

T H E S I S  
FOR THE PH. D. DEGREE

ON

'CIS-SUTLA SIKH STATES 1800—1849'

BY

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P R E F A C E

The choice of the subject of my Thesis needs a word of explanation. Some seven years ago I chanced to come across a file in the archives of the erstwhile Jind State which was in a way a complete statement of accounts of the expenditure incurred in planning and laying out of the Banasar Bagh or the beautiful gardens close to the Durbar Hall and the Deodhi Mualla of the ruler. This statement also contained by way of annexure a detailed account of a couple of buildings like the Baradari (Garden House), the swimming pool and the terraced seats which were all erected in the time of the late His Highness Raja Raghubir Singh in the seventies of the last century. Just a glance over these papers brought before my eyes a picture of economic and social life of the people and of this part of the country as it was eighty years ago. It was a good subject to write a small brochure on one aspect of the Jind State but not a very suitable subject for writing a Ph.D. Thesis. But this random chance of the accounts file led me to the belief that if an all out effort was made to look into the unsorted papers important historical records will also be available in the record offices of the States. So my views were most definitely formed regarding my intentions of writing the present Thesis and Dr. Hari Ram Gupta's narrative of the Cis-Sutlej Sikh Chiefs upto the year 1799 made me decide to take up the thread of the story from that point onwards.

This period of half century 1800-1849 in the history of the Cis-Sutlej Sikh States reveals varied interest. During the first decade i.e. 1800-1809, their military resources, their diplomacy and their statesmanship were put to an acid test and they were called upon to combat first against the aggressions of the Irish adventurer George Thomas of Hansi and later against the superior tactics and resources of the Marathas particularly of Maharaja Sindia who had left the direction of his affairs in Northern India into the hands of his French officer General

Perron, Holkar and Amir Khan Rohilla, too, during their flight from the British had thought of robbing some of the more important of these states but they could not very much succeed. Having survived these ~~xx~~ earlier shocks, the Sikh Chiefs immediately came face to face with a brotheren of their own who was more resourceful, better organiser and a more gifted soldier than any one of the Cis-Sutlaj Chiefs. In three successive years (1806-8) he swept through their country laying tribute, seizing some important towns and fortlets and making them yield to his political wishes. Ranjit Singh's threat proved like the last straw on the Camel's back and the Cis-Sutlaj Chiefs were driven to seek shelter with the British. The British, too, who had rendered the powerful Maratha States prostrate only a few years ago were now free to attend to the request of these Sikh Chiefs who formed a strong barrier between them and any other European or Asiatic Power which ever thought of attacking the British possessions in India from the North-western side. They were, therefore, willing to take these terrified Chiefs under their protecting wings which they did in 1809. ✓

From 1809 onwards the fortune of the Cis-Sutlaj States ran on altogether a different course. The British Control though gradually and systematically but surely began to tighten on them and by the close of the first half of the century when the Panjab State of Ranjit Singh was conquered and annexed to the expanding empire of the English and the strategic importance of the Sirhind region disappeared these states witnessed the finale of the British Policy towards them.

In bringing my Thesis to Completion I have had to seek help and guidance from several experts and scholars of repute and I will be failing in my duty if I do not make suitable acknowledgement here. Principal Sita Ram Kohli, in fact, led me on to the path of research and guided me throughout to overcome

every difficulty which came in my way. Maharaj Kumar Dr. Raghbir Singh of Sitamau not only permitted me to make use of his valuable private collections but also secured for me, at his own expense, the M.F. copy of the rare manuscript 'Tazkirat-ul-Uara' from British Museum London. Maharajkumar Sahib has taken throughout a genuine interest in the progress of my work and I am, indeed, very much beholden to him. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar very kindly permitted me to make use of his copies of various persian manuscripts relevant to my Thesis. He was kind enough to place his manuscript of the 4th Volume of the 'Fall of Mughal Empire' (since published) at my disposal for taking down notes from it. I requested Rai Bahadur G.S. Sardesai and he very kindly agreed to go through the 3rd chapter of this Thesis which relates to the Sikh-Maratha relations. After perusing the chapter he conveyed to me his most encouraging approval of the treatment of the subject. During the earlier stages of my work the affectionate and inspiring letters of the Late Lamented Dewan Bahadur G.S. Shrinivasachari kept up my spirits. I must offer my grateful thanks to H.H. the Maharaja Sahib of Patiala for the kind permission accorded to me to look into the Moti Bagh Palace Library for relevant material. I have had occasion to visit the personal library of H.H. the Nawab Sahib of Malerkotla and took notes from some of the rare papers for which I am indebted to him. In the end I express my sense of gratitude to the authorities of the National Archives of New Delhi, the Patiala Archives of Patiala, the Panjab Record office of Simla, the Khalsa College Library of Amritsar and the Jind Record Office of Sangrur for similar concession.

AUTHOR

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ABBREVIATIONS EXPLAINED.

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|--------------------------------|--|
| 1. A. G. G.                    | : Agent to the Governor General.   |
| 2. Aitcheson                   | : Aitcheson's Treaties & Sanads.   |
| 3. Ali-ud-Din                  | : Ibrat Namah by Mufti Ali-ud-Din(MS)  |
| 4. Amar Nath                   | : Zafar Namah Ranjit Singh by Dewan Amar Nath.   |
| 5. Amir Namah                  | † Amir Namah by Munshi Basawan Lal Shadan(MS)  |
| 6. Asiatic                     | : Annual Asiatic Registers.  |
| 7. Brown                       | : History of the Origin and Progress of the Sikh's by Brown.   |
| 8. Bute Shah                   | : Tarikh-i-Panjab by Bute Shah(MS)   |
| 9. C. in. C                    | : Commander-in-Chief.  |
| 10. Compton                    | : A Particular account of the European Military Adventure of Hindustan from 1784 to 1803, compiled by Herbert Compton. |
| 11. Cunningham                 | : History of the Sikh's by Cunningham.   |
| 12. dt.                        | : dated.   |
| 13. Dean                       | : A tour through the Upper Provinces of Hindustan comprising a period between the year 1804-1814, by A. Dean.          |
| 14. Duni Chand                 | : Tarikh-i-Jind by Munshi Duni Chand.  |
| 15. Fall                       | : Fall of the Mughal Empire by Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar.   |
| 16. Franklin                   | : The History of the Reign of Shah Alum by W. Franklin.  |
| 17. <del>XXXXXXXX</del> Fraser | : Military Memoirs of James Skinner by M. J. Baillie Fraser.   |
| 18. George Thomas              | : Military Memoirs of George Thomas by W. Franklin.  |
| 19. G. G.                      | : Governor General.  |
| 20. Govt.                      | : Government.  |
| 21. Grey & Garrett             | : European Adventurers of Northern India, 1784 to 1894 by G. Grey, edited by H. L. O. Garrett.                         |
| 22. GulGule                    | : GulGule Daftar Ketch(MS)   |
| 23. Hari Ram                   | : Dr. Hari Ram Gupta.  |
| 24. Hassan                     | : Tarikh-i-Patiala by Khalifa Mohd Hassan.   |
| 25. Jind Papers                | : Papers in Jind Record Office in the Possession of the Ruler of Jind.   |
| 26. Kaye                       | : Papers and Correspondence of Lord Metcalfe by John William Kaye.   |
| 27. Keene                      | : Hindustan Under Free Lance's 1770-1782.  |
| 28. Khushwaqt Rai              | : Tarikh-i-Sikhan by Khushwaqt Rai (MS)  |
| 29. Kohli                      | : Principal Sita Ram Kohli.  |
| 30. Lady Minto                 | : Lord Minto in India by Lady Minto.   |
| 31. Lahore Darbar              | : Lahore Darbar by Dr. R. R. Sethi.  |
| 32. Latif                      | : History of the Panjab by Sayyad Mohd Latif.  |
| 33. Ld. Cor                    | : Ludhiana Correspondence.   |
| 34. Lord Lake                  | : Life & Military Services of Viscount Lake by Col. Hugh Pearce.   |
| 35. Malcolm.                   | : Sketch of the Sikhs' by Sir John Malcolm.  |
| 36. Malerkotla Papers          | : Papers in the Possession of Nawab of Maler-Kotla (MS)  |
| 37. Massy                      | : Chiefs & Families of Note in the Panjab by Massy.  |
| 38. MS                         | : Manuscript.  |
| 39. Munna Lal                  | : Tarikh-i-Shah Alum by Munna Lal(MS)  |
| 40. N. A.                      | : National Archives, New Delhi.  |
| 41. N. W.                      | : North Western.   |
| 42. Par. Pap.                  | : Parliamentary Papers.  |
| 43. Pat. Akhs                  | : Patiala Akhbars(MS)  |
| 44. Pat. Arch                  | : Patiala Archives.  |
| 45. P. L. R.                   | : Persian Letters Received(MS)   |
| 46. P. R. C.                   | : Poona Residency Correspondence.  |
| 47. pp.                        | : Page or pages.   |
| 48. Pb. Adm. Rep.              | : Panjab Administration Report(MS)   |
| 49. Pb. Pr. List               | : Panjab Record Press List.  |
| 50. Phul Namah.                | : Phul Namah by Munshi Brij Narain.  |
| 51. Princep                    | : The Origin of the Sikh Power in the Panjab by Henry T. Princep.  |

52. Raj :Raj Khalsa by Giani Giani Singh.
53. Rajas :Rajas of the Panjab by Sir Lepal Griffin.
54. Sardesai :New History of the Maratha People by G. S. Sardesai (MS)
55. Sahib Singh :Phul Bana Perakash by Kavi Sahib Singh. (MS)
56. Shahamat Ali :The Sikhs & Afghans by Shahamat Ali.
57. Sohan Lal :Umdat-ul-Tawarikh by Munshi Sohan Lal Suri (MS)
58. Thompson ~~MS~~ :Life of Lord Charles Metcalfe by Thompson Edward.
59. Tazkirat :Tazkirat-ul-Umra (MS)
60. V. V. Thakore :Holkar Shahichi Ittihasehin Sadhne, Vol II by V. V. Thakore.
61. Waqa-i-Holkar:Waqa-i-Holkar by Mohan Lal (MS)
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\* PART I. \*  
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\* . 1800.....3rd MAY, 1809 \*  
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CHAPTER - I  
CIS-SULTAN SIKH STATES IN 1800  
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As the 19th century opened, anarchy and confusion, rampant in the preceding century, still continued unabated. A representative of the House of Timur still embellished the throne of Delhi and the Maratha Military Captains continued to traverse the length and breadth of the country. By following the trend of events, however, one could visualize the shape which things were likely to take in the near future. Among the various political powers which had earlier appeared on the scene and had rushed to fill in the political vacuum created by the collapse of the central authority the Rohillas, the Jats, the Rajputs, the Oudh Nawab, the Muslim Rulers of Mysore, the Nizam of Hyderabad and the French, all were made to quit the stage as independent actors. The only competitors, now left in the arena, were the Marathas and the English.

Out of these two rival powers the Marathas ruled over a major portion of Southern and Central India and also exercised an effective control over Northern India, whereas the English having brought under their sway an appreciable portion of Southern and Western India and the whole of the Eastern provinces of Bengal and Bihar, had now begun to penetrate into the 'preserve' of the Marathas in Northern India. Here they had secured general administrative control over the state of Oudh and besides had obtained from the Nawab the cession of the districts of Kara and Allahabad. The British had already acquired Benaras and Ghazipur and had established a Military Cantonment at Anupshahar, a town in the front line of their possessions in the area. The clash between these two rival powers, thus, seemed inevitable.

The growing power of Daulat Rao Sindhia's European officers, stationed in the neighbourhood of Delhi, combined with the repeated invasions on the Punjab by Zaman Shah, the Durrani ruler of Kabul, had increased the political and strategic importance of the country beyond the Janna and of the Sikh Rulers who occupied this country. The chiefs of Sirhind, whose states lay next to Delhi, necessarily attracted the immediate attentions of the contesting

rival powers.

1. GEOGRAPHY.

The Cis-Sutlaj territory, comprising the area between the Janna and the Sutlaj, roughly corresponded to the old Sirhind Sarkar of the Subah of Delhi. Its boundaries extended from the Janna in the West, to the Siwalik Hills in the North-east, to the Sutlaj in the North and to the confines of the Hariana tract in the South and the South-west, and, thus, included the important towns and places like Ambala, Banor, Pail, Bhatinda, Thara, Thanesar, Chahat (a number of irrigating wells along the bank of river Ghaggar), Khizrabad, Dorala, Dhota, Deorana, Ropar, Sirhind, Samana, Sunam, Sadhaura, Sultanpur Barha, Shahabad, Fatehpur, Kaithal, Ludhiana, Mustafabad, Mansurpur, Maler and Machhiwara.

Locally this Sarkar of Sirhind was known as Malwa. The area is primarily made of alluvial plains except the low woody hills in the North-east and the brown sandy plains in the South which are in some places almost barren. The climate is extreme. The population in the early 18th century consisted mainly of Jats, Gujars, Dogars and Ranghars<sup>2</sup> the last three were predatory sect, who had accepted Sikhism.<sup>3</sup> Hindus and Muslims, too, lived there in large numbers. Their main profession was agriculture; the principal crops being wheat, maize, gram, sarson oil seeds, sugar cane and melons. Heavy transit duties imposed by the various chiefs and the anarchic conditions prevalent throughout Northern India, had adversely affected the trade and commerce of this part with Kashmir and other North-western countries. The Sikh chiefs had, however, tried with some success to restore the shawl trade of Kashmir. The insecurity of life rendered it necessary for every village or town to fortify itself for self-defence. Sirhind, the former capital of the area was, then, a complete ruin. The largest and the most important town of the area was Patiala<sup>4</sup> and next to that

1. The Taalugas of Jind, Narwana and Safidon, which have been taken here as included in Cis-Sutlaj territory, originally formed the parganas of the Sarkars of Hissar and Delhi of the Delhi Subah respectively. (Karnal Distt. Gazetteer, PP 40)

2. Pb. Adm. Rep. 1849-51, PP. 333

3. There is an old Punjabi saying:-

ہی تارا دو۔ مگر نہ نظر دو۔ آ جاووں نہیں۔ تان ہول کوڑا سوں۔

(If a dog or a cat or a Gujar or a Ranghar is not there, one may sleep with his doors open).

4. Walter Hamilton, PP 384 of Vol. II: "Patiala is situated 117 miles

was the sacred town of Thanesar.

## 2. STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE.

The Cis-Sutlaj region provided an important link between Delhi and Lahore. All important military as well as commercial routes between these two cities passed through it. Its strategic position in relation to Delhi, the capital of the Indian empire, had earned for the area the title of Sir-i-Hind and Tabr-i-Hind (axe over the head of Hindustan). It was, in fact, this strategic position of the area which conferred upon its occupants their particular political significance.

## 3. ORIGIN AND RISE OF THE CIS-SUTLAJ SIKH STATES.

Zain Khan, the new faujdar nominated by Abdali (Jan. 1761) was governing this part of the country when the Sikh power in the Punjab once more revived. The leaders of the Phulkian Misl, assisted by the Sardars of a few other Misls, attacked Sirhind in January, 1764. Zain Khan was killed in action and the triumphant Khalsa was the master of the province. With the fall of Sirhind the last vestige of the Muslim rule in this part may be said to have disappeared for good. Flushed with victory the Sikh Sardars left the field in all haste and spread in every direction to claim a part of the fallen territory. Writing in 1849, Cunningham says, "The tradition still describes how the Sikhs dispersed as soon as the battle was won and how riding day and night each horseman would throw his belt, scabbard, his articles of dress and accoutrement, until he was almost naked into successive villages to make them as his". The participators in the Sirhind crusade, thus, divided the territories among themselves and laid the

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NNW of Delhi. Its latitude and longitude are 30 16N and 76 22E respectively. This is a town of considerable extent and now the most flourishing in the old Mughal division of Sirhind. It is surrounded by a mud wall and in the centre there is a square citadel in which the Raja resides". Also Malcolm, PP.111.

5. The Phulkian Misl was founded by Chaudhri Phul, the progenitor of Patiala, Jind, Nabha, Bhadaur, Ledharan, Malodh, Kot Duna, Jindaun, Bagerwal, Badrukhan, Landgheria, Dialpura and Rampur ruling families in the 17th century. For fuller account of the Misl refer to Mohd Hassan, PP 25-39; Raj: Vol. II, PP.1-7; Sahib Singh, PP.10-30; Phul Namah, PP. 27-42; Dunichand, PP.15-22 and Rajas of the Punjab, PP.1-7- The geneological tree is given in Appendix A.

6. Cunningham, PP.110.

\* Hindustan in this Thesis signifies the area between the Chambal & the Jamna.

foundation of their future states.

Ahmad Shah Abdali was a shrewd diplomat. In March, 1761 he had given rescript to Ala Singh, the chief of Patiala, who on the whole proved brave, wise and cooperative. Hence early in 1765 Abdali appointed him to the charge of Sirhind with the usual investiture of the title of 'Raja'. Three years later, the Abdali further strengthened his political relations with the ruling family of Patiala by continuing the charge of Sirhind with Ala Singh's grandson and successor, Amar Singh. The Durrani also conferred on him the additional dignity of 'Raja-i-Rajgan'. All this was done as much to create a wedge between the Malwa and Manjha<sup>7</sup> Sikh chiefs as to ensure for himself a safer passage to Delhi during his latter visits.

Some of the more energetic and adventurous Sikh Sardars had now begun to raid the rich Ganga-Jamna Doab and Rohilkhand. These spirited actions of the Sardars had more than a nuisance value; for their raids combined with the diplomatic skill of the major Sikh chiefs brought the declining Mughal authorities to their knees. Unable to check these raids the Emperor of Delhi agreed (1781) to concede to the Sikh chiefs' demand for the recognition of their sovereignty over the Cis-Sutlaj area and admitted their right to impose taxes in the Doab,<sup>8</sup> as his ancestor had done sixty years ago in the case of Marathas in their homeland of Maharashtra. The Sikh chiefs henceforward became not only the de-facto but also the de-jure masters of their states. ✓

#### 4. MAJOR AND MINOR SIKH STATES.

The Sikh chiefships in the Punjab, at the close of the 18th century, have been compared by a contemporary observer to a snake with many heads. "Each Zamindar" he remarked, "who from the Attock to Hansi, Hissar and to the gates of Delhi, lets his beard grow, cries Wah Guru, drinks bhang, abominates the smoking of tobacco and can command from ten followers on horse-back to upwards, sets up immediately for Sikh Sardar; and as far as it is in his power

7. The area between the rivers Beas and Ravi is locally known as Manjha.

8. Fall, iii, PP 218-9; Hari Ram, Vol II, PP.134-5.

aggrandizes himself at the expense of his weaker neighbours; if Hindu or Muslim so much the better, if not even among his own<sup>9</sup> fraternity will he seek to extend his influence and power."

This is a rather exaggerated and resentful account of the anarchical state of affairs which was mainly due to the complete lack of any single central organising authority in the Khalsa Panth. Thus, even the smallest chief arrogated to himself the pretensions of a big Sardar. In this way" the sikh possessions south of the Sutlaj had become a congeries of petty chiefships and seigniories. The chiefships were about 60000 in number; in size and in importance they varied from the state of Patiala to a pettiest chiefship of ten or twenty shares in a single village.<sup>10</sup> These numerous chiefships could be conveniently divided into two categories: major and minor.

The major Sikh states were as follows:-

1. PATIALA. The state of Patiala was the premier state in the area. Its territories consisted of Bhatinda, Sirsa and Fattehabad in the West; Chail in the Siwalik Hills in the North; and extended to the confines of the Kaithal, Thanesar and Shahabad in the East and to the outskirts of Hansi, Hissar and Jind in the South. The important town of Sirhind was included in it.

2. KAITHAL. The state of Kaithal came next to Patiala in rank and status. Its territories included the parganas of Kaithal, Fatehpur, Poondri, Pehowa, Solhar, Chucka, Soonsur, Burna, Kularan, Mahlan-Ghabdan, Budlada, Halree, Bhochokee, Behkan, Khoodal, Kunah and<sup>11</sup> Dhanausoo.

3. JIND. Then came the state of Jind. It consisted of the parganas of Jind, Safidon, Asaundh, Salwan, Balanwali, Sangrur, Panjgrain,<sup>12</sup> Gohana and Kharkhodah.

4. NABHA. Next in the rank was the state of Nabha. The parganas of Nabha, Pakhowal, Bhadso, Amlch, Dhanaula and Rori formed the territories of the state.

Besides, the rulers of Patiala, Jind and Nabha claimed a number

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9. Asiatic 1800, PP.32(Characters).

10. Pb.Adm.Rep.1849-51.

11. N.A: G.R.Clerk to J.Thomson dated 16.3.43.

12. N.A: G.R.Clerk to W.H. Macnaughton, dated 19.8.38.



of villages (both waste and inhabited) in the Hissar, Hansi, Sirsa and Fatehabad Ilagas in the Hariens and Bhatinda territories.

13

The minor states, most of which could be rightly termed as estates, were numerous. Out of them those which had some political significance or which have been referred to in the course of this Thesis were the following:-

- |                      |                      |                        |
|----------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Ambala.           | 19. Kakrala.         | 37. Mustafabad         |
| 2. Anandpur Makhwal. | 20. Kalsia.          | 38. Naraingarh.        |
| 3. Arnawali.         | 21. Khanna.          | 39. Radaur.            |
| 4. Baidwan.          | 22. Kharar.          | 40. Raipur Gujarwal.   |
| 5. Bassi.            | 23. Kheri.           | 41. Rampur.            |
| 6. Bhadpur.          | 24. Kot Guruarsahai. | 42. Ropar.             |
| 7. Bheri.            | 25. Kotla Nihang.    | 43. Sadhaura.          |
| 8. Bilaspur.         | 26. Ladha.           | 44. Sarai Lashkar Khan |
| 9. Booria.           | 27. Ladwa.           | 45. Shahabad.          |
| 10. Chilaundi.       | 28. Ledhran.         | 46. Shahzadpur.        |
| 11. Dhanaura.        | 29. Machiwara.       | 47. Shangarh.          |
| 12. Dialpur.         | 30. Maharajkpan.     | 48. Sialba.            |
| 13. Faridkot.        | 31. Majra.           | 49. Sikandra.          |
| 14. Fatehgarh.       | 32. Malodh.          | 50. Sikri.             |
| 15. Jhabu Majra.     | 33. Mani Majra.      | 51. Tangaur.           |
| 16. Jagadhri.        | 34. Manauli.         | 52. Thanesar.          |
| 17. Jharauli.        | 35. Mansurwal.       |                        |
| 18. Hullahar.        | 36. Morindah.        |                        |

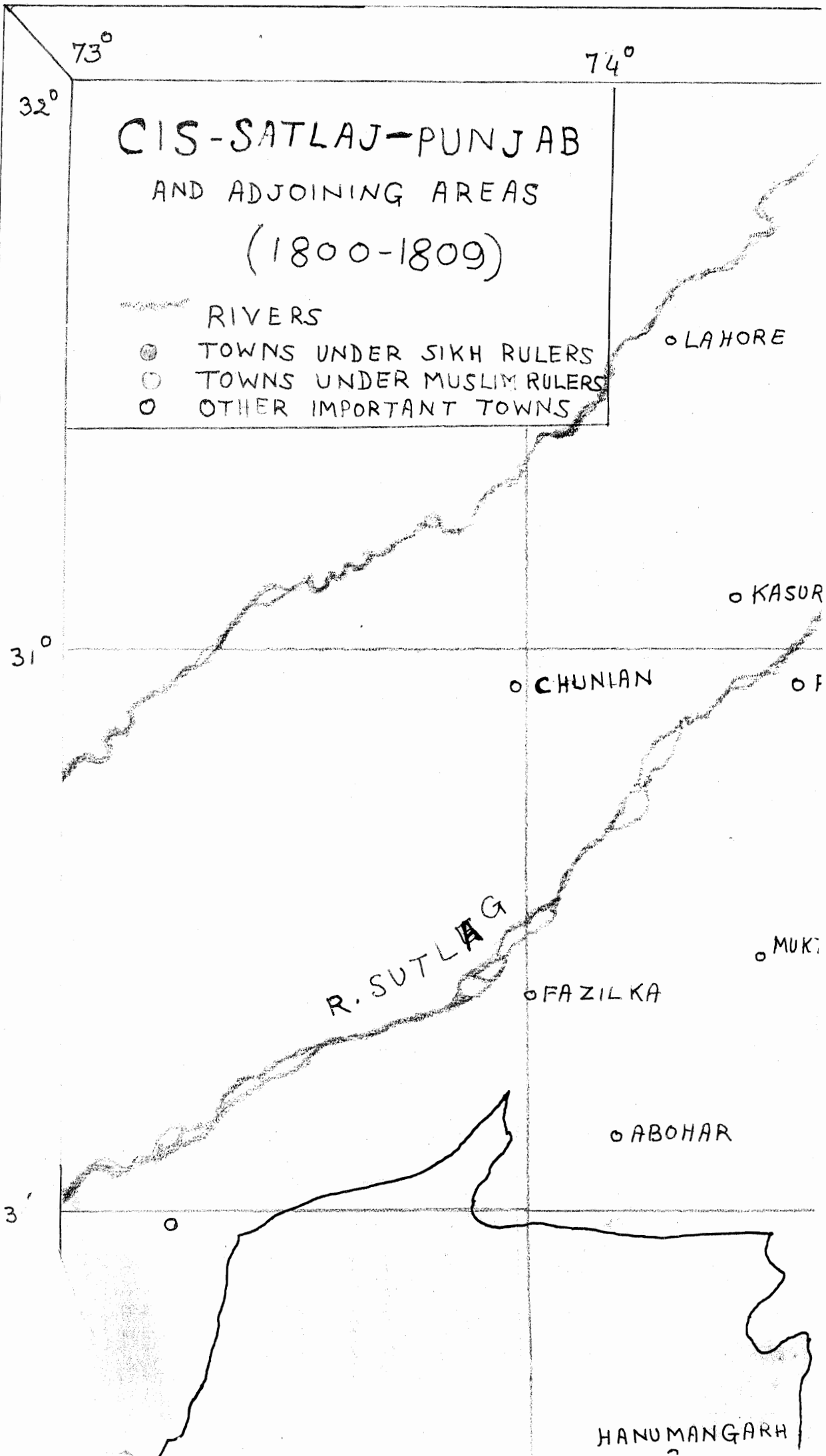
Besides these the chief of Kapurthala also possessed the parganas mentioned below with the number of villages stated against each in this region :-

14

<u>Name of pargana.</u>	<u>Number of villages.</u>
1. Bhirag.	62 villages.
2. Sahaur and Alloapur.	15 "
3. Isru	31 "
4. Bhoondin and Bulluhpur.	40 "
5. Kot Isa Khan and Datuwal.	42 "
6. Mullawala.	23 "
7. Mukhoo.	12 "
8. Others.	30 "
	<u>TOTAL:----- 255 Villages.</u>

13. The list of these states has been prepared from Khushwaqat Rai, Ali-ud-Din, Bute Shah, Griffin and Massy as well as from the lists compiled by the Ambala Agency at the time of the visits of the G.G's (Now preserved in the National Archives of India) and the District Gazetteers of Ambala, Karnal, Ludhiana, Ferozpur and Hoshiarpur. It is not possible to trace the precise boundaries of these states as they were always changing. However for the exact location of their headquarters see the map facing this page. Out of these chiefships Ladwa, Kalsia, Thanesar, Booria, Jagadhri, Naraingarh, ManiMajra, Kharar, Ambala, Shahabad, Faridkot, Ropar and Sahazadpur had an appreciable political status.

14. N.A: Murray to Metcalfe, dated 8.1.26.



### 5. NOTABLE SIKH CHIEFS.

The importance of a state or estate during these troubled times depended on the personality of its ruler, and, therefore, it is necessary to give a brief sketch of those chiefs who played an important role in the political history of these times.

1. The most important chief was Raja-i-Rajgan Raja Sahib Singh Mahindra Bahadur of Patiala. Raja Sahib Singh was the great grandson of Raja Ala Singh, the founder of the state, and the son and successor of Raja-i-Rajgan Amar Singh. He had succeeded to the Gaddi at the age of eleven in 1781 A.D., when he was honoured with the grant of titles of 'Raja-i-Rajgan' and 'Mahindra Bahadur', and a Khilaat (Robe of honour) by the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alum II. The young Raja "was possessed of talents for government, command of temper and a friendly disposition of spirits". But due to his physical and other ailments he was "weak, emaciated and absent minded, yet in the administration of public affairs he was clear and vigilant". As his mental ailments increased he began to lose his balance of mind and power of determination. The chief place in the councils of the Gis-Sutlaj States was taken by others. In his home government, too, Raja Sahib Singh depended upon the advice of his advisers more than upon his own decisions. European writers like Ochterlony, Cunningham and Griffin have, however, given a very much exaggerated picture of his defects and deficiencies.

2. Bhai Lal Singh of Kaithal.<sup>16</sup> Bhai Lal Singh was the son and successor of Bhai Desu Singh, the founder of the state. Bhai Desu Singh had his ancestors common with those of Chaudhari Phul. The Bhais of Kaithal were the religious priests of the Phulkian ruling families. Lal Singh had succeeded to the Gaddi in 1780 after setting aside <sup>17</sup> the usurpation of his step brother Bhai Behal Singh.

Bhai Lal Singh was a talented ruler. By nature shrewd and a man of keen foresight, he was the brain behind all decisions and

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15. N.A. Meer Yusuf Ali Khan to Hussain Ali Khan, dt. 4.10.1800.

16. Bhai means a brother. It was a title conferred upon one of his ancestors by the 4th and 5th Sikh Gurus in lieu of his great devotion to them. It continued in the family.

17. Hussain, PP.335 Foot Note; Bute Shah, Vol.1, PP.656; Khushwaqat Rai; PP.146 and Hari Ram Vol.II, PP.100-101.

schemes formulated by the Cis-Sutlaj Sikh chiefs. Attached to the interests of Raja Sahib-Singh of Patiala, he was a close associate of Raja Bhag Singh of Jind. Both Meer Yusuf Ali Khan and Ochterlony have written at length about Bhai Lal Singh's great influence on the Cis-Sutlaj Sikh Chiefs, particularly with Raja Sahib Singh of Patiala, Raja Bhag Singh of Jind and Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha. The chiefs of the estates of Kakrala and Amauli were his close relatives.

3. Raja Bhag Singh of Jind. Raja Bhag Singh of Jind, the second son of Maharaja Gajpat Singh (the founder of the state), succeeded to the Gaddi in January, 1786 on the death of his father. Bhag Singh was 25 years old at that time. Being in the vicinity of Delhi he maintained good relations with those in power at the Delhi Durbar as much as his father used to do. His relations with Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore (Ranjit Singh's mother, Bibi Raj Kaur, was his real elder sister) greatly added to his prestige among his fellow chiefs. Prudent and brave, he was held in great esteem by Ranjit Singh as well as by the Cis-Sutlaj Sikh chiefs. The chief of Badrukhan, Sardar Bhoop Singh, was his full younger brother.

Bhai Lal Singh of Kaithal was shrewd enough to take him always into confidence and to associate him with all his plans. The two together were destined to play a very important role in the history of the Sikhs during the first decade of the 19th century.

18

4. Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha. Raja Jaswant Singh had succeeded to the Gaddi on the death of his father, Sardar Hamir Singh, the founder of the state, in 1785. Jaswant Singh was then only eleven years old. Mai Desu, one of his step-mothers known for her capacity and courage, acted as the Regent of the state till 1790, when the Raja took over the administration of the state in his own hands.

The chief was a clever diplomat. He was gifted with a fine administrative acumen. Eloquent of speech, impressive in his manners

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18. Jind papers mention that the title of Raja was conferred upon him in 1810 A.D. by the Mughal Emperor, Akbar Shah II.

was married to the daughter of S. Saundha Singh, the chief of Khanna. On Kanwar Hari Singh's death his widow returned to Khanna and had succeeded her father to the chiefship. Bhanga Singh's daughter was later married to Kanwar Karam Singh, the son and heir of Raj Sahib Singh of Patiala.

Bhanga Singh was another brave leader in the raids on the Doab and held the estate of Kariana there.

7. Sardar Jodh Singh of Kalsia. Sardar Jodh<sup>d</sup> Singh was the son and successor of Sardar Gurbakhsh Singh Karorsinghia, a Sidhu Jat of village Kalsia in Tehsil Qasur of Lahore District. He was born in 1761 A.D. Spirited and chivalrous Jodh Singh had succeeded to the state of Chachruauli (Kalsia) on the death of his father. The chief took active share in the raids on the Doab.

8. Sardar Karam Singh Nirmala of Shahabad. The state of Shahabad and Ismailabad was cleverly usurped by Karam Singh Nirmala from the heirs of his close associate, Sardar Mit Singh Nishanwala, after the latter's death. Shahabad is on the Grand Trunk Road, 16 miles South of Ambala. Reputed for keen intelligence and tactfulness he had friendly relations with both the Mughals and the Afghans and had secured a Jagir in the Shikarpur Taaluqa and the title of Sardar from them respectively. He was called Nirmala because he wore spotless white clothes and cared much for outward cleanliness.

23

9. & 10. Sardars Bhag Singh of Booria and Rai Singh of Jagadhri.

Bhag Singh and his younger brother Rai Singh Bhangi got the estates of Booria and Jagadhri consisting of 120 and 84 villages respectively as their shares after the conquest of Sirhind. These two headquarters were about 15 miles apart from each other in the immediate South of Kalsia. The family, on the whole, possessed Jawalapur, Rurki, Jaroba and Manglor as Jagir from Bapooji Sindhia but this Jagir was confiscated on the advent of the

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22. Khushwaqat Rai, PP.153; Hassan, PP.79 Foot note and Hari Ram Vol II, PP.31-32.

23. Khushwaqat Rai PP.152-153; Bute Shah Vol.1, PP.619-21, Massy, PP.31; Hassan, Foot note PP.125 and Ambala Distt. Gazetteer.

24. The spellings of all the proper nouns whether in quotations or otherwise have been modernized in the whole Thesis.

English. Bhag Singh and Rai Singh took active shares in the raids on the Doab. Bhag Singh had nominated his son, Sher Singh, as his  
25  
successor.

11. Sardars Bhoop Singh and Deva Singh of Ropar and Sialba.

The founder of the state was Sardar Hari Singh. He had two sons Charat Singh and Deva Singh. The state was equally divided between them on the death of their father. Charat Singh was succeeded by his son Bhoop Singh. Bhoop Singh held Ropar and Deva Singh controlled Sialba. The state consisted of 115 villages in all and lay on the Sutlaj, 43 miles North of  
26  
of Ambala.

12. Sardar Gulab Singh of Faridkot. The ruling family of Faridkot had its ancestors common with those of Chaudhri Phul. The then Chief was a ~~xx~~ minor and his maternal uncle Sardar Fauja Singh was ably acting as his  
27  
Regent.

13. Sardar Gulab Singh of Shahzadpur- Sardar Gulab Singh had succeeded to the Gaddi on the death of his father, Sardar Karam Singh Shaheed. Shahzadpur is 25 miles North of Ambala. Gulab Singh was a courageous  
28  
and self respecting Sardar.

14. Sardars Bir Singh and Dip Singh of Bhadaur:- The founder of estate was Duna,  
29  
the elder brother of Raja Ala Singh of Patiala. Bhadaur was the original seat of residence of the Phulkian family. The two brothers Bir Singh and Dip Singh, who controlled the affairs of the estate, were very adventurous and chivalrous. Bhadaur is 15 miles North-west of  
30  
Barnala.

15. Chief of Kapurthala:- The chief of Kapurthala was at that time Sardar Bhag Singh, the adopted son and successor of Sardar Jassa Singh Kalal. Sardar Bhag Singh died in 1801 and was then succeeded by his son, Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia, the close xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

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25. Khushwaqat Rai, pp 153-154, Massy, pp. 155 and Tazkirat.

26. Ambala District Gazetter and Khushwaqat Rai,

27. Khushwaqat Rai pp.151 and Griffin, pp.109.

28. Massy pp.57 and Hassan, Footnote, pp.109.

29. Hassan writes that Duna was the younger brother of Raja Ala Singh.

30. Massy PP.173.

associate and the 'turbanned-brother' of Maharaja Ranjit Singh of  
31  
Lahore.

6. OTHER STATES.

Besides the above mentioned Sikh States and estates there were the Muslim States of Kunjpura, Malerkotla and Raikot in the Janna<sup>-Sujaj</sup> Doab. Among these Muslim states Malerkotla and Raikot deserve a special mention~~ed~~ here since their history is intermingled with that of the Sikh states and estates till 1809.

M A L E R K O T L A.

The state of Malerkotla was originally founded by Sheikh Sadr-ud-Din, a pious Afghan of Kurd descent in 1440 A.D. On account of his piety and deep devotion to God, Sadr-ud-Din was reverentially styled as Sheikh. He is recorded to have great influence with Sultan Bahlol Lodhi during the latter's short sojourn at Maler (Sheikh's headquarters) on his way to the invasion of Lahore. The Sultan gave his daughter, Taj Murrassa Begum, in marriage to the Sheikh along with 12 villages as dowry and 57 Assamees (tenants) for the maintenance of the lands attached to these villages.

The fifth descendant of the Sheikh named Bayazid Khan (1604-59) is said to have been in the good books of Aurangzeb and to have received from him the grant of two parganas of Qadiabad and Naugaon with the title of Nawab Ameer-ul-Umra Saif-ul-Mulk. Nawab Bayazid Khan founded the town of Kotla just adjacent to the town of Maler and hence the name Malerkotla. His grandson Sher Mohd Khan (1672-1712) excelled his predecessors in tact, courage

31. Besides the above rulers the following chiefs held some of the bigger estates in 1800. Their sketches are given in Appendix 'B'.

1. Rani Daya Kaur of Ambala.
2. S. Rai Singh of Bheri.
3. Sardari Bughail Singh of Chilaundi.
4. S. Dharam Singh of Dharamkot.
5. S. Budh Singh Singhpuria of Ghanauli.
6. S. Mohan Singh Shaheed of Jharauli.
7. Sardari of Khanna.
8. S. Dharam Singh of Kharar.
9. S. Charat Singh of Ledhran.
10. S. Dalel Singh of Malodh.
11. S. Gopal Singh of ManiMajra.
12. S. Sobha Singh of Mansurwala.
13. S. Dharam Singh of Morindah.
14. Sardari Gauran of Mustafabad.
15. Mian Kishan Singh of Naraingarh.
16. S. Kirpal Singh of Shangarh.
17. S. Joga Singh of Shahkot.

and ability and received a further grant of 70 villages including Habibwal, which was later on named Sher. But he, too, protested against the inhuman proposal of killing the two minor sons of the 10th Sikh Guru, Gobind Singh, who on being apprised of the fact by his followers offered a prayer for the prosperity of the family and the state of the Nawab and also sent a sword as a token of his regard.

But later on hostilities began between the Afghans of Malerkotla and the Cis-Sutlaj Sikhs. The skirmishes continued during the course of the 18th century and the Sikhs succeeded in annexing some of the possessions of the state to their territories, though they could not wipe it out of existence.

After the 3rd Battle of Panipat the Afghans of Malerkotla had transferred their allegiance to the Durrani Afghans and proved to be a pillar of strength to Zain Khan, the Afghan faujdar of Sirhind. But after the death of Nawab Bhikan Khan in 1763 A.D. the decline of the state set in. The heir-apparent Wazir Khan was then a minor and a Regency had to be established, which, some how or other, continued to be held by the four brothers of the deceased Nawab right upto 1810 A.D. In 1800 A.D. the Regent was Nawab Atta-ulla-Khan.

#### RAIKOT.

This state is said to have been established by the grant of 308 villages and the title of Rai to Shehbaz Khan, the head of the Rajputs of Talwandi as a reward on the request of the Qawls of that place with whom emperor Jahangir was pleased and whom he wished to make this grant.

The Rais of Raikot are reported to have entertained great respect for the 10th Sikh Guru and to have rendered him all possible help in the times of his difficulties. Later the Rais conquered the parganas of Ludhaina, Sindhwan, Jagraon and Mahil. Realizing the

18. S. Ugha Singh of Sikandra.
19. S. Bhag Singh Sukarchakya of Sikri.
20. S. Chuhan Singh of Tangaur.
32. — The office copy of the original letter, duly attested by the Ahalkar Paishi (Secretary) issued by Nawab Sher Mohd Khan to Emperor Aurangzeb- an important and unpublished document-is in the possession of the present Nawab of Malerkotla.
33. — Malerkotla Papers; It was only after the death of Nawab Atta-ulla-Khan, the last Regent in 1810 A.D. that the British restored the state to the real owner, Nawab Wazir Ali Khan.



danger of Sikh incursions on their territories they contracted good relations with the ruling family of Patiala which helped them to survive the Sikh onslaughts. It was, then, ruled in the name of the minor Rai Ilyas by his mother, Rani Nur-ul-Nissa.<sup>34.</sup>

These Muslim pockets in this Sikh dominated area survived the Sikh invasions because they were said to have received the blessings of Guru Gobind Singh which put them on the right side of the Sikhs and again because of their occasional good relations with the ruling family of Patiala. Their own courage, valour and diplomacy as opposed to the proverbial disunity of the Sikh Chiefs also helped them to continue to exist there.

