.[4]

His son, *Diwan* Mulraj, was, therefore, set up in his place on the *subahdari* of Multan. As some dues were outstanding in the name of the said *Diwan*, the nobles of Lahore *Darbar*, put up demand thereof, and called him to account for arrears of revenue and *nazrana*. Through the good offices of Raja Dina Nath, however, he was permitted to return to Multan on payment of eight lakh rupees. After some time the *Khalsa* rule became supplanted by that of the British Resident. The *Darbar* authorities submitted before *Sir* John Lawrance *Sahib bahadur* who had been honoured to the office of Lahore Residency, that a few years' account of the said *Diwan* was yet to be settled, and secured his summons. Accordingly, the *Diwan* attended without neglect, but due to disunity of brothers who had natural differences with him on account of heterogenity, and also the wrangle of the auditors, he tendered his resignation,[5] and requested that a trust-

4. *Diwan* Sawan Mal was shot in revenge by a condemned criminal on September 29, 1846. (160/64, *Richmond to Currie*, October 10, 1844, P.G.R. ; 164/68, ibid, October 16, 1844, P.G.R.) *Diwan* Sawan Mal "was shot in the chest on September 16, 1844, and died on September 29, 1844" (Yusaf A, Muhammad, *Tazkara e Multan*, 12-28), and "the name of Sawan Mall was added to the long list of murdered men." *The Calcutta Review*, Vol. II, No. III, October. December 1844, p. 208).

5. When Mul Raj was appointed to succeed his father as Governor of Multan he was ordered by Lahore *Darbar* to pay Rupees Thirty lakhs as succession fee. During the disturbed years of 1844 and 1845 the payment was kept in abeyance. When after the Ist Sikh wars, Lahore authority became vested in the hands of a British Resident, Mul Raj made a representation and the demand was reduced to Rupees twenty lakhs, but at the same time the Resident took away his estate of Jhang. He also raised the revenue of what remained with Mul Raj. He was asked to pay Rs. 19,68,000 annually for the territory for which his father paid only Rs. 13,74,000. Mul Raj accepted the conditions, but found it difficult to raise money as excise duty on goods transported by river had been abolished by the Resident. The Resident interfered with his powers in several other ways. He was, moreover, in his treatmen) of Mul Raj, guided by the Governor's rivals, his brother Karam Chand and *Sardar* Tej Singh. For these reasons the *Diwaa* put up his resignation in December 1847. (Khushwant Singh, *The Fall of the Kingdom of the Punjab*, pp. 128-29). "Mul Raj, however, was

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worthy person of British Governmenr should accompany him and get the key of the fort and property from him (376) and write out for him the receipt for goods and property so that he got relieved of the office. The said *Sahib* comforted him with dignifired favours and put off the finalization of this affair to the beginning of spring, and permitted the said *Diwan* to leave.

Meanwhilc Sir Frederic Currie *Sahib bahadur* was appointed to the high office of Lahore Residency. He deputed Mr. Agnun *sahib* (Vans Agnew) and Anderson to accompany *Sardar* Kahn Singh Man who had been appointed to replace *Diwan* Mulraj to the *Subahdari* of Multan. The said *Sahibs* arrived[6] at Multan. One day[7] they went to the fort in the presence of the said *Diwan* and wanted him to hand over the fort and the territory. It is said that the *Diwan* offered no excuses, nor refused to comply. Bnt the managers of destiny had their eye on the causes of insurrection and disturbances. So when the said *sahibs* were going towards their camp, it so happened that a few evil minded persons, out of insolence and insanity, ambushed them, wounded Agnun *Sahib* (Vans Agnew) in the chest with a bullet and put Mr. Anderson *Sahib* to sword mercilessly and killed him.[8] *(One line and four couplets omitted).* It caused a great riot. *Diwan* Mulaj was bewildered at this surprising development, and sought to pursuade politely and consolingly the soldiery from such acts, but it was of no avail. (377) The soldiers chose to resort to arms and

no great ruler; he had in fact, declared himself anxious to retire into private life, since the difficulty of raising the revenue demanded by Lahore was more than he was capable of copying with. It must be understood that this offer of resignation was purely voluntry, and was only accepted on his own urgent representations." (Gough end Innes, *The Sikhs and The Sikh Wars*, p. 160).

6. These offieers received full instructions on March 31st . . . and arrived at Multan by degrees, from the 13th to the 17th April (Gough and Innes, p. 160).

7. On the 19th April, 1848.

8. Vans Agnew and Anderson were not killed at this occasion. Only these were attacked and wounded . . . "the Goorkhas rescued Anderson, and Khan (Khan) Singh rescrued Agnew, putting him on his own elephant. Both officers were brought into their encampment (at Idgah), where their wounds were dressed (Gough and Innes ; *The Sikhs and Sikh War*, p. 161). 'In the evening, some of the soldiery and town rabble mobbed the Idgah, took Khan (Kahn Singh prisoner, and murdered the two English offieers. (*Ibid*).

"At noon on 23rd April intelligence arrived from the news writer at Mooltan that at 11 o'clock on the 20th, the whole of Moolraj's force attacked the camp and escort of *Sardar* Khan Singh and the British Officers."

Dalhousie to Hobhouse, 4 May, 1848-II A. M. Broughton (BM), 36476, fol. 64 ff).

"The *Darbar* troops, first defended the Camp, but at last went over to the rebellious force to a man. The Sardar made terms for himself and the British Officers were left to be cruelly butchered. (*Ibid*),

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arrayed for battle. When the wounded Agnun *Sahib* (Vans Agnew) was carried by his soldier-servants to Idgah where the said *Sahib* had encamped, the conflagration of riot flared up. The terror of soldiery drove the said *Diwan* to seek shelter in war preparation.[9] The regiment of Sikh army which had encamped in Idgah, arrested Sardar Kahn Singh and brought him before the said *Diwan* and joined him.[10]

When this undesirable event was reported to Sir Frederick Currie *Sahib bahadur*, he despatched Raja Sher Singh at the head of a force of Sikh Government towards Multan for the chastisement of the rebels. Moreover, the troops of *Nawab* of Bhawalpur under Major Edwardes *Sahib bahadur* who had reached Multan from Bannu, came to reinforce and rescure the said force. Thus a fresh armed conflict ensued and the battle-drums sounded loudly and bored the brains of the people by shrill din. Because the fort of Multan was known for strength and solidity, so the commanders of British forces and Sikh troops thought it expedient to encamp at Suraj-kund till the arrival of reinforcements which had marched from Bombay.

9 Gough and Innes write, "Meanwhile, at Multan itself, Mulraj sent his emissaries over to the Idgah to inform Agnew that his own people would not allow him to resign, and he could give the Englishmen no help, At the same time he invited the escort to desert and come over, and placed himself at the head of the revolt" *The Sikhs and the Sikh Wars*, p. 161).

Vans Agnew, after being wounded and carried to the camp at Idgah wrote a report of the whole incident to the British Resident at Lahore, stating clearly, "I don't think Mulraj has anything to do with it, I was riding with him when we were attacked." (Edwardes, *A Year on the Punjab Frontier*, II, p. 178.) Lieut. Edwarde's note to the Resident makes the position of Mulraj very clear; "I think Mulraj has been involved in rebellion against his will, and being a weak man, is now persuaded by his officers' that there is no hope for him but in going all lengths; . . ." (*Ibid*, II, p. 100).

10. *Dalhousie to Hobhouse*, 2 May, 1848 Broughton (B*M*.), 36476, fol. 56 a. "*Diwan* Mulraj had for sometime expressed his desire to retire from the govt. The retirement was very desirable and the resignation was lately accepted by the *Darbar* with the concurrence of the Resident. *Sardar* Khan Singh (Khan Singh) the new nominee proceeded to *M*ooltan, aecompanied by two British offieers, W. Vans Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson on the part of the British Govt On the 19th April, as the *Sardar* and the two officers were coming out of the fort of *M*holtan, where they have been to receive charge from Moolraj, to *seboys* marched on the British officers and wounded both smartly in several laces with swordcuts. The troops of Moolraj mutinied, turned the two companies out of the fort, who had accompanied the new governor and our officers, and were in a state of great disturbance in fact, in mutiny.

On 22nd. Sir Frederick Currie tells me that the *Durbar* fully believed that the whole affair had been instigated by Moolraj. Sir Frederick thinks their is no good evidence that Moolraj had anything to do with it, or that the outrage was premeditated still his conduct was at all events suspicious . . ."

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During this time, the gambler Firmament which deals in coldness. played a new trick. *Sardar* Chatar Singh Attariwala who had been deputed by Lahore Government to the management of Hazara territory which had been given away in exchange for Manawar region by *Diwan* Jawala Sahai, also chose the path of rebellion because of the following developments. One day some Sikh soldiers contracted some dispute with Gandra (Canora)[11] *sahib* who was a servant of the *Khalsa* Government ; and (378) those purblind persons put him to sword in cold blood. The *Said sahib* being a European *Sardar* Chatar Singh took consternation, and finding no way out except in rebellion, chose the path of riot.[12] Although Raja Dina Nath was commissioned by Currie *Sahib bahadur* to hold him back from this idea which he had cooked in his brain, yet as affairs of fate do not suffer any change or amendment, and the destiny being irrevocable, he (Dina Nath) returned disappointed. *Sardar* Chattar Singh prompted Sher Singh also to join Mulraj by successive letters. He himself got ready for hostilities and battle. Sher Singh had not relished this idea, yet in obeyance of the orders of his father, he reluctantly threw his lot on the side of *Diwan* Mulraj.[13] Thus the flame of rebellion and riot be-

11. *Gandran* (*Canora*) : Colonel Canora, an American, was a military officer of the Sikh *Darbar* under Sardar Chattar Singh Attariwala, the '*nazim*' (Governor) of Hazara.

12. The Attariwalas Chattar Singh and Sher Singh—turned against the British only when their suspicion that the British did not mean to honour the terms of the Treaty of Bhairowal turned to certainty. The performance of Maharaja Dalip Singh's nuptials with Chattar Singh's daughter were not being taken up seriously by the Resident.Because of this, relations between Chattar Singh Attariwala and Captain Abbott, who was expected to assist him, became extremely strained.

"Early in August 1848, without any provocation, Abbott roused the Muslim tribes against the Sikhs. In his words, 'I called upon them in the memory of their murdered parents, friends and relatives to rise and aid me in destroying the Sikh forces in detail' (*Abott to Currie*, August 17, 1848). The tribesmen threatened to attack Hatipur. For his own safety, Chattar Singh Attariwala ordered Colonel Canora, an American officers of the *Darbar*, to evacuate the fort for him. Canora refused to comply unless Abbott confirmed the order. The Attariwala ordered his troops to occupy the fort by force. Canora was killed while trying to fire on the Attariwala's troops. Abbott charged Chattar Singh with "cold blooded murder". The resident was constrained to reprimand Captain Abbott, but a few days later he confirmed the order of a subordinate investigating officer sequestrating Chattar Singh's *jagirs* and suspending him from the post of *Nazim* (*Nicholson to Currie*, August 20, 1848). Chattar Singh had no option than to fight for the wrong done to him. He, therefore, opened negotiations with *Amir* Dost Muhammad, and also approached his friend Gulab Singh Dogra for help. (Khushwant Singh : *History of the Sikhs*, II, pp. 74-75).

13. At Hazara there is open insurrection. Captain Abbott for months has been declaring the intention of the force to rise but in terms so extravagent as

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came widespread throughout Punjab territories. From all directions bands of Sikhs gathered around *Sardar* Chatar Singh, adding momentum to his rebellion. Saditious bands, instilled with absurd notions and aiming at bringing on revolution in the State,[14] took to

to throw discredit on his statements in the minds of the Resident and his brother officers. About 12 August there was a rising in good earnest, and since then the troops in Hazara held by Sardar Chattar Singh, one of the principal Chiefs in the Punjab have been in arms, blockaded in Hazara by the armed Muhammadan population fighting under Captain Abbott.

It is doubtful who rose first. The Resident blames Captain Abbott and says his distrust of Chattar Singh was the cause of the army becoming agitated, because they thought Capt. Abbott wanted to destroy them by means of raising the Muhammadan population.

Captain Abbott replies that it was the time to raise the population. For months, he says he had known Chattar Singh to be a traitor and has proclaimed him to be so . . . . Our information does not enable us yet to decide who is in the right. I think Captain Abbott has the best of it, but Currie now most unaccountably, after saying that every chief in the Punjab had concurred in the conspiracy, refuses to believe Chattar Singh can possibly be disaffected. He admits Chattar Singh has behaved very ill since the outbreak in Hazara, but he denies his complicity; he admits that Chattar Singh has written to all the other troops and to Gulab Singh for aid. He admits all this but he cannot believe that Chattar Singh is disaffected.

(*Dalhousie to Hobhouse*, 7 September, 1848 Broughton (BM) fol. 226 a ff.)

"All, I believe, are disaffected, Chiefs, *Darbar* officials, army and Sikh population" (*Dalhousie to Hobhouse*, 20 September, 1848 - Broughton (BM) - Fol. 243a).

14. " . . . an incendiary proclamation, signed "in the name of Govind, had been issued by the *Khalsa* leaders in Multan, and circulated among his own men. . . " (Gough and Innes, p. 165).

When in mid-September Sher Singh chose to leave Multan and join the standards of his old father Chattar Singh in Hazara, he issued a proclamation : "It is well known to all the inhabitants of the Punjab, to all the Sikhs, and those who have cherished the *Khalsa* and in fact the world at large, with what oppression, tyranny and violence, the *faringhees* have treated the widow of the great Maharaja Ranjit Singh and what cruelty they have shown towards the people of the country" (*Enclosure in Edwarde's to Currie*, Sept. 16, 1848 No. 1591/W.E., 23-4, 1848, PGR.)

Mool Raj is sending his emissaries round in every quarter. The disbanded *Khalsa* soldiery are flocking to his standard; the priests and prophets are proclaiming him as the leader who is to restore the *Khalsa* supremacy; and *Gooroo* Gobind, of course, has appeared in a vision to sanctify the murder of the officers, and promised blessings and success to the enterprise against the British power. (*Dalhousie to Hobhouse*, 11 May, 1848 - Broughton (BM) 36476, fol. 77-84 b).

So strong was the feeling against the British that within a few days the Rachna *Doab* and *doab* between the Chenab and the Indus swarmed with Pathan and Baluch swordsmen willing to make common cause with the Sikhs to reinstate a Hindu governor against the fiat of the *feringhee*. (Khushwant Singh,

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marauding so that the enemy even burnt the pantoon bridge on the Ravi at Raj-ghat Shahdra. Arjan Singh, son of *Sardar* Hari Singh even occupied the country upto Gujran-wala. On this side Ram Singh unworthy son of *Wazir* Shaman, wickedly raised riot in the territory of Nurpur.[15] *Sardar* Chatar Singh arrived at Peshawar and collected

History of the Sikks, II, 69).

Sardar Chattar Singh has not only not come in but he has reinforced the Pukhi brigade; and he now declares that joined by the Sikhs from the Manjha, he is about to march on Lahore. *Sardar* Jhunda Singh is, I think, clearly convicted of abetting him. Raja Dina Nath has neither brought Chattar Singh nor returned to Lahore.

(*Dalhousie to Hobhouse*, 8 October, 1848 . . . fol. 247b ff, Broughton (BM).

15. *Ram Singh*, a brave young man, son of Shama or Sham Singh, the last *Wazir* of the last Raja Bir Singh of Nurpur, threw up a challenge to the British power in Nurpur hills. Inspired by the rising of 1848 in the Panjab, he collected adventurous young men like himself, mostly from his own Pathania clan of Rajputs and from Jammu hills, augmented by a few hundred young men under Mangal Singh Manhas from Bara-manga, and in August 1848 he occupied the Shahpur Fort on the Ravi, some 8 miles to the North of Pathankot. That night he received congratulatory deputations from the neighbourhood. He proclaimed by beat of drum that the English rule had ceased; that Dalip Singh was the paramount power; Jaswant Singh (Bir Singh's son) was Raja of Nurpur, and he, Ram Singh; his *Wazir* or Minister. According to contemporary authorities he was joined by about 400 men from the surrounding hill area, particularly those of his family, and from J-asrota and some young men from Bara Manga under the adventurer Mangal Singh Manhas. When the news reached Hoshiarpur, a small force was at once sent by the British rulers and the Shahpur Fort was invested. Ram Singh's companions took fright at this promptitude and he left the Shahpur Fort during the night and took another position on a wooded range close to Nurpur, shortly afterwards, John Lawrence, British Commissioner of Panjab and Barnes, the District officer, came up with Larger reinforcements, and stormed the position. Ram Singh and his men were routed and he was obliged to take shelter in the Sikh camp at Rasul in Gujarat, *Kangra Settlement Report*, p. 14).

In January, 1849 (*Ibid*, p. 25) Ram Singh returned to the Nurpur hills with two Sikh regiments from Raja Sher Singh Attariwala, each 500 strong, and took up a position near Tika of Dalla on the Dalla ka Dhar, a rocky ridge of the Shivalak chain, north-east of Shahpur, and over-looking the Ravi. The position was very strong, and being held by disciplined troops the assault was one of considerable difficulty. Hence a force of all arms under General Whealer was sent against Ram Singh by the new British Government of the *Doab*. A bloody contest ensued, and Ram Singh was dispossed of the height only after a considerable loss on the both sides. Two British officers were among the killed, one of them, a nephew of the British Prime Minister, Sir Robert Peel.

Incidentally, Ram Singh's brave resistance to the British authority finds record on the monument to two British officers killed in this encounter, which is still in existence on the summit of the Dalla - Dhar Range, and bears the following inscription :

"Sacred to the memory of Lieutenant John Peel, 1st Sikh Local Infantry, who

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the army which participated in hostilities there, and despatched it towards Rawalpindi. *Sardar* Sultan Muhammad Khan Barakzai got GeorgeLawrance *Sahib* and Bue *Sahib* arrested and handed them over to *Sardar* Chatar Singh.[16] On the other side, *Amir* Dost Mohammad

succumbed on the 17th January 1849 to wounds received in action near Dallah on 16th January when engaged with insurgents under Ram Singh, while gallantly leading his men."

This tablet is placed in his memory by the officers 51st Sikh F.F. Ram Singh was soon afterwards taken in Kangra, having been betrayed, it is said by a Brahman, whom he trusted as a friend. He was transported to Singapur where he died. (Hutchison and Vogel. *HPHS*, p. 267). (summarised from : *History of Pathankot-Nurpur State*, by Sukhdev Singh Charak - MS. - pp. 67-69).

British Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie has made cryptic observations on this incident in his letter to the Secret Committee. ". . . and Ram Singh has been dislodged by Brigadier-General Wheeler's force, from the difficult position which he occupied, in the hills about Noorpur". (*Governor-General to Secret Committee*. 22 January, 1849 - No. 6 (BISL - I).

"You will be sorry to observe, from Brigadier-General Wheeler's report of the proceedings of the force under his command that the defeat and dispersion of Ram Singh and his followers, which was noticed in my despatch of 22nd ultimo, was not effected without loss, two officers have been killed".

(*Ibid*, Camp Ferozepur, 7 February 1849 - No.9, British India Office Library, London).

"Ram Singh in the Jullundur Doab has been routed and has fled" (*Dalhousie to Hobhouse* (*Private*), 7 February, 1849 - Broughton (BM), fol. 3769 ff).

16. British Officers taken prisoner :

Dalhousie has briefly described the circumstances of the improvement of British Officers as under :

"You will share, I am sure, in the universal indignation which is felt here when I tell you that Sultan Muhammad Khan, with whom at own invitation George Lawrence and others took refuge, has violated every pledge sacred to Mohammadan and his own solemn oath, and has given up these officers and Mr. Lawrence to Chattar Singh. The price is the province of Peshawar as it is stated.

"Chattar Singh keeps them close prisoners, but treats them very well". (*Dalhousie to Hobhouse* (*Private*)—7 December, 1848 - Broughton (MB).

Major George Lawrence was British representative in Peshawar where aged Gulab Singh Pohvindia was the governor. At the close of October 1848 the loyalty of Lahore troops with him gave way. Major George Lawrence and other British Offieers with him were obliged to evacuate Peshawar, withdrawing under an Afghan escort to Kohat, where Sultan Muhammad Khan Barkzai who "had already shown an exceptional capacity for treachery", was the Lahore "*Nazim*". To Lawrence and his companions it became rapidly clear that they were in effect prisoners; and they were shortly afterwards handed over to Chattar Singh.