#### 7. GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Most of these states were too small and financially incapable to maintain a regular administrative organisation worth a mention. The chief himself would generally manage all the affairs of his domain with the assistance of an agent or two. The bigger chiefs had, of course, permitted the remnants of the Mughal provincial administration, which had survived the shocks of the 18th century, to continue to function in their respective states. There were neither any set rules nor regulations to limit the powers of these chiefs and their will, sometimes, punctuated by the customs of society, reigned supreme in their respective states.

The main functions of the state government were to secure the integrity of the state both from within and without; to collect the revenues and to maintain the diplomatic relations with other powers. The functions of public amelioration received comparatively less attention. The prominent posts in each of the bigger states were those of the Dewan; the Bakhshi; the Qiledar; the Thanedar; the Tehsildar and other revenue officials like Canungos; Patwaris and Amils; the Hazuri Munshis; the Bankers; the Moatmids and the Vakils. The post of the Dewan was the most important and only a person of very sound ability and trust was appointed to it. He held charge of the

Revenue Department and shared the executive duties with his  
The Bakhshi or the paymaster besides distributing the pay of the  
army, also worked as its commander. The pay was distributed under the  
direct supervision of the chief. The Ciledar held the charge of  
the fort and was responsible for its security. The Thanedar was  
responsible for the maintenance of law and order. The whole state  
was divided into tehsils, each under a Tehsildar. The Tehsil was  
further divided into parganas. The revenue officials who worked under  
the Tehsildar in a Tehsil, did the surveying and assessment work  
and collected the revenues of the state. The Hazuri Munshees were  
in the sole charge of the correspondence of the chief. The bankers  
or the Mhazanchees kept brief accounts of the income and  
expenditure of the state and also lent money to the chief in times  
of need. The Vakils were the trusted political agents of the Chief.  
They represented him at the courts of other powers and besides  
maintaining his good relations with those powers kept him fully infor-  
med of the events at their headquarters. The Moatnids were special  
agents of trust who were commissioned with special tasks of greater  
responsibilities.

There were no public buildings in the states either for  
35  
offices or for courts. The officials mostly did their work at their  
own houses.

The administration of justice was rough and ready. There was  
neither any prescribed procedure for a court to follow nor any  
codified law. Minor offences were disposed of by the Panchayats where-  
as the major offences, including murders, were invariably referred to  
the chief for final orders. In some states there was the office of the  
36  
Qazi, too, to assist the chief in dispensing justice. There were  
neither regular jails nor capital punishment. The common forms of

35. Shahamat Ali, PP.15 and Kohli's 'Making of Jind State'.

36. I have seen a Muzalehat Namah or a Deed of Agreement between  
the two parties in a civil case under the seal of the Qazi of  
Jind. It relates to the period of Raja Sangat Singh's reign (1822-  
34). It is in the possession of a private person at Jind.

punishment were:-

1. Fines or Dand
2. Mutilation of limb or organ.
3. Dalel or extra duty.
4. Katharna (Stocks)
5. Fancy punishments, such as blackening the face of the culprit and parading him round the town, stamping and branding the forehead and exile from its native town.

The punishments were rather retributive and deterrent and not reformative. The system of trial by ordeal was not unknown. <sup>37</sup>

The chiefs and their officers were alike involved in a life and death struggle since the very origin of their states and so they had had little time to think of any administrative reforms.

#### 8. REVENUES.

The most important source of income was the land revenue; the income from custom duties or Sair and excise of Abkari, fines and court fees etc, was comparatively small. The government rate of land revenue was fixed at one half of the gross agricultural produce, which was payable both in cash and kind. 'The Ryot, however was treated with great indulgence by the chiefs.' <sup>38</sup>

Due to lack of original records of these different states it is not possible to arrive at a correct estimate of their income. Various estimates of income were, therefore, prepared from time to time. <sup>39</sup> In 1804 A.D. Ochterlony estimated the annual total income of all the Cis-Sutlaj Chiefs at Rs. 40 Lakhs only which is not much different from that of the old Sirhind Sarkar as given in Ain for

37. 'The Army of Ranjit Singh' part IV, Section VI, PP.13-15 by Kohli.

38. Malcolm, PP.125-126.

39. The estimated income of some states, as given by different authors, are tabulated here for ready reference.

Name of the State.	Mohd Hassan	Lepel Griffin	Ochterlony
	1801 A.D.	1800. January	1804 A.D.
1. Patiala.	Rs. 6,12,000	Over 6 Lakhs Rs	-
2. Kaithal	Rs. 2,40,000	Over 2,25,000	-
3. Jind	Rs. 1,16,000	-	-
4. Nabha.	Rs. 1,52,000	Amount Rs. 1,50,000	-
5. Raikot.	Rs. 3,20,000	-	-
6. Malerkotla.	Rs. 80,000	-	-
7. Raipur Gujarwal.	-	-	-
8. Ladwa.	-	-	Rs. 80,000
9. Booria & Jagadhri.	-	-	Rs. 50,000
10. Kalsia.	-	-	Rs. 1,00,000
11. Thanesar.	-	-	Rs. 20,000
12. Shahabad.	-	-	Rs. 60,000

9. ARMY.

A correct estimate of the total strength of the army of these states, individually or collectively is not easy. It has been variously estimated by different contemporary writers at different

41 times. According to the estimate given by George Thomas, which

seems reasonably more sound than others, the total army of these

40. N.A. Ochterlony to G.G., dated 20.12.1804 and Ain II, PP.300

41. Alexander Dow estimated it in 1768 A.D. at 60000 good horse (Vol. II, PP.369); Forster at about one lakh in 1783 (Vol. I, PP. 333) and Brown gave the figures as 24300 in 1785 with the following details (Introduction PP.XII).

1. Raja Gajpat Singh of Jind.-	1500	Horse &	500	Foot
2. Bhag Singh & Bhanga Singh	750	" "	250	"
3. of Thanesar.				
3. Karam Singh Nirmala of Shahabad	750	" "	250	"
4. Gurbakhsh Singh of Ambala-	750	" "	250	"
5. Jassa Singh of Naraingarh-	1500	" "	500	"
6. Saundha Singh of Khanna. -	225	" "	75	"
7. Hari Singh Dallewala of Ropar	1500	" "	500	"
and Sialba.				
8. Rai Singh and Bhag Singh of	750	" "	250	"
Booria.				
9. Dewan Singh Lang of Sikandra	750	" "	250	"
10. Dulcha Singh of Radaur.	750	" "	250	"
11. Gurdatt Singh of Babian.	750	" "	250	"
12. Hakumat Singh of Garhi Kotha	150	" "	50	"
13. Bhagat Singh Nishanwala.	375	" "	125	"
14. Desu Singh of Pehawa.	1125	" "	375	"
15. Dhanna Singh of Kharar.	1500	" "	500	"
16. Sahib Singh of Patiala.	4500	" "	1500	"
17. Hamir Singh of Nabha.	600	" "	200	"
Total:-	18225	" "	6075	"
Grand total-	24300			

(These figures, however, do not include the army of a number of the minor chiefs).

Again Franklin gave the figures at 66000 in 1793-94 (PP.75) and Lt. Col. Ochterlony put the figures of the cavalry at 10400 in 1804 A.D. (N.A. Ochterlony to G.G., dated 8.1.1804) with the following details:-

1. The widow of (the lately deceased) Rai Ilyas-	500	Horse
2. Atta-ullah-khan of Malerkotla.	- 200	"
3. Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha.	- 700	"
4. Raja Sahib Singh of Patiala.	-2000	"
5. Raja Bhag Singh of Jind.	- 700	"
6. Bhai Lal Singh of Kaithal.	- 700	"
7. Gurdatt Singh of Ladwa.	-1000	"
8. Sher Singh of Booria (Killed)	- 300	"
9. Rai Singh of Jagadhri.	- 500	"
10. Mehtab Singh of Thanesar.	- 300	"
11. Bhanga Singh of Thanesar.	- 500	"
12. Jodh Singh of Kalsia.	- 400	"
13. Karam Singh Shaheed.	- 300	"
14. Raja of Nabha	- 300	"
15. Tara Singh Chaiba.	- 500	"
16. Other in small bodies.	-1500	"
TOTAL	-10400	"

These figures neither include the infantry figure nor probably the armies of the Jageerdars. The figure of the horsemen also are under-estimated such as that of Jodh Singh of Kalsia who is recorded to possess 1000 horse and 500 foot (Mohd Hassan PP.79 Footnote and Khushwaqt Rai PP.153).

state, numbered about 27,000 men in 1799.

The Sikhs were, even then, reckoned among the best martial races of India. They were mostly horsemen and the infantry was kept only for the defence of their forts and villages. Their horses were the finest available in India. They used swords, spears, bows and arrows and most of them carried large matchlocks, "which they handled dextrously enough to annoy the enemy. They avoided open warfare and excelled in cutting off stragglers and intercepting provisions". They had, however, a few pieces of artillery, but had not much knowledge in this branch.

10. RELATIONS WITH:- (1) The Mughal Emperor at Delhi.

The sway of the declining Mughal power at Delhi did not extend any farther than the insignificant area round about Delhi. The old, blind and helpless Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam II, who was restored to Delhi in 1772 by the Marathas, was a virtual prisoner in the hands of Sindhia, particularly since his redemption from the hands of Ghulam Qadir.

The Emperor and his huge family depended on the petty subsistence allowance distributed by Perron's agent, M. Drudgeon. 'The long indulgence of an active life at Allahabad, the black penury of early 50 years and the habitual use of opium had rendered him completely unfit for any active and decisive action.' The so called Great Mughal was, thus, leading the most miserable life, particularly, physically and financially and yearned 'to eat his bread a few years more in peace!'

42. George Thomas, PP.68. His estimate seems to be more accurate; for, he carried on an aggressive campaign against them for three years (1799-1801) and before doing so he must have acquired full and correct information regarding their military resources. Moreover the figures of Ochterlony and Brown, if duly corrected, as pointed out in the above footnote, will also conform to the figures of George Thomas. The variation in different estimates may be explained by the fact that all these chiefs used to recruit irregulars, only temporarily, to meet the exigencies of the occasion and that number seems to have been taken into account by the writers.

43. Asiatic, 1800, PP.34.

44. Asiatic 1801, PP.9, Dean PP.182; Parliamentary Papers June 1806, No.25 and Malcolm PP.129, 131 and 141.

45. There is an old saying:- (The rule of Emperor Shah Alam extended from Delhi to Palam (Palam is the aerodrom of Delhi)).

46. Fall Vol.III, PP.446.

However, this impotent-potentate Shah Alam II, still, held the nominal sovereignty over a large area between the Chambal and the Sutlaj and as such the Cis-Sutlaj Chiefs recognized and paid him homage when it suited them.

(ii) The Marathas.

The Marathas had in 1772 re-established their position at Delhi and had Shah Alam under their protection. In 1784 Mahadji Sindhia was officially invested with the office of the Naib-Vakil-i-Mutlaq (Deputy Regent Plenipotentiary).<sup>47</sup> He tried to ~~extend~~<sup>extend</sup> the Maratha influence in this part of India in the name of preserving the integrity and the prestige of the Imperial City and its environments. Thus he came in contact with chieftains like Gurdatt Singh of Ladwa, Bhanga Singh of Thanesar, Sher Singh of Booria, Rai Singh of Jagadhri and Jodh Singh of Kalsia, who would often cross the Janna in small bands and return after ransacking the towns. Despite repeated punitive ~~expeditions~~<sup>expeditions</sup> from Delhi the Sikh raids on the Doab could not be checked as Mahadji Sindhia was unable to give adequate attention to this affair. Hence in 1785 he cleverly arranged that the Sikhs should always be joined by the Maratha forces when going on expedition on either side of the Janna and the gains of the loot should be suitably divided between the Sikhs and the Marathas. But this arrangement could not last long.

When Mahadji's power was re-established at Delhi after the fall of Ghulam Qadir Rohilla he had to decide upon a more definite policy in respect of the Sikh and Sikh chiefs. He could have easily made "some great local chief like the Raja of Patiala his firm friend and use him as a buffer against the swarming Sikh hordes further West".<sup>48</sup> But he decided upon permanently establishing his sway over this area by subduing the Sikhs and sent a number of expeditions against them during the following three or four years. These expeditions failed

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47. Shah Alam had offered the office of Regent Plenipotentiary to Mahadji Sindhia in recognition of his services. The Maratha General, however, reserved this higher title for his chief, the Peshwa, and accepted for himself the lower one of Deputy Regent Plenipotentiary. P.R.C. Vol. IX, Introduction.

48. F all, Vol. IV, PP. 228.

to produce any substantial result. Ultimately Mahadji had to give up the idea of subduing the Sikh chiefs by force and ~~later~~ then till his death (Feb.1794) he continued to cajole them. His successor, Daulat Rao-a young lad of fourteen at the time of succession-did not effect any change in the political and military policy of his predecessor in Northern India. Himself being fully preoccupied with the affairs at the court of the Peshwa in Poona, Daulat Rao left the direction of his affairs at Delhi to his officers like Lakwa Dada, Ambaji Ingle and Gen.<sup>49</sup>Perron.

Gen Perron, however, decided to change the Maratha policy in respect of the Sikhs sometimes towards the end of 1798 and on 1st January, 1799 he reached Karnal to demand submission from the Sikh chiefs. The Sikh chiefs made up their mind to oppose the aggressor and assembled a chosen cavalry force of ten thousand at Patiala for the purpose. Gen. Perron also got the report of their intentions in time. He marched about 22 miles further to Thanesar to meet them. He also endeavoured to rally the Muslim chiefs against the Sikhs. Gulsher Khan, the chief of Kunjpura, had joined him and several others responded to his call. The Sikh rulers on finding Perron's forces much superior to their own, ultimately decided to come to terms with him and signed a Peace Treaty on the 10th March, 1799. These events had established Sindhia's domination over the Cis-Sutlaj Sikh chiefs and

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49. Pierre-Francois Guilliar, who in India changed his name to Guillier Perron, was born in Southern France. After De Boignes retirement at the end of the year 1795, Perron as the senior most officer in the Sindhia's army got his chance. He was given the command of the 1st Brigade and created Col. in 1796. Lakwa Dada was, however, still the Viceroy of the Sindhia's domains in Hindustan (area between the Chambal and the Jamna) and Perron had to obey him. But Perron played a prominent part in Sindhia's campaign against the Bais (Mahadji Sindhia's widows) and Daulat Rao rewarded his loyalty by authorising him to wrest the fort of Delhi and with it the custody of the Emperor from Lakwa's agent, Bhai Bhaskar Tatya, which Perron effected through his lieutenant, Pedron (Oct.1798).

Daulat Rao Sindhia nominated Ambaji Ingle as the Viceroy of Hindustan in place of Lakwa Dada, now disgraced on account of his sympathies with the Bais. Perron faithfully cooperated with Ingle too. Sindhia was much pleased with Perron's sense of duty and loyalty and created him his C-in-C in Hindustan with the title of General and an office which DeBoigne previously enjoyed. At the same time the Sindhia influenced the puppet Shah Alam II to confer on Perron the rank of a Commander of 7000 with the hyperbolic oriental titles of Nasir-ul-Mulk Intizam-ud-Daula Bahadur Muzzafar Jang (12th February, 1799). Henceforth Perron was busy strengthening Sindhia's control over N. India (Fall IV, PP. 245-49).

50. Fraser, Vol.1, PP.168-9.

for the time being checked their activities in the Doab.

(iii) The Trans-Sutlaj Sikhs.

The occupation of Sirhind in January, 1764 had given the Malwa Sikh chiefs a definite political habitat. Their interests were naturally confined to this area. Gradually the political ties which had bound them so closely with their brethren across the Sutlaj during the early years were actually becoming feebler with the passing of time. The areas of Cis and Trans-Sutlaj, thus, came to form two separate territorial blocs, as it were, each following its own course of political development. But with the rise of Maharaja Ranjit Singh to power this independent identity of the Cis-Sutlaj group was definitely threatened because of his aim of uniting the 'Sarbat Khalasa' into one political power under him.

(iv) The English.

Till the appointment of Meer Yusuf Ali Khan on special mission to the 'Khalsa Jee Sardars' in June, 1800, the East India Company's Government do not appear to have considered the need of any definite policy towards the Cis-Sutlaj Sikh chiefs. The news of Zaman Shah contemplating an invasion of Delhi and his having friendly relations with Maharaja Ranjit Singh who had captured Lahore in July, 1799 very much stirred the English at Calcutta. The Governor General had all

51. N.A. Collins to G.G. dated 24th June, 1800. Aug. 1800:-
52. N.A. Yusuf Ali Khan to Colling, dated Kaithal the 4th/~~th~~ "Bhai Lal Singh told me with some minuteness of the amicable footing of Ranjit Singh with Zaman Shah. The Shah, he said by means of a Khilaat, presents and hopes of one kind or other gained over Dal Singh, the chief Minister of Ranjit Singh, from whom he then made a requisition of a certain number of cannons. Dal Singh in order to reconcile Ranjit Singh to the demand represented to him that all the Sardars of Ranjit Singh's own tribe were adverse to him in consequence of his having acquired possession of Lahore and that therefore, it could not be politic to displease or irritate the Shah whose alliance and friendship he should rather cultivate as the means of securing the directions of the other chiefs. Dal Singh's arguments have satisfied Ranjit Singh. He addressed a letter to Zaman Shah informing that his master has acknowledged his subjection to His Majesty and desiring him to send a trusty person to receive charge of the cannons. Zaman Shah accordingly despatched a Mutsaddi (an accountant) belonging to Wazir Wafadar Khan, called Tek Singh, to Ranjit Singh with a splendid Khilaat, two horses of great value and other rare and precious articles accompanied with a royal letter. Ranjit Singh had the cannons repaired and delivered to him ~~whom~~ whom he dismissed with rich presents and thus acquired the friendship of the Shah". The main facts of this story are also confirmed by Ranjit Singh himself in his letter to Col. Collins written in November, 1800. P. R. C. Vol. IX, PP 408.
52. N.A. Collins to G.G. dated 24th June 1800.



along considered the maintenance of peace and tranquillity in the North-Western India essential to fully concentrate his attention on the subversion of the Maratha Empire. Hence Yusuf Ali Khan was sent to establish friendly relations with the Sirhind chiefs and to counteract the influence of the invader from Kabul on the Lahore Court. 53

The Mission accompanied by Rour Mal, 'a Sikh Vakil of a responsible character,' started from Shahjehanbad (Delhi) in the last week of June, 1800. On its way the Mission met George Thomas at Hansi. Next it proceeded to Jind via Rohtak to meet Raja Bhag Singh of Jind-an old acquaintance of Meer Yusuf Ali-who was reported to wield a considerable influence on his nephew, Ranjit Singh of Lahore. But 'a measure of this nature could not be effected, without the advice and recommendation of Lal Singh Bahadur', hence the mission proceeded thither and met Bhai Lal Singh in the first week of August, 1800. The Mission held many conferences with him for well-nigh six weeks. In these conferences it was pointed out to the Mission that the Sikh chiefs would prefer to have a direct talk with Col. Collins and that the British should not expect a free and gratis assistance but should conclude some definite offensive and defensive alliance with them. 54 55 56

However, the English judiciously avoided to bind themselves in any way and having managed to secure the good will of the Kaithal Chief by a verbal promise of mutual friendship and valuable presents the Mission proceeded in the middle of September to meet the ruler of Patiala, who was then busy fighting his sister, Bibi Sahib Kaur near Sunam. In the meeting at Patiala, which was arranged with some difficulty and delay on the 2nd Oct., Raja Sahib Singh assured him of his cooperation and provided him with an escort to Lahore. 57 58

Meer Yusuf Ali Khan left Patiala for Lahore on the 4th Oct. 1800.

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53. N.A. Collins to G.G. dated 24th June 1800.

54. N.A: Yusuf Ali Khan to Collins, dated 4-8-1800.

55. The long stay at Kaithal was due to the conferences with its chief who was the spokesman of all the Sirhind Singh Chiefs as well as due to the rainy season which made the streams and the rivulets on the way unfordable.

56. N.A: Yusuf Ali Khan to Collins, dated 4-8-1800.

57. N.A: Collins to G.G., dated 25th October, 1800.

58. N.A: Yusuf Ali Khan to Collins, dated September, 1800.

with the letters of Raja Bhag Singh and Bhai Lal Singh to Ranjit Singh, and met the Lahore chief on the 22nd October for the first time. The Meer stayed at the Lahore court till the end of March 1801 and despite the temporary set-back caused by Raja Bhag Singh's letter to Ranjit Singh, written under General Perron's influence, ultimately succeeded in impressing upon Ranjit Singh the just sense of the danger which he was likely to bring upon himself if he cooperated with Shah Zaman. Moreover, the Durrani chief at this time being seriously involved in an internecine warfare with his brother, the possibility of such an invasion was greatly obviated. Having, thus, fulfilled its object 'to the extent of instructions' the Mission took ceremonial leave of Ranjit Singh and after distributing Khilaats and European rarities to the Cis-Sutlej Sikh chiefs on the way returned to Shahjahanbad.

11. Unity in Diversity.

The Sikhs appeared 'to have no union or affection among themselves'. Disunity and internal dissensions arising from more than one reasons had vitiated the political life of the Punjab. Absence

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59. N.A: Raja Bhag Singh to Maharaja Ranjit Singh: "The English who are the wisest people of the present times having by truth, prosperity and kindness rendered the princes of the country contented and thankful are become the chief ruler of Hindustan. Your reputation for courage, justice and talents for government lately reached them through the public papers and the Governor General although a stranger to you is highly pleased and satisfied with your distinguished qualities. Accordingly to establish the foundation of amity and friendship he has deputed to you Meer Yusuf Ali Khan, a confidential person on his parts-one honoured with the management of English daks of intelligence and a person, the ancient friend of the late Maharaja (Gajpat Singh) and me.. It is a special assistance of invisible power, as the power of Sat-Gooroojee and strive to avail yourself of the matter Meer Yusuf Ali proposes". Bhai Lal Singh to Ranjit Singh: "I learn from him that they earnestly desire to establish the foundations of amity and friendship with all the Khalsa Jee Sardars but chiefly with you whose ambitious and extensive views are known to everyone. It is a spontaneous offer from a powerful power and we should avail of it".
60. P.R.C. Vol. IX, pp421.  
N.A: Meer Yusuf Ali Khan to Collins, dated 12-12-1800 and R.S. to Collins dated 13.1.1801. Raja Bhag Singh to Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The lengthy letters have been reproduced in Appendix C.
61. N.A. Yusuf Ali Khan to Hussain Ali Khan, dated 16.3.1801; Amar Nath pp.13; Gulgashta-i-Punjab, pp.30 and Schan Lal, pp.54.
62. Asiatic 1801, pp.9 (Characters) and Parliamentary Papers, June, 1806, No. 25.

of any central organising power in the Khalsa Panth; the restless spirit and the ambitious designs of the various Sikh chiefs and the existence of the peculiar co-parcenary system in respect of their holdings had greatly worsened the mutual relations of these Sikh Chiefs. <sup>63</sup> "The desire that every chief entertained of increasing his territories, of building strong forts and adding to the number of the troops, involved them in internal wars, and these, however, once commenced soon communicated. Though such feuds have, no doubt, helped to maintain their military spirit, yet their extent or virulence have completely broken down the union, which their great legislator, <sup>64</sup> Govind, laboured to establish".

There was, however, one redeeming feature, at least, so far as the major and some of the minor Sirhind Sikh chiefs were concerned. A common danger to their existence had brought them together, more than once, in the past and had saved them from complete collapse and utter ruin. Thus, when George Thomas and Gen. Perron invaded them (1798-99) they were well united against their common foes. That shrewd English officer, Collins, was quick enough to realize this trait <sup>for</sup> and to point out to the G.G. in Sept. 1800 that <sup>the</sup> purpose of opposing the unjustifiable designs of Shah Zaman and Ranjit Singh it might not be found difficult, should your lordship approve the <sup>65</sup> attempt, to unite the majority of the Sikh Sardars in a confederacy".

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63. N.A: Pb. Adm. Rep. 1849-51

64. Malcolm, pp. 104.

65. N.A: Collins to G.G. dated 3.9.1800.

## CHAPTER II

### CONFLICTS WITH GEORGE THOMAS: THE END OF HIS POWER:

( 1800-1801 )

#### 1. Early Career of George Thomas.

George Thomas of Hansi had begun to disturb the peace of the Cis-Sutlaj Sikh chiefs in 1798 A.D. and for a couple of years he continued to be the main factor influencing the course of history in this Cis-Sutlaj region.

George Thomas was an Irish by Birth. He could not receive any education due to <sup>w</sup>poerty. At an early age he took to sea-faring and landed in Madras in 1782 when he was only 26 years old. After spending 5 years in South India, he proceeded to Delhi where he was employed in the army of Begum Sanru of Sardhana. After serving her faithfully for about 4 years the Irish Captain fell a victim to the intrigues of his jealous French colleagues and was made to quit the service of the Begum.

His resourcefulness, however, never failed him and within two years we find George Thomas as 'Private Captain of mercenaries(1793). For full two years (October, 1793- November, 1795) Thomas was in the employ of Appa Khande Rao, the disgraced Maratha governor of Mewat. Much impressed with his valour and sincerity, Appa ~~Khande Rao~~ ~~restored to favour~~ assigned Thomas a few parganas in Jagir (March-July 1794). Appa Khande Rao was restored to favour in November, 1795 when he readily lent the services of Thomas to help Lakwa Dada, who was then Daulat Rao Singhia's viceroy in Northern India, against the Sikh invaders. Thomas not only drove the Sikh invaders from these Maratha possessions but also successfully guarded the Jamna frontier of the Doab against them. Pleased with his services, Lakwa conferred on him the parganas of Panipat, Sonapat and Kamal as Jagir for his maintenance.

1. Begum Sanru was the ruler of the state of Sardhana situated in the east of the Jamna. There are different accounts of the Begum's parentage. One writer suggests that she was the daughter of a decayed Mughal noble man, another that she was a Kashmiri dancing girl, and a third that she was by birth a Sayyadani. She had married one Walter Reinhard, the notorious French adventurer who came to India in 1750. In India he had adopted sombre as the nom-de-querre. So she came to be called Begum Sombre or Sambu. She was extraordinarily clever and soon gained influence over Sombre. Sombre died at Agra on 4th May, 1778 aged 58 years. Three years later his widow was baptised. Her christian name was Joanna Nobilis. The Begum was a very short statured woman but she possessed great courage and an uncommon resolution of manners. She was much attached to the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II and had served him several times in difficulty. The Emperor also treated her like his own daughter. She died in 1836.

Thomas' chief, Appa Khande Rao, however, committed suicide by drowning himself in the Ganga on the 25th June, 1797 and was succeeded by his nephew, Vaman Rao. Thomas could not pull on with Vaman Rao and hence soon parted company and took to independent adventurous career. He consequently started his raids on the neighbouring Rajput territories and thus collected a large amount of money to maintain his own necessary large military establishment.

Early in 1798 his services were hired by Vaman Rao in his campaign against Jaipur. But even the career of a 'Private robber Captain' could not satisfy Thomas. Ambitious and spirited as he was he decided to carve out an independent principality for himself in the no-man's land of Haryana.

Haryana or the green country stretches to the outskirts of Delhi, Panipat and Karnal in the East, to the rivers Saraswati and Ghaggar in the North, to the confines of Bhatti territories in the West and to those of Kanaud, Narnaul and Rewari in the South. The area is generally dry and sandy. Water is very scarce and the wells are about 120 to 150 feet deep. But in the Monsoon season the position is suddenly reversed and the area begins presenting a green and refreshing out-look to the eye. The people of Haryana are poor, simple, hardy and courageous. Hence this area has ever been an excellent recruiting centre for the army. Here Thomas established his independent state with his capital at Hansi (April-May, 1798).

The state of the 'Irish Raja' was generally oval in shape. Its boundaries were ever shifting, but roughly it comprised the whole of Haryana tract except the Jind, Kaithal and Bhatti territories. It covered an area of 2000 square miles which gave an annual income of three lakhs of rupees. But due to the disturbed conditions the whole of the income was seldom realized. Besides, his Jagir from the Marathas, consisting of five parganas namely Jhajjar, Beri, Mandauthi, Pataudi and Badli, gave him an additional income of rupees one lakh and a half per year. His European biographers have much exaggerated his military resources and it is, therefore, difficult to arrive at a correct estimate of his army. But within his income he could hardly afford to maintain more than 1500 regular troops and a few pieces of artillery

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in 1798, although he might have enrolled a large number of irregulars to carry out his adventurous campaigns and subsisted them on plunder. However, Thomas rebuilt the defences of the capital and repopulated it along with its neighbouring areas. He issued his own coin and cast his own artillery.

Late in 1798 Thomas turned his attention to the neighbouring Sikh State between the Jamna and the Sutlaj. But his attack on Jind in 1798 completely failed and the Jind Raja with the help of his brother chiefs defeated the aggressive design of this European adventurer. Consequently a truce restoring the status quo was signed in March, 1799.

George Thomas was then engaged by Ambaji Ingle to fight Lakwa in Mewat. He returned to Hansi from this expedition in November, 1799.<sup>3</sup>

### 2. Thomas violates the Truce.

Thomas had signed his truce with the Sikh Chiefs in March, 1799, but it was not without some mental reservations. Restless in spirit ~~and~~ and in constant need of money, Thomas was on the look out of a suitable opportunity to renew his interventions in the affairs of the Cis-Sutlaj Sikh States. Luckily for him Raja Sahib Singh had at this time marched against his own sister, Bibi Sahib Kaur, to crush her power. It was an excellent chance for him to grind his own axe in the guise of chivalry and accordingly he decided to attack the Patiala chief in the name of the brave Sikh lady.<sup>4</sup>

Bibi Sahib Kaur is one of the very few ladies who have played an important part in the annals of the Sikh history. Gifted with unusual courage and valour she would not hesitate to lead in person her army in the theatres of war. In her politics she fully believed in the unity among the Phulkian chiefs. She had come to Patiala during the early years of the last decade of the 18th century with the permission of her husband, Sardar Jaimal Singh Kanhiya of Fatehgarh, to help her brother, who found himself unable to cope with

2. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar has worked out the annual cost of maintenance of a battalion consisting of 416 rank and file, then, at Rs. 43200/- (Fall, IV, PP. 239)

3. Fall, IV, PP. 231-240.

4. According to Franklin and Compton Bibi Sahib Kaur had asked for Thomas's help. But it is not corroborated by any oriental source.

the critical situation then prevailing there.

But this growing prestige and influence of Sahib Kaur with her brother and also among the Sirhind chiefs aroused much jealousy in the mind of Sahib Singh's wife, Rani Aus Kaur, who herself was a very ambitious lady. Having recently given birth to an heir-Kanwar Karam Singh - she had gained some influence with her husband. Early in 1799, when Sahib Kaur had gone to Jind to help Raja Bhag Singh against George Thomas, Rani Aus Kaur successfully utilized this opportunity and duly estranged her husband from Sahib Kaur. Raja Sahib Singh now brought certain ridiculous charges against his sister and asked her to vacate the fort of Ubhowal, which was her Jagir and where she was staying after her return from Jind. On Bibiji's refusal to do so the Raja took up arms against her and proceeded to Ubhowal to seize the fort with force.

Thomas, at once, proceeded against Sunam (Mid. Jan. 1800) as if to champion the cause of the gallant heroine. As Raja Sahib Singh was not prepared for the fight so he bought off Thomas. Then Thomas moved off towards Bikaner and Bhatner and on his return journey sacked Fatehabad which was supposed to be under the nominal sovereignty of the Patiala Ruler. Later taking advantage of the final disgrace of Lakwa Dada Thomas moved on to Saharanpur district to levy contributions but when in May he heard of Gen. Perron marching towards Saharanpur Thomas recrossed the Janna and on his way back to Hansi plundered the neighbouring minor Sikh states. Then he successfully put down a rebellion in his own South-Western district and returned to his Capital (August, 1800).

This violation of truce by George Thomas had very much alarmed

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5. Ubhowal is 6 miles North of Sunam. Sunam itself is an old town 40 miles west of Patiala and is so named because of its being situated on a large mound which from a distance looks like a camel hump for which the Arabic word is 'Sunam'.

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the Cis-Sutlaj Sikh chiefs. Some of them, specially Raja Bhag Singh of Jind had started negotiations with Gen. Perron to seek his intervention in the matter. Gen. Perron, who was very anxious to bring about the failure of Meer Yusuf Ali Khan's Mission, welcomed the opportunity and came as far as Bejumpur, a place about 7 kos to the North-West of Kamal (2nd October, 1800),<sup>7</sup> to make a show of his support to the cause of the Sikh chiefs. 'All the Sardars in that vicinity, influenced by the fear of Thomas, sent letters, nazars and presents to Gen. Perron. On this occasion Bhag Singh in particular attended in person. Gen. Perron by act of conciliation relieved Bhag Singh's mind from the solicitude ~~he~~ felt in this respect and afforded him the fullest satisfaction. Perron gave him at the same time two parganas (Gohana and Kharkhoda) in Jaldad, made a friend of him and through his means opened a<sup>8</sup> correspondence between himself and Ranjit Singh'.

Thomas was fully aware of this development. During the last few months (September to December) of the year he continued to make heavy preparations with a view to carry out his most cherished design, the conquest of the Punjab',<sup>9</sup> but Perron's antagonism deterred Thomas from undertaking it without necessary support and backing of another power, which was not forthcoming. Uncertainty of general political situation in India and abroad made even his 'compatriot Governor General in India turn a deaf ear to his appeals for help in extending the British sway in the Punjab'.

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6. The activities of George Thomas, it seems, had so much upset the Sirhind chiefs that even the cleverest of them viz Bhai Lal Singh was afraid to leave his country at the moment, much though he had wished to accompany Meer Yusuf Ali Khan as far as the Sutlaj. While describing this incident, Meer Yusuf Ali Khan writes:-

"He (Bhai Lal Singh) could, accompanied by Bhag Singh, go to Raja Sahib Singh whom with the Sardars of Sirhind he could engage in this purpose and all encamp on the bank of the Sutlaj. Ranjit Singh could be summoned to meet them there and then after conferring together he could acquaint me of the result of their deliberation. But as the sincerity of the Southern Sardars (Maratha chiefs) and Mr. Thomas could not be confided in, it would be impudent to leave the country exposed by such a movement".  
N.A: Meer Yusuf Ali Khan to Hassan Ali Khan, dated Kamal the 19th August, 1800.

7. N.A: Col. Collins to Lord Wellesley, dated 11-10-1800.

8. N.A: Meer Yusuf Ali Khan to Col. Collins, dated 12-12-1800.

9. The European biographers of George Thomas have given him the credit of having prepared some great scheme of the conquest of the whole Punjab and of planting the British standard on the banks of the Attock. But whether he could have been able to accomplish it, is really doubtful.



3. Thomas's Cis-Sutlaj Campaign during Jan-June, 1801.

But this failure of his scheme only made Thomas to turn to the Cis-Sutlaj Sikh chiefs. Suspicion and fear of treachery had ruined the possibility of any reconciliation between Sahib Kaur and her brother and there had commenced a regular conflict between the two at Ubhowal. This once again provided Thomas with the requisite excuse for attacking the ruler of Patiala. He marched against him in the beginning of January, 1801. This movement of Thomas occasioned an address from Perron to the Raja of Bikaner asking him to cause a diversion in favour of the patiala Raja by attacking the adjacent territory of Thomas. Perron likewise directed Bapooji Sindhia, the Mazim of Saharanpur, to march immediately to the assistance of the Raja of Patiala leaving only sufficient force for the protection of his own district.

Hearing of Thomas's approach Raja Sahib Singh abandoned the siege of Ubhowal and returned to Sunam. He despatched special couriers to all the various Cis-Sutlaj Sikh chiefs for his help. Thomas turned towards Sunam but his advance was checked by Sardar Tara Singh Ghaiba. A minor clash took place and Thomas changing his direction fell upon Dirba, a big village 30 miles South-West of Patiala and 12 miles South-East of Sunam. Here he was engaged by the chief of Bhador and Bakhshi Malik Sher Dograr, the Commander of Patiala forces. From here Thomas rushed on Ghanor, a town half way between Ambala and Patiala, and on being pursued returned to Baladh, an important village half way between Patiala and Sunam.

Meanwhile a large number of Sikhs had been gathered together by the beat of battle-drum in the fort of Dhodan or Bhawanigarh, a town three miles North-West of Baladh. Thomas decided to give a slip to them. So he bypassed the Dhodan fort and rushed on North-West ward to surprise the forces of Tara Singh Ghaiba who was marching thither in response to the call of Bedi Sahib Singh of Una,

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10. N.A:Meer Yusuf Ali Khan to Col. Collins, dated 16.1.1801.

11. Sardar Tara Singh Ghaiba was the chief of Rohon, a minor state on the right bank of the Sutlaj. More than 90 years old he still went about raiding, plundering and fighting his enemies. He was a terror to some of the minor Cis-Sutlaj Sikh chiefs but he was a close friend of the Phulkian Rulling families. He had four sons among whom he had distributed his estate in his life time. Tara Singh was usually styled as Ghaiba, for he was expert

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a descendent of Guru Nanak, to take part in a crusade against the Muslim state of Raikot. After a hard journey of 24 miles through thick forests Thomas came to know that some of the forces of Tara Singh were occupying a rich village of Bath, 6 miles North-West of Malerkotla. Thomas first received tributes from the Pathan chiefs of Malerkotla and then carried Bath by assault laying heavy exactions on the inhabitants.

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Bedi Sahib Singh's this crusade against Raikot was merely a repetition of a similar crusade against Malerkotla in March, 1795. But these campaigns were based more on an idea of carving out an independent principality for himself than on any noble religious sentiment. This time, however, he had arranged it on a larger scale and the Sikh chiefs of Thanesar, Kapurthala and Shahabad had joined him in the attack.

Both Rai Ilyas, the minor chief, and his Regent mother, ~~both~~ had been taken unawares and even the heroic sacrifices of their principal military officer, Roshan Khan, in the battle of Jodh did not bear any fruit. Bedi Sahib Singh and his allies conquered several forts of Raikot state in the South of Ludhiana and established their military posts there.

The Regent mother, Rani Nur-ul-Nissa, now invoked the help of Raja Sahib Singh of Patiala, an old friend of the family. The chiefs of Jind, Kaithal and Kalsia had already arrived with their forces at Sunam at the invitation of the Raja of Patiala. But the forces thus collected for expelling Thomas now proceeded for the help of the Raikot Regent. A strong cavalry force was, however, left behind to guard the

- territories against the sudden attack of the Irish aggressor.
- in making surprise attacks. Raj, Vol. I, PP. 36 and Khushwaqat Rai PP. 81.
12. Bedi Sahib Singh was in the 10th generation of Guru Nanak. His head-quarter was at Una. The Sikhs respected him as they believed in his possessing some spiritual superiority (Bute Shah, Vol. 1, 502-3).
13. Cunningham puts the event in 1800 A.D. But the date and sequence of events as given by Franklin and Compton definitely seem more correct.
14. A copy of a letter bearing the seals of Nawabs-Atta-Ullah-Khan, Fatch Khan, Wazir Khan and Mohammad Ali is issued to Sardar Karam Singh on 19th March, 1795, is preserved in the collections of the chief of Malerkotla. In this letter the Nawabs had promised to pay S. Karam Singh Rs. 525/-/- as Wazrana if he arranged Bedi's departure from Malerkotla. Griffin puts it in 1794 incorrectly.

On the approach of the Cis-Sutlaj ~~XX~~ Sikh chiefs some of the  
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allies of the Bedi such as Karam Singh Nirmala, Budh Singh Faizullah-  
puria and Bhanga Singh of Thanesar deserted him and joined the newly  
arrived Sikh forces. The Sikh allies of the Rai succeeded in getting  
some of the forts vacated from the Bedi and in setting up their own  
military posts there as precautionary measure. But divided as their  
attention was between Thomas and Bedi they could not push out the  
aggressor altogether. At the same time the Regent began to entertain  
suspicions lest the Sikh chiefs should usurp the possessions now under  
their control. Bedi took advantage of the situation and proceeded  
towards the important town of Ludhiana itself to besiege it. Disaffected  
as they were with the Rai due to the atrocities of his Tehsildar, Sher  
Khan, the people of Ludhiana opened the gate of the town one night and  
admitted Bedi in. Bedi plundered the town and invested the fort.

Hassan, the Qiledar of Ludhiana, sent appeals for help to the  
neighbouring Sardars of Phillor. The Sardars responded to the friendly  
call and joined his cause. Similar appeals brought Rani Lachmi of  
Saniwal to his side. But all these combinations proved ineffective.

At last, when the Regent saw the fall of the fort imminent and  
the threat being extended to her South-Western possessions including  
Raikot, she sent her Vakil with a request for help to George Thomas. She  
had conveyed to him that she would pay a lakh of rupees if he restored  
the lost possessions of her son and expelled the usurper. She also  
promised to pay him a tribute of Rs. 50,000/-/- a year if he gave a guaran-  
tee to keep her son in the undisturbed possession of his territories.

George Thomas had just finished the subjugation of Bath when  
this request reached him. He welcomed it and marched towards Ludhiana.

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15. Franklim tells us that Karam Singh Nirmala discovered the tricks  
of Bedi Sahib Singh by which the latter used to impress upon his  
followers his spiritual superiority and then deserted him' (Thomas,  
P.P. 272-280). But Compton suggests one more reason of Karam Singh's  
desertion that the Raja of Patiala had offered the hand of his  
daughter to one of the Nirmala's sons.

The Sikh cavalry also appeared in his rear and pursued him thither. Thomas succeeded completely in driving out Bedi's forces and in forcing them to recross the Sutlaj. All the forts of the Rai such as Pakhowal, Sooneyt, Jandiali and Ludhiana which had been usurped by Bedi were restored to him. So <sup>both</sup> Bedi's retreat and the young Rai's restoration ~~both~~ were complete. The Rani also fully redeemed her promise and paid the settled amount to Thomas.

Now the Cis-Sutlaj Sikh chiefs, stationed at Jodh Mansur, were keenly watching the activities of George Thomas, who was then at Narangwal, 4 miles South-east of them. Raja Bhag Singh, Karam Singh Nimwala and Tara Singh Ghaiba advanced at Narangwal. Thomas gave them a very tough fight for about 2 hours and then started negotiations for peace, which extended over a week. This gave him necessary rest, and now George Thomas gave them a slip and suddenly rushing against Rajowana, 11 miles South-west of Narangwal plundered it. The Sikh forces first moved to Ghumgrana, 4 miles South-east of Narangwal and then to Baraundi, 6 miles South-west of Ghumgrana and 9 miles South-east of Rajowana. The skirmishes continued for a week, after which, once again, Thomas eluded them and reached Kukerwal in which Thomas was defeated.

Now Thomas decided to embarrass the rulers of Jind and Kaithal, who, he alleged, had given a ward not to march against him during his present campaign on the condition of his keeping himself aloof from their territories, but had violated the pact by joining the forces of the ruler of Patiala against him. Thomas made a long dash from Kukerwal and fell upon the fort of Kanhori (in Kaithal State) on the bank of the Ghaggar, 40 miles South-east of Kukerwal and 18 miles west of Kaithal. The Sikh forces which came close on his heels stayed at Akalgarh or Munak, 38 miles South of Kukerwal and 12 miles West of Kanhori. Bhai Lal Singh had already marched to Kaithal from Kukerwal to make the defensive arrangements. Thomas plundered Kanhori, received the submission of its garrison and made heavy exactions. But then his ammunition ran short, and he had to march back towards his own capital. The Sikh forces unable to keep pace with him, left the ~~present, on the way he plundered Bathinda, 36 miles South of Kanhori~~

pursuit. On the way he plundered Rathkhera, 36 miles South of Kanhori, a fortified village on the Jind-Kaithal-Hansi border and returned to his capital (April). On his return he learnt that Bapooji Singhia had invaded his possessions in his absence but had fallen back on Delhi due to his return to his capital.

Thomas hastily replenished his ammunition reserve from his stores and marched against the Jind and Kaithal villages on his borders and plundered them. Then he attacked the neighbouring villages of Athkhera (Pathala State) or the eight villages lying South-west of Narwana. He laid heavy exactions on the inhabitants and took hostages. From here he again entered the Kaithal territory and attacked Kharaundi, a fortified village 15 miles North of Kaithal. Thomas then dashed against Khatana another fortified town of the Kaithal State, 17 miles South of it. The Sikh forces again moved in his pursuit but Thomas now rushed on Safidon, an old town of Raja Bhag Singh, 21 miles South-east of Khatana and besieged it.

The fort at Safidon was made of brick and was surrounded by very high and strong walls. Thomas shelled it continuously for a few hours and then decided to storm it. The Sikh garrison consisted of 700 men, 300 of whom defended the fort while the remaining made a brave rush on Thomas's men but most of them were cut to pieces as they climbed their way out of the ditch surrounding the fort. Thomas now attempted to mount the breaches made by the cannon balls but his scaling ladders proved too short and a fierce scuffle began which continued for a couple of hours. Thomas lost 450 of his brave soldiers and his assistant, Mr. Hopkins, was severely wounded. The Sikh also suffered heavily. Then the Jind forces made a determined effort to cut through Thomas's line and they did succeed in doing so but by then all of them

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16. Thomas and Compton have both mentioned the name of the place as Ratera. But village Ratera is 3 miles North-east of Nalwa 16 Miles South-west of Hansi while Jind and Kaithal territories lay on the North and North-east of Hansi. The correct name of the village seems to be Rathkhera which is 24 miles North-east of Hansi.
17. Hassan PP.172-173; Compton PP.174-179; Thomas PP.282-286; Bute Shah Vol.1, PP.502-506; Khushwaqat Rai PP.139-140; Duni Chand PP.44-45; Phul Nama PP.79-81; Sahib Singh PP.71 and Raj, Vol.II PP. 46.

were in helpless condition'. Hence they thought it better to seek shelter in the nearby forest and the battered fort was now taken by Thomas.

On hearing about the siege of Safidon Raja Bhag Singh had already rushed towards the place but the fort had fallen to Thomas before he could reach there. Raja Bhag Singh now besieged it and attacked it from all sides. Thomas came out of the defenceless fort and a pitched battle was fought outside it in which Thomas was badly defeated. Thomas now escaped to Kalwa, 8 miles-South west of Safidon in the Kaithal State (June).<sup>18</sup>

#### 4. TRUCE IS CONCLUDED ONCE AGAIN.

The Sikh chiefs were now tired of this desultory fighting. They had suffered heavy losses in men and material. Much harm had been done to the crops by these continuous movements of the troops. For the last some years Thomas had become the main source of their troubles and their lands had become the active battle-fields. Unable to deal with him themselves the chiefs decided to bring about the final discomfiture of this freebooter with the help of some other stronger power.

Thus, when Thomas, having recovered from his recent losses, moved from Kalwa towards Kaithal to attack the main Sikh forces, they instead of checking his advance, sent a deputation of four persons, headed by Dewan Chen Singh of Patiala, to him to ascertain his wishes. In fact, they needed some time and the necessary peace of mind to enable them to secure the help of some really strong power to their side actively and hence they became anxious to conclude peace with him. For his own and completely different reason Thomas too desired peace. He probably wished to be free to arrange for the expedition he was planning against the Punjab. Besides, he thought, their alliance, however superficial, was likely to impress upon Gen-Perron that the Sikhs were not inimical towards him and could thus dissuade the General from invading his own dominion, Thomas, therefore, welcomed

the offer and agreed to end the hostilities on the following terms:-

18. Hassan, PP.174, Raj, Vol.1, PP.46; Thomas PP.289-290; Compton, PP.180-181; Cunningham P.132; Sahib Singh FF.72; Duni Chand, PP.44-45, Phul Nana PP.80-81 and Rajas of the Punjab, PP.86-87.

1. The Sikhs would pay him an indemnity of Rs.1,85,000/-/-.
2. The Sikh chiefs would renounce all claims on the territory of Rai Ilyas.
3. The Patiala chief would be reconciled to his sister.<sup>19</sup>
4. The villages and towns on the frontiers of the two powers should be ceded to Thomas.
5. The chief of Patiala should subsidize two battalions of infantry, which were to be stationed on the common frontier to keep order there and to be a safeguard to either party.<sup>20</sup>

The treaty, Thomas thought, had added a new feather to his Cap. Flushed with joy at its conclusion he is reported to have said:-  
"Thus ended a campaign of seven months in which I had been more successful than I possibly would have expected.....I realized nearly two lakhs of rupees exclusive of the pay of my army and was to receive an additional lakh for the hostages which were delivered up. I explored the country, formed alliances, and was, in short, dictator in all the countries belonging to the Sikhs south of the river  
<sup>21</sup>  
Sutlaj".

It was actually more of bragging than any real achievement. The importance he attached to his acquisitions during this campaign was not fully testified by the events. Leaving alone his claim to the dictatorship, he could not even dare to fight a pitched battle with them and whenever he did so, he never came too well out of the same. It is true he had certain advantages over the Sikh chiefs, viz his own  
<sup>22</sup>  
daring personality, his superior artillery, his trained infantry, his

19. Bhai Lal Singh and Sardar Jodh Singh of Kalsia had brought about a reconciliation between Bibi Sahib Kaur and her brother and she had accompanied him to the fort of Dhodan where the suspicious brother had ordered her confinement. However she had escaped in disguise to her own estate of Ubbhowal (April) and since then she was living there an undisturbed life. She died a few months later on 15th September 1801, fully reconciled to her brother.
20. These terms are mentioned only by Franklin and Compton. It is really strange that Hassan mentions no such terms.
21. Hassan PP.46; Compton PP.181; G. Thomas PP.285-293 & Frazer PP.210.
22. The practice of training foot soldiers for war had not yet been started in the Punjab. Nor did the Sikh chiefs care much for this branch of the army service till Ranjit Singh introduced this at a large scale in the Punjab at a later date.

war strategy, his praiseworthy knowledge of the geography of Sikh lands and his swift movements. But, inspite of all these, he could not, even once, <sup>bring</sup> ~~bring~~ under possession any portion of their territory. His sporadic raids and agile movements <sup>'of course,</sup> did very much embarrass them and they were now contemplating to arrange his annihilation with the help of some foreign power.

5. SIKH MISSION TO GENERAL PERRON.

The Sikh ~~chiefs~~ chiefs had fully realized their own inability to destroy the power of Thomas and the inevitability of seeking some outside help for the purpose. The English could not possibly be expected to help them. Ranjit Singh was, still, too, busy with his own affairs. So their thoughts naturally turned to their old patron, Gen. Perron, who had so far given only verbal encouragements and now they decided to engage him actively on their side to destroy Thomas's power.

Accordingly Raja Bhag Singh, Bhai Lal Singh and Sardars Chen Singh, and Hamir Singh of Patiala proceeded to Delhi towards the end of June. Perron was then at Koil, near Aligarh. He arrived in Delhi on 2nd July, 1801, when he was apprised of the arrival of the Sikh Mission. The Mission offered to pay Rs.3/-/- lakhs as Muamla or tribute to Sindhia and Rs.1/-/- Lakh as Nazrana or present to General Perron as well as 5,000 troopers if G. Thomas was finally ousted from that area. As the total payment thus to be made by the Sikh chiefs was to be the Chauth, the total share of each chief was fixed at  $\frac{1}{4}$  of his revenue. Perron, had just been appointed Subedar (Viceroy) of Delhi in July, 1801, and as such the offer, once more, came to him at a very opportune time.

23. Raj. mentions that the Sikh Mission to Perron also included Sardar Gora Singh from Nabha. Vol.1, PP.46.

24. Gulgule, letter No.47, General Perron to Rana Zalim Singh of Kotah, dated 5th July, 1801.

25. The share of each chief was fixed as follows:-

Sl. No.	Name of the chief and the state.	Tribute (Rupees)	Present (Rupees)	Total income (Rupees)
1.	Raja Sahib Singh of Patiala.	1,14,750/-/-	38,250/-/-	6,10,800/-/-
2.	Bhai Lal Singh of KaiKhal.	45,000/-/-	15,000/-/-	2,40,000/-/-
3.	Raja Bhag Singh of Jind.	21,750/-/-	7,250/-/-	1,16,000/-/-
4.	Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha.	28,500/-/-	9,500/-/-	1,52,000/-/-
5.	Rai Ilyas of Rai Kot.	60,000/-/-	20,000/-/-	3,20,000/-/-
6.	Raipur Gujarwal.	15,000/-/-	5,000/-/-	80,000/-/-
7.	Nawab Atta-Ullah Khan of Malerkotla.	15,000/-/-	5,000/-/-	80,000/-/-

Total:----- 3 Lakhs. One Lakh 16 Lakhs.

Hassan PP.175-176. These figures have been taken from the original Bahis or the account diaries of Dewan Chen Singh for the year 1801-1802.



Thomas had refused to accept various offers of Perron and had openly declined to serve under him. Hence Perron saw in this offer a possible means of over/throwing the power of Thomas. He, therefore, agreed to the terms (early Aug.1801) and sent a special messenger to Thomas inviting him to a final personal interview at Bahadurgarh, 15<sup>26.</sup> miles West of Delhi.

In the meantime the situation in Malwa had greatly worsened for Sindhia due to Jaswant Rao Holkar's success, which finally culminated in his capture of Ujjain (July 18,1801). But even the frantic calls from his master to proceed to Malwa met with no response from Perron, who was not at all willing to let things slip out of his control in the North. He knew that a struggle with Thomas was inevitable. Thomas was alleged to have entered into alliances with Begum Sanru, the Rajas of Jaipur and Alwar as well as Jaswant Rao Holkar. So to Perron the defeat of Thomas appeared to be the most important objective. Hence he did not go to Malwa and continued to make efforts in the North to strengthen his position there. He had since long been trying to win over Ranjit Singh of Lahore through Raja Bhag Singh<sup>27</sup> and was now planning to send a messenger direct to him<sup>28.</sup> to allign him also to his cause.

Perron thought of a plan, which if successful, could kill two birds with one stone- removal of Thomas from North-western India as well as the reconciliation with and gaining the favour of Sindhia, viz- the idea of sending Thomas to Malwa and the Deccan.

Thomas had hoped to come to satisfactory settlement with Perron at his personal meeting at Bahadurgarh which began on August 20,1801. But Perron's offer to him was most unexpected. Perron offered to take Thomas into Sindhia's service with a brigade for a monthly payment

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26. According to H.G.Keene when the Cis-Sutlaj Sikh chiefs were busy in holding conference with Perron, Thomas had made a dash against Lahore. He had chosen the best and the largest section of his troops for the expedition. But when he was only four marches from Lahore, he received the news that Perron was proceeding towards Hariana. Impetuous as he was, he at once rushed back homewards and reached Hansi travelling 30 or 40 miles a day. On his return to Hansi he met Major F.I.Smith, Perron's special messenger. But this story is not corroborated by any of the contemporary sources.

27. N.A: Yusuf Ali Khan to Col. Collins, dated 12.12.1800.

28. N.A: Col. Collins to G.G., dated 28.10.1801.

of Rs. 60000/-/- either in Jagir or in cash. He was, however, allowed to retain Hariana. But Thomas read the ruin of his state and the ultimate extermination of his power in this offer. In view of Sindhia's critical situation Thomas was keen to avoid a positige and a specific agreement, while the only alternative to the rejection of the offer was to prepare for a fight with Perron. But Thomas had no other way out, so he rejected the offer and suddenly left for Hansi on 25th August to prepare for the inevitable war. However, prior to his departure for Hansi he pretended to relinquish his claims on Jhajjar in favour of Vaman Rao mainly to create a misunderstanding between Vaman Rao and Perron.

Thomas was aware of the Sikh Mission's approach to Perron. Hence declaring it to be a violation of the truce he fell upon the Jind territory and levied contributions. Now the Sikh Mission, specially Raja Bhag Singh, whose territories were under fire, insistingly requested Perron to take some effective steps, at once, to stop Thomas's nefarious activities in their lands.

But Thomas's rejection of his offer had foiled all the plans of Perron. He was in a fix and took some time to decide on his next move. His delay made the members of the Sikh Mission impatient and much exasperated. They even thought of returning home and to arrange some reconciliation with Thomas, but later Perron finally decided on war with Thomas and consoled the Sikh chiefs.

Then a statement of the demands of the Sikhs was drawn on 30th August, in which the Sikh Mission solicited that Gen. Perron should establish cantonments with disciplined troops in their area and that he should change the cantonment headquarters with their counsel. The Mission desired the expulsion of George Thomas from Hansi and the recovery of the Sikh lands usurped by him. The Mission also indicated that nothing more than the settled amount should be demanded from them in the name of military expenses if the operations were prolonged and that Perron should help the chiefs of Patiala, Kaithal and Jind in

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29. N.A: Col. Collins to G.G. dated 10.9.1801.

30. N.A: Col. Collins to G.G. dated 10.9.1801.

seizing the possessions of such cis-sutlaj chiefs who failed to pay their share of the stipulated amount. The Mission particularly mentioned the name of Rai Ilyas, the Afghan chief of Malerkotla, and Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha as the main possible defaulters. Perron recorded his consent to all these demands except that he wrote that the possessions of the chiefs will be the same as they were in the days of Mahadji Sindhia and that the chiefs shall have to pay the cash expenses of the army if the operations were prolonged by a month or two as their banker had already promised. Besides, it was agreed upon by both the parties that the spoils will be distributed among Perron and the chiefs in the ratio of two to one.<sup>31.</sup>

#### 6. Collapse of George Thomas's Power.

General Perron entrusted the conduct of war against Thomas to Louis Bourquin, the Commander of the 3rd Brigade and Perron's Deputy.<sup>32</sup> On 10th September Bourquin marched against Jahazgarh (Georgegarh), a fortified town 4 miles west of Jhajjar and named after G. Thomas. The five thousand Sikh troopers had by now joined Bourquin's forces. Since Jahazgarh was an important stronghold of Thomas, Bourquin ordered its siege under two Smith brothers (L.F. Smith and E.F. Smith) and himself marched towards Jind with three Battalions of sepoy, 3000 cavalry and 500 Rohilla Alighol to attack Thomas who was still carrying on depredations there.<sup>33</sup>

Thomas on getting the news of Bourquin's advance towards Jind at once marched to Fatehabad, as if he was bound for Patiala. Bourquin left Jind for Kaithal (23rd September) to intercept Thomas's advance but on reaching there (26th September) he found to his great surprise that Thomas had returned to Hansi. Then Bourquin rushed towards Hansi the same day but on his way he got the news that by a forced march of 44 Koses in two days Thomas had returned to Jahazgarh. Thus outmanoeuvred, Bourquin now changed his route and proceeded towards Jahazgarh.

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31. Patiala Arch:Wajib-ul-Arz(written representation) of Sikh Chiefs to Gen. Perron (for the actual text see appendix D); Hassan, P.P.175-176; G.Thomas, PP.294-303;Compton, PP.183-185; Raj PP.210-213.

32. N.A: Col. Collins to G.G. dated 30.9.1801.

33. N.A: Col. Collins. to G.G. dated 5.10.1801.

He again got the intelligence on the way that Thomas had routed the troops under the Smith brothers. He was shocked to hear it and hastily reached Jhajjar the same day (29th September).

After a few hour's rest at Jhajjar, Bourquin moved to Beri, a town within 3 miles of Jahazgarh and the same evening attacked Thomas's possessions. A severe engagement took place. Both sides suffered heavy losses but Bourquin's troops were routed. Raja Bhag Singh was present in this battle. Next morning (30th September) Bourquin sued for peace and his troops were allowed to march out of cannon's reach.<sup>34</sup>

The defeat at Jahazgarh brought about a change in the command. Bourquin was superseded by Col. Pedron, Commander of the 4th Brigade who arrived there with his forces. Besides, a reinforcement of 5000 cavalry arrived from S. Gurdatt Singh of Ladwa, Sardar Bhagwan Singh of Thanesar, Sardar Jodh Singh of Kalsia, Raja Ranjit Singh of Bharatpore, the Raja of Hathrus and Raja Ram Dayal. Two battalions arrived from Begum Sanru and five from Hessing's brigade<sup>a</sup> at Agra. Thus reinforced, the combined troops again besieged Jahazgarh.

Thomas's position now grew precarious. He was outnumbered in troops. His own men were deserting him. His stores were falling short. At last he made a sudden break through (10th November) and escaped to Hansi.<sup>35</sup> Col. Pedron captured the fort of Jahazgarh.

After the victory of Jahazgarh Col. Pedron was called back to Aligarh and Bourquin was again given the command. Bourquin now advanced against Hansi and on reaching there besieged it. Despite strong rumours that Lakwa Dada had marched at the head of 5000 cavalry from Datia to assist him, no outside help reached Thomas. Still he continued resisting the enemy so long as his men and material supported him but when he found his defeat inevitable he surrendered to Bourquin (23rd December). The fort of Hansi,

however, fell in Bourquin's hands only on the 29th December.<sup>36</sup>

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34. Thomas puts the 2nd battle of Georgegarh on 1st October, but Col. Collins puts it on the same evening viz 29th September (Col. Collins to G.G., dated 8.10.1801). The date given by Col. Collins here appears more correct.

35. N.A: Col. Collins to G.G., dated 14.11.1801.

36. N.A: Col. Collins to G.G., dated 28.12.1801, and 8th January, 1802.

On the 1st of January, 1802, Thomas with his family and personal possessions was allowed to march to Anupshahr under an escort. Perron was later displeased with Bouguin for giving Thomas this concession.<sup>37</sup>

Thus ended dismally the independent career of George Thomas which extended over a brief period of three years and eight months. During nearly the whole of this time he was constantly engaged in a conflict with one or other of the principal Sirhind chiefs or with the combined forces of them all. But except plundering a village here or levying an exaction there and thus constantly harassing the Sikh Chiefs he could not achieve anything substantial. Still Jahaz Sahib-a name by which George Thomas was commonly known in Haryana-had made a mark in personal courage and agility and had fully engrossed their attention during these years. Again when he was forced to measure swords with another European military officer, Louis Bourquin, inspite of poorer resources Thomas gave a good account of himself both as a soldier and general. He ably defended his territories till the last moment and even when he surrendered he did so with a grace. Thus in the military annals of the 18th century Panjab George Thomas could reasonably ask for a little niche for himself and it will be no act of partiality if the same is conceded to him.

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37. N.A: Col. Collins to G.G. dated 8th January, 1802; G. Thomas, pp. 304-380; Compton, pp. 189-220; Fraser, pp. 217-223; Grey and Garrett, pp. 51-56; Hassan, pp. 181; Fall, Vol. IV, pp. 242-244; Duni Chand, pp. 45-46; Keene, pp. 97-99; Raj, Vol. 1, pp. 47; Munna Lal, pp. 367; Phul Nawah, pp. 82-83 and Sahib Singh, pp. 72-73.

MARATHA INFLUENCE BEINDLES/ IN THIS REGION  
(1802——16th March, 1806)

1. PERRON STRENGTHENS MARATHA CONTROL OVER SIRHIND CHIEFS.

The success of Perron's arms in wiping out George Thomas's power led him to believe that the Sirhind Chiefs would remain attached to him. He decided to utilize this friendly atmosphere with these chiefs, so that, with their cooperation, on the one hand he could bring all the chiefs upto the Sutlaj under a more tangible control and on the other make more vigorous efforts to befriend Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore. He was anxious to take these steps to secure the North Western frontier of India against any external aggression by interposing a net of friendly Sikh States between the Janna and the Attock. In pursuance thereof he was contemplating to offer to Ranjit Singh an alluring temptation of making a joint conquest of the country upto the Attock and then partition it with him somewhere South of Lahore. Hence he sent a duly sealed and signed Bond of Friendship (Qaul-namah-see its contents later in this chapter) on 22nd January, 1802, to his deputy, Major Louis Bourquin, at Hansi to hand it over to Raja Sahib Singh of Patiala on some suitable occasion and to secure a similar undertaking from that chief on his own behalf as well as on behalf of his brother chiefs of <sup>1</sup> Kaithal, Jind and Nabha.

The Sikh chiefs had no such intentions. Now that the dread of George Thomas was removed they were contemplating to provide themselves in every possible way for safeguarding their freedom. Since Ranjit Singh's power was still in the making, this could only be achieved by alligning themselves with the English who were strongly averse to all Maratha interests in Northern India. With this end in view, Raja Bhag Singh, Raja Jaewant Singh and Raj Mata of Patiala contacted Sayyed Raza Ali Khan, the British Agent in that quarter, and expressed a wish to join hands with them if they (British) would extend their patronage to them. <sup>2</sup> The English, who had so far no definite interests in <sup>3</sup> the lands beyond

1. Cunningham pp.132-133.

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2. N.A: P.L.R. Patiala Akhbar dated 22.4.1802.

3. N.A: P.L.R. Sayyed Raza Ali Khan to Sayyed Hussain Ali Khan dated 25.2.1802; Raja Jaewant Singh to Col. Collins and G.G. and the Raj Mata of Patiala to Col. Collins.

the Janna, were not willing to bind themselves with them on an assurance of this nature. The Sikh Chiefs, therefore, continued maintaining their old relations with Perron.

Now Major Louis was looking for an opportunity to meet Raja Sahib <sup>Singh</sup> to give effect to Perron's wishes. The opportunity did not take long in coming. In the month of March Raja Sahib Singh was confronted with a difficult position on account of the refusal of a number of his chaharmians to pay their share of the money, which the chief of Patiala had contributed along with his brother chieftains to Sindhia and Perron for expelling George Thomas. The Raja sent Sardar Dewan Singh to seek help of Perron, who met him at Ujjain on the 20th March. The French General treated him with great courtesy and issued necessary orders to his deputy, Louis Bourquin, on the receipt of which the Major marched to Patiala. Raja Bhag Singh and Bhai Lal Singh also joined him on the way.

Louis reached Patiala on the 20th April and was accorded grand reception befitting the representative of a great power.

Raja Sahib Singh paid a return visit to Major Louis on the next day. He was accompanied by the rulers of Kaithal and Jind. Major Louis received ~~them~~ in a big tent, specially pitched for the purpose. During their talk the Major conveyed the strong desire of Perron to enter into some stronger friendly alliance with them. The chiefs also expressed a similar wish. After the presentation of Khilaats the meeting was adjourned.

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4. N.A: Pb. Adm. Rep. 1849-50 (MS) pp. 338-339: Chaharmian is derived from the Persian word Chahar viz one fourth. "The powerful family of Patiala shared equally, that is half and half, certain villages, 119 in number with several other Sikh families. The total revenue of one state being theoretically half the assets, the co-sharers were entitled to half of this portion i.e. one fourth of the whole assets and hence they were called chaharmians. Besides every chief was required to pay 1/8th of his revenues as tribute to the Patiala family in lieu of feudal "Services".
  5. The Patiala chief was entitled to receive help in this connection from General Perron under the terms settled between them in August, 1801.
  6. N.A: Col. Collins to G.G., dated 30.3.1802.
  7. The Patiala Akhbar dated 20.4.1802 gives details of the presents and Khilaats exchanged on this occasion.
  8. N.A. P.L.R. Patiala Akhbar, dated 20.4.1802.

On the third day Major Louis paid another visit to the Raja of Patiala and presented him a tied turban with a Jigha and a Sarpech on behalf of Perron. The Patiala chief then took off his own turban and handed it over to the Major to be sent to the General. This ceremony of exchange of turbans implied a mutual assurance of considering each other's honour as his own. Once more costly Khilaats and presents were exchanged. On this occasion the Rani of Patiala gave presents to the wife of Major Louis and her maid servants.

On the following day the chiefs of Patiala, Kaithal and Jind witnessed a parade and manoeuvres of eight companies of Maratha troops giving a very fine display of the gun and sword battles. The Patiala chief granted one hundred maunds of gun-powder to the troops as a mark of appreciation. After the show was over, the Major presented to the Patiala Chief Perron's Bond of friendship, which stipulated:

1) a bond of mutual friendship treating each other's friends as friends and foes as foes;

ii) a guarantee of mutual military help in the hour of need.

It was, however, specifically stated that if and when the Sikh forces joined the Maratha Army, they would not demand expenses for the first two months. Raja Sahib Singh agreed to the terms, contained in the Gaul-namah, both on his own behalf and on behalf of the chieftains of Kaithal, Jind and Nabha.

Having completed this bond of friendship Major Louis accompanied by the combined forces of Patiala, Kaithal and Jind proceeded towards Ludhiana, both to enforce payment from the recalcitrant chahannians as well as to make the chiefs upto the Sutlaj to recognize clearly Perron as their overlord. Major Louis took the Bassi and Khanna route and on the way adequately punished some of the defaulters like the chief of Rajpur- Gujarwal and the Thanedar of Sahaur and Isrop.

The combined forces reached the left bank of the Sutlaj and

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9. N.A: P.L.R., Patiala Akhbar, dated 22.4.1802.

10. " " " " " 23.4.1802 For Perron's

Bond of friendship see Appendix E.

11. Hassan. PP.182-184 and Raj Vol.II, PP.49.



remained encamped there for some time. During this period Raja Bhag Singh proceeded to Lahore alongwith the Vakils of Major Louis and the Patiala Darbar, to contact Maharaja Ranjit Singh. On reaching Lahore, the presents brought from Perron were presented to the Maharaja. Bhag Singh next proceeded to discuss the object of their visit and explained the scheme formulated by Perron regarding the conquest of the country extending to the bank of the Indus. On his own behalf Bhag Singh commended the proposal of the joint expedition to his nephew. Ranjit Singh seems to have given little credence to these professions of amity and friendship expressed by Perron and showed no enthusiasm to work out the scheme. After some time the party returned disappointed (June).<sup>12</sup>

Then Major Louis and his allies started from the bank of the Sutlaj (1st week of July) for return journey to Patiala by way of Malerkotla and made the chiefs living on this side, too, acknowledge Perron as their sovereign. Besides, the refractory chaharaians of Patiala, such as the Singhpuria Sardars and Sardar Dal Singh Bhareliwala, were duly punished. The former had thrown a mud garhi (mud fort) in their lands without the permission of the Patiala chief. That garhi was now demolished. The latter was deprived of his village and the same was given over to Patiala Officers. However, the ruler of Patiala restored the village to him some time later, when Sardar Jodh Singh of Kalsia stood surety of his good conduct. On reaching Patiala the amount of nazrana, collected during the expedition, was distributed in the following manner:- twothird of the whole amount was assigned to Major Louis; one third of what remained was given to the Patiala chief and the balance was divided in equal shares among the chiefs of Kalthal, Jind and Nabha. Major Louis then returned to Hansi and cantoned there during the rainy season.<sup>13</sup>

2. Perron Exacts Tribute From Them.

It was, however, a general rumour at that time that " the manners of Major Louis during the expedition (possibly during)  
12. N.A: Maharaja Ranjit Singh to Col. Collins, dated June, 1802.  
13. N.A: Collins to G.C., dated 4.7.1802, Hassan pp.184 and Raj Vol. II, pp. 49.

the return journey) were far from conciliatory and his conduct was by no means calculated to impress the Sikh Sardars with a favourable opinion of Mr. Perron's friendly disposition towards them". Besides, the Sikh chiefs were constantly receiving, for some time past, the disheartening news from Perron's headquarters that the General was thinking <sup>k</sup> ~~for reducing~~ of reducing them to the position of tributaries, sooner or later, as he had done the Rajput chiefs earlier. <sup>14</sup> This change in the attitude of Perron towards them needs to be explained. A closer study of the affairs at the court of Sindhia reveals that Perron had returned from Ujjain a disappointed man (May) He believed, and rightly so, that he had served his master with devotion and fidelity and as such he was entitled to unfailing regard from the entire court of Daulat Rao Sindhia. On the other hand he found the Maratha officers highly jealous of his position and even showed signs of ill-will towards him. His convictions had been further strengthened, when within one month of his return from Ujjain he had received orders from Sindhia to give up all such <sup>15</sup> Mahals in his possession, which were not included in his Jaidad. At this discourteous demand of his master, Perron was touched to the quick and he submitted his resignation from his post. But Sindhia could not afford to accept it and so having withdrawn his orders he began to cajole his French General. Though Perron was apparently calmed, he could never wash out the impression from his mind that so long as he was in Sindhia's service he was at the mercy of his Maratha officers. He had, therefore, decided to keep ready to sail for Europe at a moment's notice, if need be, and <sup>16</sup> till then to collect every penny, he could, to carry with himself.

It was for this reason that Perron had thought of mulcting the Sikhs and ~~xxxxxx~~ the news had leaked out to the Sikh chiefs. But he could not immediately put his scheme into effect.

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14. N.A: Collins to G.G. dated 4.7.1802.

15. Fraser, Vol. I, PP. 242-244 and Fall Vol. IV, PP. 251. Although the young Sindhia had rightly rewarded Perron for his timely military and monetary help to himself by confirming his power, encluments, Jagir and the custoday of seven important forts (Agra, Ajmer, Delhi, Aligarh, Khurja, Saharanpur and Fatehabad) in Hindustan, yet the Jealousy of Maratha officers had made him suspicious of Sindhia's sincerity in his professions (Sarkar Vol. IV, PP 251).

16. Ibid.

The rainy season had set in and he had delayed matters till the rains were over. With the advent of autumn he called Major Louis from Hansi to Koil to receive instructions from him to lead an expedition from collecting nazrana from the chiefs living between the Jamna and Patiala. He was counting upon the success of this expedition for more reasons than one. He had enlisted not only the sympathy and moral support of Patiala, Kaithal, Jind and Nabha chiefs but they had also agreed to render him active military service in all campaigns. Accordingly he requested the four major chiefs to send their troops as well as confidential agents for consultations. Consequently Bhai Lal Singh arrived there with 2000 Sikh Sawars on the 19th September, and Dewan Chen Singh (Patiala) three days later. When the forces were being mustered at Koil, the chiefs of Booria and Kalsia thought it prudent to avoid the personal visitation of Perron's troops to their territories. They accordingly despatched their agents to Koil to settle the amount of nazrana with Perron. The General first settled terms with the Booria chief and the Kalsia Wakil and then conferred with the representatives of the major Sirhind chiefs, Bhai Lal Singh and Dewan Chen Singh. Perron disclosed to them his decision to enter into a new agreement with them, according to which they will be required to pay Rs. 3/-/- Lakhs annually as tribute to Sindhia's treasury at Delhi and to likewise assist him on all emergent occasions with a body of 4000 cavalry, whereas he on behalf of his master consented to give one fourth of all the contributions, which were to be levied with their assistance and a promise of protection against all external aggressions. The major chiefs had no alternative but to submit to these demands and, thus, after some discussions among themselves they signed the new treaty in the 1st week of October.

In the meantime, Perron had also decided to contact the Lahore chief, once more, and this time personally. For this purpose he had deputed Raja Munna Lal, one of his highly trusted officers, to approach

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17. The Booria chief had personally gone to Koil.

18. N.A: Collins to G.G., dated 19.9.1802 and 10.10.1802.

Ranjit Singh and to prevail upon him to meet Perron at a place convenient to both. Raja Bhag Singh had again been engaged to forward that negotiation. Perron was now of the view that if Ranjit Singh became an ally, an expedition could also be led across the Sutlaj for similar purposes.

But some delay was caused in implementing the expedition to the Sikh lands due to a violent quarrel between Perron and Major Louis on the very day the latter was to have set off for Hansi accompanied by Bhai Lal Singh to take command of the troops, who were to act against the hostile Sikhs. As a result of this altercation, Perron put Major Louis under close arrest from which he was released only towards the end of October. The Major then proceeded to Hansi post haste to resume the command of the troops in that quarter.

### 3. Perron Turns a Traitor To Sindhia.

In the meanwhile there occurred a crisis in the Maratha affairs, which not only postponed Louis's expedition to the Cis-Sutlaj area but also turned tables on Perron. With the accession of Baji Rao II to the Gaddi of Peshwa on 6th December, 1796, <sup>(the fortunes of the Maratha nation definitely took a downhill trend.)</sup> The personal struggle between Daulat Rao Sindhia and Jaswant Rao Holkar took an unexpected turn, <sup>later</sup> in 1802, when Jaswant Rao Holkar defeated the combined forces of Peshwa and Sindhia at the battle of Madapsor, near Poona, on the 25th October, 1802, ~~XXXX~~ Anxious to escape from the domination of both, Sindhia and Holkar, Baji Rao II fled from Poona and wickedly sought shelter with the English at Bassien. The English ultimately persuaded him to sign the Treaty of Bassien on the 31st December, which was tantamount to signing the death warrant of the political independence of the Maratha Nation.

The British diplomats, thus, fully exploited the mutual suspicion and distrust among the Maratha chiefs to their own advantage. Besides, the continued hesititation of Daulat Rao Sindhia to fulfil demands of Holkar compelled the latter not to join Sindhia in his

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19. N.A: Collins to G.C. dated 10.10.1802.  
20. N.A: Collins to G.C., dated 20.10.1802.

opposition to the English. Finally the English declared war on Sindhia and his ally Raghujji Bhonsle of Berar on 7th August for not acceding their consent to the Treaty of Bassien.<sup>21</sup>

Lord Wellesley's main aims in the war, besides the reduction of Sindhia and Bhonsla, were to destroy the 'French state' of Perron on the bank of the Jamna, 'as he called Perron's viceroyalty in Northern India nominally under Sindhia'; to secure the persons of the Mughal Emperor and his heir apparent; to detach the Rajputs and the Malwa Sikhs from the Marathas and to extend the frontiers of British possessions in India to the Jamna. He had divided the country into four theatres of war, namely Northern Districts of the Deccan, Gujrat, Orrisa and Hindustan. The charges of the important theatres of Hindustan and the Northern Deccan were given to the British C.in.C, Gen. Gerard Lake, and Major General Arthur Wellesley - the future Duke of Wellington, respectively. 'The other two theatres were subsidiary. The war in all the four theatres was contemporaneous.'<sup>22</sup>

Perron had realized the approaching crisis much earlier. Fully aware of the hollowness of Sindhia's European Forces in Hindustan, as compared to the well disciplined and well organised English troops, he had decided not to fight the English. He had intimated as early as in May, 1803 to Sindhia his intention to resign his job. At the same time he had written secretly to Gen. Lake to arrange a safe passage to Europe for him and his family so that they could escape to France with their valuables. In the meantime he continued to give anti-British counsel to his master and instructions to his subordinates to fight the English to the last.

However, in the beginning of August, on the eve of the declaration of war, Perron's lust for money had led him to execute the suspended expedition to the Cis. Sutlaj area. He had issued immediate orders to Louis Bourquin, who was then at Delhi, for

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21. Sardesai Vol. III, PP 390, 402-406 and Fall, Vol. IV. PP 262-264.

22. Martin's despatches of Wellesley.

the same. In compliance of these orders Louis hastily crossed the Jamna and reached Booria, where he was received by Bhai Lal Singh. Dewan Chen Singh met them at Shahabad and the representative of the Nabha chief at the next stage. The party then moved to Ambala. Heavy exactions were made from the Sardars on the way and the recalcitrants were duly punished.

At Ambala, Bhai Lal Singh took advantage of Louis's presence and recovered the pargana of Sulhar, consisting of 65 villages, which originally belonged to Bhai Lal Singh's uncle, Bhai Takhat Singh, and had been usurped by the Ambala Sardars.

The party then moved on to Mani Majra. Raja Karam Parkash of Nahar, who delayed his attendance on the Major, was deprived of the pargana of Pinjore. The pargana was then handed over to the Patiala officers, who paid the Raja's amount of nazrana to the Major. At this stage Bourquin received the intelligence of the arrival of British troops near Aligarh and so having distributed the amount of nazrana, collected during this short campaign, between his allies and himself according to the treaty, signed in October, 1802, the Major immediately rushed to Delhi via Karnal.

Lake had, however, arrived near Aligarh on the 28th August. ~~so~~ Perron had already sent his agent to him on the 20th August to reiterate his earlier wish. Lake, at once, arranged its compliance and had conveyed the details of arrangements to Perron through his own agent. Lake's messenger contacted Perron on the 29th August and the same day Lake attacked the fort of Aligarh. Perron retired from the <sup>c</sup>scene of battle without firing a shot. A week later, having known that the orders of his dismissal had been issued by Sindhia, he marched to Lucknow, bag and baggage, under a British escort. Then he arrived at Chandernagar on the 8th November and from there sailed for Europe.

Perron had been undoubtedly guilty of cowardice and duplicity. He had definitely proved himself a traitor to <sup>d</sup>Sindhia. His betrayal at such a critical time had done incalculable harm to ~~his master; particularly to his position in Sindhia's~~

his master, particularly to his position in Hindustan.

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4. Sindhia's Influence Disappears From The Area.

On his return to Delhi Louis Bourquin had come to know of Perron's machinations to desert Sindhia. So he, at once, declared himself the Supreme Commander of Sindhia's Forces in Northern India in place of Perron. Having secured the possession of the historic fort and the King's person, he reduced Mr. Drudgeon, Perron's Governor of Delhi, to submission. He thought of collecting a huge army to oppose the advancing English. For this purpose he issued invitations to all the allies and protectorates of Sindhia in Northern India to send their troops.