Lieutenant Bowie, was British representative in the Derajat where he was taken in and he was handed over as prioner to Sardar Chattar Singh. Later on, after the defeat of Gujarat Chattar Singh and Sher Singh sent Major Lawrence and Lieut. Bowie on parole to settle terms of surrender with Sir Lawrence and Lord Gough. (Gough and Innes - pp.193,194,241).

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Khan, coming to the help of *Sardar* Chatar (379) Singh, wanted to bring under his occupation the territories of Kashmir, Hazara and Rawalpindi upto the frontier of the river Jehlam. The said *Sardar* even surrendered to the said *Amir* the Atak fort on which he had already laid his hand with his aid.[17]

After the narration of these events it seems proper to describe the far-sight and practical wisdom of His Highness, which excel even the flight of fancy. *Sardar* Chatar Singh had of old professed friendship with his Highness. Therefore he sent his *vakils* to the court at Srinagar, with the supplication that "If your honour sides and cooperates with me at this juncture, the country of Panjab will undoubtedly pass under the possession of his Highness and I will, putting around my waist the girdle of submission and obeisance, fulfil the obligations of serving under your honour". His Highness sent back the reply that "The *Khalsa* Government has sold me to the authorities of the British Government, so exegencies of loyalty demand that I should not step off the path of loyalty to the British Government and should solemnly stick to the oaths and obligations of loyalty. As I have no grudge against the welfare of the Kingdom of the late Maharaja Ranjit Singh, I may send this word of counsel to you that through my good offices present yourself at the world protecting threshold of the said Government, and crave for mercy so as to escape punishment for your deeds. Or else be sure that the tree of hostility against the said Government bears no fruit other than that of adversity. The audacity of measuring arms with the British Government will have no meaning other than hanging feet of boldness in the skirt of disgrace. I have often heard this from

17. Chattar Singh's bargain with *Amir* Dost Muhammad Khan :

"Chattar Singh looks to the support of the Barukzye Sirdars (on a promise of Peshawar) he having changed turbans with sooltan Muhammad years ago." (*Herbert Edwardes to Sir Frederick*, 8th September, 1848).

"Chuttur Singh actually gave all lands westward of the Jehlam to the Barukzye Sirdar; it is even said he promised even Cashmere . . . It is believed that the Emir will demand as his right all the territory to Jehlum and the whole of Cashmere . . . On the arrival, however, of Dost Muhammad Khan on the 18th at Peshawar, the Sirdars fled. The Emir seized all Peshawar as his own, appointed his grandson the chief of the Adalat".

(*Pol. Diaries*, Vol. IV, Capt. James Abbott, Asstt. Resident on deputation to Hazara, No. 110 dated 14th Dec. 1848, 5264).

"He (Dost Muhammad Khan) claims Peshawar, Huzara and Derajat ; says that he has sent an army to take possession and that he will afterwards be happy to reconcile differences between the British and the Sikhs", (*Ibid.* 31st December, 1848, p. 273).

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the lips of the late Maharaja, and strongly contribute to this idea"[18]

In short, *Bakshi* Hiranad *Vakil* of *Sardar* Chatar Singh, who had gone to Srinagar, was interned: and the ambassador of Amir Dost Muhammad Khan who had (380) carrying an epistle and gifts of horses and a Persian sword, come to seek assistance and request his Highness's participation, did not get permission of audience in royal court and was sent back from Uri.[19]

18. Gulab Singh was a bosom friend of Chattar Singh. Abbott reported constant correspondence between the two and frequent movement of Jammu troops. I entertain no doubt the move of Gulab Singh's troops in the Rechna *Doab* was a 'feeler', and finding that Chattar Singh have not advanced, they quietly returned.

(*Dalhousie to Hobhouse*, 19 September, 1848 - Broughton (BM), fol. 233 a sq).

Golab Singh has not come. Lieutenant Nicholson has very gallantly seized Attock and stopped the forces joining Chattar Singh.

(*Dalhousie to Hobhouse*, 7 Sept. 1848 - Broughton (BM) fol. 226 a ff)

2nd Sikh War and Gulab Singh.

Gough and Innes (*The Sikh and Sikh Wars*, p. 193) narrate :

Chuttur Singh, however, while affirming that he was loyal, and declaring that his proceedings had been forced on him by the distrust and disregard of him which Abbott displayed, was engaged in active intrigues; as was afterwards proved. Not only was he sending messages to Multan inciting Shere Singh to revolt; but he opened communications with Gholab Singh of Kashmir, who, as usual, followed a policy of masterly inactivity; and also with the troops at Peshawar, with the Amir of Kabul, and with Sultan Mohammad. These latter intrigues proved more successful . . . counted it worthwhile to offer Peshawar itself as a bribe.

19. Gulab Singh's alleged complicity in Chattar Singh's revolt and Dost Muhammad affair :

"Reports are very prevalent of Raja Golab Sing's being in daily correspondence with the Ameer Dost Muhammad Khan. I shall try to intercept some of the letters. He is like-wise said to have emissaries about tampering with the Sikh troops; they would seem decidedly to look to him for countenance, if not support". (*Major George St. P. Lawrence, Asstt. to Agent at Peshawar—Punjab Political Diaries*, IV, p. 489, 20 May, 1848).

"The prevailing report of the day is the participation of Maharaja Golab Singh. He is said to have summoned many of the mountain chiefs of Hazara and is in close correspondence with members of the army here". (*Punjab Political Diaries*, IV, Capt. James Abbott, 17 May, 1848, p. 166).

"Apropos of the great King of Cashmere, I must tell you that *Sirdar* Shumshere Singh only this morning warned me that if Chuttur Singh rebels he will be supported through thick and thin by Maharaja Golab Singh who exchanged turbans with him in days of yore" (*Herbert Edwardes to Sir Frederick*, Camp Sooraj Kund, 29 Aug. 1848).

"Two regiments of Sikhs, deserters from Raja Gollab Singh, were at Jellalpoor on the Chenab, ..." (*Roberts Napier to Sir Frederick*, 29 Aug. 1848).

"I hear that two of M. Raja Golab Singh's regiments have arrived at Rawalpindee and have joined Sirdar Aotar Sing". (*John Nicholson to Sir Frederick*, 13 Sept. 1848).

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His Highness had in the beginning of the disturbances written to Mr. Currie *Sahib bahadur*, that a large force was ready and equipped

I think Golab Singh will not at present take an active part. If a Regt. of his has gone over to Chuttur Singh, he will, I doubt not, be able to prove that it was without his orders. However, he must be guarded equally against his secret and his open support of the rebels". (*Lord Gough to Sir Frederick*, Simla, Sept. 15, 1848).

Lord Dalhousie wrote to Sir Frederick Currie on September, 16th, 1848, "The Maharaja Gholab Singh is deep in this, tho' he will carefully stop short of Committing himself, I have no doubt".

Robert Napier to Sir Frederick : 17th September. 1848 : . . . . "that the war is clearly with the Sikh nation, that Golab Singh will certainly be found implicited, if not openly joining in the rebellion".

"On the night of the 19th Chuttar Singh fired a salute . . . in honour of two despatches, the one from Cashmere assuring the *Sirdar* that 40,000 rupees had been despatched to him and that the Jumboo army should march on his reaching Jehlum (*Lahore Pol. Diaries--IV*, Abbott, p. 246, 20-21 Sep. 1848).

Lord Dalhousie to Frederick, Oct. 8, 1848 ". . . Maharaja Goolab Singh is without doubt as deep in this as anybody else. How far he has committed himself remains yet to be seen. If he does, be shall smart for it".

Maharaja Golab Singh seems to have repudiated the Chattar Singh in surrection, if he had anything to do with it he expresses himself most anxious to do service and show his friendship to the British Government. The insurgents certainly distrust him now." (*Currie to Dalhousie*, Oct. 12, 1848).

Capt. J. Abbott records in his diary from time to time on this affair as under :

"From Moozuffurabad I learn that the Vuqueels of Dost Muhammad Khan and Sirdar Chattur Singh entered Cashmere lately, disguised as merchants. The Vuqueels of Chuttar Singh and Moolraj are confidently reported to be resident in Cashmere . . . The junction of Maharaja Goolab Singh also seems improbable for the same reasons of self-interest, but we must not be astonished if it should take place , . . a writer at Cashmere had informed me of the defection of the Sikh Regiment there ; that the Maharaja had wished to disarm them, but had not done so and they are deserting fast to join Chuttar Singh. (*Lahore Political Diaries*, IV, p. 267-68 dated 15-12-1848).

"It is said that Amir Dost Muhammad Khan has applied to Maharaja Golab Singh for money, and that upon his answer depends his further movements . . . (*Ibid*, 6-1-1849)

There is no doubt, I believe, that Jellal Khan, Kakur, have been sent by him to Cashmere, to pursuade the Maharaja to advance to Moozuffurabad or to advance funds for the war . . . I can scarcely believe that a Prince so sagacious would stake his money or his safety upon such an absurd venture. At the same time, the season is one of prodigies, and an additional instance of insanity must not be woundered at "(*Ibid* 6-1-1849, p. 278-79).

". . . It appears to me very possible that the Maharaja may be alarmed at the indiscreet and often false accusations of his conduct, which appear in the newspapers, and I would beg respectfully to suggest that no notice be taken of the reports I have just noticed unless further confirmation is afforded. It may serve Dost Muhammad Khan and Chuttur Singh's purpose to have a person at the Umir's Durbar to personate the Jumboo Vuqueel. It is, however, scarcely

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for the supperssion of rebels, and if warranted, might leave towards Hazara to oppose the said *Sardar*. But the aforesaid *Sahib* hesitated to write in reply.[20] But when rebellion became widespread and situation became grave and adverse, the said *Sahib* conveyed his eagerness to get help and assistance for British troops especially for inter-

possible to believe that Dost Muhammad Khan would enter into hostilities with us, unless flattered with hopes from Jumboo (*Ibid* pp. 281-82, dated 13-1-1849).

Governor-General Lord Hardinge to Sir F. Currie on 24th March, 1849: "Golab Singh will now come into play and I have no doubt has too much sense not to prefer us to the Afghans

Khushwant Singh has beautifully caught Gulab Singh's diplomacy in the second Sikh war in the following words :

"Chattar Singh also approached his friend Gulab Singh Dogra for help. The Dogra marched his troops up and down the Punjab frontier keeping both the Sikhs and the British guessing about his real intentions." (*History of the Sikhs vol II.*, p. 75).

Gough and Innes; *The Sikhs and Sikh War*, p. 194 :

"In the north, moreover, as (Lord Gough) considered that there was a special objection (to the advisability of sending a Br. Brigade to the north-west, as asked by Lawrence as well as Nicholson), owing to the doubts as to the possible action of the Maharajah of Kashmir. It was felt that if that monarch came to the conclusion that revolt would pay him, he certainly would revolt; and his force joined to Chattar Singh's might bring disarter on any possibly available British detachment.

20. 2nd *Sikh War*—Gulab Singh a factualist not on emotional opportunist.

British hesitancy : "I am not sure that I have recorded the arrival at my camp of Bukshie——, as Vuqueel from Maharaja Goolab Singh. . . . He offers freely the use of the Jumboo troops, guns and treasury for my aid . . ." (*Lahore Pol. Diaries Vol. IV*, Capt. J.Abbott, Hazara, 16-10-1848, pp. 259-260).

"I do not know what to think of our Jummoo friend. From all the private information I have, it is at least doubtful". (*Gough to Currie*, 21-10-1848).

"I would rather not have the Jumboo troops just now in Hazara, and although I believe the Maharaja to be too wise to engage in such a plot as that of Chuttur Singh, yet I think the employment of his troops in this campaign attended with hazard". (Abbott, 25-10-1848, *Lahore Pol. Diaries*, Vol. IV, p. 262).

"But I think the Maharaja's army might rout Sher Singh or the Bunnoo force before the arrival of our troops. It is so impossible to pursuade the people of Hazara or of the Punjab in general that the Maharaja can be engaged in our interest against the Sikhs, that the appearance of Jumboo force any where must be adventageous to the Sikhs and prejudicial to our cause". (*James Abbott to Currie*, 2-11-1846).

Lord Dalhousie also held similar views : "As regards Maharaja Gholab Singh's force, I am extremely averse to employing it, and in the face of the melancholy experience we have had (*Dalhousie to Currie*, 12-12-1848). Again: "I quite agree with you about Gholab Singh and Mr. Nicholson's scheme for rescuing the prisoners. I remain quite of the opinion that no use should be made of Gholab Singh's troops for any purpose on which anything depends". (*Dalhousie to Currie*, 25-12-1848).

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cepting the infiltration of malevolent rebels into difficult mountainous tracts and the high narrow passes placed by nature in the kingdom of his Highness.[21]

Accordingly, *Diwan* Nihal Chand *sahib*, the uncle of the writer of this Memoirs was tipped to the office of *Mu'atamadi* on behalf of his Highness and got the honour of being present in attendance on the *Sahib* mentioned above. He reported from time to time of whatever was desired by the said *Sahib*. Moreover, *Diwan* Hari Chand *sahib*, was despatched from Jammu towards Manawar with his troops so that he should not let the rebels at all enter the territory across the boundary from Akhnur to the frontier of Mirpur and over the Hal ferry, and if confronted, by them he should fight them back. In the same manner; a vast army under the command of Sayyid Ghulam Ali-Shah and *Mian* Zorawar, was appointed for the object of chastising Ram Singh, so as to be at the beck and call of Sir John Lawrence who had then been honoured with the high office of Commissionership of Jalandhar. Nur Muhammad and his troops (381) were appointed to serve Major *Harsan* (*Hodson*). A strict order was issued that whoever from Jammu joined the service of Sikhs would amount to his cooperating with the enemy, and so his property will be confiscated, and everyone of his relatives would suffer punishment as a warning to ill-disposed persons. Consequently, the houses of some farmers of Jasrota territory were burnt down. None of the subject people of Jammu joined and sided with the *Khalsa* army after that.

In brief, by this time the British forces under the command of Nicholson had advanced on Ramnagar, and the *Khalsa* troops had crossed the river Chinab and strengthened their positions at Wazirabad and Ramnagar. During those days a few Sikh troops were in service at Jammu which wanted to join Sikh forces because of racial affinity, but these were prevented by prudent steps and clever diplomacy. and disarmed. Thus the Braj-raj platoon acted bravely in disarming[22] them at the village Chhanb in Manawar region, in recognition

21. Gulab Singh's aid sought for repelling Sikh infiltration in hills :

"The Resident was instructed to inform His Highness (Maharaja Gulab Singh) that I expect, when the Sikhs are defeated, His Highness' army will be actively employed against them. in the hill country, into which they will be driven. The troops of the Maharaja will be able, in the coun,ry, to act against them with effect, to render those services, which he professed his readiness to perform".

(Governor-General to Secret Committee, Camp Ferozepur, 21 February, 1849, BISL(I) No. 13).

22. *Deserters from Maharaja Gulab Singh's troops* :

The troop movements of Maharaja Gulab Singh have been reported variously by British officials and intelligencers.

Robert Napier to Sir Frederick (29 August, 1848) - "Ruttun Chund came here

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of this *Kumedan* (Commandant) Dharam Singh was promoted to the rank of a Colonel.

While his Highness was staying at Srinagar the fortunate Maharaja *sahib* (Ranbir Singh) was putting up at Jammu and he put in great endeavours in conducting government business there.

When the rebellion and sedition raised its head in all directions in the Panjab, and the cloud of riot and uproar had enveloped every quarter Amir Dost Muhammad Khan,[23] ruler of Kabul, as has al-

to take his leave today. He says that he has just heard from Lahore that two regiments of Sikhs, deserters from Raja Goolab Singh, were at Jellalpoor on the Chenab."

"Captain Nicholson writes to me, and I hear from several other persons that Maharaja Goolab Singh has actually given the regiments (These regiments are of course declared as mutinuous) which Chuttur Singh wrote for to my knowledge, and that they have reached Rawalpindi with four guns and are to advance in that direction". (James Abbott, 13 Sept. 1848 - *Lahore Political Diaries*, V and VI p. 241).

'. . . a writer at Cashmere had informed me of the defection of the Sikh Regiment there; that the Maharaja had wished to disarm them, but had not done so; and that they were deserting fast to join Chattur Singh". (James Abbott, 15th Dec 1848 - *Lahore Political Diaries*, Vol. IV, p. 267).

"A certain Bukshie, as Vakil of Maharaja Gulab Singh arrived in the camp of Capt. James Abbott at Sirikote in Hazara, who "denies the report that any of the Jumboo regiments have joined, Chuttur Singh but allows that a corps of about 200 dismist some months ago for mutiny and disarmed has gone over to the rebels." (Capt, James Abbott, 16th Oct. 1848 - *Lahore Political Diaries*, Vol. IV, p. 259).

23. Dost Muhammad : "Incredible as it may appear, there is strong reason for believing that Dost Muhammad of Cabul is in Peshawar, has declared against us, and assumed the government of his 'own' province. Of course, he must be kicked out of that. . . ." (*Dalhousie to Sir George Couper*, Private, 2 January, 1849 - Coulston House (Dalhousie Papers).

"Dost Muhammad has not crossed the Indus : but is waiting, I doubt not, disinterestedly to join the strongest side.

"Attock fell at last by treachery; and we cannot tell whether Herbert got away or not" (*Dalhousie to Hobhouse*, Private, 22 Janaary, 1849 - Broughton) BM. - fol. 322a ff).

Dost Muhammad of Cabul has actually invaded the Punjab under British protection. One son with troops is with Chattar Singh, another has entered Bannu, he himself has seized Peshawar, and has marched the Kandahar Chiefs on seinde" (*Dalhousie to Sir George Couper* - Private 5 Feb. 1849 - Coulston House Dalhousie Papers).

"Dost Muhammad has now declared himself so offensively that we dare not venture to make any compromise with him even if he would. He has seized Peshawar, has summoned Maharaja Golab Singh to surrender Cashmere . . ." (*Dalhousie to Hobhouse* - Private 7 Feb., 1849 - Broughton (BM) fol. 376a ff).

"As soon as the Afghans saw that party, they evacuated the fort, crossed the bridge, cut it away, and sent it floating down the river.

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ready been stated, joined hands with the Sikh forces, and Major Abbott *Sahib bahadur* fled from Hazara and took refuge at the village Bharu-kot. The late Highness, out of loyalty towards the British Governnment, sent to him through trustworthy merchants on pretext

"The Afghans on the preceding evening had retired from the Indus and were last heard of at Peshawar" *Dalhousie to Hobhouse* - Private - 24 March, 1849 - Broughton (BM).

"Dost Muhammad came like a thief and has run away like a coward. I have thought that the ignominy with which he has been chased from Peshawar is sufficient for our purpose . . ." (*Ibid.* 7 April, 1849 - Broughton (BM)

"The Amir is frightened out of his body and soul". (*Dalhousie to Sir George Couper* - Private, 2 Nov. 1849 - CHP)

Dost Muhammad Khan's letter (undated) in Dalhousie Papers (Broughton - BM) Enclosed *Governor-General to Secret Committee.*

The British Government did not lend me to suppose that I am its friend. My regret increased, when I considered that the British Government placed no confidence in me as their friend. What was destined to occur, then took place. Major Lawrence was seized. Letters reached me from Moolraj, *Sardar* Chattur Singh, and the other Sikh *Sardars*, requesting me to come to Peshawar, and take possession of my hereditary country.

Moreover, at one time, the then Governor-General gave me to understand that I might consider the territory of Peshawar under my government and control.

After the seizure of Major Lawrence, I come to Peshawar, where I was met by Chattar Singh, who left Jahangeera for the purpose,and made over to me the fort and all that was in it. He requested assistance from me.

Matters are now as follows :

The whole of the Afghans of Pulki, Dumtour, Hazara, Chach, Attock, Swat, Eusufzai, Peshawar, Bunnoo, the Derajat, and other parts, which were formerly comprised in the Dooranee Empire, have devoted themselves to the cause of the race.

I have sent troops to Bunnoo and Daman, to obtain possession of, and superintend that part of the country.

Whenever the British feel inclined, I will put an end to the feud subsisting between them and the Sikhs, and make them friends again.

As regards what you have written, concerning your being friendly to my interests, if you consider the above arrangements expedient, and have the power to bring them about, I will certainly attach myself to your cause. . .

If this proposition be not attended to, it will be found that the encounter with a million of the Sikhs, devoted to their cause, will be desperate and deadly, and the Br. Govt. will suffer a loss of crores of rupees.

The Dost Muhammad Khan has taken a part, in the hostility which has caused the fall of Attock. . .

Dost Muhammod himself, it is, said, has not crossed the Indus, but has sent a *Vakeel* to Cashmere, to ascertain the feelings of Golab Singh towards him, and to request his aid in money.

(*Governor-General to Secret Committee*, 22 Jan. 1849, No. 6, BISL (I)

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of trade, large sums of cash money[24] filled in the leather vessels, and also (382) made available to him gun-powder and swivels. Moreover *Qazi* Nadar 'Ali-Khan was in constant attendance on that *Sahib* on behalf of the Highness. *Diwan* Jawala Sahai waited on Mr. Currie *Sahib bahadur* at Lahore so as to perform great endeavours in serving him from time to time.

In the meanwhile the British forces had a clash with *Khalsa* troops at Ramnagar ferry, and an unusual battle[25] was fought between the

24. Maharaja Gulab Singh's pecuniary and military aid to Capt. *James Abbott*.

Capt. James Abbott had requested Maharaja Gulab Singh for funds to be made available to him, which the latter did.

"The Maharaja writes me to say that he has sent me 30,000 more Hurri Singhea rupees or 15,000 company rupees. I will report when it is recieved" writes James Abbott to Currie on 19th December 1848. (*Lahore Political Diaries*, Vol. IV, p. 268).

The Governor General however, was adament to appreciate Gulab Singh's services in this field. "I don't wish to appriciate", writes *Lord Dalhousie to Sir Frederick* on December 18, 1848, "the propriety of Gholab Singh's proceedings hitherto. No great merit is to be attributed to his sending small sums of money to Abbott, in as much he owes us a very large one himself . . ."

"I could not bring up any of the guns lately sent me by Maharaja Gulab Singh in time for action". (*Capt. James Abbott to Sir Frederick*. Oct. 20, 1848--P. G. R.)

"I am advised of your instructions to Maharaja Goolab Singh to attack Chattur Singh previous to the advance of our forces and the Maharaja appeals to me for further advice upon the subject. He has sent 5 regiments, each of 500 men to Meerpoor for this purpose, as total of 2500". (*Ibid* November, 2, 1848).

Again Lord Dalhousie was sceptical on the usefulness of Maharaja Gulab Singh's force. "As regards Maharaja Gholab Singh's force, I am extremely adverse to employing it, and in the face of the melancholy experience we have had."

(*Lord Dalhousie to Sir Frederick*, December 12, 1848--P.G.R.)

25. Ramnagar--On the Chenab, twenty-eight miles north-west of Gujranwala, and twenty-four miles south-west of Wazirabad- -The town was originally called Resulnagar, and was founded about 1725 by a Chattah Chieftain of great influence, named Nur Muhammad. It was stormed by taken in 1795 by Ranjit Singh after a gallant defence made by Ghulam Muhammad, the reigning Chattah Chief. The Sikhs afterwards changed the name of the town to Ramnagar. It became a favourite place of retirement with Ranjit Singh who constructed a small baradari and a fine garden on the banks of the river, in which lie interred the bodies of the British officers and soldiers of the British army killed in the disaster of November 1848. (David Ross : *The Land of the Five Rivers and the Sindh*, pp. 138-139).

Battle of Ram Nâgar--22nd November, 1848.

"The Commander-in-Chief occupied Ramnagar on the morning of the 22nd and then occurred after it an affair of the Cavalry . . . which was a very bad affair. . . We gained nothing whatever, and we lost Brigadier--General Cureton,

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two sides. (*One line omitted.*) As has been related, *Sardar* Sher Singh had joined *Diwan* Mulraj at Multan along with the Sikh regiment of Edwardes *sahib* who had asked Sher Singh to encamp at some distance from the British troops at the moment of Chatar Singh's disaffection. Though at first *Diwan* Moolraj had rejoiced at this unexpected development, yet he feared lest the said *Sardar* should seize and occupy the fort. His rivals also estranged *Diwan* Mulraj further from the aforesaid (Sher Singh). The said *Sardar*, therefore, marched[26] towards Ramnagar and was confronted there by the British force. (*Two lines omitted*). At dawn Nicholson *Sahib* crossed the river Chinab at the ferry of Khari and fell on the Sikh army surprisingly.

an invaluable life at the present moment. Lieutenant Colonel Havelock of the 14th Dragoons and 5 or 6 other officers were badly wounded. Furthermore we lost a horse artillery gun which was thrown over a beach into deep sands and there stuck.

It is not material to fix accurately the blame on any officer, but the result was distressing, so far as our loss of officers was concerned.

This morning an express has come and has announced that the attack was made, and so far as it got has been successful, although, it must not be called either brilliant or complete."

On the morning of 1st or 2nd (December), the Commander-in-Chief detached a force of 5 battalions, 4 regiments of Cavalry and 8 of infantry up the Chenab in order that they might make their way across the river, and take Shere Singh in flank. On the afternoon of the 2nd, Thackwell having got across, the Commander-in-Chief commanded the position, it is said, with great effect. On the 3rd Rajah Shere Singh moved out and attracked Thackwell in very great force and after a good deal of fighting was beaten back . . . On the morning of 4th . . . . they were in full retreat pursued by our cavalry which the Commander-in-Chief had pushed across the Chenab . . . They were moving on Pind Dadan Khan on the Jehlum.

The Sikhs blew up their powder magazines before they went, and left in our hands 60 boats, many of them full of ammunition . . . altho' it is not a victory, it is a decided success".

(*Dalhousie to Hobhouse* -- Private -- 7 December 1848, Broughton (BM) 36476.

26. *Sardar* Sher Singh Attariwala had stuck doggedly to his British allies and even took part in an unsuccessful assault on Multan on 9th September, 1848. But on 13th September, British officer tried to apprehend Sher Singh with the help of Van Cortlands, an officer of the Sikh *Darbar*. But timely information saved him. Next morning Sher Singh and his troops left the British Camp and declared for the rebels. For three weeks Sher Singh tried to convince, Mulraj that he had broken with the *'feringhi'* but the *Dewan* refused to believe him. His suspicion had been further roused by a forged letter which Edwardes contrived to fall into Mulraj's hands. In this letter Edwardes pretended to be privy to a plot by which Sher Singh was to take the fort by strategem. The gates of Multan fort were kept closed on Sher Singh who lost patience with Mulraj and on 9th October 1848 he left with his troops to join his father, *Sardar* Chattar Singh, who had been forced by Abbott and Nicholson to rebel.

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From the direction of Ramnagar as well as British force commenced attack. It is said that the Sikh army fought desperately and valiantly. When troops of both the sides had reached their halting grounds the British force encamped on the right side of the river Chinab. After holding consultations with army officers, *Sardar* Sher Singh got a volley of gun-fire discharged, (383) and marching towards Mong, alighted in the shelter of a hillock.When officers of British Army came to know of this move, they hurried in pursuit, and after covering long distances halted at the locality of Danga.

When British troops reached in the environs of Chilian, a detachment of Sikh force which had entrenched there, took shelter in flight at the very arrival of the British force there. But Raja Sher Singh, on receipt of the information of the arrival of British troops, at once commenced hostilities. The British army, commanded by Lord Gough *Sahib bahadur* opened gun fire.

It is said that brave Sikhs, like furious lions, undaunted by the fiery guns and muskets and the havoc wrought by battle, fell on the British army like flashing thunderbolt, and started battle of swords and slashed British soldiers.[27] The '*Gora*' (White) army too equitted

27. *The Action of Chillian Wala*: 13th January 1849 :

"I have to announce to you that on the 18th instant, a general action was fought between the troops under the Commander-in-Chief and the Sikh army under Rajah Sher Singh, which ended in the defeat of the Sikhs in their being driven away from their position with great slaughter and the loss of 12 guns.

We have thus gained a substantial victory, but it is my duty to acquaint you, that the results which have been gained by no means compensate the loss we have substained.

On the morning of the 18th the Commander-in-Chief moved towards the enemy, and after a march of 9 or 10 miles came on his advanced pickets at 11 a. m. . . . His Excellency obtained a view of the Sikh army. The enemy had come out of his entrenched position and was extended in order of battle, his left resting on low hills full of ravines, his right on thick jungles. He was placed on the edge of and among a jungle which reached from where he was posted to where the Commander-in-Chief was at the village of Chillianwala.

The Commander-in-Chief had resolved not to attack that day, but to conndoitre and attack early on the next morning. The enemy however, opened a distant fire, on which His Excellency forgot or abandoned all his plans and resolved to attack forthwith . . . it was nearly 2 o'clock . . . The enemy was in great force nearly if not quite 40,000 men and 53 guns . . . the C-in-C ordered his whole army to advance in line, stopping our artillery. . . The army thus advanced, a line, of 3 miles against one of more than 6 miles, through heavy jungles, against an enemy and batteries whom (till they were upon them) they could not see, and without support of any sort.

The consequence was that in the jungle the preservation of regular formation and order was impossible, every brigade was separated from neighbour and regiment parted from regiment. As they approached, the Sikhs poured a terrific fire of grape into them, and fought desperately. Every regiment on that

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themselves honourably in bayonet fighting. Meanwhile, *Sardar* Surat Singh Mijithia, playing a wonderful trick, led his regiment of horse men to the rear from the right flank on a distance of a few *Farsangs* and contacted the British force, and a severe action was fought. When sun set the men of British forces alighted in that very battle field and the Khalsa warriors retreated to the village Rasul, roughly two krohs away towards the river *Bahat* (Jehlam), and encamped there. (384) At Multan, as soon as Government troops under force reached there, they pressed the garrison hard by cannon fire and mortars. The beleagured troops of *Diwan* Mul-raj gave up the city and withdrew within the fortifications of the citadel. The loyal troops which had been joined by Colonel Sir Henry Montgomery Lawrence arriving from *Walayat* (England) via Bombay, made a brave bid for the city of Multan and occupied it on the 2nd day of January of the year A.D. 1849. Then the above mentioned *Sahib* rode a fleetfooted dromoderry to Lahore and thence joined the battlefield at Chilian.

To sum up, as destiny had desired victory for the British

day fought an action independently for itself. They were fighting front, flanks and rear at the same time. They swept on through the jungle . . . and drove the Sikhs in disorder before them. . .

Our loss was lamentably severe. From 80 to 90 officers are killed and wounded ; 2,350 killed and wounded altogether, of whom more than 600 are killed. Moreover, our success was incomplete. Night came on, and the enemy could not be pursued. Altho' 30 (some say 40) guns were captured and spiked, the enemy carried them off in the darkness of the night, except 12 which were secured . . . we lost 3 H. A. guns ourselves and suffered lametable loss."

(*Dalhousie to Hobhouse*--Private--Camp, Mukho, 22 January, 1849--Broughton (BM) 36476, fol. 322 a ff.)

According to Gough and Innes, the whole force under Lord Gough for action at Chillianwala was "amounting in all to about 14,000 men and 66 guns."

At 7 a, m., on the 13th January, the army advanced from Dinghi, formed in line of contiguous columns. About twelve O'clock Chillianwala was reached, and the enemy's outpost promptly driven in. From a high mound in front the Sikh entrenched position stretching from Rusool on their left to Moong on the right, was clearly visible" (*The Sikhs and the Sikh Wars*- pp. 8-18).

Innes also observe that--

"Although the Sikh gunners stood well to their guns, they had not learnt the art of shooting straight." (*Ibid.* p. 227).

The total loss of the British force was, according to Gough and Innes, 22 British and 16 native officers, and 501 men killed, and 98 men missing, who may be added to the number ; 67 British and 27 native officers and 1547 men wounded, bringing the grand total to 2238. (*Ibid*, p. 234).

"Chillianwala was the worst defeat the British had suffered since their occupation of India. Gough was superceded and Napier was asked to come from England to take over command" (Khushwant Singh, *The Fall of the Kingdom of the Punjab* p. 154).

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Government, so by chance a cannon shell struck the gun powder magazine in the fort. It not only ignited gun-powder, but also caused immence damage to the fort masonary and life of the garrison. Now the garrison became totally demoralised out of terror and refused to carry on battle. *Diwan* Mul-raj inevitably begged for pardon and on promise of safe-conduct, he submitted, and was put under surveillance along with the remainder of soldiers. The loyal won a great victory on 22nd day of the month of January in the year A.D. 1849. In the meantime Sir Frederick Currie moved towards Calcutta and Colonel Sir Henry Lawrence took over as Resident at Lahore.

On the other side Raja Sher Singh awaited the arrival of *Sardar* Chatar Singh with (385) the Afghan troops which the said *Sardar* had demanded from *Amir* Dost Muhammad Khan for help and the supply of which the said *Amir* had postponed till the occupation of Atak (by him). At last, Chatar singh taking along *Sardar* Akram Khan, son of the said *Amir*, and Afghan troops, joined the *Khalsa* forces at Rasul camp. Raja Sher Singh and other chiefs ran to receive him and were glad. The officers of British troops, who were looking for the arrival of reinforcements from Multan, mistook the arrival of Sikhs troops for the reinforcements. In the meanwhile, the administrator of Gujrat, for he had large stores of provisions there. As Sikh armies were in dire distress on account of shortage of provisions, they took it as a blessing, and hurried from Rasul to Gujrat. John Lawrence had gone from Rasul to Lahore as a messenger and was pressing the point that British forces should be collected from Multan and other places to reinforce the latter troops. From Colonel Lawrence *Diwan* Jawala Sahai received the signal, that now the British troops were ready to attack the rebel Sikhs, so it was desirable for the servants of the Maharaja's Government to block all the roads and passages of Chibhal district of Jammu and Kashmir territories, and let none of the Sikhs escape to that soil, and in case some one entered, he should be held and disarmed. In accordance with this, therefore, troops were stationed at Manawar, Bhimbar, Mirpur and other foothills.[28] (386) Tuhar Khan Katak was deputed by the Government

28. *Dogras and the Sikh War* : A Dogra army under Colonel Steinbach also took part on the side of the British in the battle of Gujrat, which proved a disaster to Sikh arms. When Sikhs were retreating after the disaster in great speed, being pursued by the victors, who followed them on their heels for 12 miles, the Dogra contingents did not allow the fugitives to take refuge in their hills. "The Battle of Gujrat was a disaster to Punjabi arms", remarks Khushwant Singh in his characteristic way on the Dogra role, "from which they could scarcely hope to recover. The coup de grace was, however, delivered by the arch-traitor Gulab Singh Dogra. He helped Abbott to cut off Sher Singh

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of Maharaja *sahib bahadur* to the office of *'Vakalat'* with Major Mackeson *Sahib* in British Army so that he, remaining always present there, conveyed without addition and alteration whatever British officers said to *Diwan* Hari Chand *sahib* who camped at Mirpur along with his troops. Moreover, food stock was also supplied to the British soldiers from this area.

Finally on the 22nd day of the month of Phagan a battle between the two sides was fought at the town of Gujrat.[29] The British forces

Attariwala's retreat towards the frontier. The prospect of continuing the fight with Afghan help was thus obviated. He also arranged for the supply of boats for the British army to cross the Jhelum". (*The Fall of the Kingdom of the Punjab*, p. 159).

29. *The Battle of Gujrat*--21 *February* 1849 :

Dalhousie to Hobhouse (6 March, 1849--Broughton, BM)--details of the Battle of Gujrat :

". . . The enemy (Sikh) was 60,000 strong ; Chattar Singh and Shere Singh were present, and Akramkhan a son of Dost Muhammad Khan with a force of Dooraness, which some rate at 1,000 some at 3,000 was in the field. The enemy was posted in front of Goojarat and had 59 guns, The Commander-in-Chief had - 100 guns, of which 18 were heavy artillery,

The action commenced by a cannonade which continued for 3 hours. It is described as tremendous, and drove the enemy from his position. The army then advanced, drove the enemy back till hard pressed he broke into flight which soon became a complete rout. He was pursued till night and for 12 miles beyond Goojrat. We captured 53 guns, many standards, all his camp baggage, stores, and ammunition. The loss of the enemy is variously stated at 3,000 to 5,000. Our loss has been 96 killed and 700 wounded, many slightly. . . the victory as heart could desire, and gained at a loss small in comparison with what it has been and very small in proportion to the greatness of the result . . . a victory calculated as much as any that has ever been won in India."

Gough and Innes (*The Sikhs and the Sikh Wars*, pp. 244-249) - On February 20th the arrival of the Multan army gave Lord Gough the force and especially the preponderance in artillary - which he desired, in order to deliver the final flow to the enemy who had held the British power at bay with a stubborn skill hitherto unparalleled in Indian warfare. At nine O'clock the long line of guns was in position, some 800 yards from the Sikhs,and then the storm began in earn est. For two hours and a half the hail of shot and shell poured in upon the enemy; By the end of that time it may be said that the defence had been pretty thoroughly knocked to pieces. At half past eleven, a general advance of the line was ordered, the artillery still leading. But in spite of all they had suffered, the gallant Sikhs were still determined to fight to the last. By half past twelve, the whole Sikh army was in full flight. By one O'clock, Gujarat, the Sikh camp, their guns, were in possession of the victors. For twelve miles the cavalry pursued the fugitives, till darkness fell - Throughout the campaign, the Sikh leaders had displayed higher qualities than in the Sutlej campaign; their followers had assuredly shown no falling off. Yet this great army was at Gujarat utterly shattered beyond conceivable hope of recuperation . . .

"In the hour of surrender as in the hour of battle, they proved themselves as worthy foe, as in days to come they were to prove themselves worthy

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created turmoil by incessant roaring cannonade, so that in a very short time a great noise and perfect disorder prevailed in *Khalsa* ranks. *Sardar* Chattar Singh, helped by Afghan horse fell on one wing but was defeated. On the other side Raja Sher Singh also got repulsed badly. The stout Afghans all sustained defeat and galloped away towards their country.[30] After them Sikhs also speeded up their flight and scattered. But Ram Singh Chhapahwala, a brave commander, not relishing retreat from the battle died fighting in the battlefield.

In short, Sikhs were distracted and distressed and a section theirof sought to crawl into the territorries of his Highness. But devout servants opposed them and seized their arms and baggage along with horses and elephants. Another band of them was arrested on the other bank of the river *Behat* (Jehlam) opposite Mangla fort by the soldiers encamped there under the command of *Diwan* Hari Chand, (387) and they laid down arms without resistence. His Highness' forces, crossing at the Hal ferry, alighted at '*Kalar*'. At that time the *Khalsa* troops of *Sardar* Chattar Singh and Sher Singh were camping at Rawal-pindi with the object of leaving straight for Peshawar.

comerades in arms".

"By one O'clock Lord Gough had overthrown the Sikh Army, and crowded it in heavy masses on a line of retreat which afforded no hope of support, provision, or escape for the disheartened soldiery, if properly followed up (*Calcutta Review, Volume xv*, pages 290-91 - Sir H. Durand).

According to Capt. A.C. Elliott, the British losses at Gujrat were 5 officers and 91 men killed, with 24 officers and 616 men wounded. (*The Chronicles of Gujrat*, p. 48; Gough and Innes, p. 249).

30. *Ignominous Retreat of the Afghans.*

General Gilbert immediately pushed on. Having heard that the Afghans were still at Attock and the bridge safe, he made a forward march of 31 miles on the night of 16th (March 1849), and next morning came with some cavalry on the fort. As soon as the Afghans saw the party, they evacuated the fort crossed the bridge, cut it away and sent it floating down the river.

The Afghans on the preceding evening had retired from the Indus and were last heard of at Peshawar". (*Dalhousie to Hobhouse*, Private - 24 March 1849 - Broughton (BM) 36476).

"Dost Muhammad came like a thief has run away like a coward. I have thought that ignominy with which he has been chased from Peshawar is sufficient for our purpose -

(*Ibid* 7 April 1839 - Broughton - BM. 36476).

"In the word of G.A. Henry: "The Afghan horse, after leaving the field, did not draw rein until they corssed the river Jhelum a distance of over thirty miles."

(*Through the Sikh Wars* p. 345).

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But all at once they surrendered[31] their arms and sought quarters on the promise of safety of life. Thus the glowing and flourishing rose meadow of the Panjab acquired new blaze like the spring tide of the glory of British Government, and the spark of rebellion of militant refractories was finally extinguished.