The Cis-Sutlaj Sikh Chiefs, too, naturally received this invitation. But, as usual, they could not reach any unanimous decision on this issue. The Major Sikh chiefs, who were conscious of the fact that Bourquin's generalship and troops were no match to those of Gen. Lake, favoured the policy of a cautious neutrality, whereas some of the minor Sikh chiefs such as Sardar Gurdatt Singh of Ladwa, Jodh Singh of Kalsia, Bhanga Singh and Mehtab Singh of Thanesar, Sher Singh of Beoria and Rai Singh of Jagadhri, who were always there to fish in the troubled water, accepted the invitation and joined Louis Bourquin with 5000 Sawars.

The two forces met at Patparganj, near Delhi, on the 11th September. Louis Bourquin's troops were routed and he alongwith his three officers surrendered to Gen-Lake the same evening. Lake entered Delhi on the 14th September and took the person of the Emperor in protection two days later. Then leaving Lt. Col. David Ochterlony in command at Delhi and Lt. Col. Burn to assist him, Gen. Lake moved on to his next target. Now the continued success of the British arms in all the four theatres of war obliged the two Maratha chiefs, Sindhia and Khonsle, to sign the peace treaties of Sarjariagaon and Deogaon with them on the 17th and 29th December respectively, as a result of which Sindhia renounced all his claims

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23. Fall, Vol. IV, pp. 252-257; Sardesai Vol. III, pp 412-413.  
Mahzen-ul-Fatuhah, pp 11; Munshi Dhankal Singh pp 8-10;  
Fraser Vol. 1, pp 245-252; Hassan, pp 184-185 and Raj Vol. II, pp 48.

to his possessions and protectorates in Hindustan and the British authority was finally established at Delhi.

### 5. Closer Anglo-Sikh Contacts.

So far the interests of the English had been mainly confined to the Lands upto the Janna. But the establishment of their authority at Delhi and the extreme necessity of precautionary measures against any aggression across the North-west frontier made it imperative for them to secure the good will of all the powers beyond that river. Lord Wellesley had fully visualized this position long before the actual commencement of the hostilities with the Marathas and had written to Gen. Lake in July, 1803, "The destruction of the influence of the French and the Marathas in the Northern Districts in Hindustan would enable us to commence the foundations of such an intercourse with Sikhs and with the tribes inhabiting the Punjab and the bank of the Attock, as might furnish sufficient means of frustrating any attempt of an invading enemy from the Western side of the Indus." A few days later he had again intimated to Gen. Lake: "Your Excellency has anticipated my opinion with respect to the expediency of endeavouring to obtain the cooperation of the principal chiefs of the tribes of Sikhs in the approaching contest with the Maratha power. The object of this despatch is to communicate to Your Excellency my sentiments and instructions on that object. The chiefs, from whose influence and exertions the greatest benefit is to be derived, are the Raja of Patiala and those petty chieftains who occupy the territory between Patiala and the Janna. Your Excellency should endeavour to remove from their minds any apprehension of a design on our part to interfere in the concerns of their respective states or to control their authority or independence".

After the British occupation of Delhi, the Malwa Sikh chiefs, too, realized the necessity of reviving their relations with them. A vakil of Sardar Gurdatt Singh paid a visit to Lt. Col., Ochterlony

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24. Sardesai Vol. III, pp 417-418, Makhzan-ul-Fatuhah pp 14-44- and Munshi Dhonkal Singh pp 15-27.



at Delhi on the 14th November, and Raja Bhag Singh did so on the 3rd December and both offered nazars to Ochterlony as a mark of their recognition of the change of authority at the Imperial city. The same day Ochterlony paid a return visit to Raja Bhag Singh and conferred Khilaa on him. On that very day the British Resident of Delhi wrote a friendly letter to Dulcha Singh of Radaur, guaranteeing him the safety and security of his possessions in response to his friendly yet anxious enquiries received a few days earlier. A similar letter was written to Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha twenty four days later. <sup>25</sup> Meanwhile Raja Bhag Singh sent 500 Sowars on the 16th December to join the English troops under Col. Ball to fight against Vaman Rao. Four days later the Jind chief marched in person to assist the Colonel against the Maratha, chief. On the 29th December Ochterlony received letters of offers of personal services from almost all the prominent Cis-Sutlaj Sikh chiefs and the same day he had written back the replies conveying to them the thanks of the British Government for the kind offers and assuring therein that they would be cordially availed of, whenever needed. In the mean/time he <sup>26</sup> requested them to maintain neutrality as a proof of their friendship. However Ochterlony was not favourably impressed by the Sikh chiefs on the whole; for, while conveying his estimate of them as well as the line of action he desired to adopt in respect of them, he wrote to Gen. Lake: "It is a great political question how far the attack of one might induce a union of the whole body of Sikh chieftains. Of course, I offer my opinion with diffidence, but it is, that they are separately and as a body truly contemptible, whether as friends or as enemies. But, while there are any apprehension from more formidable invaders, it may be possible to keep them neutral and prevent the dep<sup>re</sup>ndations, since we have not at this moment the means to resist them. At the same time I would accept no offer of service and enter into engagement, that should prevent our bring<sup>g</sup>ing them under

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25. N.A: P.L.R. Resident Delhi to Sardar Dulcha Singh, dated 3.12.1803 and Raja Jaswant Singh, dated 27.12.1803.

26. N.A: Ochterlony to G.G. dated 14th November, 3rd December & 29th December, 1802.

subjection and tribute to the extent, at least, that was done by  
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Perron".

He, however, later modified this opinion to some extent when he came in closer contact with Bhai Lal Singh and the other major Sikh chiefs in the last week of January, 1804 and wrote to Gen. Lake: "Bhai Lal Singh has great influence with the Sikh chiefs on this side of the Sutlaj generally, but there are four of them (refers to the major chiefs), who are more particularly connected by interest and I believe by consanguinity, and to retain Bhai Lal Singh either by pay or attention is impossible without blending the interests of  
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the others or at least of Bhag Singh with him".

Hence with a view to secure fullest help and cooperation of Bhai Lal Singh and Raja Bhag Singh for the success of all parleys with the chiefs of that area, Ochterlony strongly recommended them to Gen. Lake and requested him to grant them a personal interview, in which he should oblige them by marked attention. This interview took place at Hindan some time in the first week of March, 1804. Bhai Lal Singh and Raja Bhag Singh offered nazars to the General and pledged their full cooperation and support to the British cause. The General in return gratified them by conferring the pargana  
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of Kharkhoda on Raja Bhag Singh as well as Faridpur Barsat on both the chiefs in joint possession and by promising them all security of their interests. Then the two chiefs submitted a written  
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representation (Wajib-ul-Arz) to Gen. Lake on the 7th March in which they solicited him to favour them with the assurances in respect of their five demands in writing. Their first demand was that the possession, which they held till the times of Gen. Perron, shall not be molested and no payment shall be levied on them by the British Government. Secondly, they requested the British

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27. N.A: Ochterlony to Gen. Lake, dated 8.1.1804.

28. N.A. Ochterlony to Gen. Lake, dated 23.1.1804 & 3.2.1804

29. Faridpur Barsat is estimated at Rs.7000/-/- Barsat is the richest and best turbulent part of the paragana of Panipat and lies between the city of that name and Kernal". Par. Pap<sup>r</sup> East India Company affairs, June 1806, No.25.

30. For the full text of Wajib-ul-Arz see Appendix F.

Government to take due care always of their reputation and honour. In the third demand they begged the General to bestow the above Jagir on them in perpetuity and in return for it they undertook to serve the British with one thousand Sawars, whenever needed. They, however, made it clear that on such occasions they would not demand any money as pay or other expenses of their troops for the first four months, but, if the hostilities were prolonged beyond that period, the expenses will be born<sup>d</sup> by the British Government. In the fourth they had offered to supply an additional number of Sawars, too, if demanded, but the charges were to be laid to the account of the British Government. In the fifth and the last they requested for a definite assurance that, if thereafter the English desired to enter the Sikh territories, they must take them into confidence so that their prestige may not suffer in the eyes of their brethren and the march of the troops may also be facilitated. The General agreed to all these <sup>dem</sup> demands and recorded his approval in front of each one of them on the representation.

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6. Holkar in League with some Sikh Chiefs.

In the meantime a storm, which was to have some repercussions on the history of the Cis-Sutlej area, had started brewing over the Anglo-Holkar relations, because it was now Holkar's turn to be crushed by the English. The English first offered him some terms for acceptance, which Holkar characterised as humiliating and, therefore, rejected them. Consequently, they declared war on him on the 16th April, 1804.

However, Holkar had not been taken unawares. He had grown suspicious of the British intentions even before Sindhia and Bhonsle had actually surrendered to them and had commenced preparations for the approaching conflict. Besides, strengthening his own troops he had written secret letters to the Maratha, Rajput, Muslim, Jat and Sikh chiefs, all over India, inviting them to rally under his banner to fight the common foe. He had also appealed to the Shah of Kabul for help in this connection.

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31. Jind papers: Wajib-ul-Arz of Bhai Lal Singh and Raja Bhag Singh to Gen. Lake.

Among the Cis-Satlaj Sikh chiefs Sardars Gurdatt Singh of Ladwa, Jodh Singh of Kalsia, Sher Singh of Booria, Karam Singh of Shahabad and Dulcha Singh of Radaur, who loved adventure, responded to Holkar's call and had secretly intimated to him through Raja Ram Dayal, a big Zamindar of Ganga-Jamna Doab and an ally of Holkar, as early as the 1st week of December, 1803, that they were prepared to join his cause with five or six thousand Sawars immediately and could bring the same number of soldiers to the battle-field subsequently, if demanded.

7. Ochterlony Suggests an Over-all British Control of the Area.

Most of Holkar's letters had been intercepted by the British with the help of the friendly Indian chiefs. Two of such letters, which had unmistakable evidence of a league between Holkar and some of the minor Sikh chiefs, had been sent on 2nd February to Ochterlony by Gen. Lake to make secret enquiries regarding their authenticity and correctness.

Ochterlony's investigations had convinced him of the correctness of information contained in the letters. It made him conscious of the impending danger. With a view to provide necessary safeguard against it, he wrote to the G.G. the next day that "the country to the bank of the Satluj might on good grounds be made productive to the state: (i) either by insisting on the tribute exacted by Perron, (ii) or by giving the whole to those four chiefs (Major chiefs) according to a partition settled by our Government and on terms dictated by us and by giving us the command of an excellent frontier and the power of recruiting and increasing our cavalry to any extent by the best horses of Hindustan!"

A few days later the Sikh allies of Holkar started crossing the Jamna into the Saharanpur District in small bands to ravage the territory and to harass the English officers stationed there.

32. N.A: P.L.R. Raja Ram Dayal to Jaswant Rao Holkar dt. 3.12.03

33. N.A. P.L.R. Raja Ram Dayal to Jaswant Rao Holkar dt. 27.12.03

34. and to Nawab Ghulam Mohd dated 30.12.1803.

34. Par. Pap: East India Affairs, June 1806, No. 23. PP 283-287.

35. N.A: Ochterlony to G.G., dated 3.2.1804.

Soon their activities grew so alarming that on the 20th February Ochterlony made a strong complaint against their conduct to Gen. Lake with particular reference to those of Raja Bhag Singh and Sardar Bhanga Singh, who had rendered them some assistance in their hostile operations. He earnestly solicited instructions to check these unfriendly activities of the Sikhs. At the same time he objected to the continuity of the possessions of Sardars Gurdatt Singh, Bhanga Singh and Jodh Singh in the upper part of the Ganga-Jamna Doab and suggested their annexation to the British dominions. Besides, he repeated his earlier suggestion of entrusting the whole Cis-Sutlej ~~area~~ <sup>36</sup> worth 40 Lakhs of rupees to one, two, three or four Sikh chiefs, who would be asked to pay half of that sum as tribute to the British. Such an arrangement, he advocated, would render the major Sikh chiefs much obliged as well as place the inhabitants of the area in a happier and more prosperous state. On the 26th February, Gen. Lake warned the Jind and Thanesar chiefs to refrain from taking hostile steps and the two chiefs fully obeyed the commands.

In the 1st week of March the activities of the hostile Sikhs became very threatening. Ochterlony deputed Col. Alexander Burnes <sup>37</sup> to deal with them. A few days later on the receipt of an intelligence in the middle of March that a large number of Sikhs had assembled on the bank of the Jamna opposite Saharanpur, he sent further reinforcements under Capts. Skinner and Birch. Capt Skinner narrated the tale as under:-

"I perceived a numerous body of Sikhs upon the opposite sides; and after reconnoitering their position, I suggested to Capt. Birch that if he would occupy their attention from his position, I would cross the river with my horse at some fordable ghat in the vicinity and take them by surprise.

"This was effected about three in the morning about 5 kos below; and having come up before day-break, I succeeded in

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36. N.A: Ochterlony to G.G., dated 20.2.1804.

37. " Gen. Lake to Ochterlony, dated 26.2.1804.

completely surprising them. The result was that the party consisting of about 5000 horse was totally dispersed with the loss of 400 men and two Sardars killed and about 100 horses taken. On our side we had about 100 men and horses killed and wounded-my own horse having been shot under me.

"In a month afterwards I prevailed on the Sikh chieftains to accompany me to Col. Burn with whom they entered into terms. The chieftains, who came on this occasion, were as follows:-

(1) Sher Singh of Booria, (2) Dulcha Singh, an owner of several villages, (3) Sardar Gurdatt Singh of Ladwa and several other commanders of bodies of 5000 men each."

But the love for adventure did not allow the warlike Sikh chiefs to keep their word for long. They soon repeated their raids in the Doab. In the first half of June Col. Burn defeated a huge assemblage of Sikhs on the west side of the Jamna near the Booria ghat. But he could not completely check their raids, which continued throughout the year.

On 7th November Ochterlony was promoted to the post of Resident at the court of Shah Alam II in the vacancy caused by the death of Col. Sitt, the first incumbent. The rise in status led to an increase in responsibilities. The same day he transmitted to the G.G. the intelligence of the arrival of Shah of Kabul at Peshawar with the intention of carrying out an invasion of Delhi. "That the agents of Holkar and other hostile persons to the British interests," wrote he, "have invited such an irruption, is clear beyond any doubt by the intercepted letters, but will the internal state of his dominions admit of its extension, I must acknowledge myself destitute of information. But I venture with diffidence to repeat an opinion after having urged it in public and private letters to H.E. the C.in C. that the Sikhs will form no barrier should a measure be adopted by the Shah. Weak, fickle and disunited they are incapable of opposing an invading enemy but by a junction will add to their numbers

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38. Fraser Vol.1, pp 307-308. The number of troops, mentioned under each command, seems to be an exaggeration.

39. Pb.pr.List: Burn to Ochterlony, dated 6th & 12 th June, 1804.

and increase the means of devastation".

On the 18th November intelligence arrived that Sardars Sher Singh, Mehtab Singh and some others had, once more, made an irruption into Saharanpur. The same day Burn marched to that quarter to check their advance. On the 24th the hostile Sikhs assembled in force in his front and headed by some of their chiefs attacked his detachment, but were repulsed with considerable losses. One of the chiefs, Sher Singh, lost a leg in the action and consequently died of his wound.<sup>41</sup>

Since the activities of the inimical Sikhs were on the increase, the British authorities decided to secure the cooperation of their Sikh allies, Bhai Lal Singh and Raja Bhag Singh, in meeting this Sikh menace and consequently messages were sent to them to join the British cause with their forces. The two chiefs joined Lt. Col. Brick at Panipat on 2nd December. But Ochterlony desired them to join Col. Burn immediately to assist him in expelling the Sikhs from the Doab. The two chiefs wrote back to him that Col. Burn's forces were not sufficient to carry out the operations against the Sikhs and advised him that he should send another battalion with proper artillery, whom their cavalry would join, and then they would proceed against the insurgents. Ochterlony, who was not in a position to spare any troops to be sent in this quarter, considered this reply only evasive and was very much exasperated when he wrote to the G.G. soon after: "I considered the whole answer as an evasion and only replied that I had not solicited their advice but required their service and if they wished to prove the faith of their professions of attachments they should immediately join Col. Burn. I have very little expectation that they would comply with my requisition. They have in common with all the other ~~many~~ Sikh chiefs a constant correspondence with Holkar and though our ~~own~~ recent success against Holkar (at Farrukhabad and Deeg) have induced them to temporize, they will not, I imagine, take an active part against their brethren till they see some more powerful force detached to that quarter which shall force the Sikhs to retire by attacking

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40. N.A: Ochterlony to G.G, dated 7.11.1804.

41. N.A: Ochterlony to G.G. dated 30.11.1804.

their own possessions". In the same letter he reiterated that if the Sirhind Sikh chiefs could be made to pay tribute, a new battalion could be raised and stationed either in their territory or on their frontier to check their raids into the Doab as well as to prevent the possibility of an attack from the North-west, as was the arrangement in the regime of Gen. Perron." <sup>42</sup>

On the 15th December, in still another letter he wrote to G.G., "I have this day received intelligence that Raja Bhag Singh and Bhai Lal Singh are on their way to visit me and I do not intend to solicit or arrange matters for their own interests unless they will take active part against the depredations in the Doab. I feel myself much at a loss how to manage these chiefs, not knowing what your Lordship wishes me to concede to them." <sup>43</sup> On the 18th December he wrote to Mr. Edmonston, the Secretary to the G.G., "The Sikh Chiefs, Bhai Lal Singh and Raja Bhag Singh arrived here yesterday ~~in~~ and in the course of the day paid me a visit. Feeling, as I do, how little dependence can be placed on the promises or exertions of these chiefs and considering their present visit, as only intended to delay till the results of His Excellency's (Lord Lake) proceedings at Deeg are more fully known, I feel myself much at a loss for want of some instructions respecting the line of action to be observed to those, who like Bhai Lal Singh, Raja Bhag Singh and Bhangra Singh of Thanesar have hitherto observed, a continuous neutrality and without active exertions in our favour have professed attachment." In this letter he also conveyed the intelligence that Maharaja Ranjit Singh was at or near the Sutlaj with a considerable body of cavalry and was disguising to take possession of the territory of Rani Nur-ul-Nissa. "But though this decision is the apparent object," he observed, "it occurs not improbable that he may be induced to come further South by the repeated invitation of Holkar and the idea that our possessions in this quarter are vulnerable". <sup>44</sup>

Meanwhile Col. Burn had received an intelligence that the Sikhs ~~had~~

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42. N.A: Ochterlony to G.G., dated 8.12.1804.  
43. " " " " " 15.12.1804.  
44. " " "Edmonston," 18.12.1804.



had collected in his vicinity at some distance in large number. So on the night of 18th December, he made a forced march and surprised the Sikh forces on the 19th morning. On his arrival the Sikhs fled into different directions. <sup>45</sup> In the mean time on the other side the danger of Ranjit Singh's invasion in Patiala was daily growing and Ochterlony informed Mr. Edmonston on the 20th that the two sikh Chiefs, mentioned above, were soliciting "If some force could be spared for the protection of Raja Sahib Singh or even to make a show on the West side of the Jamna, about or above Karnal, as they think, it will prevent hostile design of Ranjit, if any, and also draw the predatory bands from the Doab. But I am apprehensive, the measure cannot be immediately effected and Ranjit's forces, if not in reality induced to act against us, will soon subdue the weak and disunited Sikh chiefs on this side of the Sutlaj. Perhaps the only opposition, he is likely to meet, will be from Sahib Singh, whose force was estimated at 2000, whereas that of <sup>46</sup> Ranjit Singh is reported to be at least five times that number". The same day he also wrote to the C. in C: "Bhai Lal Singh and Raja Bhag Singh this day paid me their second visit in which after a number of plain truths on my part and many a frivolous and some reasonable excuses on theirs, mixed with the strongest professions of fidelity and attachment, they have positively promised to join Col. Burn and to use every endeavour to effect the immediate expulsion of the Sikhs.

"For this service, in addition to the favours Your Excellency have already granted, they demand a Sanad for Karnal and Jhindhana. I told them plainly that, I thought, they would not obtain. I never would recommend, but if their services were found to deserve recompence they might perhaps be rewarded with Gardit Singh's possessions on this side, but they must <sup>51</sup> be sensible that they have received much and done little. They urged the inequality of this force, their last services at Panipat in Killing Eka Rao ( a Maratha Chieftain), their

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43. N.A. Ochterlony to Lake, dated 20.12.1804. 31686  
46. " " " Edmonston, dated 20.12.1804.

31686



rejections of the offers of Holkar and in proof of this good conduct produced copies of Holkar's Sanads giving away their lands to others. Under all these circumstances I thought best to appear satisfied and they took leave on my assuring them that I would recommend them to Your Excellency." <sup>47.</sup>

Ochterlony was, beyond ~~any~~<sup>d</sup> any doubt, ever-suspicious of the intentions of the two Sikh chiefs and was constantly judging their actions in that light while it is obvious that, however false to their community they were, at least, true in their professions to the English, and the delay in their implementation <sup>en</sup> was only natural as they were to look at each thing from many points before they actually took up arms against their own co-religionists.

They left Delhi on the morning of the 15th December and joined the camp of Col. Burn after full one month. Meanwhile towards the end of December intelligence was received in the British camp at Delhi that Ranjhat Singh was still thinking of crossing ~~of the Sutlaj~~ the Sutlaj and was particularly inquisitive to know the strength and situation of Delhi. <sup>48</sup> Besides, in the first week of January, 1805, Gen. Lake received requests for protection from Raja Sahib Singh of Patiala and Rani Nur-ul-Nissa of Raikot. <sup>49</sup>

Thus, the situation on the North-western border of the British possessions continued to be fluid and it constantly engaged the attention of Col. Ochterlony throughout the year 1804 and he had to submit various proposals at different times to his superiors to deal with it effectively.

#### 8. G. G.'s Reaction.

The G. G. was not unconscious of the growing alarm on the North-western border. All the proposals of Ochterlony received by him during the year 1804, which involved high principles of policy were under his very active consideration. But he was reluctant to interfere actively <sup>ly</sup> in the affairs of the Cis-Sutlaj Sikh chiefs, as it would estrange the feelings of most of them and ultimately throw them into the lap of the Lahore <sup>chief</sup> a situation, which the

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47. N.A: Ochterlony to Gen. Lake, dated 20.12.1804.

48. N.A: Ochterlony to Edmonston, dated 29.12.1804.

49. N.A: Raja Sahib Singh and Rani Nur-ul-Nissa to Lord Lake dated 4.1.1805.

English could have ill afforded to face at that moment, when they were seriously engaged in a war with Holkar.

So on the 13th January, 1806, the G.G. conveyed to Ochterlony, through his own Secretary, the rejection of all his proposals. In his well-reasoned<sup>n</sup> despatch he characterized the idea of establishing their over-all control of the area in any shape as inadvisable and disadvantageous. He even disapproved the idea of entering into alliance with any individual Sikh chief or all put together, at that time, as that would produce the necessity of constant interference in the concerns of the Sikh chiefs. "The politics of the British Government" he thought, " would become interwoven with those of the Sikhs and we would be involved in all the intricacies and embarrassment or their irregular or iniquitous projects and designs." 50 In short he was of the view that nothing less than complete annexation of their lands could establish an effective control over the Sikh chiefs and that step was impolitic at that juncture.

However, the G.G. in the same letter advised Ochterlony to strengthen the defensive arrangements on the North-western border and to adequately punish all those, who tried to create mischief. At the same time he counselled him to continue the friendly relations with all the serviceable Sikh chiefs and to gratify them occasionally with suitable rewards for their services.

#### 9. Sikh Opposition Dies Away.

On the 29th January, Ochterlony conveyed to G.G. his assurances to carry out his instructions, both in letter and in spirit and recommended that since Sardars Gurdatt Singh and Sher Singh were the chief open-instigators of the insurgence and the latter was dead, the punishment might be confined to former alone. He suggested that he should be deprived of his District of Karnal and his pargana of Jhinjhana (in the Saharanpur District) should be annexed to the British possessions. Other inimical Sikhs, he observed, were only subordinates and a grant of general amnesty could 51 allure them back to their respective headquarters.

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50. Edmonston to Ochterlony, dated 13.1.1805. For the full text of this important letter, see appendix F.

51. Ochterlony to G.G. dated 27.1.1805.

The proposals took about a couple of months to mature.

In the meantime Ochterlony continued his drive against the Sikhs with vigour. On the 16th February intelligence arrived that Ranjit Sikh had called on all the Sikh chiefs to declare themselves either in his favour or that of Raja Sahib Singh of Patiala. On the 9th February, Ochterlony got the news that the Sikhs were busy revaging the pargana of Sonapat and had the intention of recrossing into the Doab. He at once sent instructions to Burn to make a speedy movement to intercept their advance. <sup>52</sup> Burn proceeded further but could not check their onward march and they crossed the Janna into the Doab, once more, on the 15th February. Now Ochterlony decided to attack Karnal to create a fear in the minds of the hostile Sardars that their possessions were in danger so that they might come back to their own headquarters to safe-guard their illaqa. <sup>53</sup>

Burn, consequently, marched against Karnal on the 18th February and encamped at Mirapur on the 24th in the way. Here Bhai Lal Singh and Raja Bhag Singh desired to return to their own territories, possibly to calm Sahib Singh's fears against any invasion of Ranjit Singh, but Burn persuaded them to stay on. He then resumed his march and having encamped at a place near Garh Muktesar and Preet Chet Garh on the way, he reached Ambala on the 27th March. Here he gathered full information about the arms and ammunition of the rebel Sikhs. Bhai Lal Singh and Raja Bhag Singh, once more, tried to take leave of Col. Burn but since the latter desired their presence when he attacked Karnal, he did not let them depart. The two chiefs continued to stay on and sincerely made efforts to dissuade the Sikhs from the path of hostility. They wrote a very strong letter to Sardar Rai Singh of Jagadhari, who was now next in command to Sardar Gurdatt Singh, advising him to abstain from the unfriendly activities and to return to his headquarters to make peace with the English. On the 29th March Gen. Lake issued an

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~~61. Ochterlony to G.G., dated 27.2.1805.~~  
 52. Ochterlony to Lake dated 9.2.1805.  
 53. Ochterlony to G.G., dated 15.2.1805.

amnesty to all the insurgent Sikhs, except Sardar Gurdatt Singh of Ladwa, on the condition that they would remain peaceful and refrain from unfriendly acts in future. <sup>54.</sup>

Now Burn advanced to carry out an attack on Karnal. On the 5th April, he reached the Eastern bank of the Jamna, 5 kos from Karnal. The same day he moved further and besieged the town. Sardar Gurdatt Singh sent his Vakeel to Col. Burn to settle the terms but the latter declined to treat him unless Karnal was delivered up. On the 6th April Gurdatt Singh escaped to Ladwa and the same day Karnal was captured by the English troops. Then Burn sent troops to secure the neighbouring town of Taraori or Azamabad from Gurdatt Singh's men. The town was captured on the 9th and on the following day it was given to Nawab Gulsher Khan of Kunjpura, a close ally of the English in these operations, from whom Sardar Gurdatt Singh had snatched it eight months back. Two days earlier on the 8th April, Burn had recommended the bestowal of the District of Karnal, too, on Gul Sher Khan in Amanee or on profit for his continued loyalty, instead of giving it to the two Sikh chiefs on Latenar... (on permanent basis) as according to him their services were not prominent enough to deserve that gift. <sup>55</sup> But the proposal did not meet the approval of the higher authorities.

The grant of general <sup>7)</sup>amnesty and the attack on Karnal produced the desired effect. On the 11th April the whole body of the confederate Sikhs recrossed the Jamna and returned to their own headquarters. On the 20th April, Ochterlony recommended the grant of Karnal to Sardar Bhanga Singh in exchange of his pargana of Bidauli in the Doab. <sup>56</sup> Sardar Gurdatt Singh offered to make peace on the 23rd April. The terms, which were to deprive him of the parganas of Karnal and Jhinjhana and to demand a promise from him never to cross the Jamna without previous information as well as to remain peaceful in future, were announced to him. Gurdatt Singh felt

54. Pb. P./R.L. Burn to Ochterlony dated 18, 27 & 29th March, 1805.

55. Pb. P./R.L. Burn to Ochterlony dated 5, 6, 8, 9 & 10 April, 1805.

56. N.A:- Ochterlony to G.G. dated 13th & 20th April, 1805.

satisfied with the terms. But soon after, once more, there appeared the signs of trouble, when Sardars Rai Singh, Karam Singh, Mehtab Singh and Jodh Singh displayed restlessness and announced the intention to March to Patiala to win over the chief of that place to their side. Gurdatt Singh also openly joined them on the 27th April. But Burn threatened them with drastic consequences and succeeded in coercing them to submit, once more. The vakils of Gurdatt Singh agreed to abide by the terms on behalf of their master on the First May. The terms were sent to the Ladwa chief for his signatures on the 15th May. Besides signing the terms, he was also asked to tender apology for his recent misdemeanour. Similar demand was made on his associate Sikh chiefs. These Sikh chiefs saw their ruin in the non-fulfilment of this demand and duly complied. Sardar Rai Singh tendered his apology on the 7th May, Sardar Gurdatt Singh on the 10th May and Sardars Karam Singh, Jodh Singh and Mehtab Singh on the 23rd May. Gurdatt Singh finally signed the terms on the 25th May and a representative of late Sardar Sher Singh of Booria pledged loyalty of the survivors of his chief on the 1st June.

#### 10. The British Establish a Cantonment at Karnal.

The disposal of the district of Karnal was an important question. The town of Karnal lay half way on the road from Delhi to Ambala. Almost all the headquarters of the important Cis-Sutlaj Sikh States, particularly of those which were situated on the bank of the Jamma, were within the easy approach of that town. It was 36 miles east of Mathal, 48 miles North-east of Jind, 50 miles South of Ambala, 57 miles South-east of Patiala ~~xxxxxx~~ 70 miles South-east of Nabha. It could be easily linked with the Military headquarters in the Doab and at Delhi. Thus, it could prove a very important military post to control the Sikhs as well as to check an invasion on Delhi from the North-west.

A place of such a strategic importance was not to be given away so easily but the eradication of the Sikh influence from the Doab was also an equally important issue. For this reason the C.in.C consented to give the Karnal district temporarily to Haanga Singh

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57. Pb.P./R.L. Burn to Ochterlony, dated 27th April; 1st, 5th, 7th 12th, 23rd May and 1st June, 1805.

in exchange of Bidauli, provided he did not object to the stationing of British troops at or near Karnal. Bhanga Singh readily agreed to the proposal and the exchange was, therefore, sanctioned on the 25th May. Col. Burn, who was still at Karnal, was instructed to remain encamped there till further orders.

## II. Domestic Trouble at the Court of Patiala.

While the British were busy strengthening their military position at Delhi and Karnal, the leading Cis-Sutlaj Sikh state of Patiala was involved in a serious domestic trouble (in early May). Rani Aus Kaur resented her husband's continual consultations in administrative affairs with his step mother, Mai Khem Kaur. The Rani claimed it as her sole privilege to give advice, if any advice was ever required. She had also to protect the interests of her minor son which were certainly not safe in the hands of Mai Khem Kaur. The gulf continually widened till Raja Sahib Singh chose to move over, for the time being, to Sunam and forced the Rani to retire to her Jagir at Amargarh, 24 miles North-West of Patiala. The Rani obeyed the orders but seized the Amargarh fort with the connivance of its Qiledar, Sardar Natcha Singh Purabia. Raja Sahib Singh, on getting the news, proceeded post-haste to Amargarh to get the fort vacated. He encamped 4 miles South-west of Amargarh at a place called Mansurour. Meanwhile the Rani had invited to her help Sardar Bhanga Singh of Thanesar, whose daughter was betrothed to her son, Kanwar Karam Singh. The chief of Thanesar started negotiations to restore peaceful relations between husband and wife. But the Rani proved too clever for both. She gave them a slip and made a sudden appearance before Patiala. The Qiledar of Patiala, Sardar Chera Singh Purabia, was easily persuaded to admit her in the fort. Having, thus, taken possession of the city and the fort of Patiala the Rani occupied a ground of vantage over her husband.

Raja Sahib Singh was taken by surprise at the movement of the Rani and followed her to Patiala. He halted at Senaur, 2 miles

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58. N.A: Ochterlony to G.G. dated 25.5.1805.

59- Pb.P/R.L. Burn to Ochterlony, dated 8.6.1805.

South-east of Patiala and was disappointed to find that the situation had gone out of control. Since most of the important civil and Military officers of the state had been won over by the Rani he proceeded to Saifabad, another stronghold nearby, in the hope of obtaining counsel and help from the friendly Cis-Sutlaj Sikh chiefs. He sent written messages to them to come and help him in recovering his seat of Government from his rebel wife. Sardars Gurdatt Singh Jodh Singh and Karam Singh complied with his request and arrived at Saifabad. Bhai Lal Singh and Raja Bhag Singh were not free to attend to him, being still in the camp of Col. Burn. The Raja of Nabha had been allured to her side by Rani Aus Kaur, who gave him an authority under her seal to take possession of Dolladhi, a village one mile ~~south~~ South-west of Nabha. This village, on account of its contiguity to the town of Nabha, had been a standing cause of dispute between the ~~two states~~ two states. Although the Nabha chief knew that the Rani's authority had no legal validity and for this reason he had also deferred taking possession of the village to some other opportune time, yet to satisfy his passion of old family rivalry with the ruler of Patiala, he extended all military help to Rani Aus Kaur against her husband. But no change occurred in the situation and this sorry state of affairs continued at the court of Patiala till Holkar's messengers arrived in that quarter in the beginning of October, 1805.

### 12. Holkar Arrives in the Sikh Lands.

In the meanwhile the war between the over-confident Holkar and the English had passed through many stages of successes and defeats. At last, he was driven away from Malwa and the Ganga-Jamna Doab and the enthusiastic assemblage at Sabalgarh of the Majority

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60. The ruling families of Patiala and Nabha had an old standing rivalry between themselves. The Nabha family being an offshot of the seniormost branch of Phul considered itself superior to that of Patiala, but the latter being the owner of the biggest state in the area always occupied the first place in the ranks of the Sirhind Sikh Ruling families and hence the trouble.

61. N.A: Patiala Akhbar, dated 8.10.1805.



of the important Maratha princes, too, proved in the end only a complete fiasco and Holkar had to turn to Rajputana in May, 1805.

Meanwhile important changes had taken place in the British Indian administration which had brought about a complete reversal of their policy towards Indian Princes. The widespread hostilities in India and the very heavy drain on the finances of the Indian Government had caused a great alarm and resentment in England against Lord Wellesley's policy in India. He had, therefore, been recalled and Lord Cornwallis had been sent in his place to reverse his policy and to restore Indian politics to what they were in 1793 at the time of his own departure. Immediately after his arrival in India Lord Cornwallis started on a tour of upper provinces and died on the 5th October at Ghazipur. Sir George Barlow, the senior member of the council now took his place and decided to carry out faithfully and rigidly the policy sketched by Lord Cornwallis.

Gen. Lake and his political advisor, John Malcolm, were fully conscious of this change in the policy but they determined to make the best of a bad bargain. Malcolm's greatest concern was to end all the possibilities of any Maratha unity, that might have resulted from their assemblage at Sabalgarh. He touched the weak spot of Sindhia by acceding to his demands of restoring Gohud and Gwallior to him and, thus, succeeded in finally separating him from Holkar on the 13th September, 1805. Holkar failed to gain any worthwhile support from the chief of Jodhpur or any other Rajputana prince to his cause. He now decided to march to the Sikh lands to secure help from the Sikh chiefs as well as from the Shah of Kabul. Consequently, he came to Narnaul and from there sent a mounted harkarah (post carrier) to Raja Sahib Singh of Patiala and other Sikh chiefs with messages to induce them to take up his cause. He also sent a Vakil to Amritsar to befriend the Trans-Sutlaj Sardars. To the Shah of Kabul he had already sent his Vakil, Abdullah Khan, in August and his cause was being well pleaded in the court by Jammu Shah Sadozai Multani, a High Officer of the Shah, and by Begum Wafadar Khan, the Shah's sister.

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62. Amir Nama and V.V. Thakare, Vol. II, Holkar to Bhar Mal and vice versa-letters No. 68 and 69.

63. N.A: P.L.R. dated August, September, 1805 as well as Patiala Akhbar, dated 8.10.1805.

Having done so he left Namaul alongwith his close associate  
64 Amir Khan, and a horde of infantry, artillery and cavalry for his destination. He came to Charahi Dadri (now called Dalmia Dadri) via Rewari and left his infantry numbering 3000 with 1000 cavalry and 30 guns there to harry the neighbouring British territory and then reached Raurai, a village 4 miles from Hind, on the 8th October.  
65 The same day his messenger reached Saifabad at the court of Raja Sahib Singh and delivered his message. The message, besides containing an appeal for help, also unfolded his scheme that he desired to encamp at Sirhind, where all the Cis and Trans Sutlaj Sikh chiefs and the Afghan forces were expected to join him, and then they would all  
66 march against the English.

Raja Sahib Singh received the news of Holkar's arrival in that quarter with mixed feelings. On the one hand he hoped that Holkar would help him in recovering Patiala from the ~~Rani~~ <sup>Rani</sup> and on the other he apprehended the consequent estrangement of feelings with the English as well as a heavy loss to the crops by his troops. However, he patiently watched the trend of events.

On the 9th October he received a letter from Haid Lal Singh of Kaithal conveying the news that Holkar <sup>had</sup> invited Raja Bhag Singh to meet him but the latter had declined to do so. Holkar had then moved forward to Jhansi and Narwana and encamped there. The Kaithal chief had further written that Holkar was contemplating to come to Patiala and Gen. Lake had also left Mathura for Shahjahanabad (Delhi) to arrive in that area in his pursuit and under these circumstances he advised him to patch up his relations with the Rani and to return

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64. Amir Khan was the famous Pathan General of the Holkars. He was born in 1768 at Serai Tareena near Sambhal in Rohilkhand. He had inherited the military career from his ancestors and had served several masters almost for a decade before he joined Jaswant Rao Holkar in the middle of the year 1792. Having secured a written promise from Holkar that all the booty and conquests to be acquired henceforth were to be shared equally between them, he was faithfully serving that Maratha chief ever since with his turbulent Pathan contingent. Later in 1818 he had been recognised as the 1st Nawab of Tonk by the Marquis of Hastings. Ameer Namah, PP 1-97; Waqa-i-Holkar, FF-1-62a and Fraser Vol. II, pp 64-68.

65. Lord Lake, pp 402.

66. N.A: Patiala Akhbar, dated 8.10.1805.

to his Capital. The Raja sent the reply of the letter the same day requesting the Kaithal chief to keep him fully informed of the movements of Holkar and Gen. Lake. He also informed him that a scheme of reapproachment with the Rani was already afoot through Sardar Bhanga Singh and assured him that he would try to avail of the chance.

The same evening Sardar Bhanga Singh arrived there from Patiala to arrange for the compromise. As usual, Raja Sahib Singh first held a consultation with Mai Khem Kaur and then welcomed the Thanesar chief by conferring on him a Khilaaat of the value of Rs. 500/-. The Thanesar chief counselled the Raja to forget the past and to proceed to Patiala. The Raja enquired: 'who would hold the fort?' Bhanga Singh replied that everything would be decided according to his wishes and he should not worry about the details just then. But the Raja insisted on a definite reply to the question and the meeting came to an end without any decision. However, before leaving for Patiala Bhanga Singh promised to come again the next day with the relevant answer.

On the 10th October, Bhanga Singh arrived again. The Patiala chief received him at a distance of two furlongs from his camp. ~~He made them offer nazars to the Raja as a mark of reconciliation.~~ Bhanga Singh had brought two Vakils of the Rani, namely Basant Rai and Albel Singh, with himself. He made them offer nazars to the Raja as a mark of reconciliation. The Vakils then informed the Patiala chief that Rani Aus Kaur would personally come next day to answer all questions as well as to take him to the capital. The Raja felt satisfied. But after the Thanesar chief and the Vakils of the Rani had left Saifabad for Patiala, Mai Khem Kaur told him not to be taken in by their words as she ~~was~~ <sup>suspected</sup> some treachery. She advised him, therefore, to gain the good-will of Holkar by sending a Vakil with a message of welcome to his camp. The fear of treachery made the Raja change his views. He, at once agreed to the proposal and sent a Vakil with two asharfees (gold Mohars)

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65. Holkar, pp. 402.  
66. Patiala Akhbar, dated 9.10.1805.  
67. N.A.: Patiala Akhbar, dated 9.10.1805.

as Nazar and 4 guns and 500 loongsees (sikka turbans) as presents to the camp of Holkar in compliance of her wishes. In the meantime a letter of Bhai Lal Singh was delivered by the Kaithal harkarah, which warned Sahib Singh of the expected arrival of Gen. Lake that side and advised him to act more cautiously and prudently till then. The Kaithal harkarah also delivered a verbal message that his chief had turned down all requests of Holkar to meet him and had mounted guns on the gates of his capital to repel his attack, if he chose the path of aggression. But Holkar's troops avoided the clash and proceeded further to village Naween on the bank of the Sarawati. However, the troops, which were about fifty or sixty thousand in number, had done incalculable harm to the crops on the way. The news arrived from Patiala that the near approach of Maratha troops had raised the price of the corn there and that the Rani had, consequently, issued orders to the people not to sell any corn to Holkar's agents without her permission.