When it had so happened, the exalted Sir Elliot *Sahib bahadur*, Chief Secretary to Foreign Department, Government of India, came to Lahore, held an open Darbar with the cooperation of Colonel Sir Henry Lawrence *Sahib bahaur*, Maharaja Dalip Singh *sahib*, and other nobles of *Khalsa* Government in the Lahore fort and announced to the people the proclamation issued from the court of the Lord Governor-General *bahadur*, denoting the annexation of the country of the Punjab and the dethroning of Maharaja Dalip Singh.[32]

In short, the country of Punjab passed under the occupation of the Honourable British Government due to the short-sightedness of the rebles. When some time has passed after this, Lord Dalhousie, the Viceroy and Governor-General *bahadur* of Indian Empire, paid visit to the city of Lahore. A letter was written suggesting the meeting of His Highness at the locality of Jehlam. His Highness, therefore, hurried towards Jammu by forced marches. But due to the indisposition of His Excellency Lord Governor-General *bahadur*, the meeting did not mature, and the said Lord removing Maharaja Dalip

31. *Surrender of Sher Singh and Chattur Singh* - "At Rawalpindi, however, Sher Singh renewed his question whether they would be imprisoned or banished. On my authority Major Mackeson answered No. On the next day, the surrender took place." *Dalhousie to Hobhouse* - Private 24 March, 1842 - Broughton (BM).

"On 14th March 1849, both the Attariwala *Sardars* father and son, came to the British camp at Hurmel near Rawalpindi with their faces covered under their shawls and gave up their sword to General Gilbert." (Khushwant Singh, *The Fall of the Kingdom of the Panjab* p. 159).

"In due course all the prisoners were restored . . . Forty-one pieces of artillery were surrendered, and the whole Sikh army, 16,000 strong, was marched in between our columns, by 1,000 a time, and there laid down their arms in the presence of British Troops".

(*Dalhousie to Hobhouse* - Private - 24 March 1849 - Broughton (BM) 36476).

32. *Annexation of the Punjab.*

On 29th March 1849, Mr. Elliot, Governor General Lord Dalhousie's Secretary, called a Durbar in the Lahore fort. Maharaja Dalip Singh took his seat for the last time on the throne of Lahore. He was then only ten years of age. Elliot then read the proclamation declaring that the kingdom of the Punjab was at an end. The *Koh-i-noor* diamond was handed over by the young Maharaja and he stepped down, from his illustrious father's throne - never to sit on it aga in.

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Singh from Lahore towards (388) Hindostan, moved his insignia towards Karachi Port. However, *Diwan* Jawala Sahai had the honour of attending on the aforesaid Excellency, and was exalted and distinguished by various favours. In order to pacify the said Highness, who had spent a lot of precious time in coming over from Srinagar to Jammu only with the object of meeting Lord Governor-General *bahadur* his meeting with Lord Napier, Commander-in-Cheif of Hind, was proposed at Sialkot, and Sir John Lawrence came down to Jammu to conduct him and escorted him with due honours from Jammu to Sialkot. After meeting the said Lord he returned to Jammu. This event happened in the Sambat year 1906 of Bikrami.

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CHAPTER
54

Narration of some Pleasant Events

In that auspicious period when the tire-woman Spring imbued with ambergris the rosy-cheeked ones of the meadows by odours of fragrant breezes and the year one thousand nine hundred and seven of Bikrami dawned with new hopes and expectations, His Highness moved his victorious standards towards Kashmir via Rampur. From the other side Colonel Sir Henry Montgomary Lawrence *Sahib bahadur*, along with Lady *Sahiba* and Captain Hodson *Sahib bahadur*, entered the lovely valley of Kashmir by way of Banihal. Diwan Jawala Sahai, therefore, went upto Vernag to welcome the glorious *Sahibs*, and Maharaja Ranbir Singh *Sahib bahadur*, (389) conducted them from Anantnag, His Highness travelling by a boat received them at Bat-warah and housed them in Kothi Sheikh Bagh. All through the duration of their stay friendship and unity was strehgthened by constant meetings. After that the *Sahibs* afore-mentioned left for Iskardu via Hasura and thence in the direction of Ladakh for the sake of travel and excursion.

At this moment the happy tidings of the birth of a son to Mian Ranbir Singh was received and he was named Mian Partap Singh.

(20 *lines and two couplets on page* 389 *and* 15 *lines on page* 390, *describing Spring and mirth, omitted.*)

This happy occasion unleashed an orgy of merriments. Royal celebrations were set up. Poets wrote *qasidas* in which Mirza Mujram

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catried the day.

(The *Qasidah* spreading over 7 lines on pags 390, full page 391 and four lines of page 392, has been omitted in translation)

(392) When the said *Sahib* (Sir Henry Lawrence) returned from Ladakh and entered Srinagar the Diwan *Sahib* hurried to Khui-hama and the fortunate Maharaja (Ranbir Singh) went upto Shadi-pur to receive him. During his stay in Srinagar, the possibility of meeting[1] with His Excellency Nawab Lord Governor-General *bahadur* was discussed. Finally, the said Colonel *Sahib* returned to Lahore via Banihal and the Maharaja, of exalted prosperity, moved for Jammu to make provisions for the interview. His Highness therefore escorted the Colonel upto Pampur.

(*Two lines omitted*)

Some time after that he reached Jammu. The Diwan *Sahib*, the revered father of this biographer, waited upon Colonel Sir Henry Lawrence *Sahib bahadur* at Lahore, and settled particulars of the interview and returned to Jammu. Accordingly, his Highness in great splendour, accompanied by Maharaja Ranbir Singh, Jawahir Singh and Moti Singh and other nobles of State, set out for Wazir-abad. When the camp reached Suchetgarh, John Anglas *Sahib*, Deputy Commissioner Wazirabad and Mr. Prinsep *sahib bahadur*, the settlement officer, (393) came forward for reception. As soon as the standards of prosperity alighted near Dalowali, the Commandant of Sialkot Cantonment, accompanied by other military officers of the Cantonment came forward to present guard of honour. At Sialkot, whole of the retinue was provided with supplies and rations on behalf of the English Government, and a volley of guns was discharged. At Sambhar-wal, Major James Abbott *Sahib bahadur* came to meet His Highness. When the royal camp arrived at the town of Shahdara, Colonel Sir Henry Lawrence *sahib bahadur* who was in those days the Chief Administrator, the President of the dignified Board, along with Sir Robert Montgomery *sahib bahadur*, Commissioner of Lahore, and Mr. Secretary, and Lord Napier of Magdala who then possessed the rank of a Colonel, came out to receive his Highness.

When the retinue of his Highness arrived near Wazirabad Cantonment, Harsi *Sahib*, the Brigadier-General, and Sir Robert Montgomary, the Commissioner and the *Sahib* Private Secretary to the Governor-General and other *Sahibs* came forward to receive, and

1.

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escorted his Highness to the Governor's camp. The foot Regiment and the body of cavalry and artillery drawn up in array there presented guard of honour.

The next day Mr. Elliot, the chief Secretary, and also Colonel Sir Henry Lawrence came to enquire after his health. On account of appearance of a pimple on the thigh of Lord Dalhousie the interview was delayed for a couple of days. Mr. Elliot, therefore, came again to ask for pardon and reported about the indisposition of the high Lord. On the day of the interview when his Highness started for the Governor's camp, the dignified *Sahibs*, i.e., the Brigadier of Wazirabad Cantonment, and the Under Secretary and Private (394) Secretary came upto *Urdu-e-Mualla* in order to escort him. For two miles the English Army was lined up on both sides which presented a royal salute. Sir Henry Lawrence mounted on a huge elephant came to the fore-front of the English Army for reception and presentation of honours. Then the retinue of the Chief Secretary received and led him to the Governor's Camp. The Lord Governor-General *bahadur* came forward personally to the end of the carpet, caught the Highness' hand in his own hand and seated him on his right side. A volley of cannonade fired salutation. The ceremony of offering money was performed and words of friendship and unity were exchanged. Particularly at the time of presenting '*Khilat*' to Mian Ranbir Singh the Lord Governor-General said that in the manner his illustrious father had won high renown by great service and precious extertions during the reign of the deceased Maharaja Ranjit Singh, whose figure, it is heard, he even now propritiates, in the same manner it was hoped he would likewise perform loyalty and service to Her Majesty the Queen. Accordingly, he handed to him a photo of Her Majesty the Queen embedded in a ring. That Prince submitted that as they had been benefitted tenfold from the beneficence of Her Mejesty the Queen as compared to what the illustrious father derived as reward during the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, in the same proportion he would render loyalty and service most willingly.

When the '*khilat*' of the Diwan, my father, was presented, on the recommendation of Sir Henry Lawrence a horse with a golden (395) saddle was added to it, and a sentence of praise escaped from the tongue of the Lord Governor-General, "Oh Diwan *Sahib*, you are the well-wisher of both the high Governments, so we have added a horse along with a gold saddle to your '*khilat*'. When the '*khilat*' of Diwan Hari Chand was brought to consideration, the highly esteemed Major-General Sir Whealer Colbert *sahib*, Commandant of all the armies of Panjab division, stood up and said: "High Excellency the Governor-General. When the triumphant English army, pursuing the rebels, crossed the river Bahat if at that time Diwan Hari Chand

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had not been available for assistance, and proper help was not forthcoming from the troops of the Maharaja *sahib*, the English troops could not have possibly crossed with the facility they did. Diwan Hari Chand had rendered a meritorious service." Accordingly. some addition was made to Diwan Hari Chand's '*khilat*' as well.

In the same manner other officials, including the writer of this biography also, were honoured with the gift of *khilats*. Then the formality of escorting to the door followed. The next day His Excellency the Governor-General *bahadur* returned the visit, and precious gifts and fleet-footed steeds were presented. The day after that all the English armies present there were arrayed for parade and after leading him around for inspection his excellency Lord Governor-General *bahadur* permitted his Highness to leave.

In short, the formalities of interview were carried out in the desired manner. When his Highness returned and encamped at the village Sanbhrial, the Diwan sahib, my revered father, who had been held in the presence of Colonel Lawrence (396) for the purpose of conclusion of administrative affairs and the fulfilment of formalities of gratitude, got the villages of Pargowal, Gakharal, Sahedar-wan, etc., on that side of the river Chinab, which had gone under the occupation of Lahore Government as a result of demarcation of boundary by Major Abbott in exchange of arrears of Hazara revenue. A mention was also made by the Authorities of the English Government that Hiranand, *Vakil* of Sardar Chatar Singh, had made a remark off the point with some ill-will and wicked disposition, perhaps on the inducement from his master, that though the high government had only recently been formed but the British Government had got no faith in the loyalty and goodwill of the said Highness because of his maliciousness. Also that His Excellency the Nawab Lord Governor-General had decided that in the Commencement of the Spring season the said Excellency, the, *Nawab* would arrive via Mazaffar-abad for a visit of excursion to Kashmir. Then the Maharaja returned to Jammu.

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CHAPTER
55

The conquest of Chilas Fort[1]

It should not remain concealed from the wise and the faithfully that since the creation of this world and the regulation of day and night and the peeping of stars and the sun, the Almighty has entrusted the administration of this firm fortification, the world, to the glorious potentates.

(397) Now if evil-minded insurgents pumping into their heads smoke of haughtiness, raise the dust of rebellion and wickedness in the domain of Kings possessed of lofty prosperity and favoured by divine power in all circumstances, it should be presumed that ill-luck of those unfortunate ones has intended their doom and that destiny is bent upon the extermination of those perverts. The following events will illustrate this fact.

1. *Chilas* : Dardistan, or the land of the Dards have several divisions, each big or small valley forming a separate, tiny principality or republic. Of these, most important were - Gilgit, Se, Hazora, Punial, Nagar, Hunza, Ishkoman, Yasin, Chitral, Mastuj and about a dozen tiny republics, Darel, Tangir, Gor, Thalicha, Koli, Palus, Bumar, Harbas, Thak, Thur, Chilas, etc.

Chilas is one of the larger of these republics, its people are called by the other Dards "Bhute". The Sikhs sent an expedition to Chilas under one Suja Singh when Mihan Singh was the Sikh Governor of Kashmir, about the year 1843, but it was repulsed. The expedition sent by Maharaja Gulab Singh (in 1850-51) had good effects. Since that time the Chilasis have been in a sense tributary ; they now pay to the Maharaja a tribute of 100 goats and about two ounces of cold-dust; otherwise they are free.

(Drew : *The Jammu and Kashmir Territories*, pp. 456-459.)

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In the year 1907 of Bikrami (12 *lines omitted*) when the glorious cavalcade of his Highness was staying in Kashmir valley, a band of Chilasis[2] belonging to Dard tribe, raised a strong fort known as Chilas Fort among lofty mountains and difficult fastnesses on that side of the Kashmir boundary, and taking shelter in that strong castle, they started plundering Hasura,[3] one of the territories under the protection of his Highness. This incident was reported to him but he had to postpone the chastisement of the said rebels till Spring season as he had to retire to Jammu to winter there.

In the beginning of the year 1908 of Bikrami, when his Highness arrived in the lovely valley of Kashmir, he deputed the brave and heroic Diwan Hari Chand with the cooperation of other celebrities like Wazir Zorawar, Colonel Vije Singh, Colonel Jawahar, Lochan Singh and Diwan Thakur Dass, with an army for the chastisement of the crooked insurgents.

(398) (4 *verses omitted*)

As soon as the victorious troops arrived in that territory, they raised breastwork around that firm fortification and strong fort which was lofty as heaven and brazen in strength and solidarity. Hostilities

2. Chilas, Gilgit and its dependencies had been brought under Sikh control as early as 1841, when Gaur Rahman's depredations on Gilgit provided Lahore *Darbar* an occasion to interfere in the affairs of that frontier, Gaur Rehman was the son of the ruler of Yasin, the brother-in-law of Mehtar of Chitral. He attacked and conquered Gilgit and killed its ruler. The brother of the dead Raja, Karim Khan, called the Sikh Governor of Kashmir for help, The Sikh Government was not indifferent to this opportunity of acquiring new territory They deputed Sayed Nathu Shah of Gujranwala with a strong force to help Karim Khan. In 1842 Astore was occupied by Nathushah and Gaur Rehman was defeated. But Gaur Rehman inflicted a defeat on the Sikhs as soon as Nathu Shah left that territory. He was again sent back and he successfully pacified the border, taking in marriage the daughters of Gaur Rehman, and of the Mirs of Hunza and Nagar. Karim Khan got no benefit. Gilgit was permanently annexed to the Sikh kingdom.

When Gulab Singh acquired Kashmir by the Treaty of Amritsar it was understood that he acquired all the claims on these areas and Gilgit which the Sikh Govt. had since 1841. Nathu Shah also entered Gulab Singh's service and he was deputed to the charge of the frontier territories.

(K. M. Panikkar : *The Founding of the Kashmir State* p. 141-42).

3. Astor or Hasura, as invariably spoken by Dogras, is a long, narrow valley around Gilgit, some 60 to 70 miles long along the river of the same name--the Astore. Its passes are some 12,000 feet high. At 10,000 feet there are traces of vegetation, but at 8500 feet one finds fine walnut trees. Below that height the villages are mostly well shaded by fruit trees.

(Drew : *The Jummoo and Kashmir Teritories*, pp. 397-98).

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commenced thereafter. Those savage rebels pressed resistance in such a manner that men during the night and women in day time kept on causing havoc by musket fire till beseiging armies became hard pressed on account of prolongation of the seige and the shortage of grain and provisions, which were difficult to procure in those obscure fastnesses. The army led by Devi Singh intrenched at the locality of Sangar was night-attacked by the enemy swarming from all around, and was routed, and Colonel Devi Singh Jandi-wala could carry his life to safety after great struggle. Moreover, the beseigers had unwisely assailed that arduous fort without supplying proper equipment. By chance ladders did not reach the top of fortification.

The garrison of the fort gallantly showered musketballs and stones from the top of the ramparts, and drove the assailants to ertremities when they attempted to scale the fortifications. Consequently, one thousand five hundred soldiers from the government armies were wounded and killed in the battle. Also *Kumedan* (commandant) (399) Gigra-Narania gallantly fell in the field and Colonel Bije Singh got seriously wounded. The attack of the army was thus repulsed. But soldiers did not lose courage and did not leave the breastwork and ate leaves and bark of trees for bread.

In the meanwhile, his Highness became indisposed on account of the malady of diabetes which had attacked him, so Maharaja Ranbir Singh was sent to So-pur to manage affairs of that region. Accordingly, the writer of this Memoir remained in attendance and took part in the management of state affairs.

For some time no progress could be made against such a fort, which was fabulous for loftincss and solidarity. One day the army officers thought it prudent to dig a tunnel into the fort up to the water tank which sustained the life of the garrison, and to drain it away. As they did so water flowed out through the tunnel, and in the fort not a drop was left. For three days those brave monstrous giants, not betraying the non-availability of water, drank oil and pressed on battle. At last, disabled by extreme thirst, they strove for quarters, and when talks started for this, they all at once unjarring the gate of the fort took to flight and victory declared for the beseigers.

The fugitives were pursued, many of them were put to the sword, and several of them were seized.[4]

4. The Chilasis are a Dard race inhabiting a long valley on the west of Diyamir or Nanga Parbat. Until about 1850 they used to make occasional expeditions for plunder into this Astor valley. The plunder they came for was cattle and people to make slaves of.

It was these raids that determined Maharaja Gulab Singh to send a punitive expedition against Chilas; this he did in 1851 or 1852, I am not sure which;

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(400) Thus a great victory fell to their lot. The soldiery made the most of the booty of grain found inside the fort and saved themselves from the tourture of hunger and starvation; and the soldiers thanked God and sang His praises for the timely succour and victory.

They burnt the said fort to ashes and razed it to the ground. Then the Diwan, returned triumphantly and won favours of his High ness. The chiefs of that place, such as Dauri-khan, Rahmat-ullah, 'Abdullah Khan and Akhon La'l Mohammad, and others, who had been brought by the troops presented, '*nazarana*' in the form of silver, gold and sheep, and agreed to surrender their sons and nobles as hostages, and to pay tribute. The most wonderful incident which happened then is that when the information of non-availability of grain and provision to the troops and their starving condition was reported to his Highness an extreme confusion and restlessness gripped his heart. Inspite of the impaired state of his health, he ordered the royal pack-horse to be ready immediately so that he should go in person to direct the expeditions in that region. But in view of his indisposition the courtiers supplicated that he should depute any one of the nobles for the purpose. Consequently, Diwan Nihal-Chand and Pandit Raja Kak got appointment.

In the meantime, *Jotshi* Brij La'l, an expert astrologer, got audience and submitted that his Highness should be comfortable at heart with the positive confidence that the Chilas fort had been taken or would positively be taken that very day by the gallant warriors and grain out of measure of calculation **(401)** had fallen to the hands of the royal troops. At this his Highness said: "*Jotshi ji.* We eat our bread to our fill whereas my soldiers have been distressed by the state of starvation. How can we put faith in your far-fetched words?" He answered, "Brahman if I be and a legitimate son ! this truthful tiding will reach your audience that the said fort has today come under the occupation of the victorious armies. And of the grain despatched by his Highness not a trace of that will reach the royal army". When he had uttered this he took leave and went to his place. By the grace of Almighty God, the same day the Chilas fort

one force went direct from Karhmir, and one advanced by the Mazenu Pass. The Dogras were in great straits for provisions, as the communications were not well kept up, but they at least took the chief stronghold of the Chilasis, a fort two or three miles from the Indus River, and reduced those people to some degree of obedience . . . The expedition had the effect of frightening the Chiliasis into good behaviour, there has been no raid since.

(Frederic Drew : *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, pp. 398-99).

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had fallen and a vast hoard of various grains had been acquired. Consequently, as a reward for such a prediction he bestowed numerous gifts on the said Jotshi and added to his esteem and rank of royal favours.

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CHAPTER
56

Particulars of the Gilgit Insurrection

It has already been narrated that the disposition of his Highness had deviated from health because of the malady of diabetes, but by the blessings of the Peerless Healer the doors of perfect cure and agile health were unlocked on him. Therefore, for the sake of change of climate he marched from Srinagar towards Jammu at the close of the month of Magh[1]. At Uttar-bahni Raja Moti Singh who had quarrelled with Raja Jawahir Singh at Kotli, waited upon His Highness. Thence they moved to the Jammu city. Raja Jawahir Singh, on learning of this fact, marched with all the haste to a distance, (402) of one '*farsang*' from Jammu and sought the honour of waiting upon his Highness on the day of his arrival there.

But as Raja Moti Singh had extracred so much displeasure as could not be rectified by hypocrisy so at last the complaint was lodged with the English officials. Both the brothers, Raja Moti Singh and Jawahir Singh went to Lahore. Diwan Jawala Sahai was deputed to accompany Raja Moti Singh at the intance of his Highness. Thus on adjudication by *Bir-bar* Raja Sahib-Dayal who had been appointed arbitrator, the Government of Punch territory became entrusted to Raja Moti Singh, and his share was fixed at one-third[2].

1. Months of January - February 1852.

2. The Award given by the Punjab Board of Administration, dated 13th August, 1852 divided the State of Chibhal between the brothers, Raja Jawahar Singh and Moti Singh of Poonch. (Persian copy of Award, *Document D/28 No. M/493*, Archival Library, Patiala).

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From Jammu his Highness moved to Riasi[3] which is at a distance of four '*Farsang*' to the north of Jammu.

From the petition of Maharaja Ranbir Singh it became evident that Santokh Singh[4] *thanah-dar* of Gilgit, and the garrison thereof, had given up caution on account of fraud of the Raja of Nagari and putting his faith in their oaths and words had came out of the Gilgit fort and had been put to sword by the rebels. Devi-Din[5] *Kumedan* along with the Gorakhia Platoon defended the Manaor[6] fort bravely and gallantly. Even when no amount of rations and water was left in the said fort and he had nothing to drink he did not lose heart and remained steadfast. At last, he left the fort, and remained intrenched for four days outside and led severe skirmishes heroically in order to drive away the enemy numbering more than four thousand horsemen. When he found no way out and feared disgrace and dishonour, he put all the women with him to the (403) sword and laid down his own life fighting heroically. Whole of the Gorkhia platoon also was cut down by the enemy. In the same manner Bhup Singh Bhadwal with Rukan-ud-Din Platoon, was beleaguered in Pari. At last over-powered by extreme thirst and starvation he laid down his arms on the oaths and words of the Raja of Nagari, but was treacherously killed[7]. The unprincipled Gohar Rahman was the leader of

3. *Riasi* - see Chapter 14, footnote 2.

4. Sant Singh, according to Drew. (*The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, p. 440).

5. Drew gives 'Ram Din' as the name of the Commandant. (*Ibid*, p. 440).

6. Drew gives the name of the fort 'Naurpura' (*Ibid*).

7. *Gilgit Insurrection* In 1852 Sant Singh was *Thana-dar*, or Commandat, at Gilgit Fort; there was another fort at Naupura, a couple of miles off, held by a Gurkha regiment of the Maharaja's, under Ram Din, Comandant, and one Bhup Singh was in command of the reserve at Bawanji and Astor.

Gaur Rehman, taking advantage of this opportunity, suddenly brought a force that surrounded and separated the two forts. Bhup Singh hearing of this, advanced to their relief with some 1200 men. He crossed the Nila Dhar and reached the bank of the Gilgit River where he found the road stopped by the enemy. The Darads had also managed, by passing along difficult mountain paths to get the rear of the Dogras so that their retreat by the way they had come was made equally difficult with their advance. In short, Bhup Singh was caught in a trap. The Dards further entrapped the Dogras in the game of double dealing. They promissed Bhup Singh provisions and a safe passage if he agreed to retire. This he consented to do. But for seven days the Dogras were kept without food and when they were reduced in strength, the enemy began their attack. The Hunza people fired from the left bank, while Gaur Rehman's army showered bullets and stones from the submits close above. They soon overwhelmed the force. Near a thousand died on the spot; a hundred or two were taken prisoners and sold into slavery.

(Drew : *Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, pp. 441-42).

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the rebels. He brought the country of Gilgit under his own occupation, imprisoned several innocent people of that place on false charge of violence and outrage and sold them away. He severed the heads of many and stuck to their corpses hot iron plates, and amused himself much by this savage sight.[8]

Previously Nathi-Shah[9] had been appointed to the Government of Gilgit since the days of Sheikh Ghulam Muhi-ud-Din, and had been confirmed in that office by his Highness as well. He had lost his life

8. *Gaur Rehman* was the eldest son of Mul-k-Iman, the ruler of Yasin. He was a most bloodthirsty man; as much so perhaps, though he had not the same opportunities of killing on a large scale, as Theodore of Abyssinia. . . the Dards generally are rather careless of life, but with his deeds they were disgusted . . They say that when he was ill he would have some men killed for niyaz, that is, as a propitiatory sacrifice. He seems to have had a special enimity and spite against the people of Gilgit, who suffered terribly under his two reigns, but to have spared the Punial people.

Soon after accession of Kashmir to Maharaja Gulab Singh the Raja of Hunza attacked Gilgit and there was a general disturbance. Gaur Rehman, too, who at this time governed Punial and Yasin, joined him against the Dogras; the people of Daral joined also; Gilgit fort fell into the hands of these allies. But after some fighting peace was made on the basis of the former state of things. Again in 1852 Gaur Rehman raised disturbances and expelled the Dogras out of that part of Dardistan which is on the right bank of the Indus. Gaur Rehman ruled again in Gilgit. For the next 8 years the Maharaja's boundary remained at the Indus.

It was in 1860, when Maharaja Ranbir Singh was the ruler that a conquering expedition finally crossed the Indus and entered Gilgit. But before the Dogra force under Devi Singh reached Gilgit, Gaur Rehman had died, probably in the beginning of the summer that year.

(Frederic Drew *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, pp. 436-444).

9. *Nathu Shah, Dogra Governor of Gilgit* :

On Kashmir, and with it Gilgit being ceded to Gulab Singh, Nathu Shah left the Sikhs and transferred his services to the new ruler and went to take possession of Gilgit for him. In this there was no difficulty. The Dogra troops relieved the Sikh posts ot Gilgit and Astor. The peace which Nathu Shah had established in the frontier by his matrimonial alliances during the Sikh regime, did not long continue. Shortly after the visit of a commission of the British Government, comprised of two English officers, Lieut. Vans Agnew and Young, of the Bengal Engineers, sent for the purpose of ascertaining the limit of Gulab Singh's possessions according to the Treaty of Amritsar, the Hunza Raja made an attack on the Gilgit territory and plundered five villages: he justified his thus breaking peace with Nathu Shah by saying that Nathu Shah had broken faith with him in bringing the Frangis to see the country. Nathu Shah led a force up the valley of Hunza River to avenge this attack, but his force was destroyed and he himself was killed, as also was Karim Khan, the titular Raja of Gilgit, who had accompanied him. (Drew, 439-40, Hashmat-ullah Khan, 783-84; K. M Pannikar, 112).



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during the disturbances created by rebel malefactors along with his soldiers. In his place *Bakhshi* Hari Singh had been sent at the head of Ram-gol Platoon and accompanied by Hoshiara *Kumedan*. He had punished the rebels and subjugated at Gilgit territory. Then he set seige to the Sher fort which is situated in Poyal, and as Gohar Rahman had apologized through his confidential agent the same had been restored to him. Now the same Gohar Rahman had rebelled once again.[10] So on learning of this affair His Highness explained that Gilgit territory was brought under the occupation of Kashmir authorties during governorship of Sheikh Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din in the reign of Maharaja Sher Singh on the wish of Karim Khan, the Raja thereof.[11] To relinquish it now was not worthy of courage, particularly when thousands of persons from the victorious army (404) had been violently and fraudulently killed by the enemy. He saw no reason why they should not punish the rebels for their deeds. In the meantime a post bag was received from Colonel Sir Henry Lawrence that the rebels of Hazara[12] had raised the dust of distur-

10. *Dogra resistance in Gilgit :*

Gaur Rehman had suddenly surrounded and separated the two forts of Gilgit and Naupura. The last named place is on an alluvial plateau 250 feet above the Gilgit plain. An adjutant with two or three hundred men sallied from Gilgit Fort in order to succour the garrison of Naupura. But here, too, rations failed and, besides, the supply of water was cut off by the enemy. Soon the enemy made a general assault on the Dogra troops. These collected themselves into a walled enclosure and defended themselves gallantly for a whole day but they were at last over-powered; about 300 were killed and a few were made slaves.

Then came the turn of Gilgit Fort. In somewhat the same way all the garrison came into the hands of the Dards and were killed. The women of Gurkha soldiers in Maharaja's service, who were in the Gilgit Fort were all killed. Only one escaped and swam across the Indus and reached Bawanji to tell the story. Thus as before said, the Dogras were expelled from all that part of Dardistan which is on the right bank of the Indus. Gaur Rehman again ruled in Gilgit.

From the time when these events happened, from the year 1882, onwards for eight years, the Maharaja's boundary, below Haramosh, remained at the Indus. It seems to have been Gulab Singh's fixed policy to advance no farther. It was left for Maharaja Ranbir Singh to reconquer Gilgit and its dependencies in 1866.

(Drew, 441-443, K.M. Panikkar, 145; Hashmat Ullah Khan, 787-88).

11. See footnote (60)2.

12. *Hazara* : lies at the foot of the Himalayas in the north-west of the Panjab. This district occupies the territories of Mansehra and Haripur and a tract known as Upper Tanawal. The total area was 3,062 square miles. After its occupation Maharaja Ranjit Singh appointed *Diwan* Mulraj to regulate it revenue affairs, but he could not succeed. Then Sardar Hari Singh, the governor of Kashmir, was sent to Hazara to subdue the country. It took him three years to overpower the warlike mountaineers (*Hazara Dist. Gazet.* 1907, 196-7

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bance, so it was better to order a suitable force to proceed in all the haste towards that direction to chastise them in a manner which most behoves mutual amity. Consequently, four platoons with Colonel Devi Singh and Dulo under the command of *Bakhshi* Wazir Chand were despatched towards Hazara in order to re-inforce and help the British Government, which, on reaching there, rendered meritorious service and became a cause for the satisfaction of the British Government.

Douie, *The Panjab, North-West Frontier Province, and Kashmir*, Cambridge, 1916, 299). By the Treaty of Amritsar 15th March 1846, it was transferred to Maharaja Gulab Singh, who, however, gave it to the Sikh Government the following year in exchange for Bhimber and Khari-Kharial.

"Along the whole frontier from Karachi to Kashmir there is nothing that ...r the grandeur of its mountains, its plentiful streams, picturesque scenery, and charming variety, can touch the Hazara valley, and probably few can boast a more interesting diversity of people, more thriving villages." (Edward B Oliver · *Across the Border*, London, 1890, 300).

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CHAPTER
57

An account of the Law-suit by Raja Jawahir Singh

(*Four introductory lines omitted*)

From those impatient for the sight of the sweethearts of annals and listeners of melodious nocturnal entertainments (stories) it is not hidden and veiled that for a human being who has been written social by nature, nothing is more effective than company, especially the company of the wicked which is a potent cause of meanness. The circumstance of Raja Jawahir Singh is verily a proof of this. He had from the day of the grant of the Kashmir territory to his Highness, harboured vain ideas in his mind and entertained destructive anxieties to himself. The cause of all this was the company of the worthless.

His vicious companions like to Rosu *Jhiwar* and Khazanu peasant and Darshan *Pandit*, every one of whom was wanting in refinement of morals and possessed of meanness at heart, brought him to believe that his name had (405) not been entered in the agreement of grant by the English Government and the territory of Jasrota, etc., which belonged to Raja Hira Singh, had not been added to his jagir. This matured in Raja Jawahir Singh's going to Lahore the account of which has already been given. Moreover, *Maulavi* Mazhar Ali who was a servant of His Highness and was peerless in eloquence and art of flattery, artful person, conspired with him through the instrumentality of Abd-ullah Khan Afghan. He had idly boasted that he

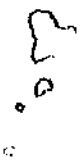
1.

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would get him (Raja Jawahir Singh) half of the territories out of the country in the possession of His Highness from the Great Queen, and he (Raja Jawahir Singh) out of foolishness fixed his monthly allowance at one thousand rupees instead of eighty rupees which he got from His Highness' government. This fact offended the liberal (His Highness) so that his (*Maulavi's*) interview with Colonel Lawrence *Sahib bahadur* was prevented. Helplessly he fled by way of Sawat towards Peshawar with the object of getting army, but the English officials did not allow him that. At last in retribution of his deeds he was imprisoned by orders of the English Government and was turned out of the country of the Panjab. Raja Jawahir Singh, lived for some time in wretched condition in Bagh-i-Hiran near Barnala, went to Lahore in the retinue of Sardar Nihal Singh Chhachhi who had been sent for by Sir John Lawrence, and sought the separation of his territory from the supremacy of the Government of His Highness.

In the meanwhile, on the advice of *Diwan* Jawala Sahai, His Highness sent a punitive military expedition into the Chibhal territory. *Diwan* Hari-Chand got instructions for storming the fort of Thro-chi and Khanah and Colonel Bije-Singh was ordered to advance towards Mangla, and a complete victory and occupation was gained by them of these territories. Sir John Lawrence *sahib* (406) at first commenced with harsh letters, but when the Diwan sahib met him at Kohmari and Jawahir Singh too reached there and presented his case, the *Sahib* understood the facts and concluded that the fault lay with Raja Jawahir Singh who did not obey the orders of his noble uncle, and that interference in the internal affairs of the State was not lawful according to rules of the English Department. He, therefore, gave him a flat reply so Raja Jawahir Singh went to Gujarat and collected men and material and means of disturbance. His Highness on learning of this affair, moved to Akhnur and collected his troops there so that Raja Jawahir Singh could bring nothing to head. To be lost into the path of ingratitude amounts to extirpation of the self, so in a short time the cord of his administration snapped and the account book of his government scattered in the wind.

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Maharaja Ranbir Singh (1856-85), son and successor of Maharaja Gulab Singh

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CHAPTER
58

The Fortune-Favoured Coronation of His Highness

The late Highness now decided to seat Prince Ranbir Singh on the throne. (*About ten lines of adjectives used for Maharaja Ranbir Singh omitted*).

(407) Even earlier, during those days when the delicate temperament of the late Highness, as will be presently described, had been indisposed, consultations and advice of the deceased Colonel Lawrence *sahib bahadur* had been sought on this subject through the despatches of Diwan Jawala Sahai-Conformably to this event, during the time when the golden—crowned emperor 'Sun' reaching the auspicious constellation Pisces was about to illuminate the throne of Aries by the august ascendencey, the king of Spring alighted cheerfully and pleasantly in the township of meadows and turned the four-tiered orchard of the world enviable for the highest heaven. The purple-coloured flower '*Nafarman*' tying the band of obedience around its waist, took its seat among the carpetkissers of garden and the nightingale sang in ecstatic melodies love-lorn lyrics in the longing for the fresh buds of orchards.

(8 *lines omitted*)

Spring has set in, and rose-meadows echo with nightingales' song,
And in hills and dales fowls cry in an intermittent throng;

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You'll think they have bound organs to every leaf and twig,
So that crowing of pheasants, starling and partridge issues therefrom;
The marrow of life intoxicates from rose-scent balm
The fowl of heart flutters when birds twitter in dense foliage.
Out of every rose, every cypress and every plane-tree come
The clamour of cuckoo, twitter of partridge and moaning of dove.
Melodies of organs, and harps, and flutes scatter all around
From every lane arise the noise of tambourines, lutes and strings.

(408) On the felicitous eighth of the month of Phagan of the year 1912, on the Monday, in an auspicious hour when Taurus was on ascendency, he seated the young Prince on the throne of sovereignty in the *Thakur-dvara* and marked the forehead of that pioneer of prosperity with saffron '*qashqah*' by his own blessed hand. Consequently the blessed countenance radiated with loveliness and people were besides themselves with mirth and exhileration.

From that place they moved in a procession towards the old Mandi mounted on mountain-like elephants. As soon as that Prince had put on imperial crown on his head and robes of kingship around his body, the writer of this account was exalted to the *mansab* of *diwani*, and was honoured by the gift of a precious '*khillat*' and an attractive pen-stand. At the time when they were proceeding towards Mandi from the *thakur-dvara*, the '*hawdas*' of elephants on which the chiefs mounted became filled with offerings and gifts from the people. This most humble one, the author of this biography, accompanied the procession on horse back. When the late Highness observed this he called him near the elephant and announced that this one should have been esteemed above every one else on such an occasion. He immediately beckoned him to mount in a '*bangla*', the special conveyance in which he himself was riding.

In brief, when the procession reached the *Mandi* the late Highness seated the Prince on the royal throne. He then stood up and bade the glorious *Sahibs* like John Angles and other honourable military officers from the Sialkot Cantonment who participated in the happy celebrations, and the Rajput relatives of this exalted (409) family, to glorify the auspicious forehead of the new Maharaja by placing saffron mark on it. Every body did like-wise (4 *lines omitted*) and the echo of congratulations rose from all quarters. Returning therefrom in the same pomp and glory which beggars description, a '*darbar*' was held in the '*Mandi Khas*'. His Highness honoured the throne and the grand *sahibs* sat in golden chairs. All the chiefs, nobles, generals,

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commanders-in-chief, and the courtiers, and State officials took their places according to rank on the merit of their service and devotion to the sovereign. Trained platoons were arrayed in the *Mandi* grounds. It looked as if the emperor rose had arranged in hundred splendours assemblies in the citadels of meadows. (4 *lines and a quarter omitted*). The mirth-exciting melodiers and enchanting singers so excited din of chanting and melody in that hour of ecstasy that you would believe the melodious cuckoo learnt from them the vernal lyrics, and peacocks intoxicated with conquetry and blandishment have acquired from them their graceful gait and tail-fanning.

(410) *Fragment* :

What a feast : that the very spirit of the world is hilarious,
All the nine firmaments are glad and bubbling with mirth;
The sky is in dance, the earth in glee and the world
intoxicated
To tell you the truth, the very Delight is maddened with
delight.

At the conclusion of the celebrations and in that charming assemblage the writer of this account was ordered by the late Highness to submit some prudent counsels (which are duly copied below) before the new sovereign, May God perpetuate his prosperity. And His Highness out of abundance of felicity stood listening to the said sermons with attention. A salutation cannonade announced to the people the conclusion of coronation ceremony.

Firstly, with all the candour of heart and perfect devotion he should occupy all his precious time, to win the blessings of the Divine *Shri Ragnath-ji* by regular daily worship of the divine name, and supplicate for His favour and protection in the highways of desires and enterprises.

Secondly, to remember that this bright fortune is a grand gift of Her Highness the great and exalted Queen of England, May her Empire be eternal, through the elegant medium of His Excellency *Nawab* Hardinge G.C.B., Governor-General *Sahib bahadur* of the Indian empire, and the dignified *Sahibs*, Frederick Currie Barnett *Sahib bahadur* and Colonel Sir Henry Lawrence *Sahib bahadur*, granted in absolute possession and without a partner from generation to generation, for which gratitude devolves on the fortunate one. It is therefore incumbent for him to think himself ever, inwardly and outwardly, indebted to the British government for this favour.

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Thirdly, the whole of the ambition should be so directed that all the people, high and low, should live in comfort and contentment, and that the powerful never weilds his hand of oppression on the powerless.

Fourthly, due attention should ever be paid to the organisation of soldiery and equipping of the forces.

(411) *Fifthly*, the 'dear one' (*barkhur-dar*) should deem it most important that information about frontier territories is always reported to him and he should deem obligatory to be informed of that.

Sixthly, he should keep his heart pure and should avoid imitation and association of the vile which has been condemned equivocally by all the leaders of all faiths.

Seventhly, courtesy and complaisance should be rendered towards grand Sahibs in conformity to the customs and laws of this side so that by their favour and sincere advice all the affairs get perfect order, firm regulation and good administration.

After that when '*nazars*' had been offered the *darbar* broke up. Since that day, in the manner as pious men attain divorce from attachment and liberty from bondage, the signs of deliverance from the great business of kingdom and tumultous affairs appeared in the in-most recesses of the mind of the late Highness. He withdrew himself from external attachments and attained to the greatest happiness and revealed astonishing vision. No doubt, the anxiety of the last journey became the centre of attention, and the thought which liberates from attachment to the world overpowered his mind. Getting rid of the dilemma of this and that, he set his heart on the seclusion of eternal happiness.

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CHAPTER
59

The Eternal Departure of His Highness

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(412) (16 *lines of prose omitted*)

When after the celebration of the coronation of Prince Ranbir Singh, His Highness was going to the lovely valley of Kashmir, rheumatic pains caused him much distress. In the spring season this malady became so severe that one day he swooned in the '*hamam*' due to extreme debility and indisposition. On hearing of this news High Highness (Maharaja Ranbir Singh) who looked after public affairs at Jammu, left in all the haste for Srinagar and reached in the presenee of his Highness.

(3 *lines of prose and* 4 *lines of verse omitted*)

These very days the Poorbia troops in service of the illustrious EnglishGovernment became rebellious in the Cantonments of Meerut and Delhi (413) and started killing officers and putting fire to cantonments.[1] The sub-continent of heaven-like Hindostan became over-

1. "The first shots of the so-called Mutiny were fired on 10th May, 1857" (S. N. Sen : *Eighteen Fifty-Seven*, p.vi).