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The Rani had probably received intelligence about the despatch of a Vakil to Holkar's camp by the Raja and, therefore, she, too, abandoned all her earlier schemes of compromise.

On the 11th October news arrived at Saifabad that Holkar was preparing to march from village Sohian to village Jhangli Bhagal, where he was to encamp next on his way to Patiala. Now from among the various Sikh chiefs, who were at Saifabad and had earlier been Holkar's allies, only Sardar Karam Singh had sent his Vakil to his camp. Other Sikh chiefs, particularly Sardars Gurdatt Singh and Jodh Singh, were much afraid of the English and, therefore, in spite of the fact that Karam Singh persuaded them much to follow his example, they had avoided to do so. In the evening a harkarah brought a letter from Gen. Lake to Raja Sahib Singh, informing that he would soon leave Delhi for Patiala in pursuit of Holkar and that Col. Burn would also join him on the way.

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68. N.A: Patiala Akhbar, dated 10.10.1805.

69. N.A: Patiala Akhbar, dated 10.10.1805.

The Patiala chief was now between two fires. Holkar was expected to arrive near Patiala within the next four or five days and Gen. Lake a few days later. He did not know what to do under the circumstances. At last, Mai Khem Kaur suggested a way out that he should try to secure Patiala with the help of Holkar till Gen. Lake arrived and then act as the situation demanded.

### 13. Holkar Exploits the Situation at Patiala.

On the 15th October, a number of Holkar's agents namely Bhao Bhaskar, Pantyaji Sindhia, Jannajee, Ghulami Khan, Dila Ram Seth and Himmat Rao Pandit arrived at Saifabad and offered Rs. 5/- each as nazar to the Raja. The Patiala chief received them with attention but returned the amount of the nazar as a mark of friendship. During the friendly talks the Raja expressed a great pleasure on the arrival of Maharaja Holkar in that quarter. Holkar's agents also reciprocated the same sentiments on behalf of their master. They also conveyed to the Raja that their master was eager to meet all the Sikh chiefs to request them to join him against a common foe. If he was successful in his design with the help of the Sikhs, they observed, he would be the undisputed master of whole India and in that case he would confirm all the lands between the Janna and the Indus on the Sikhs. Then the Raja finding the atmosphere congenial acquainted them with the details of his dispute with the Rani and observed that the evil-minded officers of the state were the sole cause of the trouble. He also told them that he desired that Maharaja Holkar should help him in that unfortunate event and somehow arrange the restoration of the city and the fort of Patiala to him. Holkar's agents assured him that they would persuade their chief to secure Patiala for him either through negotiation or war. But, at the same time, they advised him to meet the Maratha chief soon and to explain the case personally to him. The Raja agreed to the proposal, but he advised them to get the Maratha chief encamped at Dhablan, a village half way between Nabha

and Patiala, so that the possibility of contact between the Nabha Raja and Rani Aus Kaur might be removed. The agents having assured the Raja of its compliance returned to their tents outside the Saifabad fort. The Raja sent Rs. 500/-/- to their camp for entertainment and feasting.

Now the various minor Sikh chiefs, who were at Saifabad, felt uneasy over the coming interview between Holkar and Raja Sahib Singh. They were afraid of the British Wrath and one of them, Gurdatt Singh, had particularly tasted its bitter fruit and so with a view to avoid its repetition they decided to return to their own territory. Gurdatt Singh was the first to make preparations to depart. When Raja Sahib Singh came to know of it, he sent his Dewan, Sardar Dewan Singh, to persuade the Ladwa chief to postpone his departure. Dewan Singh succeeded in his mission but with great difficulty.

On the 16th October Holkar's agents contacted Sardar Gurdatt Singh, Jodh Singh and Bhangra Singh, and pressed them to carry out their earlier words. But all of them avoided long discussion by saying that Raja Sahib Singh was their leader and when he had joined Holkar's side, others must ~~do~~ do so.

The intelligence of the developments at Saifabad regarding the arrangements of interview between Raja Sahib Singh and Holkar, mainly to secure Patiala from her hands, caused some anxiety in the mind of the Rani. She, once more, started efforts to make up her relations with her husband through Sardar Bhangra Singh. But the negotiations came to an abrupt end when the Raja expressly declined to respond to these overtures saying that he had little faith in Rani's words.

On the 18th October the agents of Holkar were again reported to be busy in arguing with the various Sikh chiefs to make them agree to join Holkar's cause. But the discussion bore no fruit. In the end Gurdatt Singh and others told them frankly that they were not against Holkar but they were not in a position to assist him actively.

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70. N.A: Patiala Akhbar, dated 16.10.1805.

71. N.A: Patiala Akhbar, dated 17.10.1805.

Then the various minor Sikh chiefs except Sardar Karam Singh and some Patiala Officers pressed Mai Khem Kaur to arrange for the departure of the agents of Holkar to their own camp so that they could do something solid for the ~~restoration~~ restoration of Patiala. All persuasion on the part of Sardar Karam Singh to make the Sikh chiefs change their views proved in vain. They, instead, remarked that the English forces were at hand and any effort on their part to associate themselves with Holkar would cost them their states. Gurdatt Singh and Jodh Singh, once more, sought permission, at this stage, to return to their headquarters but the persistent requests of the Raja and his solemn assurances that he would not compel them to meet Holkar and that he himself, too, would not do so, unless a solid promise for the restoration of Patiala was given, calmed their fears and they agreed to stay on.

In the meantime news was received that Holkar had arrived within a distance of 2 miles from Patiala and that Bhai Tara Singh (a high Patiala Officer) Sardars Bhanga Singh and Mehtab Singh and the Vakils of the Rani were with him. It was also reported that Holkar was pressing the associates and the agents of the Rani to make peace with the Raja and to restore the fort and the city of Patiala to him. The Vakils conveyed the willingness of the Rani to carry out his wishes but they strongly blamed the Raja for his fickle-mindedness. Holkar then detoured North-westward and encamped at a distance of 5 or 6 miles from Patiala.

Now Holkar's agents, who had been given ceremonial send off by the Raja, postponed their departure till a meeting should take place between the two chiefs.

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On the 19th October negotiations continued between Holkar and Rani's Vakils on one side and between Holkar's agents and the minor Sikh chiefs on the other. On the 20th October, Bhai Tara Singh returned from Holkar's camp to Saifabad and narrated all what had happened there. In the meantime Ghulam Khan also arrived at Saifabad from Holkar's camp and met the Raja alongwith Sardar

Dewan Singh. He handed over to the Raja a written assurance of the Rani under her seal to carry out Holkar's wishes provided the Raja agreed to do so and remained firm in his decision. The assurance had also been confirmed by Sardar Bhanga Singh. Then Ghulami Khan pressed the Raja to see Holkar immediately so that everything might be amicably settled. On the 21st October Raja Sahib Singh did not feel well and remained mostly confined to bed. However, Mai Khem Kaur, some Patiala Officers and Sardar Karam Singh remained busy discussing what to do next. Sardar Karam Singh strongly advised the Mai to ask the Raja to contact Holkar without delay. On the 22nd October Holkar's camp shifted to Rasulpur, a village only two miles from Saifabad. The Raja approved of this change and expressed his desire to see Holkar the next day.

In the afternoon Mai Khem Kaur informed the Raja that Rani Aus Kaur had sent Rs. 2000/-/- two horses and other valuable gifts through her Vakil, Albel Singh, to Holkar's camp. She advised him, therefore, to send his nazar and presents also through Dewan Dewan Singh. The Raja agreed to the proposal. Dewan Dewan Singh was immediately sent with the necessary articles to Holkar's camp. The Dewan accompanied by Ghulami Khan and some high Patiala Officers rode the elephant while two hundred sawars went as an escort. Later Raja Sahib Singh also went in a palaki upto the village of Mahmudpur, very near Rasulpur, to have a view of Holkar's camp.

After Dewan Dewan Singh had presented the nazars to Holkar and Amir Khan he was invited for discussion by Holkar. Amir Khan Ghulami Khan, Pantyaji, Hamath Chela, Kashi Rao, and Mehabat Khan were also present. Holkar explained his mission of coming that side and promised to end the domestic feuds in the ruling house of Patiala if the Patiala chief agreed to help him in his schemes. The Dewan submitted that if he arranged the restoration of Patiala to his master, he would help him in all possible ways. Then Ghulami Khan intervened and said to the Dewan that Holkar was in need of financial help to meet the daily expenses of his army. The Dewan assured that the help would be given, provided the restoration



of the capital took place. Ghulami Khan hinted that Holkar desired that the Raja should pay rupees ten lakhs. The Dewan extended a promise of sending rupees two lakhs in the first instance. Holkar then gave solemn assurance to the Dewan regarding the restoration of Patiala either through negotiation or war. After Holkar had conferred Khilaats on the Dewan and other high officers of the Raja the meeting was adjourned and the Dewan returned to Saifabad. However, Bhai Tara Singh remained in the camp with  
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Holkar.

On the 23rd October, Raja Sahib Singh again remained in the bed and the meeting was postponed to the next day. But on the other side Holkar was reported to have sent final instructions to the Rani that either she should restore the city and the fort of Patiala to the Raja unconditionally or be prepared for war. The Rani seemed to have taken up the challenge and she started strengthening her defences, increase her watch and ward and stopped all entry of Maratha soldiers to the city of Patiala. She also despatched her vakils to Bhai Lal Singh, Raja Bhag Singh and Raja Jaswant Singh to apprise them of the latest development and to request them to intervene. Similarly she sent a swift camel rider to Col. Burn's camp to acquaint him with the situation.

In the evening of 24th October Raja Sahib Singh accompanied by his high officers and escorted by Sardar Gurdatt Singh's troops proceeded on an elephant towards Holkar's camp. He had hardly gone half a mile from Saifabad viz near village Daulatpur that Holkar arrived from opposite side with Ameer Khan, Khande Rao, Harnath Chela and other high officers to receive him. The two chiefs embraced each other and after an exchange of ceremonial greetings the whole party rode to the camp of Holkar. Here Raja Sahib Singh confirmed the terms, which had been offered to Holkar by his Dewan (Dewan Singh) a couple of days earlier. The Maratha chief, too on his part reiterated his promise of help in recovering the city  
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and the fort of Patiala for Sahib Singh.

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73. N.A: Patiala Akhbar, dated 19th, 20th, 21st and 22nd October 1805.

74. N.A: Patiala Akhbar, dated 23rd and 24th October, 1805.

On receiving the assurance Raja Sahib Singh returned to his camp at Saifabad and kept waiting for help from Holkar. But days and even weeks had passed, no succour arrived in the form of Maratha troops. Rather the Maratha and the Rohilla chiefs seemed to be deliberately delaying things. They were badly in need of money and wanted to draw upon the accumulated treasure of the Patiala chief. They played upon the fears of the Raja and the Rani and fleeced every penny they could from them. The private correspondence of HMK Holkar reveals that he had no honest intention of helping Sahib Singh. In one of his letters addressed to his nephew he is reported to have told Amir Khan; "God has most assuredly sent us these two pigeons to pluck. Let us not throw away the advantage we can take from them. You espouse the cause of the one while I take up with the other and so we will play them off against each other and make both of them serviceable to our common purpose." This game went on for about three weeks till the news of the advance of the British troops under Gen. Lake made Holkar and Amir Khan wind up their camp from Patiala about the middle of November and take the road to Ludhiana.

#### 14. Lord Lake Arrives at Patiala.

Lord Lake had marched in pursuit of Holkar from Mathura to Delhi on the 10th October. He had left behind the bulk of his army for the protection of the Northern frontier of the Ganga Jamna Doab both against Holkar's infantry and any attack that the Sikh chiefs might be induced to make. He reached Delhi on the 7th November. In the meantime Maj. Gen. Dodwell, one of his subordinates had sent a letter to Raja Sahib Singh, which was actually drafted by his political agent, Charles Metcalfe, a young man of 20 years. In this letter the Maj. Gen. had written, "The reports of your enemies state that you have joined the cause of Holkar and have consequently placed yourself in the situation of an enemy to the British Government. I cannot believe that you would act in a manner so adverse to your own true interests. The power of the British Government is known

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75. V.V. Thakore, Holkar to Bhar Mal, letter No. 72, Cunningham pp 126, Hassan pp 186 and Amir Namah pp 276.

to all. It is terrible to its enemies and a sure protection to its friends. Holkar is a fugitive and had fled from Hindustan to the country of Sikhs from dread of the British troops. Wherever he goes, he brings destruction on those who assist him. Whilst he remains in your country, he destroys your crops and plunders the inhabitants. It is not consistent with your famed wisdom to associate yourself with such a man. I write to you in a friendly manner that I am advancing with a large army of infantry, cavalry and artillery and that I shall in three or four days arrive at the bank of Jamna. If you act openly against the enemy, you may depend for assistance on the British Government. The Government regards the Sikh chiefs as friends and has no intention to interfere in their concerns. Its sole object is to defeat the hostile designs of Holkar. Whoever joins the desparate fortunes of that free-booter must expect to draw upon himself the vengeance of the British Government; whoever acts against him will be rewarded with great kindness." 76

Raja Sahib Singh who was already fed up with Holkar's excessive demands of money and his false promises of help now realised that any further stay of the Maratha chief in his lands would prove definitely harmful to his own interests. He, therefore, made up his mind to get rid of him. So having informed Holkar that the British troops were on their way to Patiala, the Raja suggested to him that he should better move forward to win over Ranjit Singh to his side, for, if the Lahore chief espoused his cause all others would automatically do so. Holkar, too, had lost all hope of getting any assistance from the Sirhind chiefs. Besides, he was not prepared to fight the English unless the Sikh or the Afghan Forces had joined him. Hence taking whatever money he could fleece from the Patiala chief, he proceeded towards Ludhiana in the 1st week of November. No Sirhind chief, except Sardar Karam Singh Birmala, accompanied him. Thus, laying waste what came in

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76. Kaye, Vol.1, pp 188-189.

77. Khushwaqat Rai, pp 176.

his way and levying contributions wherever he could, he crossed  
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the Sutlaj on the 13th November, 1805.

The very day Holkar broke up his camp at Rasulpur, Raja Sahib Singh sent a reply to the letter of Maj. Gen. Dodwell explaining his relations with Holkar. He wrote, " when Holkar suddenly flying with fear from the victorious armies of the British Govt., brought his ill-boding train into the country and sought my assistance and alliance, preserving in its unity my faith and friendship to the British Government, I paid no attention to him whatever. When the plundering oppressor fixed his camp of wretchedness between Patiala and Saifabad, it was suggested to me that my enemies would perhaps join him and procure success to their designs and I was persuaded that the necessity of the time made it advisable to keep up an outward intercourse with him. From necessity I submitted to one or two conferences. Still, however, notwithstanding my apparent good-will, the rascal did not refrain from plundering and destroying my country which he had made a desert. I at one time hoped by his means to punish my enemies but this also was not brought about. The wretch has now marched to plunder towards the Sutlaj."<sup>79</sup>

Lord Lake arrived at Panipat at the head of a British contingent on the 17th November. Here a column of the forces of Col. Burn joined him and then he proceeded towards Patiala. In the meantime Bhai Lal Singh and Raja Bhag Singh, who had arrived at Patiala in response to the Rani's call, had succeeded in impressing upon the Patiala chief and his Rani the urgent need of unity in view of the expected arrival of a very big representative of the British Government that side. The two parties had resolved their differences and Raja Sahib Singh had moved to his Capital. Thus, when Lord Lake reached Patiala, he was received with all marks of honour by the three chiefs.

The Raja of Patiala held a special Durbar in honour of the distinguished guest, in which he handed over the key of his fort to

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78. VV. Thakore Vol. II, letter No.72, pp 53-54.

79. Kaye, Vol. I, pp 189-190-

the British General as a mark of loyalty to and dependence on the British Government. Gen. Lake was much pleased with all these professions of fidelity and agreed to the demand of Raja Sahib Singh, which he had submitted in a written representation (Wajib-ul-Arz)<sup>80</sup>. These demands were that his possessions would not be molested and that nothing in the shape of nazrana and tribute will be demanded from him on behalf of the British Government. On his own behalf the Raja had assured the General of his full cooperation with the British Government and to consider its friends as friends and enemies as enemies. After this all the Malwa and Manjha Sikh chiefs, who were at Patiala, were introduced to Gen. Lake. Later Lake accompanied by Shah Lal Singh and Raja Bhag Singh and a few other minor Sikh chiefs proceeded towards Ludhiana via Nabha and reached there on the 2nd December. Holkar was then about 30 miles from Ludhiana.

At first the political considerations, whether he should cross the Sutlaj with his troops and enter the dominions of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his allies or not, withheld Lord Lake moving further. But when he realized that he would not be able to bring Holkar to any decisive action without crossing the Sutlaj, he decided to go ahead. A battalion of sepoys crossed the Sutlaj on the 5th December and the whole contingent on the 6th and 7th December.

Holkar had already sent his Vakil, Shahid Khan, to Amritsar to negotiate with Ranjit Singh and other important Trans-Sutlaj Sikh chiefs. He had won many of them but had met with little success in case of the Lahore chief. Holkar next tried Shao Bhaskar, a cunning diplomat and in high confidence of his master, to bring round Ranjit Singh. By this time the Maratha chief had received assurance from Shah Shujah, the ruler of Kabul. Accordingly he crossed the Beas (8th December) in the belief that even if the Sikhs showed disinclination to make a common cause with him he would proceed on to Kabul by way of Attock. Lord Lake reached

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80. Patiala Arch. Wajib-ul-Arz of Raja Sahib Singh. For its full text see appendix G.

the Southern bank of the Beas on the 9th December and encamped at village Chakoki on the Rajpur Ghat near Jalalbad, which lies at a distance of 35 miles from Amritsar and 45 miles from Ludhiana. He had done so because on one side, it secured his supplies from his rear and on the other it was likely to give confidence to Ranjit Singh to oppose Holkar's designs or, at least, it would deter Ranjit Singh from embracing his cause.

15. Raja Harg Singh's Mission to Ranjit Singh.

Ranjit Singh was at that time busy reducing the Muslim chiefs between the Chenab and the Indus. He was then settling the annual tribute of the chief of Jhang when intelligence was conveyed to him that Holkar had crossed the Beas with a large army and intended to proceed to Kabul direct if the Sikhs did not cooperate with him. The news of Gen. Lake's arrival on the Southern bank of the Beas also reached him in quick succession. Much averse as he was to the entry of such a large number of foreign troops into his lands lest they should undo the work of integration, which he had been doing during the last few years, he resolved that he would not let his dominions become the field of battle between the Maratha and the English. Consequently, leaving the affairs of Jhang into the hands of his veteran Sardar, Fateh Singh Kalianwala, Ranjit Singh marched post-haste to Amritsar.

However, feeling a ~~little~~ little upset at the near approach of such a large number of foreign troops Ranjit Singh had earlier sent words to the Trans-Sutlej Sardars to arrive there with their forces as a precautionary measure. But his disappointment was great when only Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia and Mai Sada Kaur, his own mother-in-law, had responded to the call. At the same time, where he had expressed to the Vakils of Holkar his eagerness to meet the Maratha chief, he had also despatched two of his trusted Vakeels to Gen. Lake's camp.

These Vakils met Gen. Lake on the 10th December and conveyed

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Sl. Hassan pp. 188-189; Amir Nizam pp 251-252; Lord Lake pp 403-404; Sohan Lal pp 58; Cunningham pp 137 and Fraser Vol. II pp 88-90.

the fullest assurance of their master's regard for him. They also explained to him that the Lahore chief was temporizing with Holkar only to save his country from the ravages of that free-booster as his own forces had been employed on distant services and were not yet assembled.

Gen. Lake also acquainted them with the purpose of his arrival and assured them that he had no intentions at all to injure the interests or affect the independence of any one of the chieftains in that quarter.

Although the Vakils looked satisfied with the assurances given to them, yet Gen. Lake feared that Holkar might delude the young Sikh chief (Ranjit Singh was then 25 years old) by his fallacious efforts. Hence he deputed Raja Bhag Singh to dissuade Ranjit Singh from forming an alliance with Holkar, if he had any intention to do so. The Jind Raja accompanied the Vakils to Amritsar on the 11th December.

In the meantime on being informed by his Vakils about the friendly attitude of Ranjit Singh, Holkar had marched towards Amritsar. He had been received at a distance of a mile or two from the city by Ranjit Singh, who, having arranged for the encampment of the bulk of his forces there, had brought him along with his important officers and a small number of selected troops to the city itself. Here the two chiefs had had chances to come closer to each other. During these interviews Holkar had made touching appeals for help to Ranjit Singh and the latter had favourably responded to them. The two had taken an oath of mutual friendship at Har Mandir and had confirmed it by an exchange of turbans.

On his arrival at Amritsar Raja Bhag Singh felt much concerned at this affinity between his nephew and the Maratha chief. Since he was the well-wisher of both, the English and Ranjit Singh, he made strong efforts to arrest its further progress. During his private talks he awakened Ranjit Singh to the disastrous consequences of the course he had chosen. He made it clear to him that to support the cause of beaten Holkar against a power of far superior resources, specially when no other chief had taken his side, was not an act

of prudence. Moreover the ~~انگریزیوں کے ساتھ~~ English, he said, had given him no offence, whatsoever, that he should look upon them as his enemies.

Ranjit Singh was not conscious of these facts, but Holkar's sentimentalism, the taunts of his co-religionists and his own youth and impetuosity had led him somewhat astray from the path he had earlier taken. Now when Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia and other well-wishers also confirmed what Raja Bhag Singh had counselled him and, besides, when he discovered that the Trans-Sutlej Sikh Sardars were joining the English one after the other, he decided to send Vakils again to Lord Lake to arrive at a friendly understanding.

Ranjit Singh's Vakils and Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia, consequently, visited the English Camp on the 19th December. A general rumour was, however, current at that time that Ranjit Singh had also arrived there incognito. The Sikh visitors were well impressed with the superior discipline, organisation and equipment of British troops. They immediately entered into parleys with the English Officers which resulted in the signing of the Treaty of Lahore on 1st January, 1806. In this treaty Ranjit Singh and Fateh Singh agreed to arrange for the immediate removal of Holkar's forces at a distance of 30 miles from Amritsar and not to give him any help whatsoever in future. The British Officers on behalf of the British Government, promised that so long as the two Sikh chiefs treated the foes of the British Government as their enemies and refrained from having any relations with them the British troops

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would neither enter their territories nor even plan to possess them.

S2. Sohan Lal, pp 57-60 (Sohan Lal records: منقول زبان مبارک سرکار وادارہ کتب سرکار وادارہ الامانیت و مدرسہ  
ہکر بہ آسٹھام شہزادہ اتحاد و داد پیر اہوا صاحب عالی شان جیوں مائے درخشاں شہزادہ صاحب انداختند - جیوں اتحاد صاحبین برائے - انداز اوقات پیر اعراض فرمودند  
(Ranjit Singh often mentioned that he drew lots in the presence of Sri Guru Granth Sahib and the drawn chit directed him to identify himself with the British and hence the separation from Holkar); P.L.R. R.S. to Collins, dated 6-12-1805; Khushwaqat Rai pp 177-180; Lord Lake to G.G., dated 14.12.1805 Amir Namah pp 250-7; Zafar Namah, pp 24-26; Iqbal Namah; Gunniggham, pp 137-138; Fraser, pp 190-91; Malcolm pp 107; Princip pp 46; Raj, Vol. I, pp 75; Aitchison Vol. I, pp 33.



16. Exit Jaswant Rao Holkar.

Now Holkar had for some time past realized that neither the Lahore chief nor the Afghan King were likely to give any active help to him and therefore he had begun to think of concluding peace with the English, if he could get honourable terms. Lord Lake and Sir John Malcolm, on the other side, were also being pressed by the G. C. in council at Calcutta to terminate the War with Holkar soon. But they were determined to maintain the prestige of the British Government by not taking any initiative in starting such talks with Holkar. They rather desired that such a suggestion should come from Holkar first. However, the agents of the two powers so arranged the affairs that the talks for peace began. They were successful and the Treaty of Rajghat was signed by the representatives of the two powers on the 24th December, 1805. The treaty was ratified by Holkar on 7th January, 1806. According to this Treaty "Holkar renounced all claims to the territories North and West of the river Chambel and the British Government granted him his possessions to the South and East of it. Holkar's possessions to the South of the Nerbada were also restored to him."

After the Treaty had been ratified Holkar made a wish that some English gentlemen of honour should visit his camp and give his assurances in the most public manner of the satisfaction and friendship of the British Government. This he desired to satisfy the minds of some of his adherents; specially Amir Khan. Lord Lake deputed Mr. Charles Metcalfe for this purpose and he successfully did so on the 10th January.

Meanwhile, as had been settled in the talks, Lord Lake broke up his camp first and started on his return journey on the 9th January. Having left Col. Burn with 4 battalions of sepoy and some artillery at Panipat and one battalion of sepoy at Karnal, he reached Delhi on the 15th January. Holkar, however, took some time to get some of his terms clarified. He recrossed the Sutlaj on the 16th March and proceeded to Indore via Rohtak and Jaipur avoiding the ~~vicinities of the Sirhind Sikh chiefs on the way.~~

territories of the Sirhind Sikh chiefs on the way.

17. Lord Lake Acknowledges Raja Bhag Singh's Services.

The attitude of Sirhind chiefs, particularly that of Raja Bhag Singh, had been very cooperative and helpful to the English, throughout this campaign. The recognition of these services was regarded as an act of obligation by the English. Lord Lake recommended to his Government to confer on Raja Bhag Singh some Jagir in perpetuity or at least as a life tenure. This recommendation was accepted and the pargana of Bowana, situated in the South-west of Panipat in the Subah of Delhi — which was to be a life grant in the name of the second son of Raja Bhag Singh, Hanwar Partap Singh— the village of Memrezipur in pargana Hansi and the village of Thana Kalan in pargana Kharkhoda were conferred on him as Jagir on life tenure.

With a view to please Raja Bhag Singh and the rest of Sirhind Sikh chiefs Lord Lake had made it obligatory on Holkar not to molest the territories of these chiefs during the return march. This was incorporated as article No.3 in the Treaty of Rajghat, which read:-

"It is however stipulated that Jaswant Rao Holkar, shall immediately upon this treaty being signed and ratified, proceed towards Hindustan by a route which leaves the town of Patiala, Kaithal, Jind and the countries of the Hon'ble Co., and Jaswant Rao engages on his route to make his troops abstain from plunder and that they shall commit no act of hostilities in any of the countries through which they may pass."

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83. Lake, pp 407; Fraser, pp 90-91; Kaye, pp 196-198; Cunningham pp 136-137; Sohan Lal pp 59; Amir Namah pp 257-62 Lake to G.G. dated 7-1-1806, 19.1.1806 and 20.3.1806 and Sardesai Vol.III pp 435-436 Duni Chand pp 47-49 Griffin pp 321.

84. Griffin records that at first Raja Bhag Singh had been given the pargana of Hansi but Raja at his own wish got it exchanged for Bowana.

85. Jind papers pp 13-14, Lord Lake Sanad for Bowana, dated 15-3-1806 Sanad for Memrezipur, dated 19.3.1806 and Sanad for Thana Kalan 20.3.1806; Duni Chand pp 49 and Lord Lake's minute of October 1806.

86. Aitcheson's Treaties and Sanads.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### FORCED INTO THE LAP OF THE BRITISH.

April, 1806 ----- 2nd May, 1809.

#### 1. Ranjit Singh's First Cis-Sutlej Campaign.

The reconciliation between Raja Sahib Singh and Rani Aus Kaur, arranged on the eve of Gen. Lake's visit to Patiala, ended with that emergency; for, soon after the selfish officials of the state exploiting the situation again widened the gulf between the husband and the wife. The Raja had retired to Sunam and the Rani was again supreme at Patiala.

But the renewal of the Daladdi Boundary dispute soon forced the two parties to patch up their differences once again. Trouble started between the peasants of the states of Patiala and Nabha over a piece of arable land near the village of Doladdi, which ultimately resulted in the murder of Bhai Tara Singh (August, 1806), the <sup>1</sup> Tamedar of Mansurpur, who was held in high esteem by both, the Raja and the Rani of Patiala. Suspecting Raja Jaswant Singh's hand in the murder Rani ~~withdrawing~~ Aus Kaur took up arms against him and invited her husband to join her against the common foe. The Patiala forces marched upon Mansurpur and the ruler of Nabha requested Bhai Singh of Jind for help. In the action that followed the Jind and Nabha troops were worsted with the result that Raja Bhag <sup>2</sup> Singh was tempted to invite his nephew, Ranjit Singh, to his ~~own~~ help.

<sup>3</sup> Anxious for such an opportunity, Ranjit Singh postponed his march to Nadaon and proceeded to the Sutlej. He crossed that river on the 26th October and started his campaign of aggression against the Cis-Sutlej chiefs. Rani Nur-ul-Nissa of Rai Kot was deprived of all her possessions except a village or two for her maintenance. After some opposition Sardar Gular Singh of Ghuzgrana, one of the sons of Sardar Tara Singh Ghaiya, also surrendered a portion of his estate and offered a nazarana of Rs. 12000/-/-.

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1. A village in the Patiala State situated about a mile North-West of Nabha.

2. The Jind and Nabha rulers felt reluctant to approach the British to intervene in this domestic affair. In the meantime they learnt that Maharaja Ranjit Singh had crossed the Beas for Nadaon to help Raja Sansar Chand Katook against the Durkhan. Raja Bhag Singh, at once, sent urgent messages to his nephew to come to the help of the Nabha chief in lieu of a nazarana of Rs. 50000/-/-.

3. Munshi Sahas Lal, the court Historian of Ranjit Singh, writes:

- مہاراجہ کی منتظر میں روز بروز ہر روز اس شہیدو بہرمت پر شہادت

"The Maharaja who was anxiously awaiting such a fortunate day, on hearing this proceeded with a lightening speed" Umdat-ul-Tawarikh, pp60.

At Ghungrana, Raja Bhag Singh joined Ranjit Singh and they hastened to Doladdi taking nazrana from the chiefs on the way, Arriving there on the 28th October, Ranjit Singh took possession of the village and gave it to the Raja of Nabha.

Determined to resist the armed intervention of the Lahore chief with force, the Patiala chief and his allies had strengthened their positions at Mansurpur. Ranjit Singh ordered the siege of Mansurpur and the hostilities commenced. Raja Bhag Singh had a narrow escape from a cannon shot by the Patiala gunners, which blew off a portion of his <sup>4</sup> Haudah. But ultimately the Patiala forces suffered heavy losses and were obliged to sue for peace. A conference was arranged at Doladdi on the 5th November, which was attended by the rulers of Kapurthala <sup>5</sup> and Ladwa <sup>6</sup> and some minor neighbouring chiefs besides the chiefs of Lahore, Patiala, Jind, Nabha and Thanesar. At the outset Raja Sahib Singh offered costly presents and Khillats to Ranjit Singh and shook hand with the Raja of Nabha in token of conciliation on a hint from the former. Ranjit Singh also presented Khilats to the Patiala chief and gratified him by giving back the village of Doladdi to him. Ranjit Singh also got erected some brick pillars to mark the boundary line between the two states near the village and warned the rulers of Nabha and Patiala against its violation. After this the other Cis-Sutlaj Chiefs offered nazrana and declared their submission to him. Raja Jaswant Singh also paid the promised sum of Rs.50000/-/- besides offering two elephants, one hundred horses and a piece of artillery as gifts. Raja Bhag Singh gave his nephew two elephants in lieu of entertainment and the meeting came to an end.

Apprehending serious harm to his person and property from the

Lahore chief, Khai Lal Singh was absent from the conference. Ranjit

4. A seat on the back of the elephant.
5. Sardar Fatch Singh of Kapurthala had joined Ranjit Singh on the bank of the Beas and had accompanied him in the campaign at the latter's request.
6. Sardar Gurdit Singh of Ladwa had approached Ranjit Singh a little earlier to seek his help in recovering his estate of Karnal from the British and had returned with him to the Cis-Sutlaj area in this very hope.

Singh regarded it as a defiance of his authority and threatened to take full revenge on him on his next visit to the area.

Having, thus, settled the Doladdi dispute, Ranjit Singh instructed his general, Dewan Mohkam Chand, to return to the Sutlaj with the bulk of the forces, while he himself accompanied Raja Bhag Singh and others to Badrakhan to visit his relatives. Finally after having had his bath at Mhanesar on the 9th November, the following day he resumed his march to the Sutlaj on his way to Nadaon. But before crossing the Sutlaj he further obliged his allies by granting them a portion of his conquests in the Cis-Sutlaj area and thereby making them to agree to give nazrana to him for the same.

The arrival of a powerful chief like Ranjit Singh with large number of troops in the area adjacent to their North-western Frontier sufficiently alarmed the British authorities, who very much feared him to attack their territory, though the friendly letters of Rajas Bhag Singh and Jaswant Singh to the British Resident at Delhi calmed their fears to a great extent.

## 2. Bhai Lal Singh Seeks British Protection Invain.

Ranjit Singh had threatened to seek vengeance upon Bhai Lal Singh, which made him very uneasy. This threat was repeated at the time of his (Ranjit's) visit to Mhanesar in April, 1807, which increased his (Bhai's) fears. Successfully opposing the Lahore chief either singly or in conjunction with others was simply out of question. Hence Lal Singh decided to seek protection from the British as the only possible way out of the difficulty.

Accordingly he wrote to the G.G. on the 12th April requesting him for full aid and protection in the case of his being attacked by Ranjit Singh. He concluded it by saying:- "Let me not, then, when

7. N.A: Col. Ochterlony to Edmonston dated 30th and 31st October and 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 12th, 13th November, 1806; Rajas Bhag Singh and Jaswant Singh to Ochterlony dated 1st and 9th November, 1806; Pb. Pr. L. Commanding Officers of Meerut, Rewari, Saharanpur and Karnal to Ochterlony, dated 3.11.1806 4.11.1806, 7.11.1806 and 5th, 7th and 8th November, 1806 respectively; Sohan Lal, pp 60-63; Khushwaqat Rai, pp 183; Zafar Namah, pp 39; Phul Namah, FF 72-100; Raj. Vol. II, pp 50-51; Hassan, pp 190-95; Princip, pp 47; Cunningham, pp 142; Latif, pp 365-366; Duni Chand, pp 50-51 and Rajas of the Panjab, pp 92-94.

Ranjit Singh shall have established his authority in the area, beblamed for neglecting to give timely notice of his intentions" and suggested the encampment of four battalions on the bank of the Sutlaj to check the advance of the Lahore forces into the Doab.<sup>8</sup> But the British Government was even then following the policy of Non-Intervention, they did not like to estrange their relations with Ranjit Singh unless we have an apparent cause for it. Hence Shai Lal Singh's request was turned down and the Resident wrote to him that in order to minimise the chances of his being involved in hostility with other Sikh chiefs he should carefully abstain from all interference in their disputes.<sup>9</sup>

### 3. Gurdatt Singh As-approaches the British to Regain Kamal.

Though Ranjit Singh showed Gurdatt Singh great regard and granted him an appreciable portion of his conquests in the Cis-Sutlaj area during his last campaign, but he did nothing to help him regain Kamal. However great changes had been recently made in the high personnel of the British Government in India, which filled him with fresh hope of success, and he submitted a petition to Archibald Seton, the new Resident at Delhi, requesting that the pargana of Kamal or any other mahal of equal value might be restored to him for his subsistence.<sup>10</sup> Unluckily for him, detailed report on the case was asked for from Ochterlony, who gave full account of his hostile activities against the British, justified the exemplary punishment accorded to him and also pointed out the strategic importance of Kamal.<sup>11</sup> In the light of such a report Gurdatt Singh's request was rejected.

### 4. Ranjit Singh's Second Cis-Sutlaj Campaign.

In the meantime the conflict between Raja Sahib Singh and Rani Aus Kaur was, once more, renewed, as the Rani demanded a separate estate for her own maintenance<sup>an</sup> as well as for her son, Kanwar Karam Singh, which the Raja refused to accede. Rani Aus Kaur having occupied

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8. N.A: Bhai Lal Singh to the G.G., dated 12.4.1807.

9. N.A: Seton to Bhai Lal Singh, dated 1st week of August, 1807.

10. N.A: Gurdatt Singh to Seton, dated 20.5.1807.

11. N.A. Ochterlony to Seton, dated 20.8.1807.

the fort and the town of Patiala, the Raja shifted his headquarter to Saifabad, where he sought the intervention of the friendly Sikh chiefs.

Raja Bhag Singh and Sardar Bhanga Singh did their utmost to reconcile their differences and brought round the Patiala chief to agree to assign to the Rani and Manwar one third of the state, which was, still, to remain under the over-all control of the Raja. But acting under the advice of some selfish officers of the state the Rani insisted on an independent charge of the territory. At last, Raja Bhag Singh advised the Patiala chief to seek mediation of Maharaja Ranjit Singh to bring the Rani to her senses.

Raja Sahib Singh, accordingly, sent a special envoy, Sardar Dhillon Singh, with a beautiful pearl necklace worth Rs.60000/-/- and Rs.35000/-/- in cash as present to Ranjit Singh to seek his help in settling his family dispute once for all.

Ranjit Singh immediately grasped at the offer and although the two intervening rivers, the Beas and the Sutlaj, were in spate, yet he ordered his forces to cross them forthwith. Thus, receiving submission of the chiefs on the way and exacting suitable nazranas from them, he crossed the Sutlaj on the 27th August and marched against Jagraon (22 miles north-west of Chungrana). Its chiefs, Ahmed Khan Gujar, submitted to him, but Ranjit Singh forced Ahmed Khan to leave the state and himself occupied the place. Then Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia, who had accompanied him as usual, requested him to give him the estate of Jagraon for Rs.50000/-/- as nazrana. Ranjit Singh agreed to it, but later on finding that the estate was worth much more, he felt sorry over this transaction.

At this stage, Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha joined him and requested that the bargana of Pakhowal, formerly in the territory of Rani Nur-ul-Nissa, be granted to him in Jagir in lieu of Rs.10000/- as nazrana. Ranjit Singh accepted the deal and returned to Chungrana, where he was joined by Raja Bhag Singh of Jind.

Meanwhile Rani Aus Hour and her advisors felt alarmed at the news of Ranjit Singh's crossing the Sutlaj. Khai Lal Singh deserted her and retired to his own territory. The Rani, too, decided to come

to terms with her husband and craved his forgiveness for her mistakes. The Raja accepted her apology and granted a Jagir worth Rs. 50000/-/- a year for her maintenance. The Rani now brought her husband back to Patiala with honour and the family peace was once again fully established.

The news of this compromise naturally aroused Ranjit Singh's anger and disappointment. He, at once, sent a strong message pointing out to both, the Raja and the Rani, that "as a reference was made to him and he had marched so far at so difficult season of the year for the mere purpose of adjusting their differences, he expected that no reconciliation would take place until he arrived at Patiala."

Ranjit Singh reached Patiala on the 5th September and had an interview with Raja Sahib Singh the same day. The Raja expressed his grateful thanks for the troubles taken by Ranjit Singh to comply with his request and, after explaining the details of his compromise with the Rani, expressed his satisfaction over them. But the Maharaja demanded the famous brass gun, named Kara Khan, from the Raja, before he finally gave his approval of the terms. Raja Sahib Singh handed over the gun and saved his honour.

Even after this Ranjit Singh continued his stay at Patiala for about a fortnight and sent messages to Bhai Lal Singh and the rulers between Patiala and the Janna to come and declare their submission to him. All the chiefs responded to the call except Bhai Lal Singh and Mian Kishan Singh of Naraingarh. Sardar Jodh Singh of Kalsia, however, while submitting to Ranjit Singh on this occasion, expressed his inability to pay anything in cash but offered to join the Maharaja's forces with two thousand horses whenever commanded. Ranjit Singh exempted him from the payment of hazrana and accepted his offer of military service.

Later Ranjit Singh despatched a punitive expedition against Bhai Lal Singh under the command of his famous general, Sardar Fateh Singh Kalianwala, which pillaged and plundered the Kaithal territory, and in the end Bhai Lal Singh had to secure Ranjit



Singh's pardon through the intercession of Raja Bhag Singh and Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia by paying a nazrana of Rs. 12000/- and presenting a she-elephant.