Sporadic acts of violence had taken place in different parts of the country since the autumn of 1856 and continued through the following winter and spring. But when the sepoys of Meerut murdered there white officers on the 10th May, 1857 and proceeded to Delhi to proclaim Bahadur Shah emperor of Hindustan" (Khushwant Singh, *History of the Sikhs, II*-p. 100) the great rebellion commensed.

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run by calamities. The conflagration of revolt flared up on all sides and everywhere the ghost of unrest raised its ugly head. When this news was reported to the august late Highness, whose wit added grace to his prosperity he sent Diwan Jawala Sahai *Sahib*, the father of this compiler, to Rawalpindi to wait on Sir John Lawrence *sahib bahadur* who had been appoinled the Chief Commissioner of the Panjab, with the request that it was the occasion for succour and assistance, and that the Highness cordially cherished the memory of the sincerity of the exalted British Government. The assistance of the nobles of the said State, in whatever manner possible, was therefore contemplated. So help in men, material and money was offered, more especially strong forts and fortified castles lofty as firmament, such as those of Mangla fort and others wherein the troops of the English Government could find shelter, could be made available. If desired the same would be offered, and whoever mesdames were at Koh-mari at the moment might, without hesitation, retire to Kashmir and take shelter there. The *Diwan* sought audience of the Chief Commissioner and submitted the offer, His Excellency made request for the assistance of troops under the command of *Diwan* Hari Chand, with a sum of ten lakh Srinagaria ruppes, When this petition of the Diwan sahib was conveyed to the august Highness, he permitted his successors, Maharaja *sahib* (Ranbir Singh) to proceed to Jammu so as to set the arrangements afoot.

(414) (3 *lines of prose omitted*)

Much before the journey to the eternal world the late Highness had become aware of his approaching end, and its signs had been comprehended by his spiritual being. Often time he talked about the journey to the next world. One day while in the *Thakurdoara*, he told *Pandit* Sahib Shankar that the most holy spirit was about to give up the elemental frame. At that moment he was causing last farewell to be bidden from the *Darbar Sri Gada-dhar-ji* when *Diwan* Jawala Sahai arrived and the theme of conversation changed. He also used to tell that one night he had dreamt that white-apparelled being like the inhabitants of paradise came carrying a '*banglah*' on their shoulders. When questioned they replied that they had brought that '*banglah*' for him.

The day His Highness Maharaja Ranbir Singh left towards Bijbarah he reminded the writer of this Memoir in seclusion and said that often time the late Highness had asked him (the writer) for undertaking the compilation of the history of his achievements but due to want of time he (the writer) could not lay his hand on this, and

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that he hoped he would compile it after his demise.[2]

Alas, when the dark night advanced, a strange weakness and chill appeared in the royal disposition, and he said to this humble servant, 'If a candle-pot enkindles another lamp verily its light survives. The same proved true in our circumstance, so that Maharaja Ranbir Singh *Sahib bahadur* has become illuminator of the palace of kingship and now (415) the lamp of our life is about to go out."

The day he was to despatch Diwan Jawala Sahai to Rawalpindi, he placed his (*Diwan's*) arm in the hand of Maharaja Ranbir Singh *sahib bahadur*, and likewise placing his (Maharaja Ranbir Singh') hand in the hand of the said *Diwan* had said. "He (the *Diwan*) has seen much of the tricks of Time in our service and has often rendered great services. It is certain he would in the same manner serve you (Ranbir Singh) as well." The same day he desired His Highness Maharaja Ranbir Singh *bahadur* to be sent to Jammu and at the time of seeing him pity engulged the lofty nature and, a complete change appeared on the luminous forehead. No doubt it was the last farewell and the eternal separation. As he possessed a reality-discerning heart and a secret-recognising conscience, so whatever he said those days conveyed resolution of migration (death). At this the mind of well-wishers was greatly tormented.

(*5 lines of prose omitted*)

Now it so happened that the malady of typhoid fever got hold of his temperament which had already lost equilibrium, and suddenly it turned violent. Howsoever, far-sighted physicians applied their right understanding in the treatment and took proper measures, no hope of recovery could be seen. The signs of departure and passing away manifested themselves. As the compiler of this memoir had the opportunity of being in close service, so he informed His Highness (Maharaja Ranbir Singh) of the fact and supplicated for permission (416) to return and also requested him to come back. He left no stone unturned in rendering service as is the custom of salt-eaters, and also in the management of State affairs.

In short, when His Highness (resting in paradise) had been confined to bed during severe illness he eschewed his heart from worldly attachments and set it on remembring the Almighty. On the last day he gave away in charity a sum of one lakh and twenty-five thousand rupees in cash, a jagir of ten thousand Srinagaria rupees, plea-

2. The *Gulabnama* was completed by *Diwan* Kirpa Ram in Samvat 1922 (A.D. 1865) and published posthumously in samvat 1933, corresponding to A.D. 1876. (Storey : *Persian Literature*, p. 686).

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sant gardens, fleet-footed horses, mountain-like elephhants, priceless rubies and collection of great value, and bid farewell to this world on the 20th of the month of Sawan of the year 1914,[3] the Sunday, at four *gharis* before sum-set, on the *'tith' Dawadesh*. The next day, last rituals having been performed he was laid in eternal peace at Ram-Bagh.

Myriads of people went down in the defile of grief, for the cup of the occupier of the cushion of glory had spilt. Illustrious Princes sat for observing condolence, for the shadow of such an illustrious father had been removed from over them. Servants and well wishers suffered their throats and livers chocked respectively by sighs and cries because the consoling heart had been taken away from the people. The needy have-nots ran the thorn of disappointment into their feet, for the gratifier of desires unasked for had turned his back upon this world.

As the condition of all the populace was such how the deep affliction of this well-wisher of form and substance could be judged who have been the salt-eater generation after generation since the days of his father and grand-father, and has won a place in the cradle of affection since infancy. Helplessly copious tears surged down his eyes, and existence turned for him miserable and burdon-some and sleep and food were forgotten.

(*A long elegy covering the last line on page* 416, *full page* 417 *and the the top two lines on page* 418, *has been omitted in translation.*)

(418) Only a Short time after this event the cruel fate added agony to my grief and this care-worn one suffered affliction after affliction. My revered uncle *Diwan* Hari Chand who had gone to Delhi in command of State troops, to assist the British officials, breathed his last soon after the subjugation of that city[4]. Alas ! alas ! that he turned his face on life in blooming youth and left this world before plucking any fruit from the tree of life.

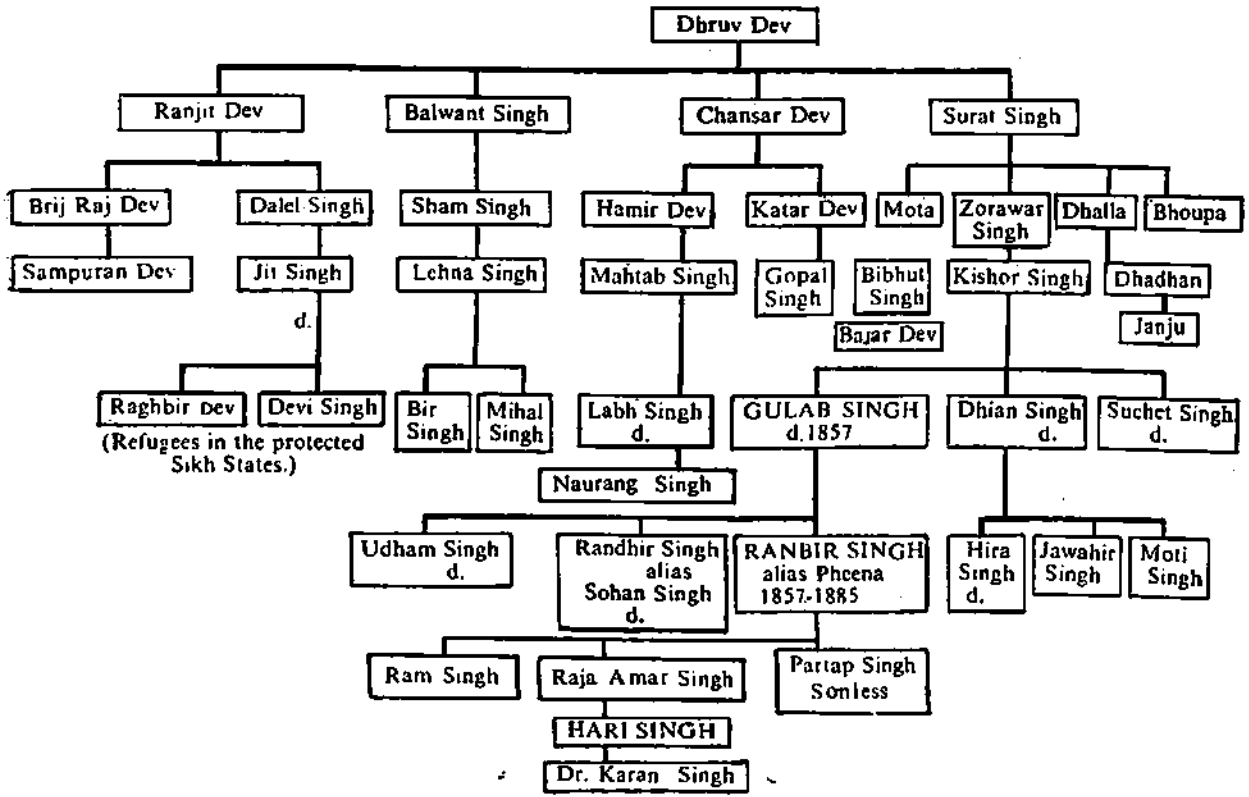
3. Maharaja Gulab Singh died on 30th June 1857. His age at the time of death was 65 years.

4. *Diwan* Hari Chand, brother of *Diwan* Jawala Sahai, was the Commander-in Chief of Maharaja Gulab Singh's armies. He was sent at the head of a contingent to aid the British Government in storming Delhi and driving out the rebels. Soon after arrival there *Diwan* Hari Chand fell ill and died, and the contingent was then commanded by R. C. Lawrence "Baird Smith knew the city well, and the plan, prepared by him and his staff, had omitted no detail. Every commanding officer had been furnished with a copy, but there is such a thing as accidents of war. Reid's column not only failed in its objective but had to beat a retreat. With this Gurkhas was associated the Jammu troops, led by R.C. Lawrence - The Jammu troops were soon afterwards routed, but others did not fare better."

(*S. N. Sen, Eighteen fifty-Seven*, p. 106).

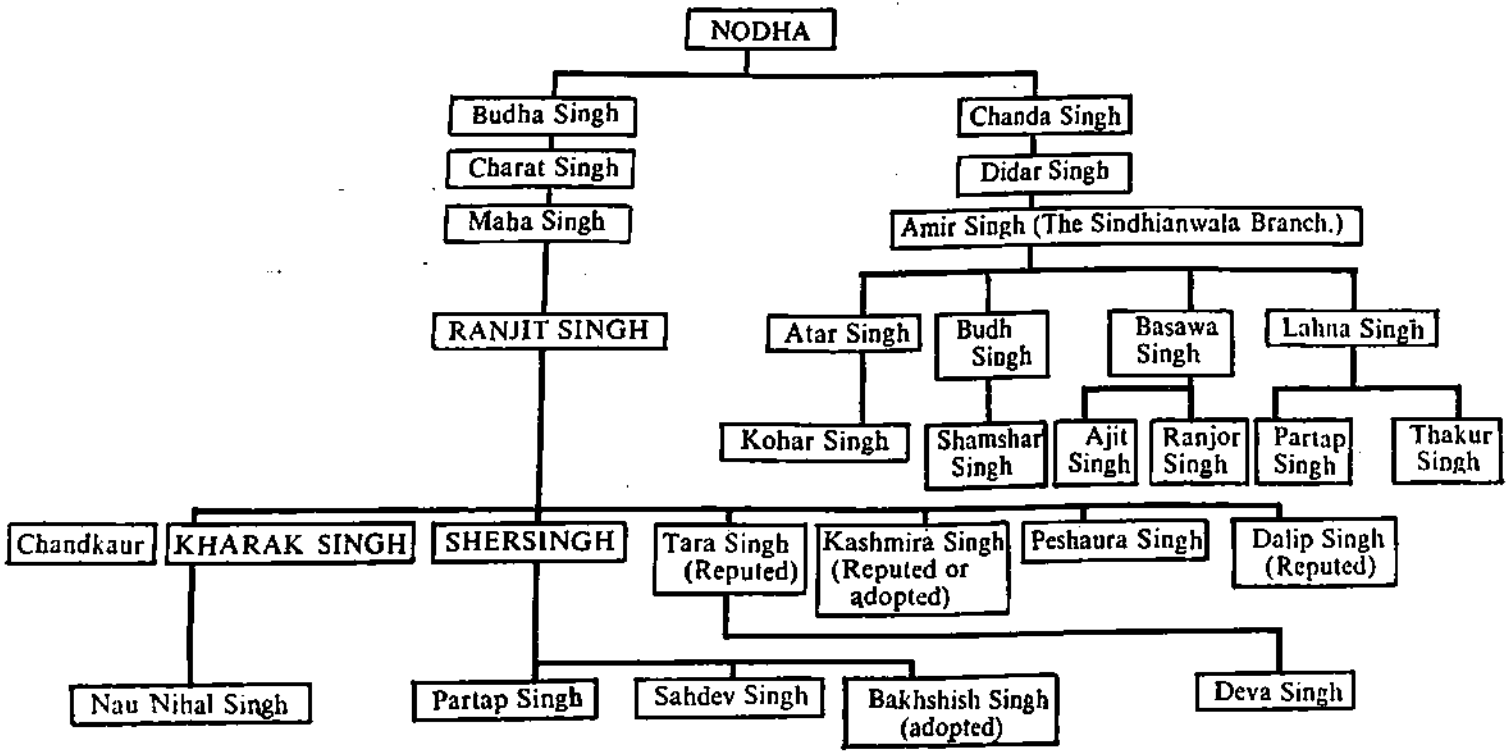
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APPENDIX I (A) The Family of Jammu Rajas



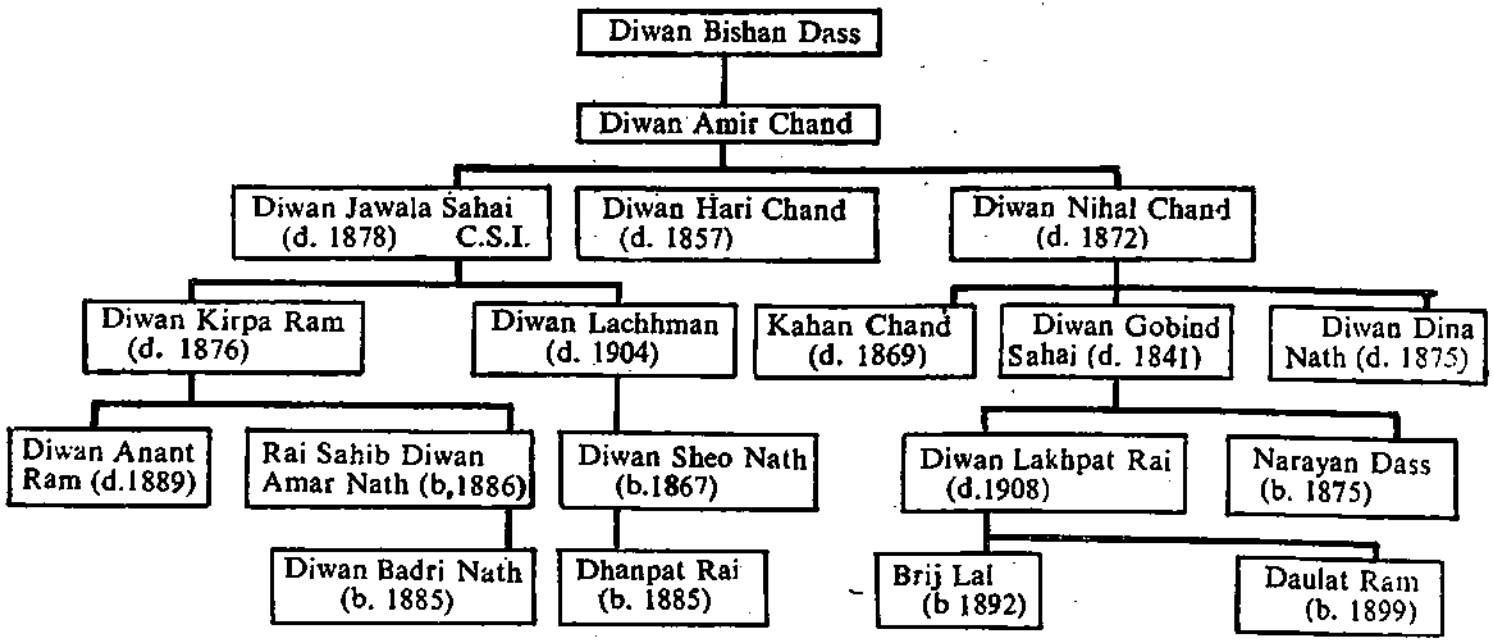
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(B) The Family of Maharaja Ranjit Singh
and the Sindhawalia Sardars



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(C) Genealogical Table of the Diwans of Eminabad.



Griffin and Massy : Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab, Vol.ii, Page-131
Revised Edition. Lahore. 1909

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APPENDIX 2

Agreement to Regulate succession to the throne signed on the 27th November, 1840 (the 16th Maghar 1897, Samvat)

The following is the literal translation of this deal as given by L.H. Griffin.

"At this time we all; with one heart and one tongue, swear to abide by the stipulations agreed upon amongst us, *viz.*, that Singh Sahib, Sher Singh Ji, shall remain on his own Jagir, and that Partap Singh Ji, son of Singh Sahib, shall sit for eight months in the Council of State. If Singh Sahib Sher Singh Ji shall agree to this, it is well; if not we, taking joint action, will compel him to agree. Likewise we will make Bibi Sahib (Rani Chand Kaur) consent. What has been above arranged will hold good until the birth of a son, or otherwise, when we will make other arrangement."

(L.H. Griffin, The Punjab Chiefs, published in 1865, p. iii)

The above document was signed by the chief Darbaris of Lahore State, the leading men of day, *viz.*, Raja Dhian Singh, Raja Gulab Singh, Bhai Ram Singh, Sardar Atar Singh Sindhanwalia, Sirdar Lehna Singh Majithia, Bhai Gurmukh Singh, Jamadar Khushal Singh, Sirdar Fateh Singh Man, Sirdar Mangal Singh Sindhu, Sirdar Tej Singh, Sirdar Sham Singh Attariwala, Diwan Dina Nath and Ghulam Mohiuddin. A facsimile of this State paper is reproduced by L.H. Griffin in the Panjab Chiefs, published in 1865.

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APPENDIX 3

Agreement of Maharajah Sher Singh given to the Jammu Rajas, dated the 11th April, 1841.

"By the favour of Sree Akal Pooruckjee, and of Sree Jugut Deva Jee, by the oaths on Sree Grunth Sahib, and of the ten Kings, and of the flower of the garden of prosperity and good fortune, Koonwur Purtaub Singh jee, who is my chief desire in this world, I have given this engagement in writing, as follows. The great loyalty, obedience, attentive service, fidelity and singular attachment of the devoted friend, the pure minded, possessed of a bright intellect, the confidential adviser of Majesty, most rare prime minister, exalted Counsellor, Viceroy of the empire, cordial well-wisher, most powerful noble, ruler of all, the Rajah of Rajahs Dhyan Singh, high and mighty, also of the virtuous, the possessor of bright intellect, the trusted follower, the superior Rajah Goolab Singh Buhadoor, also of the possessor of spotless reputation, and shining talent, the immediate attendant on Majesty, the very noble Rajah Suchet Singh Buhadoor, also of the single eyed, highly gifted, incomparable and most upright, Chief in the State, Rajah Heera Singh Buhadoor, are well known to this high and powerful State, the Khalsa jee, and it is their due and my heartfelt intention to secure to those illustrious Vuzeers distinguishing marks of my Royal favor and bounty. My inmost heart expands itself upon them. In conformity with their loyalty, fine feeling, fidelity and dutiful attention and other transcendent qualities, I entertain sentiments of the greatest respect, veneration, esteem, favor, and goodwill towards them, and am fully sensible of their surpassing merits. And these benefits shall be extended to all their posterity from generation to generation. As the Vuzeers have found the road to the sincere favor of the high Director of events, the Dispenser of all honor, the Jagheers and other advantages conferred on them in the time of Sree Rajah Buhadoor (Maharajah Ranjit Singh) now gone to paradise, are confirmed in perpetuity to these respected persons and their descendants; as also the Commands and military power in the army furnished in lieu of the above Jagheers, wether horse, foot, or artillery including their own immediate retainers, the pay of these troops being on a lower scale than that allowed by Government. These men shall not be entertained in any other service, and if any trooper, foot soldier, or officer, from among them, shall, for the sake of increased pay, or change of condition, desert and prefer a petition, he shall not be countenanced, but shall meet with a flat refusal, and be recommitted to the custody of his masters. On account of the extraordinary friendship, goodwill, and kindness, which under these circumstances flourish, this royal ordinance has in true heartedness and sincerity been accorded, and my royal heirs and successors, in conformity with the above solemn oath, shall, from generation to generation, consider this written engagement as most binding

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and sacred.

Lahore,
11th April, 1841.

Saffron hand
English signature
Goormokhee signature
French signature
State Seal."

(40-II/103, Mackeson to Clerk, April 23, 1841, P.G,R.)

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APPENDIX 4

Proclamation issued by Raja Heera Singh on December 20, 1844.

Notice to the whole Khalsa written by Deewan Deena Nath:

"All that has passed from the beginning of the month Asouj 1900 (when Raja Hira Singh became the minister) to the present day is known to the Khalsa. The whole affairs of the Kingdom and city of Lahore have been carried on by the exertions of the Holy Khalsa and the business of this government is that of a great kingdom and no one is capable of singly conducting it - Hitherto it has been carried on by the union and good faith of the Khalsa and by our fidelity and service. How we have conducted it, the whole Khalsa knows we are the faithful servants of the salt of the Khalsa - We claim neither the sovereignty nor any connection with it save that of service. But this morning we were astonished to find that a tumult existed among some of the troops - We called the officers and asked them about it - they said they would inquire and report. We have therefore sent them to inquire in every Camp and Brigade and if any traitor has caused suspicion those who hold it are required either to state it without delay to the officers now sent whom we have also directed to state it in each camp the four points named below and receive the answers of the troops or else let two soldiers from each regiment come before us and make their statements:

1. Let two companies with their officers from each Brigade and the Maharaja's Orderlies attend on us by roster being relieved weekly."
2. The displeasure of the Ranee, mother of the Maharaja, is solely on account of the income of her brother Sirdar Jowaher Singh - That Sirdar had formerly a Jageer of 20,000 Rupees and his brother Sirdar Heera Singh one of 10,000 Rupees. This was reduced afterwards by the Holy Khalsa to 10,000 Rs. for both on condition of their residence on Jageers - Now they claim supremacy in the State - as to this we agree to whatever is the pleasure of he Khalsa.
3. If we are to remain as servants carrying on the business of the government let these Sirdars have suitable Jageers and remain on them with their families leaving them only by our written order.
4. But is this is not approved and if these daily disputes and claims are to continue we will encamp near any cantonment following and serving the Holy Khalsa and let the business of the Government be committed to whomsoever the Khalsa pleases.

8th Poh 1901 (20 Dec. 1844).

From the palace (Huvelee) of Raja Heera Singh Buhadur.

(164/24, Broadfoot to Currie, December 27, 1844, P.G.R.)

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APPENDIX 5

The terms of Agreement of Lahore Darbar with Rajah Gulab Singh, dated the 14th January, 1845.

Whereas Surdar Chuttar Singh Attariwala had detailed to the Durbar, the devotion, the loyality of Raja Gulab Singh, the Government of the Khalsa out of its generosity and favour grants to him the following terms :-

1. That he shall deliver over on oath to the Sirkar the goods and Jageers of Rajah Heera Singh and Raja Suchet Singh and their forts shall be occupied by the Khalsa army.

2. The country held in farm and the salt mines great and small which have for a long period been held by Rajah Gulab Singh, shall be continued to him as usual on condition, that besides the ordinary revenue he shall pay the additional revenue imposed by Pundit Julla.

3. The Jageers and property of Raja Dhian Singh shall as requested by Rajah Gulab Singh be granted to Miyan Jowahar Singh and Miyan Mota Singh on payment of a Nuzzerana to be fixed on hereafter and they shall render military service for the same.

4. The Jageers and perquisites which since the time of former Muharajas Raja Golab Singh has enjoyed as rewards of faithful service shall be continued to him and the Surdar (Chattar Singh/Attariwala) shall in no way interfere with them but shall receive military service for them from the aforesaid Rajah."

5. The Government of the Khalsa will according to its own pleasure confer the territory of Rajah Soochet Singh on the Ranee of that Raja.

(164/36, Broadfoot to Clerk, January 16,1845.
Punjab Government Records, Lohore.)

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APPENDIX 6

Declaration of War of 1845
Proclamation by the Governor-General of India

Camp Lashnari Khan Ke Serai,
December 13th, 1845.

The British Government has ever been or terms of friendship with that of the Punjab.

In the year 1809, a treaty of amity and concord was concluded between the British Government and the late Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the conditions of which have always been faithfully observed by the British Government, and were scrupulously fulfilled by the late Maharaja.

The same friendly relations have been maintained with the successors of Maharaja Ranjit Singh by the British Government up to the present time.

Since the death of the late Maharaja Sher Singh, the disorganized state of the Lahore Government has made it incumbent on the Governor-General in Council to adopt precautionary measures for the protection of the British frontier : the nature of these measures, and the cause of their adoption, were at the time, fully explained to the Lahore Durbar.

Notwithstanding the disorganized state of the Lahore Government during the last two years, and many most unfriendly proceedings on the part of the Durbar, the Governor-General in Council has continued to evince his desire to maintain the relations of amity and concord which had so long existed between the two States for the mutual interests and happiness of both. He has shown on every occasion, the utmost forbearance, and consideration to the helpless state of the infant Maharaja Dalip Singh, whom the British Government had recognized as the successor to the late Maharaja Sher Singh.

The Governor-General in Council sincerely desired to see a strong Sikh Government re-established in the Punjab able to control its army, and to protect its subjects; he had not, up to the present moment, abandoned the hope of seeing that important object effected by the patriotic efforts of the Chiefs and people of that country.

The Sikh army recently marched from Lahore towards the British frontier, as it was alleged, by the orders of the Durbar, for the purpose of invading the British territory.

The Governor-General's Agent, by direction of the Governor-General, demanded an explanation of this movement, and no reply being returned within a reasonable time, the demand was repeated. The Governor-General unwilling to believe in the hostile intentions of the Sikh Government to which no provocation had been given, refrained from taking any measures which might have a tendency to embarrass the Government of the Maharaja, or to induce

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collision between the two States.

When no reply was given to the repeated demand for explanation, while active millitary preparations were continued at Lahore, the Governor-General considered it necessary to order the advance of troops towards the frontier, to reinforce the frontier posts.

The Sikh army has now, without a shadow of provocation, invaded the British territories.

The Governor-General must therefore take measures for effectually protecting the British provinces, for vindicating the authority of the British Government, and for punishing the violators of treaties and the disturbers of the public peace.

The Governor-General hereby declares the possessions of Maharaja Dalip Singh, on the left or British bank of the Sutlej, confiscated and annexed to the British territories.

The Governor-General will respect the existing rights of all Jagirdars, Zamindars, and tenants in the said possessions who by the course they now pursue, evince their fidelity to the British Government.

The Gevernor-General hereby calls upon all the Chiefs and Sardars in the protected territories to co-operate cordially with the British Government for the punishment of the common enemy, and for the maintenance of order in these States. Those of the Chiefs who show alacrity and fidelity in the discharge of this duty, which they owe to the protecting power, will find their interests promoted hereby; and those who take a contrary course will be treated as enemies to the British Government, and will be punished accordingly.

The inhabitants of all the territories on the left bank of the Sutlej are hereby directed to abide peaceably in their respective villages, where they will receive efficient protection by the British Government. All parties of men found in armed bands, who can give no satisfactory account of their proceedings, will be treated as disturbers of the public peace.

All subjects of the British Government, and those who possess estates on both sides of the river Sutlej, who, by their faithful adherence to the British Government, may be liable to sustain loss, shall be indemnified and secured in all their just rights and privileges.

On the other hand, all subjects of the British Government who shall continue in the service of the Lahore State, and who disobey the proclamation by not immediately returning to their allegiance, will be liable to have their property on this side of the Sutlej confiscated, and themselves declared to be aliens and enemies of the British Government.

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APPENDIX 7

First Treaty with Lahore of 1846

Treaty between the British Government and the State of Lahore, concluded at Lahore, on March 9th 1846.

Whereas the treaty of amity and concord, which was concluded between the British Government and the late Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the ruler of Lahore, in 1809, was broken by unprovoked aggression on the British provinces of the Sikh army, in December last; And whereas, on that occasion, by the proclamation dated the 13th of December, the territories then in the occupation of the Maharaja of Lahore, on the left or British bank of the river Sutlej, were confiscated and annexed to the British provinces, and, since that time, hostile operations have been prosecuted by the two Governments, the one against the other, which have resulted in the occupation of Lahore by the British troops; and whereas it has been determined that, upon certain conditions, peace shall be reestablished between the two Governments the following treaty of peace between the Honourable English East India Company, and Maharaja Dalip Singh Bahadur, and his children, heirs, and successors, has been concluded, on the part of the Honourable Company, the Frederick Currie, Esq., and Brevet- Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, by virtue of full powers to that effect vested in them by the High Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge G. C. B., one of her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Governor-General appointed by the Honourable Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies; and, on the part of his Highness the Maharaja Dalip Singh, by Bhai Ram Singh, Raja Lal Singh, Sardar Tej Singh, Sardar Chattar Singh Attariwala, Sardar Ranjor Singh Majithia, Dewan Dina Nath, and Fakir Nuruddin, vested with full powers and authority on the part of his Highness.

Article 1

There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the British Government, on the one part, and Maharaja Dalip Singh, his heirs and successors, on the other.

Article 2

The Maharaja of La hore renounces for himself, his heirs and seccessors, all claim to, or connection with the territories lying to the south of the river Sutlej, and engages never to have any concern with those territories, or the inhabitants thereof.

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Article 3

The Maharaja cedes to the Honourable Company, in perpetual sovereignty, all his forts, territories, and rights, in the Doab, of country, hill and plain, situated between the rivers Beas and Sutlej.

Article 4

The British Government having demanded from the Lahore State, as indemnification for the expenses of the war, in addition to the cession of territory described in article 3, payment of one and a half crores of rupees; and the Lahore Government being unable to pay the whole of this sum at that time, or to give security satisfactory to the British Government for its eventual payment; the Maharaja cedes to the Honourable Company, in perpetual sovereignty, as equivalent for one crope of rupees, all his forts, territories, rights and interests, in the hill countries which are situated between the rivers Beas and Indus, including the provinces of Kashmir and Hazara.

Article 5

The Maharaja will pay to the British Government the sum of fifty lacs of rupees, on or before the ratification of this treaty.

Article 6

The Maharaja engages to disband the mutinous troops of the Lahore army, taking from them their arms; and his Highness agrees to reorganise the regular, or Ain, regiments of infantry, upon the system, and according to the regulations as to pay and allowances, observed in the time of the late Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The Maharaja further engages to pay up all arrears to the soldiers that are discharged under the provisions of this article.

Article 7

The regular army of the Lahore State shall hence-forth be limited to 25 battalions of infantry, consisting of 800 bayonets each, with 12,000 cavalry : this number at no time to be exceeded without the concurrence of the British Government. Should it be neeessary at any time, for any special cause, that this force should be increased, the cause shall be fully explained to the British Government; and, when the special necessity shall have passed, the regular troops shall be again reduced to the standard specified in the former clause of this article.

Article 8

The Maharaja will surrender to the British Government all the guns, thirty-six in number, which have been pointed against the British troops, and which, having been placed on the right bank of the river Sutlej, were not captured at battle of Sobraon.

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Article 9

The control of the rivers Beas and Sutlej with the continuations of the latter river, commonly called the Ghara and Panjnad, to the confluence of the Indus at Mithankot, and the control of Indus from Mithankot to the borders of Baluchistan, shall, in respect of tools and ferries, rest with the British Government. The provisions of this article shall not interfere with the passage of boats belonging to the Lahore Government on the said rivers, for the purposes of traffic, or the conveyance of passengers up and down their course. Regarding the ferries between the two countries respectively, at the several ghats of the said rivers, it is agreed that the British Government, after defraying all the expenses of management and establishment, shall account to the Lahore Government for one half of the net profits of the ferry collections. The provisions of this article have no reference to the ferries on that part of the river Sutlej which forms the boundary of Bahawalpur and Lahore respectively.

Article 10

If the British Government should, at any time, desire to pass troops through the territories of his Highness the Maharaja for the protection of the British territories, or those of their allies,the British troops shall, on such special occasions, due notice being given be allowed to pass through the Lahore territories. In such case, the officers of the Lahore State will afford facilities in providing supplies and boats for the passage of rivers; and the British Government will pay the full price of all such provisions and boats, and will make fair compensation for all private property that may be damaged. The British Government will moreover observe all due consideration to the religious feelings of the inhabitants of those tracts through which the army may pass.

Article 11

The Maharaja engages never to take, or retain, in his service, any British subject or the subject of any European or American State, without the consent of the British Government.

Article 12

In consideration of the services rendered by Raja Golab Singh of Jammu to the Lahore State, towards procuring the restoration of the relations of amity between the Lahore and British Governments, the Maharaja hereby agrees to recognize the independent sovereignty of Raja Golab Singh, in such territories and districts in the hills as may be made over to the said Raja Golab Singh by separate agreement between himself and the British Government, with the dependencies thereof, which may have been in the Raja's possession since the time of the late Maharaja Kharak Singh; and the British Government, in consideration of the good conduct of Raja Gulab Singh, also agrees to recognise his independence in such territories, and admit him to the privileges of a separate treaty with the British Government.

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Article 13

In the event of any dispute or difference arising between the Lahore State and Raja Golab Singh, the same shall be referred to the arbitration of the British Government; and by its decision the Maharaja engages to abide.

Article 14

The limits of the Lahore territories shall not be at any time, changed, without the concurrence of the British Government.

Article 15

The British Government will not exercise any interference in the internal administration of the Lahore State ; but in all cases or questions which may be referred to the British Government, the Governor-General will give the aid of his advice and good offices for the furtherance of the interests of the Lahore Government.

Article 16

The subjects of either State shall, on visiting the territories of the other, be on the footing of the subjects of the most favoured nation.

This treaty, consisting of sixteen articles, has been this day settled by Frederick Currie, Esq., and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the directions of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General on the part of the British Government ; and by Bhai Ram Singh, Raja Lal Singh, Sardar Tej Singh, Sardar Chattar Singh Attariwala, Sardar Ranjor Singh Majithia, Dewan Dina Nath, and Fakir Nuruddin, on the part of the Maharaja Dalip Singh ; and the said treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General and by that of his Highness Maharaja Dalip Singh.

Done at Lahore, this 9th of March, in the year of our Lord 1846, corresponding with the 10th day of Rabi-ul-awal, 1262, Hijri, and ratified on the same day.

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APPENDIX 8

Supplementary Articles to First Treaty of Lahore of 1846

Articles of Agreement concluded between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar, on 11th of March 1846.

Whereas the Lahore Government solicited the Governor-General to have a British force at Lahore, for the protection of the Maharaja's person and of the capital, till the reorganisation of the Lahore army, according to the provisions of article 6 of treaty of Lahore, dated the 9th instant and whereas the Governor-General has, on certain conditions, consented to the measure: and whereas it is expedient that certain matters concerning territories ceded by articles 3 and 4 of the aforesaid treaty should be specifically determined ; the following eight articles of agreement have this day been concluded between the aforementioned contracting parties.

Article 1

The British Government shall leave at Lahore; till the close of the current year, A.D. 1846, such force as shall seem to the Governor-General adequate for the purpuse of protecting the person of the Maharaja, and inhabitants of the city of Lahore, during the reorganisation of the Sikh army, in accordance with the provisions of article 6 of the treaty of Lahore; that force to be withdrawn at any convenient time before the expiration of the year, if the object to be fulfilled shall in the opinion of the Durbar, have been obtained; but the force shall not be detained at Lahore beyond the expiration of the current year.

Article 2

The Lahore Government agrees that the force left at Lahore, for the purpose specified in the foregoing article, shall be placed in full possession of the fort and the city of Lahore, and that the Lahore troops shall be removed from within the city. The Lahore Government engages to furnish convenient quarters for the officers and men of the said force, and to pay to the British Government all the extra expenses, in regard to the said force, which may be incurred by the British Government, is consequence of their troops being employed away from their own cantonments, and in a foreign territory.

Article 3

The Lahore Government engages to apply itself immediately and earnestly to the reorganisation of its army, according to the prescribed conditions, and to communicate fully with the British authorities left at Lahore, as to the progress of such organisation, and as to the location of the troops.

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Article 4

If the Lahore Government fails to the performance of the conditions of the foregoing article; the British Government shall be at liberty to withdraw the force from Lahore, at any time before the expiration of the period specified in article 1.

Article 5

The British Government agrees to respect the bonafide rights of those Jagirdars within the territories ceded by article 3 and 4 of the treaty of Lahore, dated 9th instant, who were attached to families of the late Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Kharak Singh, and Sher Singh; and the British Government will maintain those Jagirdars in their possessions, during their lives.

Article 6

The Lahore Government shall receive the assistant of the British local authorities in recovering the arrears of revenue justly due to the Lahore Governmant from their Kardars and managers in the territories ceded by the provisions of article 3 and 4 of the treaty of Lahore, to the close of the Kharif harvest of the current year, viz., 1902 of the Sambat Bikramajit.

Article 7

The Lahore Government shall be at liberty to remove from the forts in the territories specified in the foregoing article, all treasure and state property, with the exception of guns. Should, however, the British Government desire to retain any part of the same at a fair valuation; and the British officers shall give their assistance to the Lahore Government, in disposing on the spot of such part of the aforesaid property as the Lahore Government may not with to remove, and the British officers may not desire to retain.

Artiele 8

Commissioners shall be immediately appointed by the two Governments, to settle and lay down the boundary between the two States, as defined by article 4 of the treaty of Lahore, dated 9th March 1846,

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APPENDIX 9

Treaty with Gulab Singh of 1846

Treaty between the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh, concluded at Amritsar, on 16th March 1846.

Treaty between the British Government on the one part, and Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu on the other, concluded, on the part of the British Government, by Frederick Currie, Esq, and Brevet.Major Henry Mongomery Lawrence, acting under the orders of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., one of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Governor-General, appointed by the Honourable Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies, and by Maharaja Gulab Singh in person.

Article 1

The British Government transfers and makes over, for ever, in independent possession, to Maharaja Gulab Singh, and the male heirs of his body, all the hilly or mountainous country, with its dependencies situated to the eastward of the river Indus, and westward of the river Ravi, including Chamba and excluding Lahul, being part of the territory ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State,according to the provisions of article 4 of the treaty of Lahore, Dated 9th March, 1846.

Article 2

The eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the fore-going article to Maharaja Gulab Singh shall be laid down by commissioners appointed by the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh respectively, for that purpose, and shall be defined in a separate engagement, after survey.

Article 3

In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by the provisions of the foregoing articles, Maharaja Gulab Singh will pay to the British Government the sum of seventy-five lakhs of rupees (Nanakshahi), fifty lacs to be paid on the ratification of this treaty, and twenty-five lacs on or before the Ist of October of the current year, A.D. 1846.

Article 4

The limits of the territories of Maharaja Gulab Singh shall not be at any time changed without the concurrence of the British Government.

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Article 5

Maharaja Gulab Singh will refer to the arbitration of British Government any disputes or questions that may arise between himself and the Government of Lahore, or any other neighbouring State, and will abide by the decision of the British Government.

Article 6

Maharaja Gulab Singh engages for himself and heirs, to join with whole of his military force, the British troops, when employed within the hills, or in the territories adjoining his possessions.

Article 7

Maharaja Gulab Singh engages never to take, or retain in his service any British subject, nor the subject of any European or American State, without the consent of the British Government.

Article 8

Maharaja Gulab Singh engages to respect, in regard to the territory transferred to him, the provisions of the articles 5, 6, and 7, of the separate engagement between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar, dated March 11th, 1846.

Article 9

The British Government will give its aid to Maharaja Gulab Singh, in protecting his territories from external enemies.

Article 10

Maharaja Gulab Singh acknowledges the supermacy of the British Government, and will, in token of such supermacy, present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve perfect shawl goats of approved breed (six male, and six female), and three pairs of Kashmir shawls.