Then taking leave from Raja Sahib Singh, he marched against Naraingarh, which is situated in the Siwalik hills above Ambala and near Nahan. Mian Kishan Singh, the Naraingarh chief, had already strengthened his defences and hence he declined to comply with Ranjit Singh's order to surrender. The Lahore forces now besieged the fort. Throughout the day a fierce battle raged in which Ranjit Singh's General, Sardar Fateh Singh Kalianwala, was killed and good many casualties occurred. Still the fort could not be taken that day. But that evening Mian Kishan Singh realized that his garrison would not be able to stand the fresh onslaughts of the Lahore troops next day and sued for peace to Ranjit Singh agreeing to give up the fort if he would be allowed to leave the fort unmolested with his family and property. Ranjit Singh readily accepted this offer and the fort was evacuated. The Maharaja then took a nazrana of Rs. 12000/- and granted the estate of Naraingarh to Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia.

Now Ranjit Singh returned towards the Sutlaj and on his way deprived Sardar Nihal Singh, son of Sardar Dharam Singh, of his estate of Korindah and conferred it on his uncle, Raja Bhag Singh of Jind. On the bank of the Sutlaj Sardar Deva Singh of Ropar offered his submission to him and paid him a nazrana of Rs. 12000/-. Ranjit Singh crossed the Sutlaj on the 26th September, and fell upon Rahon, the headquarter of Sardar Tara Singh Ghaiba, who had till recently served him in his siege of Naraingarh and had died of old age on his way back to his place. Tara Singh's widow resisted this aggression in vain for four days but her own selfish officers had deserted her and joined Ranjit Singh, hence finally she had to give

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12. N.A: Seton to Edmonston, dated 10th, 11th, 21st, 28th and 31st August and 2nd, 8th, 11th, 16th, 19th, 20th and 27th September, and 8th October, 1807; Khushwagar Rai, pp 192-197, Hassan, pp 195-197 Sohan Lal, pp 60-66; Zafar Namah, pp 39-40; Raj, Vol. II, pp 51; Bate Shah, Vol. II, pp 49-50; Ali-ud-Din, pp 497-99; Phul Namah, FF 101-103; Latif, pp 368; Princip, pp 349; Cunningham, pp 144, Duni Chand, pp 50-52 Pb.Pr.L: Commander of Mathura Dn. to Mr. Seton dated 23.8.1807 and Rajas of the Panjab, pp 95-96.

in. Ranjit Singh secured cash and valuables worth Rs. 4/- lakhs from her and resumed his march back to Lahore.

5. The Sirhind Chiefs Feel Alarmed.

A critical review of Ranjit Singh's two Cis-Sutlej campaigns makes it abundantly clear that he had made considerable achievements to realise his aim of bringing the whole area under his control. He had laid under contribution almost all states and estates including the premier state of Patiala. While some had to pay only the money tribute others were deprived of either a part or whole of their territory. Some of even the most influential chiefs had actively assisted him in the campaigns, whereas all others, either voluntarily or under compulsion, had acknowledged his superiority. In short, he had reached the last rung of the Ladder and a final jump was to make him the full sovereign of the whole Doab.

Emboldened by these successes Ranjit Singh on his return to Lahore started making final preparations of his arrangements regarding the complete subjugation of the Doab and had summoned Raja Jaswant Singh with detailed maps of that area in that connection, who duly arrived at Lahore.

After long deliberations, Ranjit Singh deemed it most necessary to ascertain the view of the British Government regarding the extent of their North-western frontier for making a declaration of his sovereignty over the Cis-Sutlej area, as the possibility of the British pressing their claim to this area of a great strategic importance on one pretext or the other could not be ruled out. He decided to secure this information without arousing any curiosity among the British <sup>13</sup> ~~by~~ by visiting Haridwar to take bath in the holy Ganga on the Kumbh day and deputed his two high officers, Sardars Mohan Singh and Bishan Singh, to go to Delhi (Mid. Feb. 1808) to secure the permission of the British Resident for him to visit that place on the said day. At the same time he sent his Vakil, Sardar Mohar Singh, with suitable instructions to Delhi to elicit the required information in an indirect way, if possible.

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13. The Kumbh day comes once in twelve years. The Hindus and Sikhs consider it sacred to take a bath in the holy Ganga on this occasion and to give charity according to their means.

But in making these arrangements he had committed the blunder of completely ignoring the re-action of the Cis-Sutlaj chiefs to his designs in their lands and the extent to which they could go to counteract them. All of them, had no doubt, yielded to his systematic and naked aggression during his two campaigns, but it was only out of compulsion. Their disunity had rendered them incapable of resisting his power with force and hence they had made this/show of submission simply to put off the immediate danger to their persons and properties. But their keen sensitiveness about the integrity of their states and estates coupled with Ranjit Singh's growing interest in their affairs and his past record of usurpations in the Panjab had convinced them, before long, that the danger had not only increased in its intensity but also in its velocity. Even his chief supporter in the area, Raja Bhag Singh, had read the secret and ulterior motives of his nephew when the latter had forced him to remove his forces from Ghungrana, which he had invaded on the death of its chief in the beginning of that year with the joint forces of the major states and had subsequently sent his own forces to occupy that estate. A wave of indignation had, therefore, arisen in the hearts of all the chiefs against his sinister motives and they had become anxious to avert that immediate threat once for all.

#### 6. Samana Conference.

To consider the pros and cons of the problem, a conference was convened in the name of the ruler of Patiala. The meeting, which was attended by all the four major chiefs and five or six important minor chiefs, was held at the central town of Samana in the beginning of the first week of March, 1808. After prolonged discussions, as Khalifa Mohd Hassan, the Chief Minister of Patiala, and Munshi Sohan Lal, the court Historian of Ranjit Singh, seem to

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14. Khushwagar Rai, pp.198-199.

15. Samana is an old town of historical importance. Since the conquest of Sirhind by the Sikhs in 1764 it formed a part of the Patiala state. It is situated 17 miles South-west of Patiala, 15 miles South of Nabha, 22 miles South-east of Sangrur and 30 miles North of Kaithal. Its distance from Karnal is 70 miles and from Delhi is about 130 miles.

suggest the issue was resolved to this:-

"We the rulers of the Sirhind territory must clearly realise that we are placed between two big ambitious powers. It is impossible for us to maintain our present independent position for long. The British who had advanced their dominion from Calcutta to Delhi, are not going to stop and rest on the banks of the Janna. Advance they must and advance they will. In fact, they had already formulated their schemes with regard to our territory. Similarly, Ranjit Singh too, has his eyes on us. The river Sutlaj is no insurmountable barrier for him. His advance beyond the Sutlaj is as sure as that of the British beyond the Janna. We have, therefore, to choose between the two evils. One thing, however, must be borne in mind, while making the decision. To go within the fold of the British will be like contracting a wasting disease such as tuberculosis (tap-i-diq) which brings gradual but sure death to the patient; whereas the alliance with Ranjit Singh will be as fatal as an attack of delirium (Sarsan) which finishes its victim within hours".

Though it was done in despair, all voted in favour of an alliance with the British, as it would extend their lease of life a little longer and defer the day of their effacement from the political map of India.

#### 7. The Chiefs Approach the British for Protection.

It was decided, therefore, to send a deputation to Delhi for negotiating the terms of alliance with the British Resident.

The British Resident at Delhi was fully aware of all these developments in the Sikh lands. His intelligencers and news-writers, whose net he had spread right upto the bank of the Attock, and even beyond, provided him with all informations of political importance from their respective zones. Although he had declared a policy of Non-Intervention regarding the affairs of the lands beyond Kamal, still, he was not viewing with favour the growing influence of

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16. Kohli: An article entitled "A leaf from the history of Patiala and East Punjab States" Published in Ranbir College, Magazine (Winter 1951), pp 18, Sohad Lal, pp 79, Hassan, pp 198-199, Raj Vol. II, pp 52-53.

a powerful chief like Ranjit Singh in the area contiguous to his North-western frontier. Rather he had begun to consider, for sometime back, the growing consolidarity of the Sikhs under that ambitious chief as a potent source of danger to the security of the British empire in that quarter. Thus, while conveying the intelligence of Ranjit Singh's secret intention to know his views regarding the limit of their North-western frontier, he wrote to the Secretary to the P. O. on the 4th March:-

"The Vakil has it in charge to ascertain from me distinctly and if possible under my hand what the British Government considers as its Northern boundary.....In fact, if he was informed by me that the British Government did not consider it consistent with moderation and defensive nature of its system to interfere in the events, which might take place beyond Karnal, the petty Sikh chieftains between the Janna and the Sutlaj would be entirely at his mercy. He might either demand from them excessive and repeated contributions or take possession of their country, which would bring immediately upon the British frontier a neighbour of a most ambitious and annoying character."

He further wrote, "The most desirable method of settling the issue would be by endeavouring to induce Ranjit Singh to agree that Sutlaj would be considered as his boundary to the southward and that the intermediate country, occupied by the Sikh chieftains, should be independent both of him and of us and that any interference on the concern thereof either by him or by us, should be considered as inconsistent with that footing of mutual friendship and goodwill which the welfare of both states rendered it as desirable to maintain. In my opinion Ranjit Singh would have no just cause to be offended or even surprised at our holding this language for he never considered the advance of the French-Maratha troops to the bank of that river under Louis Bourquin or others as unwarrantable step or an indication of hostility.

"To the Sikh chieftains in question," he continued, "such a declaration on our part of the conclusion of such an arrangement between us and Ranjit Singh will be a most gratifying event. They

would consider it as the only means of procuring their independence from the grasping ambition of that chieftain, their dread of whom is no less greater than their sense of the power and their confidence in the moderation of the British Government. It forcibly strikes me that if the independence of the Sikh chieftains would be, thus, guaranteed by us, the country between Karnal and the Sutlaj would become a strong bulwark to the North-western frontier of the assigned territory as well as the Northern part of the Doab and even though remotely, of Rihildand. It would be the means of attaching these chieftains to us under any circumstances, that might occur, because they would consider their amnesty and independence as identified, in a manner, with our success, and if in the course of events it becomes necessary to advance a British army to the bank of the Sutlaj, we might rely on the assistance and, if required, upon the cooperation of every chieftain to the Southward of the river."

Again in his letter of the 7th March he reported that all the Vakils of the Cis-Sutlaj Sikh chiefs at Delhi had sought interview with him on the 6th March and that in the course of their talks they had referred to the growing fears of their chiefs on account of the suspicious designs of Ranjit Singh regarding their possessions as well as to their consequent determination to seek British protection against his aggression.

The deputation of the Sirhind chiefs consisting of Raja Bhag Singh, Shai Lal Singh, Dewan Chen Singh of Patiala, Munshi Ghulam Hassan of Nabha, Sardar Bhagwan Singh of Jagadhri and Sardar Dulcha Singh of Badaur reached Delhi sometime in the second week of March. For a week or so the Sardars had several interviews with Mr. Seton, but they deliberately refrained from the subject of discussion as Sardar Mohar Singh, the Vakil of Ranjit Singh, would always accompany them to Mr. Seton's residence. On 21st March, Mohar Singh left Delhi for pilgrimage to Gaya and the chiefs had a free and frank talk with Mr. Seton.

"They began by observing that they had ever been accustomed to look up for protection to the state or the power who established

at Delhi, because such a state or Sardar was considered as possessing the supreme legitimate authority over the country. After a general introductory preamble to this effect they proceeded to the real object of soliciting the private conversation viz their uneasiness at the restless ambition of Ranjit Singh and their hope that the British Government would interfere in their favour, as without such interference, they added, their independence was gone".

"Hitherto Khai Lal Singh and his Vakil had been the principal speakers. Raja Bhag Singh and Chen Singh were occasionally nodding assent. At this part of the conversation Chen Singh, as if feeling himself called upon to explain, observed that in consequence of the unhappy differences which had occurred in the family of his master (Raja Sahib Singh) Sardar Ranjit Singh had been solicited to interfere and even invited to Patiala but that his interference had not been that of a well-wisher nor his visit that of a friend. That chief had returned a second time and having found it to his interest to proceed to Patiala it was to be feared that he would be tempted to ~~repeat his visit and his exertion until he at length destroyed the independence of all the Sikh chiefs to the Southward of the Sutlaj and deprived them of their possessions, in like manner as he had dispossessed many Sardars in the Panjab. This was peculiarly offensive to Raja Sahib Singh, who was the head of the first Sikh house in Hindostan, and honoured with the title of Raja-i-Rajgan (Raja of the Rajas) . The country of that chief and the possessions of Khai Lal Singh, Raja Bhag Singh and Jaswant Singh being situated to the Southward of the Sutlaj belonged to the Subah of Delhi and not to that of Lahore. As the British Government was now supreme at Delhi, they trusted it would exert its powerful interference for their protection~~ repeat his visit and his exertion until he at length destroyed the independence of all the Sikh chiefs to the Southward of the Sutlaj and deprived them of their possessions, in like manner as he had dispossessed many Sardars in the Panjab. This was peculiarly offensive to Raja Sahib Singh, who was the head of the first Sikh house in Hindostan, and honoured with the title of Raja-i-Rajgan (Raja of the Rajas) . The country of that chief and the possessions of Khai Lal Singh, Raja Bhag Singh and Jaswant Singh being situated to the Southward of the Sutlaj belonged to the Subah of Delhi and not to that of Lahore. As the British Government was now supreme at Delhi, they trusted it would exert its powerful interference for their protection

" After hearing the whole of their wishes and arrangements, I replied that they would know it to be inconsistent with the moderate and pacific system of the British Government, to interfere in the disputes of the states or to enter into wars of aggressions. Its troops, though always prepared for war, were maintained for

the prevention of the aggression on the part of other states and for its punishment if attempted. Our Government had no differences with Ranjit Singh, who had not given them the smallest cause of offence, and I trusted they also over-rated the danger to be apprehended from that chieftain. He might not perhaps entertain these ambitious views which were attributed to him" (The Resident had given this reply according to the old instructions as no new directions in respect to his recent suggestions had been received by him).

"Chen Singh, then, made a signal to the Vakil of Bhai Lal Singh, who immediately approached me and put into my hand a paper (Arazdasht or petition), which, he said, contained their wishes and expectations and the circumstances upon which they were founded". Its contents were the same as have been described above.<sup>17</sup>

The last meeting in this series was held on the 31st March on the eve of the chiefs' departure from Delhi. Mr. Seton had still heard nothing from Calcutta in regard to his suggestions and he had to answer the requests of the chiefs by saying, "It did not rest with me to give reply to a question of so important a nature. Then they asked me whether I had any objection to referring the matter to Calcutta and laying their wishes before the G.G. I replied that I entirely had not, and that it was my duty to do so but that I would not give them hopes of success.

"After further detailed discussion of the question at issue, Chen Singh wrote himself the draft of a declaration on their part to be added to the proposals in question, amounting in substance to this that the Sardars would have no objection to a British force advancing to the Sutlaj for the purpose of their protection. Then it was sealed by Raja Bhag Singh, Bhai Lal Singh and Chen Singh for Raja Sahib Singh of Patiala. The Vakil of Jaswant Singh sealed it on behalf of his master on the next day, viz 1st April."<sup>18</sup>

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17. N.A: Seton to Edmonston, dated 4th March, 1808.

18. N.A: Seton to Edmonston dated 4th and 7th March and 3rd April, 1808.



8. Ranjit Singh Temporizes the Chiefs.

The vague and evasive replies of Mr. Seton had very much disappointed the Sikh deputationists. Feeling much depressed they proceeded to Haridwar to contact Ranjit Singh in order to find out his wishes about them. But the Maharaja had abandoned his visit to that place, probably at the instance of Raja Bhag Singh, who had earlier created serious doubts regarding the bonafides of the two officers sent to Delhi to make arrangements of his visit with the British Resident and had conveyed intelligence of their reported alliance with the British against him. However, the British Government had made adequate arrangements to receive the Maharaja and had deputed Mr. Charles Metcalfe to look <sup>to</sup> his convenience during his stay there. The Sikh chiefs stayed at Haridwar till the Kumbh day and then returned to their own headquarters.

Now Ranjit Singh was not unaware of the visit of the Sirhind chiefs to Mr. Seton at Delhi and had felt much perturbed at this unexpected development. However, he had realised his mistake of having treated most of them rather impetuously and roughly. Although it was late to amend, yet he thought, it was better late than never, and hence he sent speedy messengers to summon them so that he could allay their fears and win them over to his side. Thus, when the chiefs returned to their headquarters from Haridwar, they found these messengers waiting for them.

Ranjit Singh had, however, taken special care to cajole Bhai Lal Singh as he had discovered that he was the chief actor in the drama at Delhi against him. To him, therefore, he had sent Baba Amir Chand, nephew of Bedi Sahib Singh, and Bhai Gurbakhsh Singh with a khilaat and a promise of a jagir worth one lakh of rupees a year.

Since the chiefs were already inclined to meet Ranjit Singh they readily accepted the invitation and all of them, except Sardar Bhagwan Singh of Jagadhri, reached Lahore after some time. Raja Sahib Singh was, of course, represented by his Dewan, Chen Singh. Ranjit Singh received them very cordially and conferred costly Khilaats and rich gifts upon all of them. After entertaining them lavishly he began to

make them feel quite friendly and responsive for more sober discussions.

In the meanwhile convinced of the growing danger to the security of the North-Western frontier of the British empire from the activities of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in the Cis-Sutlaj area, the G.G. agreed with Mr. Seton's view that in the interest of self defence, it was essential to abandon the strictest interpretations of the policy of Non-Intervention in this case and to take definite measure to exclude Ranjit Singh from Sirhind.

But the rumour of Franco-Russian invasion on India through Persia, as was suggested by Napoleon at Tilsit in 1807 on the occasion of his treaty with the Czar of Russia, not only compelled Lord Minto to postpone his measure against Ranjit Singh but also obliged him to send special envoys to Lahore, Sind, Afghanistan and Persia to contract friendly relations with those states and thereby to provide barriers against the impending project.

On a mission to Lahore Lord Minto had selected Mr. Charles Metcalfe,<sup>19</sup> a young politician of the Wellesley School. The G.G. had particularly charged him with the task of remaining friendly with the Sirhind Sikh chiefs to secure safe passage for the Mission for negotiating a defensive alliance with Ranjit Singh to guarantee his cooperation in resisting the threatened invasion. But he had been clearly warned that if in return either the Sirhind chiefs demanded an assurance of protection from him or Ranjit Singh desired an alliance with the British for help in other wars or their neutrality regarding the Cis-Sutlaj affairs, he should avoid such a declaration himself and refer the matter to the G.G. for guidance.

Mr. Metcalfe left Delhi for Patiala on the 6th August, 1806 and reached there via Karnal and Ambala on 22nd August. Raja Sahib Singh received him with all marks of respect and at a public reception held in his honour, "he unexpectedly produced the keys of the fort and requested Mr. Metcalfe to restore them to him as a gift from the British

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19. Metcalfe was born on 30th January, 1785,<sup>+</sup> was only 23 years at that time.

Government. In short, he threw himself entirely on British protection and said that all he had was of the British Government and that his existence would cease without their support".

Metcalf was shrewd enough to realise the implications of such a step and remarked that " he was not authorised by his Government to perform any such ceremony. However, at the same time he assured that the British were his friends and ever desired his prosperity." In the evening Raja Sahib Singh informed ~~Mr.~~ Metcalfe about the rumour regarding Ranjit Singh's intended march upon Faridkot and Patiala. Metcalfe only thanked the Patiala chief for the information and did not commit to do any thing in this concern. These evasions of Metcalfe disappointed the Patiala chief all the more and he grew more anxious for an understanding with Ranjit Singh.

Metcalf then resumed his march to Lahore and crossed the Sutlaj on the 1st September. Meanwhile he had been informed by Ranjit Singh to meet him at Kasur. Metcalfe reached Khem Karan, a few miles from the Maharaja's camp, on the 10th September where he was received and conveyed to the camp by Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia and Dewan Mohkam Chand on the following day.

When this news reached the camp of the Lahore chief he was still busy trying to befriend the Sirhind chiefs, who found Ranjit Singh's promise soothing and encouraging. But somehow they had developed a complex that despite all evasions and delays, the British would abandon them totally and that they, too, could not do without an alliance with them. Hence while they decided to come close to Ranjit Singh, they tried to keep their ties with him as loose as they could possibly keep them.

~~Mr.~~ Metcalfe's task was really very arduous. He was meeting with a very clever and shrewd counterpart of his in Ranjit Singh. After the courtesy calls were over Metcalfe disclosed the main purpose of his mission to the Maharaja on 22nd September and apprised him of his proposals for an offensive and defensive alliance with him. Ranjit Singh was not at all convinced of the possibility of the reported French invasion on India and, thus, considering the danger rather vague, he accepted the proposal in general. But thinking

the time opportune to settle the deal regarding the Cis-Sutlaj area he asked ~~Mr~~ Metcalfe to recognise in return his sovereignty over all the Sikh States on the both sides of the Sutlaj. Metcalfe had to express his inability to give such an undertaking and promised to refer the matter to the G.G. for orders.

#### 9. Ranjit Singh's 3rd Cis-Sutlaj Campaign.

~~Mr~~ Metcalfe's cold response to his demand created some doubts in the mind of Ranjit Singh regarding its admissibility by the G.G. Therefore acting on the maxim that possession was nin-tenth of law, he determined to utilize the time, which the reply from Calcutta was likely to take, in making his sovereignty over the Cis-Sutlaj area an established fact. He accordingly broke his camp at Kasur on 25th September and marched towards the confluence of the rivers Beas and Sutlaj near Ferozpur. To the British envoy he sent instructions to follow him for further negotiations. Metcalfe was much surprized at this sudden movement of the Maharaja and even protested against it, but all in vain. At last, he found no alternative but to comply with the instructions of the Maharaja.

Ranjit Singh crossed the confluence on the 28th September and encamped at village Thai twenty miles from Faridkot. He brought the village and area around it under his control and handed it over to Sardar Nihal Singh Attariwala. Then the Vakils of the ruling family of Faridkot approached him to settle the terms of nazrana with him. But he informed the Vakils that he would be satisfied with nothing less than the complete annexation of the state. The Vakils returned disappointed. Ranjit Singh then despatched two thousand troopers under Sardar Karam Singh Chehal to occupy Faridkot. Karam Singh succeeded in doing so on 1st October. Ranjit Singh reached there three

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20. N.A: G.G. to Select Committee, dated March, 1808, Edmonston to Seton dated June 20 and 11th July, 1808, Seton to Edmonston, dated ~~June~~ 16th, 25th April, 1808; Metcalfe to Edmonston dated 24th August, 2nd, 5th, 13th, 22nd and 24th September, 1808; Lady Minto pp 145-146, 151; Kaye Vol. I pp 255-261; Edward Thompson pp 80; Hassan, pp 203-5; Sohan Lal, pp 72-74; Latif, pp 374; Khushwaqat Rai, 201-208. But: Shah, Vol. I pp 51-55; Ali-ud-Din, 500-501; Raj, Vol. II, pp 52-53; Duni Chand, pp 52 & 54; P.L.R. Metcalfe to Ranjit Singh and vice versa, dated 4th, 8th, 9th and 11th October, 1808.

days later and took possession of the fort and its contents. In the meantime the Sirhind Sikh Chiefs (including the chiefs of Jind, Kaithal, Nabha and Ludhiana and the Moghals of the rulers of Patiala, Thanesar, Booria and others) who had accompanied Ranjit Singh to the area and who had been asked by him at Khair, to capture the town of Jaito on his behalf had also complied with his wishes.

At Faridkot, ~~1807~~ Metcalfe joined the Maharaja's camp and handed over a written draft of the treaty which the British desired to conclude with the Lahore chief. It contained three articles. The first demanded his cooperation in opposing, expelling and destroying the French if they attempted to invade India through Persia and Afghanistan. In the second he had been asked to give free passage to the British force and its supplies in the event of its march to the Indus to meet the enemy. In the third his permission was sought for establishing a post in Maharaja's territory to maintain regular communications with the British envoys at Kabul, Gandhar and Tehran and the Maharaja was to arrange for the safety of the British Agent and the runners (post <sup>21</sup> carriers).

The Maharaja pondered over the draft of the treaty for four days and on the 8th October handed over his own draft of the treaty for the consideration of the G.C., which also contained three articles besides a brief preamble. In the first article he demanded from the British that the state of Lahore should be treated at par with those of Kabul, Gandhar and Persia and that the British Government should not interfere in its relations with Kabul. In the second he assured the British of an/ever-lasting friendship of the Lahore Durbar. In the third article he asked them to recognise his sovereignty over all the <sup>22</sup> Sikh States on the both sides of the Sutlaj. This treaty was to be signed by the British in return for the former one.

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21. N.A: Metcalfe to Edmonston, dated 20.10.1808.

22. Ibid.

On the 9th October ~~Mr.~~ Metcalfe acknowledged the receipt of the draft treaty of the Maharaja in writing and while giving his own reaction to each of the articles, he wrote about the third: "I before mentioned that I had not the power to conclude such an engagement. ~~As~~ 96 it is the Maharaja's pleasure I will state this question fully and particularly to the Right Hon'ble the G.C. and I trust that a definite answer will be soon received from that quarter". The Maharaja conveyed his assent to the proposed procedure on the 11th October.

After this the Maharaja called Sardar Chen Singh of Patiala aside and asked him whether his master would give him two lakhs of rupees in return if he conquered the pargana of Sirsa, Bhatner and Fatehabad on his behalf and handed over the same to him. Chen Singh replied that these parganas were in the beginning included in Patiala State but they had to be abandoned on account of repeated famines and lack of water. However, if the Maharaja handed over the whole of the Ilaqas to the state his master would pay him a nazrana of Rs. 50000/-/-. The Maharaja did not accept the deal. Then he asked the accompanying Sirhind Sikh chiefs as to which area he should march to collect the amounts of nazrana. They pointed out the territories of the states of Jaipur and Bharatpur. The Maharaja felt offended at this suggestion and warned them against its repetition.

At last, having consulted his own commanders and advisers, Ranjit Singh marched against Malerkotla on the 18th October. After three days' march he reached that town in the evening of 21st October. The Regent of Malerkotla, Nawab Atta-ulla-Khan, submitted and offered a she-elephant as nazar to him but the Maharaja demanded a heavy nazrana of Rs. 125000/-/- from the chief if he wished to save his state. It was much too big an amount for Nawab Atta-ulla-Khan to pay, still he tapped all his resources and paid <sup>23</sup> Rs. 56639/10/-, to the Maharaja ~~Maharaja~~ and expressed his inability to pay the balance.

23. Out of this amount Rs. 20000/-/- were secured by the Nawab by mortgaging five villages of Jhammat, Lehra, Pahira, Jaghera and Kalahera to the Patiala chief (Malerkotla State papers).

At this stage Raja Jaswant Singh is reported to have requested the Lahore chief to bestow Malerkotla on him for a nazarana of Rs. 50000/-, but the Maharaja did not agree. On 22nd October, Ranjit Singh attacked the town and started loot and arson there. In his utter helplessness the Nawab threw himself at the mercy of the Major Cis-Sutlaj Sikh chiefs and made them agree to stand sureties for the remaining sum of Rs. 68360/6/- on his behalf.

Metcalf joined the Maharaja's camp at Malerkotla on 22nd October. The same day Nawab Atta-Allah-Khan sent his special envoy, Meer Fazal-ul-Karin, to him to beg protection of the British Government. Metcalfe expressed his sympathies with the Nawab but informed him through his Vakil that he was not authorised to interfere. To avoid any misunderstanding he also made it clear to him that the British Government was not concerned with the act of oppression and that the presence of the British Mission in Ranjit Singh's camp was for some other purpose.

Metcalf then determined not to proceed any further with the Maharaja lest his presence with him should be misconstrued as the British consent to his invasion of the area and conveyed his decision to the Maharaja. After an exchange of several notes of proposals and counter-proposals it was, at last, decided between them that Metcalfe should stay at Ghumagranah till Ranjit Singh finished his present campaign.

From Malerkotla the Lahore troops proceeded against Ambala and the Maharaja himself slipped to Nabha. Raja Jaswant Singh accompanied him there and offered nazar of a thousand rupees to him. The Maharaja then conferred with him regarding the chances for capturing the town of Patiala. On being told that the town was very strongly guarded, Ranjit Singh resumed his march to Ambala and joined his forces on the way.

Now as soon as the Thanesdar of Ambala fort came to know of the arrival of Ranjit Singh's forces near the town, he fled from the fort and Dewan Mohkam Chand captured it without any opposition. Ranjit Singh, thus secured the estates of Ambala and Mulana worth about fifty thousand rupees a year and another Rs. 50000/-/- in cash and valuables from the

residence of Rani Daya Kaur of Ambala. In view of the great strategic importance of the town of Ambala he stationed there an army of 5000 horse under Sardar Ganda Singh Safi and converted it into a military cantonment to provide defence against the British forces at Karnal.

From Ambala Ranjit Singh came to another town of strategic importance namely Shahabad, sixteen miles South of that town, and demanded nazrana from the sons of late Sardar Karam Singh Nirmala. They were not in a position to pay anything. But the Maharaja threatened them with the loss of the whole estate, if they failed to comply with his wishes. At last, the Patiala chief came to their rescue and paid Rs. 25000/-/- to Ranjit Singh on their behalf. He remained encamped at Shahabad for sometime and here all the minor Sikh chiefs on the bank of the Jamma, once again, submitted to him and paid him nazranas according to their means. They also entered into engagements to furnish permanently a body of horse to the Maharaja and delivered to him written declaration, acknowledging that they were his subjects and that they held their possessions by virtue of his grant. In return the Maharaja promised them not to put them under contributions again. Similarly other Cis-Sutlaj Sikh chiefs, except Raja Sahib Singh of Patiala and Sardar Bhang Singh of Thanesar, acknowledged his sovereignty over themselves. Ranjit Singh then despatched his troops against Bhang Singh but he fled to Patiala and took shelter with Raja Sahib Singh.

Now Raja Sahib Singh was the only chief who had not signed an agreement with him and was thinking of resisting him with force. Ranjit Singh preferred strategem to arms in dealing with him. He sent Raja Bhag Singh, Bhai Mit Singh Padhanian and Sardar Chain Singh to bring him round to meet him at some place. He also conveyed assurances to the Raja that he would be treated by him on the basis of equality. They met the Raja at Patiala and impressed upon him that since the G.G. had himself

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24. Ambala, situated on the main road from Delhi to Lahore, was considered as the gate to the Cis-Sutlaj area while coming from Delhi. Its distance from the British military station of Karnal was 48 miles.



sent his envoy to the Maharaja to seek his friendship there was no way out except signing a treaty of friendship and amity with him. Raja Bhag Singh and Chen Singh also hinted at Ranjit Singh's superior power and resources and the cold response of the British authorities to their recent entreaties. At last, after some discussion Raja Sahib Singh gave way and proceeded to Lakhnour, a place between Patiala and Shahabad to meet Ranjit Singh, who arrived there on the following day i.e. 24th November. The same day a meeting took place between the two chiefs. Ranjit Singh received Raja Sahib Singh very cordially and gave all assurances to remove fears from his mind. On 25th November they entered into alliances of mutual friendship and help and exchanged turbans to cement their relations. Then after a ceremonial exchange of Khilats and presents Ranjit Singh left for the Sutlaj and crossed that river on the 2nd December. During this campaign, too, the Lahore chief conferred some territorial grants on the friendly chiefs as usual.

Thus, by now Ranjit Singh's sovereignty over the Cis-Sutlaj area, whether acknowledged with sincerity or under compulsion, was a reality. His troops were stationed at its very gate (Ambala) and were well equipped to resist the British forces from Karnal if the latter chose to advance. Besides, he had secured cash and valuables worth several lakhs of rupees during this campaign. But even when bound with oaths, promises and agreements most of the Sirhind chiefs were still expectantly looking to Delhi for their deliverance from Ranjit Singh's grip.

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25. For full text of the two agreements see appendix 'H'.  
26. N.A; Metcalfe to Edmonston, dated 6th, 15th, 25th August, 2nd and 5th September; 1st, 20th and 26th October and 20th and 29th Nov. 1808; Seton to Ochterlony, dated 3.8.1808 and Seton to Edmonston, dated 3.12.1808; Patiala Akhbar dated 17th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd and 31st October, and 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th November, 1808; Khushwaqat Rai, pp 208-216; Sohan Lal, pp 69-77; Hassan, pp 212-18; Metcalfe papers, pp 15-33; Thompson, pp 75-76; Kaye, Vol.1, pp 275-276; Malerkotla State papers; Zafar Namah, pp 41-42; Cunningham, pp 145-147; Princep, pp 51-52; Raj, Vol. II, pp 53 and Latif, pp 376.

10. TABLES TURN ON RANJIT SINGH.

Meanwhile Metcalfe and Seton wrote exhaustive despatches to the G.G. in detailing his <sup>(Ranjit Singh's)</sup> determination to subjugate the Cis-Sutlaj area and his having crossed the Sutlaj for the third time to make that dream a reality. They further pointed out that the chiefs had no disposition to oppose him and having lost all hopes of help from the British, they had no alternative but to submit to him. ~~Mr.~~ Metcalfe specially referred to very efficient Civil and Military administration of Ranjit Singh and explained the various tenets of his policy with which he had managed to make himself absolute in every sphere of his administration. With these merits to his credit, Metcalfe argued, 'Ranjit Singh was sure to consolidate and reorganise the Cis-Sutlaj area on the lines of his former territory and, thus, being the undisputed master of vast lands from the Janna to the Attock, he was likely to prove the source of unparalleled threat to the security of the British empire in that quarter. The two British Officers also alluded to his growing indifference to the British envoy- a fact which seriously involved the British name and prestige- and pressed the urgency of the intervention by the British Government on behalf of the Sirhind chiefs, most of whom were still inclined to them, to stop Ranjit Singh from that dangerous game.<sup>28</sup>

These despatches had the desired effect and the G.G. after holding several sittings of his council at Calcutta conveyed to both the British Officers his determination to oppose the Lahore chief in his efforts to annex the Cis-Sutlaj area and to take the Sirhind chiefs under British protection. He also sent them suitable instructions separately to implement his decision. ~~Mr.~~ Seton was asked to start negotiations with the Sirhind chiefs by acquainting them with his decision and thereby to get them back to their side so that they may have a locus-standi in the matter. To Metcalfe he sent a letter

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27. N.A: Metcalfe to Edmonston dated 1-10-1808 and Seton to Edmonston dated 14-10-1808.

addressed to Ranjit Singh in which he had explicitly declared that the Sutlaj was the Southern boundary of the Maharaja's territory and that the Sirhind chiefs enjoyed the British protection.<sup>28</sup>

~~Mr~~ Seton received the G.G.'s instructions on 23rd November and the same day he sent confidential letters to the rulers of Patiala, Jind, Kal Thal, Thanesar, Rooria and Radaur in compliance thereof, saying:-

"From my former communications on the subject of your present situation you will have observed that though I had no authority from the British Government to lead you to expect its interference and protection, I was nevertheless persuaded that the Rt.Hon'ble the G.G. retained a likely sense of the fidelity and attachment manifested by you towards the Government during the period of Rt.Hon'ble Lord Lake being with the British Army in your quarter. As a proof that I did not misconceive the sentiments of the G.G., I have now the satisfaction to notify to you that His Lordship has been pleased to authorize and direct me to acquaint you that he has deemed it expedient to address on this subject to Sardar Ranjit Singh in which he has expressed a firm hope that in consideration of your having a just claim to its protection that chief will desist from all acts of hostility against you. From the justness and reasonableness of this application and from the friendly relations, which subsist between the British Government and Sardar Ranjit Singh, there cannot be a doubt of its being effectual. As this declaration must be a source of great tranquillity to you, I have much satisfaction in making this communication."<sup>29</sup>

The addressees<sup>e</sup>, as was expected, felt jubilant at this fulfilment of the main desire of their heart and they conveyed sense of great relief and gratitude to the Resident. Raja Bhag Singh, on this occasion, wrote to ~~Mr~~ Seton: "In truth, we four (major chiefs) are

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28. N.A: Edmonston to Metcalfe and Seton, dt. 31-10-1808 and 7.11.1808.  
29. N.A: Seton to Sirhind rulers, dated 22-11-1808.

inwardly the same as ever and adhere to the same sentiments towards the British Government, which we felt and expressed on the first day of our being dependent on it, and which we all repeated to you when we visited you to explain the particulars of our situation. Under every circumstance we trust that it is the intention of the British Govt. to secure and protect us four Sardars." Raja Sahib Singh in his long letter explained that his alliance of friendship with Ranjit Singh was only a means to put off the immediate threat and, therefore, had no meaning whatsoever.

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Mr. Metcalfe on the other hand had no chance to meet Ranjit Singh since his departure from Malerkotla to Ghungrana till the completion of the campaign when Ranjit Singh hurried back to Amritsar leaving behind instructions for Metcalfe to meet him at that city. Metcalfe accordingly joined him at Amritsar on 10th December.

Meanwhile news had arrived from Europe that Napoleon had been involved in the Peninsular war and that there was marked improvement in England's relations with Turkey, which ultimately led to the Treaty of Dardanelles (January, 1809) between the two countries. There being no danger of the French invasion on India, the G.G. instructed Metcalfe and Seton to deal with Ranjit Singh more firmly and directly.

The first effect of this change in policy was witnessed when ~~Mr.~~ Metcalfe wrote a strong note to Ranjit Singh on the 12th December after he had received no reply to the letter of the G.G. from him which he had delivered to him on the evening of the 10th December. In this note he also conveyed the G.G.'s great surprise and concern over the Maharaja's invasion of the Cis-Sutlaj area as the chiefs of that area had long been considered under the British protection and his further astonishment to find that the Maharaja asked for the assent of the British Government to the execution of that design. Metcalfe informed

30. N.A: Raja Bhag Singh to Seton, dated 3.12.1808 .

31. N.A: Raja Sahib Singh to Seton, dated 4.12.1808.

him frankly that he had no claim on the country between the Jamna and the Sutlaj, since it belonged to the Subah of Delhi and had, thus, passed on to the British after the defeat of the Marathas in 1803." Besides the Maharaja", he wrote, "had also confirmed this view before Lord Lake". Sutlaj and not Jamna, therefore, was the Southern boundary. He should, in the circumstances, restore the places that he has taken possession of since the arrival of the British envoy in his camp to the former possessors and confine his army to the right bank of the Sutlaj."

The G.G.'s letter, delivered to him on the evening of the 10th December, and this note of protest two days later took Ranjit Singh by surprise. They belied all his expectations and had totally upset his plans. The whole structure of his sovereignty over the Cis-Sutlaj area began to totter before his eyes and it seemed as if his dream of one Sikh State under him was being shattered to pieces. He believed, and perhaps rightly too, that being one of them, he had superior claims over the Sirhind chiefs than the British had. He believed further that he was engaged in a noble mission of uniting the scattered elements of the Khalsa community into a strong military power and that the Sirhind chiefs must pull their weight together with those of the Panjab chiefs in the accomplishment of this national work. Nor did Ranjit Singh see much force in the argument so persistently put forward by the British that it were the rulers of Delhi who have always exercised administrative control over the Cis-Sutlaj area: first the Mughals, then Marathas and now the British who held supreme position in Delhi. But the facts of history belied the truth of the English argument. Since the middle of the 18th century, the Subha of Sirhind like those of Lahore and Multan had come to form part of the empire of Ahmed Shah Abdali, Zain Khan from whom the Sikhs had taken Sirhind held the governorship on behalf of Abdali and not as the representative of the Emperor of Delhi. Raja Ala Singh of Patiala and

later his grand-son, Raja Amar Singh, had also received the investiture from the ruler of Kabul (Abdali) and not from Delhi.<sup>33</sup> Similarly the argument that he had declared Sutlaj as his Southern boundary in the presence of Lord Lake, had no meaning, as more than one British Governor Generals such as Cornwallis, George Barlow and Minto had on several occasions proposed the Jamna as their North Western Frontier and now the British authorities were not honoring those declarations. But the British had force rather than argument on their side.

The shock was indeed very great, but Ranjit Singh acted rather boldly. He delayed the negotiations with Metcalfe on one pretext or the other and himself made military preparations for war with the British. "Troops were called in from all quarters; ammunition and military stores were collected; the new fort of Govindgarh at Amritsar was prepared for defence and guns were mounted and provisions laid in for a siege." Dewan Mohkam Chand, the best general in his army was posted at Phillor with a large force, and the troops at Ambala were alerted.

In these circumstances Metcalfe lost all hopes of an amicable settlement with Ranjit Singh and though a small contingent of British troops had already crossed the Jamna into the Cis-Sutlaj area under Gen. St. Leger, he sent pressing despatches to the G.G. and the C-in-C to move the main British force immediately to the Sutlaj. The G.G. accepted his suggestion and issued orders for its compliance.

In the meanwhile Ranjit Singh learnt that the notable Sirhind Chiefs had, once again, gone over to the British camp. This news caused a great set back to his determinations. After some deliberation he cancelled the idea of an armed clash with the British and consequently withdrew his troops from Ambala on the 12th January which on their way back to the Sutlaj caused considerable harm to the crops on the Patiala lands. At the same time he decided to bring the Sikh chiefs round once more. Bhai Lal Singh and Sardar Bhagwan Singh of Booria were already with him. To summon others he sent his

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33. Kohli, Ranbir College, Sangrur, Magazine (Winter, 1951) PP 21-22.

special envoy, Bhai Gurbakhsh Singh, who reached Patiala on the 14th January. Raja Bhag Singh had already left for Karnal to welcome the British force and others too expressed their inability to pay a visit to the Maharaja on one excuse or the other. The envoy, thus returned disappointed.

The British force crossed the Jamma on the 16th January under the command of Lt. Col. David Ochterlony and encamped at Dadupur on the left bank of the river. Earlier the G.G. had equipped Ochterlony with suitable instructions in regard to his policy towards the Sirhind chiefs. He had been advised to employ every effort to reconcile the chiefs to the measures in progress and to induce them to afford every accommodation and facility to the march of the troops assuring in his communications with them, as the fundamental principle and object of the arrangement, the combination of their interests with those of the British power and the protection of their rights and territories against the aggression of Ranjit Singh or any other power. Besides, he was to arrange for the evacuation of the places usurped by the Lahore chief since the arrival of the British envoy in the Lahore camp and their restoration to their original possessors. The G.G. had further informed him that although all the chiefs had conveyed their readiness to cooperate with the British troops, still if any one of them opposed their advance he was to be suitably warned and punished.

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However, no such occasion arose during Ochterlony's march from the Jamma to the Sutlaj and wherever he went he was cordially welcomed by the chiefs. At Dadupur the Dewan and a ten years old nephew of the Booria chief were the first to offer submission on behalf of their chief. Next day on the 17th January the Ladwa chief and his Vakil paid similar visit and on the 18th Raja Bhag<sup>Singh</sup> joined him there. On the 19th January, Jodh Singh of Kalsia conveyed his submission through his Vakil, though he wished to be excused for personal

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34. N.A: Edmonston to Ochterlony, dated 26th and 29th December, 1808; Ochterlony to Edmonston, dated 16.1.1809; Patiala Akhbar dated 13th January, 1809.

attendance till the troops reached Patiala, as he felt reluctant to prove himself the first deserter to the Lahore chief. Ochterlony granted his request on the recommendation of Raja Bhag Singh but he secured a written assurance from the Kalsia chief that in the event of supplies being sent through his possessions for the British camp he would afford every assistance in his power in forwarding and protecting them, if required. At the same time he informed Raja Bhag Singh that all the territories usurped by Ranjit Singh or any other chief since ~~since~~ the arrival of ~~the~~ Metcalfe in the Lahore Camp (12th September, 1808) were to be restored to their rightful owners. The Raja raised no objection to it and promised its compliance by others also whenever he needed. Then Ochterlony proceeded to Patiala where a general meeting of all the Sirhind chiefs had been arranged in his reception.

At Ambala Ochterlony got the villages of the estate evacuated from Raja Bhag Singh and Mangal Singh, a Vakil of Bhai Lal Singh and then restored the whole estate to Rani Daya Kaur and earned her gratitude.

When Patiala was still 13 miles off, the British Commander was received by the Patiala Dewan, Sardar Chen Singh, who during his conversation repeated the assurance of his master that his engagements with Ranjit Singh were meaningless. They reached Patiala on the morning of 2nd February and stayed there for 3 days. During this period Raja Bhag Singh and various other important chieftains presented Khilats and gifts to Ochterlony and promised him full cooperation and facilities.

From Patiala Ochterlony proceeded to Nabha on the 15th February. Now, besides Raja Bhag Singh, Dewan Chen Singh had also accompanied him with 1000 horse. They reached Nabha the same day and stayed there during the day at Raja Jaswant Singh's request. Then taking the Raja with the party Ochterlony reached Malerkotla on the 8th February

35. N.A: Ochterlony to Edmonston, dated 16.1.1809, 20.1.1809 and 4.2.1809; Seton to Edmonston, dated 18th and 19th January 1809.

36. N.A: Ochterlony to Edmonston, dated 9.2.1809.



and saw the Thanas of Ranjit Singh and the major Sikh chiefs still established there for the collection of the amount of the khazana due from the Malerkotla chief. Ochterlony got these Thanas removed from ~~the~~ Malerkotla and reinstated the Pathan Regent, Nawab Atta-ullah-Khan, to his former authority. The Nawab naturally felt grateful to the British and took a vow to remain faithful to them for ever.

On the 9th February Ochterlony addressed a precept or Ittilahnamah under his own seal as well as that of Gen. St. Leger to Ranjit Singh in which he specifically demanded from him to restore Khur, Khanpur and Faridkot to the ancient possessors; to recall his army and cavalry from this side to that side of the Sutlaj; to remove his troops from Phillor and to have nothing to do with the Sikh chiefs in future.

The news of the arrival of the British troops across the Jamna, very much perturbed the Lahore chief. It was tantamount to declaration of war against him by the British, a thing which he would like to avoid. In a meeting of his council he summoned ~~Mr.~~ Metcalfe and put him a few informatory questions regarding the strength and movement of the troops to which Metcalfe gave evasive replies. Then he asked him whether those forces were sufficient to meet the French menace. Metcalfe replied that the threat of the French invasion had already receded to the back-ground and that the troops had come to protect the Sikh chiefs against his aggression.

This piece of the news stunned him further but he did not lose courage and sent two special Vakils, Sada Singh and Mizam-ud-Din Khan to arrange matters with Ochterlony in a way that the movement of the troops might seem to have been arranged in consultation with Ranjit Singh so that his prestige might not suffer in the eyes of his coreligionists. The two Vakils reached Ochterlony through Raja Bhag Singh on the 13th February about 9 miles South-east of Ludhiana and

37. N.A: Ochterlony to Edmonston, dated 9.2.1809.  
38. N.A: Ittilahnamah, dated 9.2.1809.

succeeded in impressing upon him favourably about the intentions of their master and in making him agree to halt his march for five days so that Lahore forces under Ganda Singh Safi could get time to cross the Sutlaj. But it was only a ruse played by the Vakils to fulfil their mission. Ochterlony was later strongly reprimanded by the G.G. on this error of proceedings and was considered to have risked the credit of the envoy and the dignity of the British Government. Ochterlony was ultimately cautioned to work more intelligently in future.

Ranjit Singh was in the meantime busy holding meeting of his council to decide the issue. Though at one stage he is reported to have agreed to accept the British view, <sup>39</sup> ~~but~~ <sup>but</sup> it was really very difficult for him to reconcile himself to such a big failure in life and the negotiations, thus, dragged on for a couple of months more.

Meanwhile Ochterlony reached Ludhiana on the 20th February and established a military cantonment in the fort and the area around it. The pargana of Ludhiana, as we know, belonged to Raja Bhag Singh. Ochterlony had given him to understand that he would be allowed to exchange that pargana with any other of equal value. Raja Bhag Singh preferred the pargana of Karnal or Panipat in return but the G.G. declined to do so in view of their being situated in the vicinity of Delhi and hence of great strategic and political importance. The G.G. however agreed to pay a rent of Rs. 500/-/- a month for the fort and the cantonment area leaving rest of the pargana to Raja Bhag Singh. <sup>40</sup>

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39. Kaye pp 26. Metcalfe writes that when serious discussions were continuing in the Maharaja's Council regarding the acceptance or rejection of the British proposals, the Maharaja proceeded with a surprising levity to mount his horse and pranced about the courtyard of his residence. After some time he came back and held consultations with his officers, once again in a separate room. Then after a short interval one of his officers came to ~~Metcalfe~~ Metcalfe and told him that his master had no objection to the fulfilment of the British demands.

40. N.A; Seton to Ochterlony, dated 24.2.1809; Ochterlony to Seton, dated 1st March; Seton to Edmonston dated 3rd March; Seton to Ochterlony dated 4th March and 10th March; Edmonston to Seton dated 3rd April; Ochterlony to Edmonston dated 19th April and 6th May, 1809; and Patiala Akhbar dated 14th January, 1809.

11. The Treaty of Lahore and its Significance.

Meanwhile an incident occurred at Amritsar which expedited the decision of Ranjit Singh in regard to the British proposals. The Akalis very much resented the stay of ~~Mr.~~ Metcalfe and his party, and were on the look out of expressing their resentment. They had their chance when the Muslim sepoy of ~~Mr.~~ Metcalfe's body-guard took out the Taziyas (paper domes in commemoration of the martyrdom of the two Muslim heroes, Ali and Hassan, at Karbla) on the Mohharam day. A band of Akalis under the leadership of Akali Phula Singh attacked the sepoy with their guns on the plea that Taziyas and Azan (the call to the Muslims for Namaz or prayers) were prohibited in the Sikh lands. Their attack was repelled by Metcalfe's bodyguard and situation was saved by <sup>R</sup>anjit Singh, who immediately reached the spot and made adequate arrangements for the safety of the envoy and his staff and reprimanded the Akalis for their discourteous attitude. <sup>41</sup>

Ranjit Singh had no hand in the matter but it brought him face to face with two alternatives; war or surrender. Prudent considerations prevailed upon him and he evacuated Khur and FariMkot and withdrew his army across the Sutlaj and from Philor within a month or so of this occurrence. Thus, the two Governments came to an understanding and signed the famous Treaty of Lahore on 25th April, 1809. According to this treaty Ranjit Singh resigned all his claims to the Cis-Sutlaj territory and promised to regard the Sutlaj as his Southern boundary. The British in return declared not to interfere in the Maharaja's territory across the Sutlaj and to maintain relations of amity with the Lahore state in future. <sup>42</sup>

Col. Ochterlony notified the signing of the above treaty to all the Cis-Sutlaj chiefs, except Jodh Singh of Kalsia whose conduct he characterised as anti-British, through an Ittilahnamah of <sup>3</sup>rd May, 1809. <sup>43</sup>

But the G.G. later ordered the inclusion of Jodh Singh also

41. N.A: Metcalfe to Edmonston, dated 26th February and 7th March, 1809 and Khushwaqat Rai, pp 219-220.

42. For the full text of the Treaty see Appendix "I".

43. For the full text of the Ittilahnamah see appendix 'J'.

among the protected chiefs.<sup>44</sup> In this Ittilahnamah Ochterlony also specified the various terms which would govern their relations with the chiefs. These terms were seven in number. The first ~~guaranteed~~ guaranteed safety of their possession against the encroachment of Ranjit Singh, the second related to their exemption from tribute in lieu of protection. In the third they were asked to remain in full exercise of all their usual and former rights and privileges in their ~~possessions~~ possessions. In the fourth they were called upon to assist the British troops with supplies and every other necessaries whenever they passed through their territories. According to the fifth their troops were to join the British troops to defend the area against an attack from an invader. The sixth required all European articles, brought for the use of the army, to be exempted from custom duties by the chiefs and the seventh clause desired them to allow all the horses purchased in the Sirhind area or any other quarter for the use of the army, to pass through their territories without duty.

The Treaty of Lahore signifies a great success of the British diplomacy as it had manoeuvred to extend their North-Western Frontier from the Janna to the Sutlaj in one bound and at the same time working on the principle of 'Divide and Rule' it had torpedoed the establishment of a formidable native state just on their head, which would have otherwise proved a constant source of potent danger to its security in that quarter.

But in the annals of the Sikh history the treaty has earned a great notoriety. While it gave Ranjit Singh a free hand to extend his dominions to the bank of the Attock and even beyond, it finally shattered, once for all, his dream of a united Sikh state under his banner and ruined all chances of the Sikh Unity by creating a wedge between the Malwa and the Manjha Sikhs.

The historians have apportioned the whole blame for this undesirable state of affairs to the Cis-Sutlaj Sikh chiefs. They accuse them of depriving Ranjit Singh of half of the resources of

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44. N.A: Edmonston to Seton, dated 3.6.1809.

the Sikhs, which would have been otherwise utilized by him for consolidating the power of the whole Sikh community, and their act of casting their lot with the British instead of Ranjit Singh has been characterised by them as anti-national.

An impartial student of Indian history, however, must examine these charges in their true perspective. But before doing so he must remember that the various events of history must not be measured by the present day yardstick. They should rather be judged according to the measures of their own times. <sup>When</sup> thus observed, we find that Ranjit Singh was to a great extent responsible in driving them away from himself. His impetuous and naked aggression, his complete indifference towards their feelings and his past record of usurpations had made them lose all faith in him. Besides, his three vigorous campaigns in quick succession convinced them of the imminence and the high magnitude of a threat from him to their territories. If Ranjit Singh had taken the four major Sikh rulers and a few other notable minor chiefs into full confidence and aligned them with himself through love and sympathy instead of force and aggression, as he did in the case of Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia, the situation would have been surely different. But taking the matters as they were they thought an alliance with the British would prove the continuance of the existence of their states and hence choosing the lesser evil they joined hands with the British out of sheer despair. It is true that <sup>they</sup> preferred their self interests to the larger interests of the community but that was the order of the day. The 19th century India was notorious for the absence of nationalism. In the circumstances if the Sikh Chiefs are labeled guilty, then the Maratha, Rajput and

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the Jat princes of those times also do not escape this charge.

45. Principal Kohli is right when he records: "But it seems to us that destiny operates in the case of nations as it does in the case of individuals. It shapes the odds and ends of communities as well as of their individual members. In this case too, it is the invisible hand of the Vidhata which appears to have been working in bringing about these political combinations. Ranjit Singh's empire did not last more than half a century after the Samana Conference. It was annexed by the British in March, 1849. If the Sirhind chiefs had formed part of Ranjit Singh's empire, they too would have been absorbed by the British. The British too were not destined to stay for ever. A hundred years later (Aug 1947) they were also made to quit this country. The Sirhind chiefs have, however, outlived them both. They are today preserved in the form of Patiala & the East Panjab States Union and make us recall the prophetic words ~~with~~ which Guru Gobind Singh had blessed the Progenitor of the Phulkian house that your house will last as long as the Sikh community lasts. Tara Ghar Mera ase". (RANBIR COLLEGE MAGAZINE winter, 1951 pp 22).

But it cannot be denied that the treaty had closed the chapter of freedom and opened that of dependence for the chiefs. Some critics may contend that they were never free in the true sense of the word. But this is an extremist's view. It is true that their political life had been one of constant struggle but throughout, whether they were fighting against the tottering Mughals or the Afghans or the Marathas or George Thomas of Hansi, they had full discretion to settle their own affairs. It is another thing that they entered into an engagement with one power or the other against an aggressor, but that they did as independent bargainers and clever preservers of their liberty. They did not completely surrender their <sup>own</sup> authority to any one till Ranjit Singh appeared on the scene. Even in the case of Gen. Perron, they had only acceded to his demands of pecuniary exactions and military assistance and on no single occasion do we find him meddling with their internal affairs.

Moreover, it is also true that these chiefs had certain glaring short comings, which had rendered them unfit to retain their freedom. Their disunity and indiscipline had become proverbial. Besides they had been without a leader of outstanding merit for the last two <sup>or</sup> three decades. The sole responsibility of leading and guiding them naturally devolved upon the premier state of Patiala, but the diseased Sahib Singh could hardly be expected to play that role. ~~HE WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO DO SO~~ <sup>or</sup> Ala Singh or an Amar Singh or a Sahib Kaur or even a Gajpat Singh could have possibly <sup>ru</sup> knitted the numerous principalities of the area into one unit on the whole during these two decades and would have entered by now into an honourable contract as an equal partner either with Ranjit Singh or with the British. But this was not to be and the Lahore Treaty now reduced them to the position of proteges of the British between the Jamna and the Sutlaj.

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\* PART II. \*  
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\* MAY 1809.....1849 \*  
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## CHAPTER V.

### THE BRITISH SETTLEMENT OF THE CIS-SUTLAJ AFFAIRS. (MAY 1809 ——— 1823)

#### 1. The British Start Consolidation of Their Interest.

The Treaty of Lahore had, no doubt, extended the British influence from the Janna to the Sutlaj but, so far, their responsibility was confined to defence against any external aggression. However desirous the British Imperialists might have been to convert that nominal control into a real and tangible one, the British Government in India was fully aware of the sensitiveness of the Sikh chiefs, and their anxiety to maintain the integrity of their territories, and genuinely apprehended a general alarm and rising among them if any action of theirs were to arouse a slightest doubts in their minds in that respect.

To allay all such fears and suspicions the British Government declared in its Notification of 3rd May, 1809 that the chiefs "were to remain in full exercise of the same rights and authority in their own possessions which they had enjoyed before they were received under the British Protection." They were also exempted from all pecuniary tribute.<sup>1</sup> From time to time these assurances were confirmed through letters and notifications. All the same the British political officers,<sup>2</sup> stationed in these states, continued in careful and subtle manner to increase and strengthen their hold till they ~~joined~~ gained complete control of the cis-Sutlaj area.

It was in pursuance of this policy that Ochterlony and Metcalfe prevailed upon the moderate and cautious Lord Minto to convert the temporary military post at Ludhiana into a permanent one. Sir David Ochterlony was given the military and political charge of this post<sup>3</sup> under the overall control of the Resident of Delhi.

The chiefs of the cis-Sutlaj area were now locked up between the two military posts of Kamal and Ludhiana and, thus, the chances of their going out of the British grip had been greatly mitigated. Besides the force, stationed at Ludhiana, was to serve as a check against any

1. N.A: British Notification of 3rd May, 1809.

2. For the names of the various political officers who held charge of the different Agencies in the area from 1809 to 1849 see Appendix K.

3. N.A: Ochterlony to Edmonston of 18th February; Metcalfe to Edmonston dated 15th February; Edmonston to Ochterlony at 13th March



future design of Ranjit Singh or any other invader from the North-west

Further the British displayed a great tact and diplomacy in regulating the religious, social, cultural and to some extent even the political contacts of the Cis-Sutlaj Sikh chiefs with Ranjit Singh and, thus, earned the goodwill of both. They decided that "the Maharaja was not to be suffered to extend his suzerainty over the Protected Chiefs and they (chiefs) were to be independent of his control only to the degree which made them dependent upon the British. x x x x x x x x By this double-edged policy the British saved themselves from the censures of Ranjit, and at the same time threw a cordon sanitaire round their proteges in their own favour." <sup>4</sup>

2. They Arrange for the Restoration of the Usurped Territories.

Having, thus, secured themselves, the British authorities set about restoring the status quo in the Cis-Sutlaj affairs of the day of Metcalfe's first visit to Ranjit Singh on 12th Sep, 1808. While it increased the British name and prestige, it also gave them an opportunity to curb the refractory elements. Raja Bhag Singh had submitted a representation to the Resident at Delhi on behalf of all the four major chiefs in the first week of August, 1809, wherein he requested the Resident to free all the four chiefs from the obligations of paying to Ranjit Singh the balance of the Malerkotla Nazrana (Rs. 68360/6/-), which was levied by him during ~~the~~ his third expedition (Oct-Dec, 1808), as lately Ranjit Singh was demanding its payment and in case of their failure to do so was threatening to seize such persons and property belonging to them as might at any time enter his country. <sup>5</sup>

The decision of the British Government to maintain the status quo had resulted in even the major chiefs returning back to the Malerkotla Nawab all those places which he had given to them earlier by way of security for the payment of the balance of Nazrana, as such now they should be absolved from the payment of the balance to the Lahore chief. The Jind Raja had pointed out that if at all that amount was to be paid to Ranjit Singh, it should be defrayed either by the Nawab of Malerkotla or by the British Government itself. 13th & 26th June; Edmonston to Seton dt 3rd June; and Edmonston to Lt. Col. Carey at 1st July, 1809. <sup>4</sup> ~~xxxxxx~~ Lahore Durbar, pp 11. <sup>5</sup> For fuller details see

The Resident considered the request of Raja Bhag Singh quite in order and strongly recommended it to the G.G. for acceptance. It was asserted that with the restitution of the territories Ranjit Singh was neither entitled to the nazrana, which he had already received from the Regent of Malerkotla, nor to the balance, which he was claiming. However, the Resident proposed that as a mark of goodwill no claim be made for the return of the sum of the nazrana which had already been paid off. The G.G. accepted the proposal.

A few months later i.e. on the 10th December, 1809 a confidential agent of Bhai Lal Singh informed that Ranjit Singh had invited a negotiation with his chief for the disposal of some of his Illagas on this side of the Sutlaj and that his chief was anxious to settle the deal if it did not incur the displeasure of the British Government. Under the Treaty of Lahore Ranjit Singh had been allowed to retain the Cis-Sutlaj Illagas which he had secured during his first two expeditions and were under his direct rule. The Zamindars of these Illagas were now creating trouble for the collectors of the Lahore Government. Although empowered to send him troops to restore order in his territory Ranjit Singh was reluctant to do so, and hence he wanted to dispose them off.

Ochterlony, who was keen 'to conciliate or even to gratify Bhai Lal Singh when it be done without a sacrifice of others or a deviation from Justice', strongly recommended the proposal to the Resident. While doing so he also remarked : " Besides, the present occasion is recommended by sound policy because if Bhai Lal Singh succeeded in his mission, it may encourage other southern Sardars (Cis-Sutlaj Chiefs), who have sufficient wealth, to make similar purchases, by which means we should gradually, without appearing to be interested in the circumstances, obtain the entire and absolute control of the whole country of which we have assumed the Protection."

The G.G. had also accepted this policy, but a few months later

Ranjit Singh changed his mind and, thus, this scheme fell through.  
(Contd) pp 107-108 of this Thesis.

6. N.A: Seton to Ochterlony dt. 3rd August; Seton to Edmonston dt 10th August and Edmonston to Seton 15th August, 1809.

7. N.A: Ochterlony to Washington dt 10.12.1809.

8. Ibid.

9. N.A: Seton to Ochterlony dt 15.12.1809.

10. N.A: Seton to Edmonston dt 6.5.1810.

Meanwhile some cases came to the notice of Col. Ochterlony in which the usurpers had shown their unwillingness to part with the usurped territories and he, therefore, had to resort to the use of troops to arrange for their restoration to their lawful owners.

The first of these complaints came from Sardarni Dharma of Teera, the widow of Sardar Sangat Singh Nishanwala, in the beginning of January, 1810. Since the death of her husband, twenty years ago, Sardarni Dharma was managing the estate of Teera, consisting of seven villages in the Taaluqa of Sirhind. In May, 1809 she called for her assistance the two nephews of her husband, Jeet Singh and Fateh Singh, who soon after their arrival there managed to deprive her of her estate and also detained her. She, therefore, requested Ochterlony for help in securing her freedom as well as her estate. On the recommendation of the Resident the G.G. allowed Ochterlony to arbitrate in the dispute after due investigation and also to use troops, if needed.

Now Ochterlony called for the explanation from both Jeet Singh and Fateh Singh, who denied the charges of wilful detention as well as usurpation and tried to prove themselves the legal heirs of the deceased chief. Ochterlony, however, ordered them to release Sardarni Dharma and to restore her estate to her forthwith, and when they showed some hesitation to obey the orders, Ochterlony, at once, despatched a contingent under Captain Elliot, which did the needful by the beginning of November, 1810.

*Daya*

The second complaint from Rani Kaur of Ambala asked for the restoration of her village of Karoli, usurped by Sardar Gulab Singh Shaheed when Ranjit Singh deprived her of the estate of Ambala. Since the estate of Ambala had been restored to her by the British in conformity to their general principle regarding restitutions, she prayed that the village of Karoli be also restored to her on the same principle.

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11. Ld. Cor: Edmonston to Lt. Col. Carey dt. 1.7.1809.

12. N.A: Ochterlony to Seton dt. 18th January; Seton to Ochterlony dt. 2nd April; Seton to Raja Bhag Singh and Bhai Lal Singh dt. 10th May and their replies to him dt. 13th May; Seton to Lushington dt. 24th May and Ochterlony to Edmonston dt. 17th Nov, 1810. P.L.R: Seton to Raja Bhag Singh & Bhai Lal Singh dt. 10th May & Their replies dt. 13th May; application of Dharma to Ochterlony dt. 28th May, 1810 with four enclosures.

Ochterlony asked Gulab Singh to explain his position, but instead of sending any reply to the letter, it was alleged by Ochterlony's harkarah, that he contemptuously tore the letter to pieces, which was deemed " tantamount to insulting the British Government." The restitution of the village of Karoli to the Rani was, therefore, ordered.

When the British forces proceeded to Karoli to execute the orders Gulab Singh surrendered and asked for forgiveness, alleging that the letter was torn not by him but by one of his men, whom he had already accorded adequate punishment for his mistake. He duly restored the village of Karoli to the Rani and thus, secured the pardon of the British Government.

The third case was of Rani Ram Kaur, widow of Sardar Baghel Singh Karorsinghia. She was managing the estate of her husband since his death in 1780. The estate lay on both sides of the Sutlaj. The part of the estate in the cis-Sutlaj territory included the Illaga of Chilaundi, which had been usurped by Sardar Jodh Singh of Kalsia at the instance of Maharaja Ranjit Singh during his last expedition to the area. She had, therefore, prayed to Ochterlony for arranging its restoration to her (May, 1809).

When called upon by Ochterlony to explain his conduct Jodh Singh replied that Maharaja Ranjit Singh bestowed the estate of Chilaundi on him by means of a Sanad granted on 14th September, 1808 at Lahore for his services to that chief and the actual possession of that Illaga was secured by him in November, 1808 when the Maharaja was at Shahabad. He also stated that he could return <sup>13</sup> the Illaga to Maharaja Ranjit Singh alone and to none else.

The British Government considered this reply as evasive and, therefore, issued orders for the restoration of the Illaga to the

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13. N.A: Edmonston to Ochterlony dt 5th June, 1810; Ochterlony to Edmonston dt 29th June, 1810 and Edmonston to Seton dt 3rd July, 1810.

rightful owner within five days of the receipt of the orders otherwise troops were to be despatched against him. But Jodh Singh wrote back that he had returned the illage to the Lahore chief, in the meantime the Lahore troops, stationed at Phillor under the command of Dewan Mohken Chand, had attacked Rani Ram Kaur's other Cis-Sutlaj possessions and the Rani, while defending her possessions with whatever little resources she had, had again sent a request for help to Ochterlony.

The matter had become complicated as now it was likely to affect the relations of the British Government with the state of Lahore. Ranjit Singh's suspicions against the British Government were daily increasing and for that reason they were desirous of avoiding a clash with Ranjit Singh. Ochterlony, therefore, sent his under - Munshi, Abdul Nabi Khan, to Lahore to settle that issue, but Ranjit Singh could not be brought round. He held out a threat that if the illage of Chilaundi was forcibly restored to Rani Ram Kaur, he would annex her trans-Sutlaj part of the estate. Ochterlony acted rather boldly and sent a counter-threat that if the Maharaja carried out his scheme, he would annex the whole estate of Jodh Singh in the cis-Sutlaj territory. At last better sense prevailed and Ranjit Singh disassociated himself from the affair, though his doubts regarding the bonafide of the British intentions now increased all the more.

Jodh Singh now restored five or six villages including that of Chilaundi to Rani Ram Kaur and brought forward untenable excuses for the rest. But Ochterlony was determined to carry out the Government orders in full and he alerted the British troops at Kamal. Jodh Singh realized his helplessness in the matter and restituted the remaining villages too. Henceforth Rani Ram Kaur permanently fixed her headquarters at Chilaundi and lived there  
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under the British protection till her death.

14. W.A. Ochterlony to Seton at 24th June, 7th and 9th July, and 29th October; Ochterlony to Lushington at 5th May; Seton to Ochterlony at 20th June; Edmonston to Seton at 3rd July; Seton to Ochterlony at 3rd July; Jodh Singh to Seton at 12th January; Seton to Edmonston at 6th & 10th July, &

The fourth case of this nature related to the claim of Maharaja Ranjit Singh to two villages of Saidoki and Bhagta, situated in the Bhadaur estate, which had been snatched by him during his second Cis-Sutlej expedition but had later promised to return them in lieu of a Nazrana of Rs.5000/-/-, which was duly paid by the Bhadaur chiefs and a receipt obtained, though the return of the villages was delayed on one pretext or the other. When the British arrived in that quarter, the Bhadaur chiefs, Beer Singh and Deep Singh, taking advantage of the situation resumed the possession of the two villages. Ranjit Singh brought forward his claim to the villages arguing that the sum of Rs.5000/-/- was paid by the chiefs as Nazrana over and above the two villages to save their whole estate from his clutches. Somehow the British Government considered the explanation of the Lahore chief as correct and ordered the restoration of the two villages to him.

The chiefs of Bhadaur, who were dependants and collaterals of the Patiala chief, now approached Raja Sahib Singh through Mai Khem Kaur for help. Raja Sahib Singh's efforts were all in vain. Ochterlony ordered for immediate restitution of the villages otherwise troops would be despatched to execute the orders (May, 1810). On this Raja Sahib Singh sent his wakil, Lala Hamir Singh, to the Resident at Delhi to explain the correct position of the case. The resident invited Raja Bhag Singh, too, for throwing light on the case and the Jind Raja also corroborated what the Patiala chief had conveyed through his wakil. This convinced the Resident who now referred the matter to the G.C. & in Council and secured the latter's

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12th, 17th and 22nd September, 14th October and 5th and 6th November; Edmonston to Seton dt 21st July, 25th August and 3th October; Raja Bhag Singh and Bhai Lal Singh to Seton dt 12th July, 1810. P.L.R. Rani Ram Kaur to Ochterlony dt 1st May; Jodh Singh to Seton dt 14th, 18th & 25th July; Munshi Abdul Nabi to Seton dt 10th August; Amritsar Akhbar dt 26th August; Jodh Singh ~~to~~ to Ochterlony dt 6th September; Ochterlony to Munshi Abdul Nabi Khan of September, 1810 with four enclosures; Seton to Jodh Singh dt 17th Sep; Seton to Jodh Singh dt 22nd September; Rani Ram Kaur to Seton dt 28th Sep and Jodh Singh to Seton dt 30th Sep, 1810.

sanction for the cancellation of the earlier orders (5th June, 1810). Here in the meanwhile Ochterlony had already arranged the return of the two villages under threat of force to Dewan Mohkam Chand's agents (25th May). The Government regretted the haste exercised in the restoration of the villages, but did not like to claim for the return of the villages. Instead after some time a compensation of Rs. 1000/-/- a year was allowed by the British Government to the Bhadaur chiefs in perpetuity from the date of the handing over the two villages to the Lahore agents.

The fifth case related to the estate of Chamkoian (a very minor state in the vicinity of Bhadaur), which was said to have had been unlawfully usurped by the chiefs of Bhadaur under instructions from the ruler of Patiala. Raja Sahib Singh claimed the estate as his own dependency since long and had confiscated it as a punishment for the misbehaviour of its chief, <sup>Nand Singh</sup> Ochterlony did not accept the version of the Patiala Chief and issued orders for the immediate restoration of the estate to Nand Singh. Nand Singh in return was asked to give back the cattle and property which he had subsequently plundered from the Patiala territories.

The sixth case was about the claim of the Nabha chief for the return of the village of Jaitthoki, which the Lahore Karkuns had forcibly annexed to the Taaluga. ~~of Kot Kapura~~ <sup>of</sup> Kot Kapura on the plea of its being a part of that Taaluga. But Ochterlony after due investigation decided the case in favour of the Nabha chief and arranged its restoration to him.

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- 15.N.A: Ochterlony to Raja Sahib Singh dt 2nd May; Abdul Nabi Khan in Ochterlony dt 8th May; Ochterlony to Lushington dt 10th & 22nd May; Patiala Akhbar dt 8th May; Seton to Lushington dt 17th & 26th May; Edmonston to Ochterlony dt 5th June; Lushington to Ochterlony dt 30th June, 1810, Ochterlony to John Adams dt 14th April, 1813; John Adam to Ochterlony dt 7th May, 1813; Metcalfe to Adams dt 4th & 12th June, 1813 & ~~Adams~~ Adams to Metcalfe dt 2nd July, 1813. Ld. Cor: 131-132 PL. R. Ochterlony to Raja Sahib Singh dt 2nd May, 1810.
16. N.A: Raja Sahib Singh to Ochterlony dt 28.12.1809; Ochterlony to Raja Sahib Singh dt 29.12.1809; Ochterlony to Lushington dt 30.12.1809; Ochterlony to Raja Sahib Singh dt 13.1.1810 and 19.2.1810.
- 17.N.A: Ochterlony to Edmonston dt. 19.6.1810 and Dewan Mohkam Chand to Ochterlony received on 19.12.1809.

3. Akali Phula Singh Defies the British Authority with Impunity.

When the British authorities were busy settling the Cis-Sutlaj inter-state disputes, there took place a violent demonstration of hostility by the Akalis who disliked the advance of the British into the Sirhind region and regarded their alliance with the Sikh powers as something unholy. They suspected that the British would ultimately annex their lands and deprive them of all power and liberty. Hence though neither their number nor their strength was very significant, they were determined to do their best in deterring the British from doing so.

At this time the British surveyor, Lt. White, was surveying the territories of the Patiala State. He had earlier surveyed the territories of the Jind State too. This survey work had further increased the fears and apprehensions of the Akalis regarding their lands and hence being exasperated they decided on hostile demonstrations.

Lt. White reached Patiala some time towards the close of the month of November, 1809 and met Raja Sahib Singh, then at the Bhawanigarh fort, on the 30th November and thence the party left for Bhatinda and the Bangar desert where it reached on the 14th December. Here Lt. White decided to trace the boundary of the desert in a south-eastern direction towards Bhatner and proceeded as far as village Bhagta. From here he took the direction of the town of Mansali and reached Talwandi on the 18th. On the way his party had been fired upon several times. At the outset he did not take these incidents quite seriously, but later he received news of the increasing opposition and he changed his course and took a direct road to Ludhiana. At Chaoki, a big village belonging to Sardar Dalel Singh Malodh, about a hundred Sikh horsemen appeared fully prepared to attack. Lt. White and party hurried to take shelter in a nearby village of Pakoki (Nabha State). The Sikh invaders, whose number had by now increased to one thousand, plundered his tents and their contents and pursued him thither. Several skirmishes took place in the way in which Lt. White also lost some of his men. But he himself and a few others managed to reach the village of Pakoki safe whence he sent the



detailed news of the incident to Ochterlony at Ludhiana.

Early next morning (19th Dec), Kanwar Ran Singh, the nephew of Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha, arrived from the town of Phul to his relief and immediately restored tranquillity in the village enabling Lt. White to leave Pakoki on the 20th December. He reached Ludhiana via Barnala and Pukhowal two days later.

Lt. White blamed Raja <sup>Sahib</sup> Singh for the inadequate arrangements for his safety and suspected his hand in the matter, while Raja Sahib Singh alleged that the misconduct of the Sipahes (soldiers) of Lt. White was mainly responsible for the excitement. However, a few days later it was discovered that the leader of the Akali invading party was Baba Phula Singh, who had earlier (Feb. 1809) attacked the escort of Mr. Metcalfe at Amritsar. Finding that Kanwar Ran Singh and his troops having arrived at Pakoki, would not allow him to carry on his attack on the surveyer's party any further, Phula Singh slipped off to Ranjit Singh's territory and joined the Lahore troops under Dewan Mohkan Chand near Kot Kapura.

This news further strengthened the suspicions of the British Government against Ranjit Singh, who was said to be keen to lead an expedition across the Sutlaj to occupy Delhi and, thus, become the sole master of the lands between the Jamna and the Indus. It was alleged, that therein he expected the assistance of a large number of the Cis-Sutlaj Sikh chiefs also. Moreover he was said to be in

league with Sindhaia, Holkar and Amir Khan to make a united front

18. Id. Cor: Lt. F. S. White to A. Seton dt 24.12.1809.

19. Ibid.

20. N.A: A. Seton to Lushington dt 28.12.1809. Baba Prem Singh of Hooti Mardan tells us in his biography of Akali Phula Singh that the latter was born to Bhai Ishar Singh Nishan-wala at village Singan near Bhatinda in the later half of the fifties of the 18th C. He had inherited the martial spirit from his father, who fell down fighting the forces of Ahmad Shah Abdali when he invaded the Panjab for the sixth time. On the eve of his death Bhai Ishar Singh entrusted Phula Singh to the care of a religious priest, Akali Narain Singh of the Shaheed Misl, who gave him full training in religion and the use of arms. After the death of Akali Narain Singh, Phula Singh became the leader of his Jatha or a group of Akalis and made Anandpur his headquarters. From there he went to Amritsar in 1800 A. D. and became a prominent Sewadar of the Akal Takhat and the Golden Temple. After his attack on the escort of Mr. Metcalfe in Feb. 1809, he had repaired to Gurdwara Dandama Sahib near Bhatinda and from there he had led the attack on Lt. White and his party.

21. N.A:A. Seton to C. Lushington dt 28.12.1809.

against the English in order to turn them out of the country.

But there seemed little truth in such news, which only painted an exaggerated picture of the views held in Lahore. Apparently enough there was much suspicion and distrust on either side of the Sutlaj. Thus, while Ochterlony in order to safeguard against any emergency of the Sikh attack, laid supplies equal to fifteen days consumption and completed a ditch round the Ludhiana fort as well as a wall and

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a ditch round the town itself, Ranjit Singh, too, strengthened his forts at Phillor and Govindgarh. Ranjit Singh had, however, no hand whatsoever in Phula Singh's attack on the British surveyor.

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But the British authorities considered the attack on Lt. White as a national insult and the whole machinery of the Government was moved to inflict exemplary punishment on Phula Singh. Col. Ochterlony considered it politic that Akali Phula Singh and his followers should be chastised by the troops of the Sikh chiefs alone. He, therefore, suggested that the punishment and expulsion of Phula Singh from their (major Cis-Sutlaj chief's) districts should be demanded and insisted upon and that it should be done by the chiefs themselves unaided by any British troops. He further proposed that the chiefs should also be told that such conduct would not pass unnoticed or

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unpunished by the British Government in future. Mr Seton, the Resident of Delhi, agreed with his suggestion and further recommended an attack on and reduction of Dandama Sahib and Muktear where Phula Singh had returned by then. It was obvious that Phula Singh would take shelter within the territories of the state of Lahore and when demand was made by the British Ranjit Singh might not hand him over but try to evade it. In such circumstances Ochterlony suggested that "the xx notice to the Raja of Lahore should be limited to an intimation that his seizure was ordered and it would be considered as an attention to

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22. Ld. Cor: Seton to G. Swinton dt 27.12.1809 along with an abstract of the intelligence from Lahore dt 19.12.1809.  
23. Ld. Cor: Ochterlony to Lushington dt 31.12.1809 and 6.1.1810.  
24. " " Lahore intelligence dt 1.1.1810.  
25. " " Seton to Ochterlony dt 24.1.1810.  
26. " " Ochterlony to Lushington dt 30.1.1810.  
27. " " Seton to Ochterlony dt 12.2.1810.

the British Government if he would deliver up the assassin, should he again seek refuge in his country." <sup>28</sup>

The British Government accepted all these above suggestions and accordingly the Resident of Delhi asked the chiefs of Kaithal, Jind and Nabha and the Vakil of the chief of Patiala, who were at Delhi (23rd Feb. 1810), to unite their efforts for the purpose of seizing and bringing to punishment Akali Phula Singh. A few days later he also wrote two letters to Raja Sahib Singh with the same request. The chiefs found themselves in an awkward position. Realizing that any hesitation on their part would be taken as complicity they accepted the proposal, though they did express their anxiety that the troops of Maharaja Ranjit Singh stationed at or near Kot Kapura might come to the assistance of Akali Phula Singh. Their fears were, however, calmed by both Seton and Ochterlony. <sup>29</sup> The four chiefs then despatched their troops for the purpose; the majority of them belonged to the Patiala State.

Akali Phula Singh was this time driven out of the Cis-Sutlaj area and, as usual, he took shelter in Ranjit Singh's territory, but soon after he again returned to Dandama Sahib. Once more, the Sikh troops under the Patiala Commanders marched against him and obliged him to cross the Sutlaj for Amritsar. But this time Ranjit Singh pressed Akali Phula Singh to leave his territories and even ordered his expulsion if he failed to comply with his orders. However, he ordered a sum of Rs. 500/-/- to be given to him for his maintenance, <sup>30</sup> mainly on account of his sacred character. Henceforth Akali Phula Singh spent his time moving by turn to the Cis-Sutlaj area and the Lahore territories, though in great distress but without being detained by the forces on either side.