This treaty, consisting of ten articles has been this day settled by Frederick Currie, Esq., and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the directions of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General, on the part of the British Government, and by Maharaja Gulab Singh in person; and the said treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General.

Done at Amritsar, this 16th Day of March, in the year of our Lord 1846, corresponding with the 17th day of Rabi-ul-Awal, 1262, Hijri.

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APPENDIX 10

Second Treaty with Lahore of 1846

Foreign Department, Camp Bhyrowal Ghat, on the left bank of the Beas, the 22nd December, 1846.

The Late Governor of Kashmir, on the part of Lahore State, Sheikh Imam-ud-din, having resisted by force of arms the occupation of the province of Kashmir by Maharaja Gulab Singh, the Lahore Government was called upon to coerce their subject, and to make over the province to the representative of the British Government, in fulfilment of the conditions of the treaty of Lahore, dated 9th March, 1846.

A British force was employed to support and aid, if necessary, the combined forces of the Lahore State and Maharaja Gulab Singh in the above operations.

Sheikh Imam-ud-din intimated to the British Government, that he was acting under orders received from the Lahore Durbar in the course he was pursuing; and stated that the insurrection had been instigated by the written instructions received by him from the Vazier Raja Lal Singh.

Sheikh Imam-ud-din surrendered to the British Agent on a guarantee from that officer, that if the Sheikh could, as he asserted, prove that his acts were in accordance with his instructions, and that the opposition was instigated by the Lahore Minister, the Durbar should not be permitted to inflict upon him, either in his person or his property, any penalty on account of his conduct on this occasion. The British agent pledged his Government to a full and impartial investigation of the matter.

A public inquiry was instituted into the facts adduced by Sheikh Imam-ud-din, and it was fully established that Raja Lal Singh did secretly instigate the Sheikh to oppose the occupation by Maharaja Gulab Singh of the province of Kashmir.

The Governor-General immediately demanded that the Ministers and Chiefs of the Lahore State should depose and exile to the British provinces the Vazier Raja Lal Singh.

The Lordship consented to accept the deposition of Raja Lal Singh as an atonement for the attempt to infringe the treaty by the secret intrigues and machinations of the Vazier. It was not proved that the other members of the Durbar had cognizance of the Vazier's proceedings; and the conduct of the Sardars, and of the Sikh army in the late operations for quelling the Kashmir insurrection, and removing the obstacles to the fulfilment of the treaty, proved that the criminality of the Vaziers was not participated by the Sikh nation.

The Ministers and Chiefs unanimously decreed, and carried into immediate effect, the deposition of the Vazier.

After a few days' deliberations, relative to the forming a Government at Lahore, the remaining members of the Durbar, in concert with all the Sardars

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and Chiefs of the State, solicited the interference and aid of the British Government for the maintenance of an administration, and the protection of the Maharaja Dalip Singh during the minority of his Highness.

The solicitation by the Durbar and Chiefs has led to the temporary modifications of the relations between the British Government and that of Lahore, established by the treaty of the 9th March of the present year.

The terms and conditions of this modification are set forth in the following articles of Agreement.

(The articles of the treaty are not given. The above introduction to the treaty has been copied above just to show the background of the Kashmir insurrection, implication of Raja Lal Singh in it and also Gulab Singh's position.)

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APPENDIX II

Letters from the Governor-General to the Secret Committee, dated 14th March, 1846.

It will be seen by the draft of Treaty now forwarded that, in consequence of the inability of the Lahore Government to pay the sum stipulated and indemnification for the expenses of the war, or to give sufficient security for its eventual disbursement, the Hill territories, from the Beas River to the Indus, including the provinces of Kashmir and Hazarah, have been ceded to the British Government.

It is not my intention to take possession of the whole of this territory. Its occupation by us would be, on many accounts, disadvantageous. It would bring us into collision with many powerful chiefs, for whose coersion a large military establishment at a great distance from our provinces and military resources would be necessary. It would more than double the extent of our present frontier in countries assailable at every point, and most difficult to defend without any corresponding advantages for such large additions to territory. Now, distant and conflicting interests would be created and races of people, with whom we have hitherto had no intercourse,would be brought under our rule, while the territories excepting Kashmir, are comparative, and would scarcely pay the expenses of occupation and management.

On the other hand, the tract now ceded includes the whole of the Hill possessions of Raja Gulab Singh and the Jammu family. Its possession by us enables us at once to mark our sense of Raja Gulab Singh's conduct during the late operations, by rewarding him in the mode most in accordance with desires, to show forth an example to the other chiefs of Asia the benefits which accrue from an adherence to British interests, and to meet the expenses of the campaign, which we declared our determination to exact, and which, accepting by the cession of territory, the Lahore Government is not in position to afford.

Raja Gulab Singh had agreed to pay the crore of rupees demanded from the Lahore State, on being put by us in possession of the territory ceded by the 4th Article of the draft Treaty, on such terms and conditions as we may approve.

It is highly expedient that the trans-Beas portion of Kulu and Mandi, with the more fertile district and the strong position of the Nurpur and the celebrated Fort Kangra—the key of the Himalayas in native estimation—with its district and dependencies, should be in our possession. These provinces lie together, between the Beas and the Chukkee River, and their occupation by us will be attended with little cost and great advantage. The Chukkee River in the Hills will hereafter be our boundary to its source and thence a line drawn to the Ravee River, and along its cource, and across the Chenab to the snowy ridge on the confines of Lahool. This line will be laid down by officers sent for the purpose according to mutual agreement and will be accurately surveyed.

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In consideration of the retention by us of the tract above described, a remission of twenty-five lakhs from the crores of rupees, which Raja Gulab Singh would otherwise have paid will be allowed, and the Raja will pay the remaining seventy-five lakhs, of which fifty lakhs are to be made good at once, upon the ratification of the Treaty and the remaining twenty-five lakhs, within six month from that date.

Of the remaining portion of the territory ceded by Article 4 of the draft Treaty, the greater part, with the exception of the Provinces of Kashmir and Hazarah, is already in possion of Rajah Gulab Singh and his family, for which he had been bound hitherto render military service to a small extent to the Lahore Government and to present annually a horse, with gold trappings, as a heriot to the State.

The conditions which may be stipulated with Rajah Gulab Singh and the Treaty to which he may be admitted, will be reported in my next letter. Those conditions will be so drawn as to bind us to the least possible interference in his affairs, consistently with the maintenance of our paramount position over the Rajah and his country.

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APPENDIX 12

Comparative position and importance of Gulab Singh and other Jammu Rajas in the Sikh Kingdom of Lahore.

The following statistics have been compiled from J.D. Cunningham's 'History of the Sikhs (S. Chand & Co., Delhi 1955, pp. 383-88), based on the estimates made in 1844.

A. Revenue of the Punjab as estimated in 1844

	Rs.
1. Tributory States : Under Lehna Singh, Bilaspur & Suket	1,40,000
Under Gulab Singh : Chamba, Rajauri, Ladakh, Iskardo	4,25,000
2. Land Revenue : Farms of Mandi, Kulu, Jaswan, Kangra, Kutlahar, Siba, Nurpur, Haripur, Datarpur, Katlah, (owned by ruling families of each State)	17,60,000
Sheikh Gulam Mohi-ud-din, Governor : Kashmir and Muzaffarabad	31,00,000
Gulab Singh : Bisohli, Chach-Hazara, Dhanni, Katas, Chakwal, Bhera-Khushab, Pind Dadan Khan, Gujrat, Sialkot	8,25,020
Dhian Singh : Mitta-Tiwana	1,00,000
Suchet Singh : Wazirabad	9.00,000
Diwan Sawan Mal : Multan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Mankera	45,00,000
Tej Singh : Peshawar	10,00,000
Other Sardars	21,00,000
Miscellaneous Farms in the Punjab	15,00,000
Regional Grants	20,00,000
Hill Jagirs of Jammu Rajas.	
Gulab Singh : Padar and some Districts of Chamba, Bhadarwah, Chaneni (Ramnagar), Jammu and Riasi, Kishtwar, Akhnur, Dangli, Khanput, etc.	8,80,000
Suchet Singh : Mankot, Bhadu, Bandralta, Samba	2,65,000
Dhian Singh : Bhimbar, Chibh-Bhau, Kotli, Punach	3,50,000
Hira Singh : Jasrota	1,25,000
Various Jagirs held by Jammu Rajas in Plains	5,00,000
Miscellaneous Jagirs held by a number of Sardars	74,15,000
3. Customs : Gulab Singh : Salt Mines	8,00.000
Dhian Singh. Town duties : Amritsar, Lahore	7,00,000
Misc,	9,00,000
Recapitulation : Gulab Singh's share	29,30,000
Other Jammu Rajas	29,40,000
Total	58,70,000
Other Sikh Chiefs	2,65,15,000
Grand Total	3,24,85,000

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Army of Lahore Kingdom in 1844

Regular Infantry 42,000 men
Regular Cavalry 16,800
Guns : Field 384.
Military Command of Lahore army assigned to Jammu Rajas :
Gulab Singh 3 Inf. Reg. . . 15 Light Guns ,, 40 garrison
Suchet Singh 3 ,, ,, I Cav. 4 ,, ,, . . 10
Hira Singh 2 ,, ,, I ,, . . 3 field 5

The total strength of the Jammu family was 7 infantry regiments, 4,900 men ; 2 cavalry regiments, 1,200 horses with 55 garrison, 19 light artillery, and 3 field guns. Their own hill troops were in addition to these.

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APPENDIX 13

A Copy of '*Qabuliat*' signed by Mian Kishora Singh and his three sons accepting jagirs of Jammu, Bhoti, Bandralta, Chaneni and Kishtwar on certain conditions,dated 5th Poh, v.s. 1877.

نقل مطابق اصل

منکہ میاں کشورا سنگھ و میاں گلاب سنگھ و میاں دھیان سنگھ و میاں سوچیت سنگھ ایم غلامان فدوی سرکار فیض مدار اقرار بریں وجہ کردیم کہ دریں وقت فرخندہ رخت از پیشگاہ تفضلات عنایات خاقانی ازراہ ذرہ پروری و غریب نوازی تعلقہ چکلہ جموں سوائے جنوب کشمیر و پتی بھوتی و بندرالہتہ و چینی و کشتوار در وجہ نوکری چہارصد سوار جرار کرار شائستہ ناشائستہ پسند حضور انور بہ تفصیل ذیل بدیں موجب :-

جاگیرداران چکلہ جموں	دیگر ملازمان عوض چکلہ جموں وغیرہ جاگیر مذکور
6 سوار	66
صاحبزادہ بلند اقبال والا	دیگر بموجب مرضی خود و سند سرکار والا
6 سوار	6 سوار

بہ صیغہ جاگیر بہ غلامان عطا فرمودہ ۔ ایں فدویان بسیار شکر گذار و خوشنود بودہ بہ ذمہ خود قبول کردیم و بعوض جاگیر کہ عطا شدہ است فوج چہارصد سوار مذکور بموجب حکم والا بروقت در نوکری و خدمات سرکار والا حاضر خواہیم داشت بموجب آئین تمام افواج و بحر امواج سرداران ذی الاقتدار مثل او جل دیدار نرمل بدھ مقرب بارگاہ جمعدار خوشحال سنگھ جی و سردار جوالا سنگھ جیو و شام سنگھ اٹاری والا کمر ہمت بستہ در نوکری و خدمت

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موجود است وبموجب چہرہ ہائے دفتر معلّٰی سرگرم ومشغول خواہیم بود ودقیقہ از خیرخواہی ونمک حلالی وجانفشانی وفدویت وحلقہ بگوشی فروگذاشت نہ خواہیم کرد دست بستہ درآنچہ حکم سرکار والا بود بجاآوردہ آنرا سعادت خواہیم دانست ۔ حفاظت راہ کشمیر کہ قافلہ ہائے بیوپاریان پشمینہ وغیرہ، مسافرین ومتردین ازآں راہ آمدورفت می سازند، ذمہ غلامان است وڈڈیڈ ومتمرد بدکیش را اسیر کردہ راحاضر سازیم ویا بکشیم ویا از دریائے ستلج عبور کردہ خواہیم داد ۔ موازی ہفت دستہ بازو بیخ دستہ چترہ ودیگر اشیائے

داروپ عمدہ :-

دستہ بازان	چترہ			
	معہ دستہ			
میاں گلاب سنگھ	بندرالہتہ	دیال چند	بھوتی	کشتوار
3	یک	یک	یک	یک

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جاگیرداران چکلہ جموں

پنج دستہ باز

میاں گلاب سنگھ علاوہ از اسپ میان دھیان سنگھ والا معہ کاٹھی طلا روز دسہرہ

راس

زعفران . . . از کشتوار

من پختہ

کنیز کان عمدہ خوب رو

در دو قلعہ و تھانہ سرکار باشد = سمیر گڈھ۔ کوٹلی

بحضور والا سال بسال بحضور انور خواہیم گذرانید

تحریر بتاریخ ۱۵ ماہ مگھر سمت ۱۸۷۷

بنا بران ایں چند حروف بطریق قبولیت نوشتہ دادیم کہ ثانی الحال سند باشد۔

ہر گاہ بفضل ستگورو جی در . . . . اضافہ خواہد آمد بحضور والا گذارش

رسانیدہ خواہد شد تحریر بتاریخ ۵ ماہ پوہ سمت ۱۸۷۷

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B Copy to the '*Qabuliat*' (Agreement deed) bearing acceptance by Gulab Singh, Dhian Singh and Suchet Singh of the 'Raj of Chakla Jammu' in return for certain conditions, dated 6th Har v.s. 1879.

نقل مطابق اصل

پنجہ زعفرانی

منکہ راجہ گلاب سنگھ ومیان دھیان سنگھ ومیان سوچیت سنگھ ہر سہ برادران جموال غلامانِ سرکار والا ایم اقرار میکنیم بر بتوجہ کہ حضورِ انور مامقران مذکور را از روئے عنایات مہربانی واشفاق وغلام نوازی بفضل سری واہگوروجی از روئے نوازش خسروانہ اول از ذرہ بیمقدار باوج عزت وتقرب رسانیدہ ودر وجہ نوکری سواران ملک جموں وغیرہ بہ غلامان بخشیدہ وغلام نوازی فرمودند واز.. والحال حسن نوازشات زیادہ از سابق مبذول داشتہ از غایت کرم راج فلکِ ملک جموں بہ غلامان عطائے وارزانی فرمودہ واز... واقران امتیاز دادہ شکریہ ایں نعمت عظمیٰ بجا آوردہ اقرار نامہا بہ قسم و سوگند مفصل ذیل بدفعات مقررہ نوشتہ دادیم :-

(۱) قسم سری ستگوروجی وسری مہاراج وسری دیوی جی کہ غلامان مدام پشت بہ پشت در نوکری واطاعت وفرماں برداری ونمک حلالی واخلاص کیشی وفدویت و جاں نثاری ما در خدماتِ سرکار والا وخیر خواہی از دل وجان حاضر باشی در حضور رجوع خواہم بود و گاہے در امورات مرقوم الصدر تفاوت وانحراف در عمل نخواہم آورد.

(۲) وفوج سواران وغیرہ خود را بابت راج وملک جموں وکشتوار و بندر البتہ کہ در وجہ نوکری بہ غلامان عطائے است مدام موافق موجودات در بر جاکہ حکم شود جرار وکفار بموجب

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پسند حضور در نوکری تیار و کمر بستہ خواہیم داشت ۔

(۳) وجان و مال و ملک خود را از سرکار والا خواہیم داشت و احسانِ عنایات حضور گاہے فراموش نہ خواہیم کرد ۔

(۴) قبائل و اہل عیال میان دھیان سنگھ معہ برخوردار ہیرا سنگھ ہمیشہ دار السلطنت لاہور سکونت خواہد داشت ۔

(۵) و در خصوص عزت و منصب ہر کدام راجہ و سرداران ہندو مسلمان بابن غلامان امر فرمایند حکم حضور انور را . . . بسبب سعادت خود دانستہ کمر بستہ در انصرام آں موافق امر حضور تا بجان خواہیم کوشید ۔

(۶) و نوکری کشمیر وغیرہ ملک ہائے دور و نزدیک کہ ارشاد حکم حضور صادر گردد ہماں جا سرگرم خدمت سرکار بودہ بلا عذر در حصولِ رضامندی حضور و ادائے حق نمک در ہر باب ساعی خواہیم ماند ۔

(۷) این التزام از روئے قسم و دھرم و نیم کہ بالا باد کردہ شد پنجہ بر زعفران ثبت کردہ برضائے و رغبت خود در حضور عالی نوشتہ حاضر کردیم کہ پشت بہ پشت سند باشد ۔

مقام اکھنور روز جمعہ دوپہر تحریر بتاریخ سیوم ماہ ہاڑ مبارک سمت ۱۸۷۹

سری رام جی سہائے

میان دھیان سنگھ راجہ گلاب سنگھ میان سوچیت سنگھ

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C Copy of the '*Sanad*' conferring on Dhian Singh the title of 'Raja' and the 'Raj' of Bhimber and Chibhal, dated 7th Har, v.s., 1884.

نقل مطابق اصل

اکال سہائے

رنجیت سنگھ

ص

ملاحظہ شد

دریں وقت فرخندہ رخت بفضل سری اکال پورکھ جی ازروئے شفقت ومہربانی وعنایات وقدردانی . . . . راجہ راجگان راجہ کلاں بہادر از حضور فیض گنجور جہانبانی باد جلد بدار نرمل بدھ مقرب خاص الخاص راجہ راجگان راجہ دھیان سنگھ بہادر جموال موجب ظہور حسن خدمات وجان فشانیہا شایان بہ شفقت ولی بخشش فرمودہ وباعنایات ایں خطاب مبارک ہمایوں راج ریاست ملک بھنبر وچھبال پشت بہ پشت از پیشگاہ الطاف بہ مقرب خاص الخاص موصوف مرحمت وعطائے گردیدہ بفضل ستگورو جی مورد تفضلات بودہ علی الدوام ازدل وجان در خدماتِ شایان وحاضر باشی ونمک حلالی وخیر خواہی جناب اشرف اعلےٰ حاضر وسرگرم بودہ شد لہذا سند بخشش نامہ راج وخطاب عنایت کردہ۔

تحریر بتاریخ ہفتم ماہ ہاڑ مبارک سمت ۱۸۸۴ مقام رام باغ

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D Copy of the deed of agreement signed by Raja Jit Singh the ex-Raja of Jammu, renouncing all his claims to the ancestral principality, in favour of Raja Gulab Singh and his brothers.

نقل مطابق اصل

(بحروف ڈوگری) لکہتنگ جیت سنگھ راجی دی راج دی مالکی لکہہ دتی کہوسی ہوی
لکہہ دتی جیندی جی لکہی نہیش پالی مہہ دہرم لکہہ دتا دہرمی دا پنجہ لائی دتا

لکہتنگ لال دی اوپر لکہا سہ پرمان

لکہت گنجار دی اوپر لکہا پرمان جمعدار بیٹہ لکہت چرت سنگھ جیال اوپر لکہا پرمان

لکہتنگ پورب سنگھ منکویٹہ اوپر لکہا سہ پرمان

منکہ راجہ جیت سنگھ پترہ راجہ صاحب رنجیت دیو جیو ام درینوقت ازراہ توجہات باطنی والطاف ولی مالکیت تمام ممالک محروسہ بزرگان خود وراثت درعین حیات خود با برخوردار اقبال نشان راجہ راجگان راجہ گلاب سنگھ جیو وراجہ صاحب دھیان سنگھ جی وراجہ سوجیت سنگھ جی ازراہ دہرم ونیم وقول وقرار واقسام بزرگان وٹھاکران وگوران خود از محبت دلی وشفقت باطنی بخشیدم قرار آنکہ تاکہ از حیات مستعار درین جہان ذاتی نفسے چند ورتہہ باشم مثل فرزندانی درتقدیم خدمات مایاں حاضر ورجوع باشند اگر دریں جہانی فانی کہ ہیچکس را ازیں گریز نیست متوجہ عالم جاودانی باشم از کرم کریا مایان بموجب رسم بزرگان بعمل آرند ومایاں را بعد از حیات دعوی نماند است . . . . . مورخہ ۱۳ ماہ ۱۸۷۹

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t. : town ; v. : village ; loc. : location ; bio. : biographical note ; des.: description; hist. : brief history ; G.S. : Gulab Singh ;

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4. ڈاکٹر سرو —
5. Scoasmi Velikmarde — Medu Pro — ڈاکٹر مرو
6. Shs Arbuadeo.
7. Tygoee
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