However, the British authorities considered the services of the Patiala State in this connection rather commendable and worth

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28. Id. Cor: Ochterlony to Seton dt 20.2.1810.  
29. " " Seton to Ochterlony dt 23.2.1810; Patiala Archives: Seton to Raja Sahib Singh dt 21.3.1810 and 24.3.1810.  
30. " " Seton to Lushington dt 7.5.1810; Patiala Archives: Seton to Maharaja Sahib Singh dt 30.4.1810.  
31. " " Ochterlony to Lushington dt 8.5.1810 and Seton to Lushington dt. 11.5.1810; P.L.R.: Amritsar Akhbar dt 6.5.1810.

encouragement. They, therefore, rewarded the Patiala chief by arranging for the conferment of the title of 'Maharaja Adhiraj Raj Rajeshwar Mohinder Bahadur' on him by the titular Mughal Emperor, Akbar Shah II, in November, 1810.<sup>32</sup> Similarly the goodwill gesture, shown by Maharaja Ranjit Singh in turning out Phula Singh from his territory received full appreciation at the British hands. They had already done him two good turns by preventing Raja Sahib Singh of Patiala from helping the Gurkhas against him (23rd January, 1810) and by refusing to accept the request of Muzaffar Khan of Multan to interfere in Ranjit Singh's designs against his capital (March, 1810). Now this helpful response from the Lahore chief made a happy augury towards the betterment of relations between the two powers. The G.G. in return presented Ranjit Singh a carriage and a pair of horses to promote the existing system of harmony and confidence with the chief.<sup>33</sup> Maharaja Ranjit Singh then invited Ochterlony on the occasion of the nuptials of Manwar Kharak Singh to Lahore in 1812 and treated him with extreme attention and cordiality.<sup>34</sup> Thus the relations between the two Governments continued to improve so much so that Ranjit Singh feeling convinced of the friendly sentiments of the British entrusted his own possessions in the Cis-Sutlaj area to the integrity of the British Government and withdrew his troops across the Sutlaj, which had been kept there for their defence.<sup>35</sup>

One result of the Phula Singh episode was that the British authorities came to realize that a feeling of dissatisfaction and resentment had existed among a section of the Cis-Sutlaj Sikhs and even among the minor Sikh chiefs. Hence they became more cautious in their dealings with them. About a year later the British Government abandoned their proposal to extend the police system of British India to the territories of the protected chiefs, when most of those chiefs assembled at Thanesar to record their disapproval of the

<sup>36</sup>  
measure. Similarly about a year after this incident when the British  
32. Hassan, pp 236; Pat. Arch; Farman Shahi dt Nov, 1810. For the full text of the Farman see appendix L.

33. Ld. Cor; Edmonston to Lushington dt 29.5.1810.

34. Ld. Cor; Ochterlony to Edmonston dt 23.1.1812.

35. Lahore Durbar, pp 14.

36. Ld. Cor; Ochterlony to Edmonston dt 30.7.1811.

Government thought of establishing a tribunal for the trial of certain criminal offences committed in the territory of the protected chief, Ochterlony pointed out the inadvisability of this proposal and suggested that the tribunal might be established at Ludhiana without any previous consultations and that the chiefs be left to discover its limited operation in its practical effects. The Government accepted his suggestions at once and appointed the tribunal at Ludhiana only to try and punish the offences committed on the British subjects passing through the protected territory.

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4. Jurisdiction over Lands Affected by Avulsion.

Still, the British authorities never hesitated to utilize any chance to consolidate their own authority, if and when it came in their way. In 1810 the authority<sup>in</sup> at Saharanpur raised the question of fixing the western boundary line of that area, as the river Janna had changed its course in 1806 and now flowed west of 28 villages belonging to Sardars Jodh Singh of Kalsia, Bhagwan Singh of Booria, Dulcha Singh of Radaur and Bhanga Singh of Thanesar, which were formerly lying on its western bank. The inhabitants of these villages continued to consider themselves the subjects of their respective former chiefs and even when they created trouble for the British subjects of the Saharanpur district they could not be punished by the British because of lack of the British jurisdiction over them. When the matter was finally referred to the G.G. in Council, he decided that the river Janna, wherever it might be<sup>e</sup> should be considered as the boundary between the British territory and the Cis-Sutlaj states. Thus, while the avulsion would not deprive any person of the ownership of his land, the land would come under the laws of that country to which it was annexed due to the change in the course of the river (June, 1810).

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A similar question arose, three years later, on the bank of the Sutlaj when Dewan Mohkam Chand desired to continue the

37. N.A:- Ochterlony to Edmonston dt 3.9.1812; Metcalfe to Murray dt 5.1.1816 and Beyley to Ochterlony dt 22.7.1811.

38. N.A: Seton to Lushington dt 16.1.1810; Seton to Patten (Magistrate of Saharanpur) dt 9th April, 1810, 1810 and Lushington to Seton dt June, 1810.

jurisdiction of the Lahore court to the villages of Sardar Budh & Singh Faizullahpuria a chief of the Jullunder Deab, which had been transferred from right to the left bank of the Sutlaj by the change in the course of that river. This issue was also decided on the above mentioned principle.

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5. Proclamation of 22nd August, 1811.

The ~~xxx~~ success so far achieved by the British in consolidating their authority was due to the ~~able~~ <sup>able</sup> guidance of Col. Ochterlony and the Government, while acknowledging his services, placed on record "his great zeal, industry and ability in the discharge of the difficult and laborious duties which that (Ludhiana) agency imposed on him." One problem which still occupied his undivided attention and continued to give him headache was the problem of regulating the inter-statal relation of the Cis-Sutlaj chiefs. Their unscrupulous ambition, their disregard for other's rights and their intriguing nature gave frequent occasions for disputes. This must be ended both in the interests of these chiefs and for further consolidation of the British authority. Col. Ochterlony succeeded in convincing Mr Metcalfe of the imperative need of adopting some measure which could end or reduce to the minimum the chances of inter-statal disputes. The two together then impressed upon the G.G. the necessity of laying down general principle applicable to all cases of disputes. The Government accepted the suggestion and after some deliberations issued a proclamation on 22nd August, 1811.

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This proclamation reiterated its previous announcement not to interfere in the internal affairs of the chiefs and then stated in unmistakable terms that if " any one of the Sardars or others has forcibly taken possession of the estates of others, or ~~otherwise~~ otherwise injured the lawful owners, it is necessary that, before the occurrence of any complaint, the proprietor should be satisfied, and by no means to defer the restoration of the property; in which, however, should delays be made and the interference of the British

39. N.A: Ochterlony to Adam dt 20th July, 21st September and 30th October, 1813 and Adam to Ochterlony dt 26.11.1813.  
40. Ld. Cor: Edmonston to Ochterlony dt 23.8.1811.  
41. Such declaration had been made by the British Government in

authority become requisite, the revenue of the estate from the date of the ejection of the lawful proprietor, together with whatever other Losses the inhabitants of other places may sustain from the march of troops, shall, without scruple, be demanded from the offending party; and for the disobedience of the present orders, a penalty, according to the circumstances of the case and of the offender, shall be levied agreeably to the decision of the British Government.<sup>42</sup>"

Thus, the proclamation while it granted protection to the Cis-Sutlaj chiefs against one other and assured each one of the safety of his state, it also brought each one individually under the British authority where previously the British control was only in the nature of a general and collective one. This proclamation, however, was not to apply to the feudatories of Ranjit Singh in the Cis-Sutlaj area, for whose acts of encroachment Ranjit Singh was to be held responsible for ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ redress and compensation.<sup>43</sup>

6. The British Actively Interfere in the Internal Affairs of the States.

When the British were, thus, slowly but steadily stabilizing their own position in this area there arose a number of circumstances in these states, which afforded the British numberless opportunities to enable them to achieve their own end. Whenever the British actively intervened in the internal affairs of any of the states, it was shown to be for benevolent purposes only and, thus, made it acceptable. They also took bold decisions and implemented them with the use of force, in which they received full support from the vigorous policy of Marquis of Hastings, who combined in himself the G.C. and C.in.C of India from 1813 to 1823. Mention of the full details of such events in some of these states would not be very much out of place here.

(a) PATIALA.

In the premier state of Patiala the growing mental ailment of Maharaja Sahib Singh had for sometime back very adversely affected the

(Contd) its proclamation of 2nd May, 1809 and the same assurance had been repeated in a letter to the chief of Nabha dt 20.11.1810.

42. Proclamation dt 22nd August, 1811. The full text of the proclamation is given in appendix M.

43. N.A.:-Edmonston to Ochterlony dt 27th Sep, 1811.

44. John Malcolm, Vol. 2, pp 443.

administration including the state finances. He had very much lost  
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the balance of his mind with the result that some of the officers of  
of the state who were in position to do so, grabbed as much of the  
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property of the government as they could. The zamindars would not pay  
their revenues for years, while the feudatories would not muster even  
a small portion of their requisite quota of the contingent force. Thus,  
there was neither any law and order in the state nor any money in the  
treasury. The pay of the forces had, therefore, been commuted into  
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revenue assignments. No officer of integrity and ability was allowed  
by the junta of the unscrupulous favourites of the Maharaja to have  
any say in the matter. Within the ruling family the only other male  
member was the heir-apparent, Kanwar Karam Singh, who was a minor,  
and none of the Ladies, except Rani Aus Kaur, had either the capability  
or the courage to handle the situation. But unfortunately Rani Aus  
Kaur's relations with the Maharaja had been greatly estranged due to  
the clique of dishonest officers and by Mai Kham Kaur <sup>wh. was all along the principal adviser of the Chief Rani Aus Kaur</sup> and Kanwar Karam  
Singh lived in the estate of Sangur, which had been conferred on them  
earlier by the Maharaja. The Maharaja was most unwilling to be a  
party to the marriage ceremony of either Bibi Prem Kaur, the younger  
sister of Kanwar Karam Singh, or that of Kanwar Karam Singh himself  
in January, 1811. He was persuaded to do so in each case only after  
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great efforts.

This disturbed state of Patiala Proved to be a God-sent  
opportunity for Ochterlony. He had already a grouse against the Patiala  
chief on account of the delayed and only partial compliance of a  
requisition order of Mr Seton, the Resident of Delhi, for two hundred and  
fifty horse. He knew that the reason for non-compliance of the

- order was the misgovernment in the state and hence he resolved to get  
45. Pat. Akhs of Dec, 1811, January, April & May 1812: A closer study of  
these Akhbars reveal that Maharaja Sahib Singh often indulged in  
abnormal activities during the last three years of his life  
(1810-13). He had also grown very extravagant during this period.  
46. Hassan reports (pp 239) that the extent of the excessive bestowal  
of Jagirs by the Maharaja might be estimated from the fact that  
of this state territory the pargana of Ghansur alone remained as  
the crown land.  
47. Ibid.  
48. Hassan, pp 237 and Raj, pp-56.



the Patiala house in order so as to make it serviceable to the British Government. He had earlier received requests from the chiefs of Nabha and Jind requesting him to "save the house of Maharaja Sahib Singh from ruin." Hence when he received an invitation to attend the marriage party of Kanwar Karam Singh, he decided to avail of the chance to see things for himself.

Ochterlony reached Patiala on the 10th January, 1811 and then proceeded to Thanesar where the marriage ceremony of the Kanwar took place with the daughter of Sardar Bhanga Singh. After the marriage party had returned to Patiala, Ochterlony made Maharaja Sahib Singh feel that it was in his interest to introduce some reforms in the administration as well as to entrust the general administration of the state to some member of the ruling family, who was to act in his name. The Patiala chief proposed the name of Mai Khem Kaur while Ochterlony suggested that of Rani Aus Kaur. But the Maharaja would not agree to her appointment, and expressed his fears that during her regency all his wishes and requirements would be neglected. Ochterlony by way of compromise offered that in all such cases where Rani Aus Kaur thought any of Maharaja's requests or wishes improper, "she should engage to submit them to the advice of Raja Bhag Singh, Shai ~~XXXX~~ Lal Singh and Raja Jaswant Singh." The Maharaja then gave his partial consent to her appointment as the Regent.

Ochterlony had taken this action at his own initiative. In his communication dated 9th March, 1811, therefore, when he reported the matter to his government, he tried to justify his conduct on the plea that his interference in the internal administration of the Patiala state was done with the concurrence of the two nearest collaterals of the ruler and that he was inspired by motives of real interest and welfare of the Raja Himself, and that his action was calculated to bring about order and economy instead of irregularity and unbounded confusion. "And by these means", he added further, "he was securing to the British Government, when requisite, that aid which they have a just right to expect from the protection they afford."

He further recommended, " that tge Rajas Bhag Singh and Jaswant Singh may be authorized by the Rt.Honble the G.G. to invest, in case of necessity, the Dewanee or the general control of the Raj in the hands of the Regent, Rani Aus Kaur, whom they assert, and who is universally said, to be the only person who can place the force and finances on the footing they ought to be, subject, however, to two restrictions - first that the business shall be conducted in the name of Raja Sahib Singh; and secondly, that she shall always soften the refusal of any request by referring to the present advisers, who shall be umpires of what is expedient to grant or reject."<sup>49</sup>

Before leaving Patiala and counting fully on the sanction of his Government Ochterlony had actually associated Rani Aus Kaur with the administration in consultation with Rajas Bhag Singh and Jaswant Singh and had also issued instructions to her regarding the resumption of the thoughtless grants made by the Raja and for the compulsory muster of the requisite troops by the holders of land in Jaldad in the month of Jeth (May-June) as to be always ready for service. He also notified to all the Cis-Sutlaj chiefs on the 15th February, 1811, that his chief concern in intervening in the Patiala affairs was only to improve the administration of the state and, thus, tried to remove all causes of misunderstanding and unrest,<sup>50</sup> Besides he advised Rani Aus Kaur through her Dewan, Missar Nau Nidh Rai or popularly known as Missar Naudha, to conciliate the Raja, and instruct her son to augment the natural affection, so as to counteract the prejudicial influence of Mai Khen Kaur.<sup>51</sup>

But lord Minto did not see any justification for this interference on the part of the British Government in the Patiala state affairs and consequently declined to accept Ochterlony's proposals. In his despatch dated 5th April, 1811 the G.G. remarked:

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49. Ld. Cor: Ochterlony to Edmonston dt 9.3.1811.

50. Pat.Arch: British Government Notification to all the Cis-Sutlaj chiefs dt 15.2.1811. For its text see appendix N.

51. Ld. Cor: Ochterlony to Edmonston dt 9.3.1811.

"The only question which is suggested by this transaction to the consideration of the Government is that upon general principles of policy our direct participation in the measures of reform will be prudent and advisable but with regard to this point, H.E. in Council entertains considerable doubt.

"It is not to be desired that our interests in that quarter would be benefited and that some evils and inconveniences would be precluded by the establishment of an efficient system in the country of Patiala and the good effects which it is calculated to produce on the condition of the inhabitants, the tranquillity and good order which it must tend to promote, and the general purpose of preserving the principality from ruin, give to the measure of our interference the attractive character of benevolence. But even these combined motives of prospective policy and immediate good must not be allowed to constitute executive principles of action. They must be held in subordination to other fixed and fundamental rules of comprehensive ~~and prospective policy and immediate good must not be allowed to constitute executive principles of action. They must be held in subordination to other fixed and fundamental rules of comprehensive~~ policy. If unrestrained by those rules, it is not easy to assign limit to their practical operation. They would be applicable to the evils and abuses in every petty chiefship from the Sutlaj to the Janna. They would warrant our interference in the disputes and distractions which desolate the more distant states and territories of Mewar, Hindustan and the Deccan.

"With respect to the case immediately in question, His Excellency in council is of opinion that in a political point of view a scrupulous adherence to the principle, which we have so often and so solemnly professed, of abstaining from all interference in the internal administration and concerns of the petty states between the Sutlaj and the Janna which are placed under the general protection of the British power, is of more importance than the achievements of the benefits which a deviation from that principle is expected to produce in the case under consideration.

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"If it be alleged that the degree of interference which you propose to exercise in the affairs of Patiala is qualified by the intermediate agency of the chiefs, who are the relations of Sahib Singh and who have solicited your aid, that it is not likely to be viewed with the jealousy or alarm by the general body of the chiefs; and that it cannot, therefore, operate injuriously to our interests while it is necessarily productive of essential benefit to the country, to its inhabitants and even to the Raja himself, it is to be observed that in whatever degree that interference is exercised in the same degree it tends to diminish the credit of our public professions. xx x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x . From this stage of comixture in the concerns of one state, the transition is natural and unavoidable into the concerns of others (as in the present case) with which it stands connected by political or family relations, and, thus, by necessary gradation a slight departure from the principle of policy declared by the Government to be fundamental and immutable terminates in the entire abandonment of it." Having, thus, forbidden the direct intervention the G.G. in council allowed Ochterlony in the same letter to interfere in the Patiala affairs only to the ~~the~~ extent of expressing his advice on the point that might be submitted to his judgment, 'as it was' the proper and necessary office of protection.<sup>52</sup>"

The attitude of the G.G. in Council, however, did not much discourage Ochterlony, so as to make him abandon his proposal regarding the direct intervention in the affairs of the Patiala State. He only postponed it to some other occasion which did not take long in coming. For the time being he limited his action to only strongly advising and even persuading the Patiala chief with the help of the chiefs of Nabha and Jind to entrust the Dewanee of the State to Rani Aus Kaur, more positively than hitherto, subject to the restrictions declared by him earlier. The Maharaja accepted his advice more out of fear than for any other consideration. Thus, before Ochterlony left for Ludhiana the Regency of the Rani was fully

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52. Ld. Cor: Edmonston to Ochterlony dt 5.4.1811.

established at Patiala and she succeeded in improving the finances  
of the state as well as the general tone of administration. <sup>53</sup>

But this improvement proved only transitory as the situation began to worsen soon after Ochterlony's departure from Patiala. The set of corrupt and selfish officers, who suffered at the hands of the Rani, turned against her and contrived to bring about her downfall. The three most prominent among them were Sardars Albel Singh, Gujar Singh and Gardial Singh. The nazrana due to be paid by the first two was increased because their holdings were much more worth than this, while Gardial Singh, the Dewan of the Patiala State, having now lost his former prestige and authority felt very much aggrieved. All these officers continued to widen the gulf between the Maharaja and the Rani. The Maharaja was easily taken in by them and one day in a fit of anger he issued orders for the arrest of the Rani, the Kanwar and Missar Nau Nidh Rai. The result was the allround deterioration in all spheres of the state administration. The Maharaja, partly out of fear from the British wrath and partly to check the break down, not only released them but also requested the Rani to resume again the Dewanee of the state. The Rani being anxious to retain the power accepted the offer on the condition that the Maharaja should give an undertaking in writing that he would not endanger her safety and position as he had done then, but the Maharaja hesitated to give such an undertaking and the Rani returned to Sanaur along with the Kanwar. From there she addressed a long letter to Col. Ochterlony intimating to him all the details of the development in the affairs and requesting him to come to Patiala to place the matters on surer grounds. The Maharaja also fled to Saifabad out of fear and the capital of the state was left to the mercy of the corrupt officers. <sup>54</sup>

Ochterlony, thus, got the much awaited opportunity. He wrote a letter to Maharaja Sahib Singh expressing his surprise at his actions, who in return conveyed his regrets for his past conduct

53. Hassan, pp 237-39.

54. Lt. Col. Ochterlony to Edmonston dt 23.1.1812.

through his Vakil, Haneeer Singh, and implored the colonel to send his Head munshi to him at Saifabad to assure him of his goodwill as well as the safety of his life. The Maharaja also conveyed his readiness to give to the colonel his ' most solemn pledge that he would not be again misled or deceived or even act so contrary to his own interests. Ochterlony accordingly sent Abdul Nabi Khan to Saifabad to ask the Maharaja to come to Patiala without any apprehension as well as to tell him that if he desired to remove the Rani from power, he could do so by the slightest intimation of his wishes and without any act of violence on his part. The colonel then submitted complete account of the recent developments for the consideration of the Government and very strongly urged that he may be permitted to intervene directly in the Patiala affairs. This time he succeeded in bringing round Lord Dinto to his point of view and secured permission from the G.C. in Council to proceed to Patiala to make such arrangement as he considered necessary. Accordingly he reached Patiala on the 6th April, 1812, taking with him an escort sufficiently large to compel attention to his advice.

The arrival of Col. Ochterlony with troops filled the Maharaja's mind with new fears because his advisers made him believe that he had come to deprive him of his authority and status. The Maharaja, therefore, observed all possible precautions for his safety in his meetings with Ochterlony. The colonel, however, tried to inspire confidence in him and in consultation with Raja Bhag Singh impressed upon the Maharaja the necessity of bringing Rani Aus Kaur and her advisers to real power and of giving in writing the required undertaking regarding their security of service. The Maharaja had, in fact, never liked the idea of investing the Rani with the power and this time, too, he had agreed to do so only under duress of the British Government, but declined to give the required pledge in writing. He continued to evade the compliance of the Colonel's wishes for a

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55. Ibid.

56. N.A: Govt to Ochterlony, received on 1st April, 1812, and Ochterlony to Edmonston dt 8.5.1812.

number of days on one pretext or the other, but when the reinforcements from Ludhiana called by Ochterlony arrived in Patiala, they had some effect and the Maharaja promised to bring back the Rani from Sansar to Patiala with honour and to invest her with power. But he did not finally give way until Ochterlony threatened to go to bring the Rani himself.

Although the Rani and her advisers were entrusted with the conduct of administration, but interference in their work continued. With a view to end it Ochterlony associated the leaders of the opposition also with the administration but this experiment proved abortive. Besides the idea of placing the Maharaja under restraint had to be dropped altogether lest it ~~should~~ should cause a general unrest and alarm among the Cis-Sutlej chiefs. At last, he decided to interfere in the matters actively and authoritatively and to invest the Rani with the powers of the Maharaja. The administration, however was to be carried on in Maharaja Sahib Singh's name.

But before Ochterlony could put his decision into operation he was attacked by a drunk Akali in the evening of the 18th May, 1812 when he was going in his palanquin from the Bara Duri palace to that of the Maharaja to take his dinner. Ochterlony acted rather boldly and snatched the matchlock and the sword with which the Akali wanted to attack him. He received no other injury except cuts on the fingers of his left hand with which he snatched the sword. The Akali was taken into custody and was later forwarded under a proper guard to the Resident of Delhi to stand his trial. Ochterlony later suspected Mai Khem Kaur's hand in this incident but it yet remains a mystery that it was really so. However, this much is sure that the Maharaja had neither a hand in it nor did he know of it earlier. The Maharaja was very much agitated when he received the

intelligence and two days later he agreed to carry into effect all  
57. N.A: Ochterlony to Government dt 27.4.1812. P.L.R.: Patiala Akhbars of the month of January, 1812, and of 1st to 27th April, 1812.

58. N.A: Ochterlony to Govt dt 5th May, 1812; Ochterlony to Govt dt 8th May, 1812; and Ochterlony to Govt dt 17th May, 1812. P.L.R. Patiala Akhbars dt 27-30 April & 1st to 15th May, 1812.

the arrangements proposed by the colonial.

After three days' sitting, however, when Raja Bhag Singh, Bhai Lal Singh and the Head Munshi of Ochterlony made out the budget the Maharaja refused to sign it since it had effected a reduction of Rs. 50000/-/- which, he believed, was done with a mischievous motive to diminish his authority and to cause disaffection among his men. He also gave orders for an additional guard to be placed on the passage to an upper room of his palace, where none could disturb him and that Bhai Lal Singh, who was all along siding with the Rani, should not be admitted into the fort. At this Ochterlony decided to use force and wrote to Col. Reads at Ludhiana to direct three companies and two battalions with guns to join him and a day later to Gen. Marshall, the Officer Commanding at Karnal, to send him a <sup>60</sup> battalion more with two guns and two 18 pounders.

These forces arrived at Patiala within a week on 3-4th June whereupon the Maharaja and his advisers saw no alternative but to submit. On 6th June Ochterlony issued a proclamation explaining the circumstances, viz the growing mental ailment of the Maharaja, under which the British Government was obliged to appoint Rani Aus Kaur as the Regent of the State. The preamble further explained that the Government had neither any intention of exacting any present and tribute from the state nor to make any encroachment on its territory, but their object was only to stabilize and purify its administration. The same day Maharaja Sahib Singh patched up his differences with the Rani and delivered to her the Gur Mukhi or his private seal. He also issued orders to all his qiledars to hand over their charge to the nominees of the Rani. The directions of the Maharaja were promptly obeyed by all the qiledars except by that of Dhoda or Bhawaniyara

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59. Ld. Cor: Ochterlony to Government dt 19.5.1812; Ochterlony to Metcalfe dt 25.5.1812 & Ochterlony to Edmonston dt 31.5.1812 P.L.R. Patiala Akhbars from 16th to 31st May, 1812 & Ochterlony to Govt dt 23.4.1813.  
 60. " " Ochterlony to Edmonston dt 31.5.1812 with enclosures. ~~Ochterlony to Govt dt 7th and 9th June 1812 and to Edmonston dt 10th and 11th June 1812 and to Govt dt 12th June 1812 and to Edmonston dt 13th June 1812 and to Govt dt 14th June 1812 and to Edmonston dt 15th June 1812 and to Govt dt 16th June 1812 and to Edmonston dt 17th June 1812 and to Govt dt 18th June 1812 and to Edmonston dt 19th June 1812 and to Govt dt 20th June 1812 and to Edmonston dt 21st June 1812 and to Govt dt 22nd June 1812 and to Edmonston dt 23rd June 1812 and to Govt dt 24th June 1812 and to Edmonston dt 25th June 1812 and to Govt dt 26th June 1812 and to Edmonston dt 27th June 1812 and to Govt dt 28th June 1812 and to Edmonston dt 29th June 1812 and to Govt dt 30th June 1812 and to Edmonston dt 1st July 1812 and to Govt dt 2nd July 1812 and to Edmonston dt 3rd July 1812 and to Govt dt 4th July 1812 and to Edmonston dt 5th July 1812 and to Govt dt 6th July 1812 and to Edmonston dt 7th July 1812 and to Govt dt 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fort. Ochterlony despatched forces to reduce the fort, which carried out a severe cannonade and after the walls of the fort had been much damaged, the Gledar surrendered, saying that "he had been resisting the British arms under the most positive instructions of  
61  
the Maharaja.

Having established the authority of the Rani, Ochterlony sent away the forces and himself stayed at Patiala for a few days more. During this interval he gave suitable instructions to the Rani to handle the administration tactfully, gratified her further by bestowing on Kanwar Karam Singh the estate of Chamkoian, whose owner, Nand Singh had, once more, misbehaved, tried to inspire confidence in the Maharaja to live more comfortably and freely, and on the 15th June issued an Ittilah Namah or precept to all the officers of the state (both military and civil) as well as the Jagirdars to obey the Rani's orders fully and the same day left Patiala for Ludhiana in  
62  
full glory.

In the new set up, Maharaja Sahib Singh had been allowed to retain his personal Jagir worth a lakh of rupees and in addition 1/4th revenue of the state for his personal expenses. But his extreme extravagance and generosity exhausted all this and needed even more. Then he began to sell the precious jewels and ornaments from the state Toshak Khana (Private Royal Treasury with Jewel house etc) to meet his demand. This highly displeased the Rani and she addressed a long letter to Ochterlony informing him of the new developments and even alleging that the Maharaja was meditating to fly away from Patiala to regain the lost power with the help of the Gurkhas.

Ochterlony again came to the rescue of the Rani and with the sanction of the Government he placed the state Treasury and the Toshak Khana in her charge and penalised the Maharaja by reducing his allowance. He was given further warning that, if he persisted in his

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61. N.A: Ochterlony to Govt dt 7th & 19th June, 1812 & P.L.R. Proclamation of the 6th June, 1812. For its text see appendix O.

62. Ld. Cer. Govt to Ochterlony dt 4th July, 1812 & P.L.R. Ittilah Namah to state Officers and Jagirdars dt 15th June, 1812. For its text see appendix P.

present course of conduct, not only his allowance would be further reduced but that he would be put under restraint, too.

It caused a big shock to the Maharaja and his advisers, particularly to Mai Khen Kaur and Rani Partap Kaur the second wife of the Maharaja, who then resolved to bring about the end of Rani Aus Kaur's rule by disassociating from her, her chief adviser. To begin with, they tried to ~~xxx~~ poison the mind of Rani Aus Kaur and later spread scandals relating to the Rani, but all these efforts were of no avail. Hence they finally decided to murder the Missar and his nine faithful subordinate officers. They managed to win over to their side the young prince, Kanwar Karam Singh, and Sardar Dewan Singh, the ambitious brother of Rani Aus Kaur, who had a grudge against her sister for her not having associated him with the administration during her regime. To the former they extended the alluring hopes of his being seated on the Gaddi and to the latter they promised the chief Managership of the state in place of the Missar. Besides, they hired a number of assassins by promising them rewards and posts in the state. But in spite of all efforts Sardar Dewan Singh continued to be averse to this bloodshed. Moreover, in the meanwhile some of the conspirators gave out the plans of the plot in time to the Rani and the Missar.

Investigations against the conspirators were still going on that Maharaja Sahib Singh fell seriously ill on account of sudden renouncing of wine and a dangerous ulcer on his right temple. The illness proved fatal and the Maharaja died in the afternoon of 26th March, 1813. A general rumour was current at that time that the

Maharaja's death had been caused by poison. But later enquiries and

63. N.A: Ochterlony to Govt dt 5th July, 1812 and Govt to Ochterlony dt 7th August, 1812.

64. N.A:- Patiala Akhbare dt 10th & 11th Feb, 1813; Govt to Ochterlony dt 5.3.1813; Abdul Nabi Khan to Ochterlony dt 12th and 20th March, 1813; Ochterlony to Govt dt 23.3.1813 with Rani Aus Kaur's to Ochterlony of no date; Ochterlony to Govt dt 26.3.1813 and Maharaja Ranjit Singh to Missar Nau Nidh Rai dt 21 Magher, Samvat 1870 and Abdul Nabi Khan to Ochterlony dt 19.4.1813.

the statement of the Hakeems, who treated the Maharaja till his death, revealed that there was no truth in this rumour.

But the troubles did not end with the death of the Maharaja. Although Kanwar Karam Singh, who had by now acknowledged his guilt to his mother and Missar Nau Nidh Rai and had apologized to them for that, had been universally accepted as the successor of the late Maharaja, but Mai Khes Kaur was still busy fomenting trouble. She was instigating Rani Nand Kaur, the 3rd wife of Maharaja Sahib Singh, to run away with her two years old son, Kanwar Ajit Singh, to Nabha, ~~xxxx~~ where Raja Jaswant Singh at her request would arrange for his accession to the Gaddi of Patiala. But the refusal of Rani Nand Kaur to comply with the Mai's wishes did not allow the scheme to materialize.

Maharaja Karam Singh was installed on the Gaddi on the 30th June, 1813 by Col. Ochterlony and was sometime later honoured with the same titles as his father had enjoyed. In order to keep the interests of British Government safe the Colonel had already impressed upon the young Maharaja the necessity and the advisability of continuing Rani Aus Kaur as the Regent and Missar Nau Nidh Rai as the Dewan, at least, during his own minority (Karam Singh was then 16 years old). The Maharaja not only consented to this but also requested the colonel in the full Durbar, held on his coronation day, to confer a rich Khilafat on the Missar as a mark of the Maharaja's satisfaction and favour towards Nau Nidh Rai. Having, thus, safeguarded the interests of the British Government the Colonel, under instructions of the G.G. in Council, withdrew his direct <sup>67</sup> interference and limited his action to only guidance and advice.

65. N.A: Abdul Nabi Khan to Ochterlony dt 26.3.1813; Pat. Akh. dt 27th March, 1813, Ochterlony to Govt dt 2.4.1813 and Govt to Ochterlony dt 30.4.1813.

66. N.A: Abdul Nabi Khan to Ochterlony dt 18.4.1813; Ochterlony to Govt dt 23.4.1813 and Rani Aus Kaur to Ochterlony of no date and Govt to Ochterlony dt 15.5.1813.

67. N.A: Ochterlony to Missar Nau Nidh Rai dt 4.4.1813; Missar Nau Nidh Rai to Ochterlony dt 5.4.1813; Ochterlony to Kanwar Karam Singh dt 4.4.1813; K.Karam Singh to Ochterlony received on 7.4.1813; Ochterlony to Metcalfe dt 24.4.1813; Metcalfe to J.Adam dt 28.4.1813 and 1.5.1813; Govt to Ochterlony dt 15.5.1813 and Ochterlony to Govt dt 1.7.1813.

Nothing of importance took place in the history of Patiala for the next five years except that the authorities at Patiala by way of gratitude helped Col. Ochterlony with the state forces consisting of both infantry and cavalry in his campaign against the Gurkhas (16th Nov, 1814-2nd Dec, 1815), in return for which the British Government conferred on Maharaja Karam Singh and his successors 16 parganas in the Siwalik Hills in lieu of a nazrana of Rs. 280000/-/- and also granted two Sanads to him for the same. 68

But when Maharaja Karam Singh attained the age of 21 years in 1818, he expressed his desire to take the reins of Government into his own hands. The Maharaja being of age, the British Government had no excuse to continue the Rani's Regency, though Col. Ochterlony still deprecated the removal of Rani's administration and anticipated evil consequences for the British cause from the assumption of authority by the Maharaja. Mr. Metcalfe, the Resident of Delhi, however, suggested a via media that Rani's Regency might come to an end but the Maharaja must retain Missar Nau Nidh Rai as the Dewan, who would sufficiently look after the British interests there. The Government accepted the suggestion. The Maharaja accordingly assumed the charge of the state, but out of regard for his mother allowed her to hold charge of the Toshak Khana and a few other departments. He also retained Missar Nau Nidh Rai as his Dewan.

But in the new regime the Missar found himself in a hot bed of intrigues. The young Maharaja, whom Marquis of Hastings described "as a man of above six feet height and of an open and pleasing countenance but not of much intelligence and capabilities," mostly

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68. N.A: The two Sanads from Col. Ochterlony dt 20.10.1815 are given in appendix Q

depended on his advisers for running the Government. These advisers viewed the Missar's interference with jealousy and were always conspiring to end his power. In the circumstances the Missar thought it better to proceed on a pilgrimage to Jwalamukhi to be free to think out some solution as well as to get the peace of mind, but unfortunately on his return journey the Missar breathed his last (Oct. 1818). Thus, Rani Aus Kaur lost in him a sincere and noble guide, the state a strong and honest administrator and the British Government a devoted and loyal friend. The British authorities, therefore, soon got Mir Barkat Ali, a native of Oudh and the Head Munshi at first at the Agency of Ludhiana and then at Karnal, who was a man of their confidence, appointed as Dewan in the vacancy caused by the death of the Missar, and, thus, secured their interests once more.

Now after the death of her principal adviser i.e. Missar Nau Nidh Rai, Rani Aus Kaur continued to loose power and respect at the Patiala Court, though she managed to pull on well with the Maharaja till the year 1821. But the removal of the ennobling influence of the Missar and the growing desire of the Maharaja to divest her of the remaining powers, too, again kindled a spark of ambition in her. She enlarged her own Jagir of Sanaur four times and strengthened her hold on the Toshak Khana, which the Maharaja disliked and asked her to hand over the increased area back to him. But she did not agree and there arose a quarrel between the two. This time the strong reports of Mir Barkat Ali against the Rani to the British authorities obliged them to lend their full support to the Maharaja, who with their help assumed full charge of the state. The Rani returned to her estate of Sanaur declaring her intention not to

interfere in public affairs any longer (Feb-March, 1821)

69. Hassan, pp 265-66; Hastings, pp 153; N.A: Cap. Birch to Charles Metcalfe dt 10th and 20th June, 1818; Metcalfe to Govt dt. 27.6.1818 & Govt to Metcalfe dt 31.7.1818;.

70. N.A: Cap. Birch to Ochterlony dt 12th Feb and 9th March, 1821.

But the increased territory of the Jagir and the Toshak Khana, which she had carried with her at Sanaur, were still in her possession, and she refused to hand either of them over to Maharaja Karam Singh. In the beginning of 1823 Karam Singh referred the matter to Captain Ross, the Deputy Superintendent of the Cis-Sutlaj States, and sought his help. Maharaja Karam Singh particularly desired his mother to reside at Patiala and to let him have a complete list of the contents of the Toshak Khana. Thus, the British authorities got another chance to interfere in the affairs of the state. Captain Murray reached Patiala in Oct, 1823 to advise the Rani to accept the offers extended by her son. He had been authorized by the Government to call troops from Karnal to enforce the legitimate wishes of the Raja. But the Rani declined to accept the offers. It was also alleged by Murray that the Rani even offered him a bribe of Rs one lakh, if he supported her case and recommended her representation to Calcutta. But Murray insisted on the compliance of his demands, and had already called in the ~~troops~~ troops. The Rani, therefore, had to hand over the fort and the estate of Sanaur and the Toshak Khana to the Maharaja's agents on the 9th October, 1823. Her estate of Sanaur including the fort and the town of that name and also a part of Amargarh estate were, however, later restored to the Rani. This compromise <sup>a</sup>proved the way for good relations between the mother and the son and she spent the rest of her life (she died in March, 1835) in Patiala. 72

(b) KATHAL.

When in May, 1816 an important point of dispute arose between the states of Kathal and Ladwa, the British Government got another opportunity to intervene in the affairs of these states. It was ~~the~~

71. N.A: Cap. Birch to Ochterlony dt 30th July & ~~KRM~~ 8th, 14th & 16th August, 1821; Ochterlony to Cap. Birch dt 29th May, 1st, 10th & 17th August, 1821 and Cap. Ross to Govt dt 4th Feb, 1823.

72. N.A: Charles Elliot to Murray dt 4th, 18th and 29th Sept, 1823; Murray to Elliot dt 14th Sep, 26th Sep, 11th & 14th Oct, 1823; Elliot to Govt dt 15th Oct, 4th Nov & 10th Dec, 1823 and Elliot to Maj. Gen. Raynell dt 15.10.1823; Hassan, pp 266-72 and Raj Khalsa, PP 56-62

that Bhai Lal Singh of Kaithal demanded from the latter a monetary exaction called Mushakhas-another name for Rakhee or protection money,-fixed after assessment, against which the Ladwa chief, Sardar Ajit Singh appealed to the British Government. Bhai Lal Singh explained that the villages in question were formerly his and that they were seized by Ajit Singh's father, Gurdatt Singh, who, later, paid him certain sum from each village regularly. The Sardar of Ladwa pleaded ignorance of these payments as well as of any such agreement between his father and the Kaithal chief, and on the other hand alleged that his father exacted every year a horse and a cash of Rs.500/-/- as Naikana from Bhai Lal Singh. <sup>73</sup>

Later Bhai Lal Singh extended his claim of exacting Mushakhas to 70 villages of the Sardars of Thanesar and Shahabad, which was characterised as false. <sup>74</sup>

The British Government finally rejected the claims of the Kaithal chief, as such exactions by one chief from the other tantamounted to the supremacy of the former over the latter, a position which the British Government could not allow to continue. <sup>75</sup>

About two years later the death of Bhai Lal Singh occurred in September, 1818. The British Government recognised his infant son, Bhai Partap Singh, as his successor and formed a council of Regency to run the Government during the minority of the new chief. <sup>76</sup>

(c) JIND.

Raja Bhag Singh of Jind, too, extended his claim to the estate of Dharamgarh on the death of its Thanedar, Bhare Singh, on 5th January, 1810 on the plea that originally the pargana of Karnal was conferred by Nawab Najaf Khan upon his father, Maharaja Gajpat Singh, and that the estate of Dharamgarh was appended to it. But about 20 years later one of the Maratha Sardars, Anant Ji Bakhshi, deprived

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73. N.A:- Murray to Metcalfe dt 30.5.1816.

74. N.A: Murray to Metcalfe dt 4.6.1816.

75. N.A: Ochterlony to Bhai Lal Singh dt 15.7.1816 & Bhai Lal Singh to Ochterlony dt 16.7.1816.

76. N.A: Metcalfe to Adam dt 29.6.1818.

Raja Bhag Singh of thatpargana and conferred it on Sardar Gurdatt Singh of Ladwa in return for some military services. But the estate of Dharnagarh continued to remain with the Raja. However, later on this estate was also annexed by the Marathas and was included in the territories of Bappoji Rao Sindhia, the Amil of Panipat. But George Thomas, who was then in the service of the Marathas and held authority over that region on their behalf, considered the claim of Raja Bhag Singh genuine and returned the estate to him in exchange for some tribute, which the Raja's agent continued to pay till the British authority was established at Delhi. Raja Bhag Singh further stated that Bhara Singh was regularly paid by him salaries of himself as well as of some of his staff, and in return Bhara Singh always kept 50 Sawars ready for his service and supplied them whenever demanded.

These details were fully corroborated by Bhai Lal Singh, the Nawab of Kunjpura and some other high Muslim officers of the Delhi Court, but the British Government did not feel convinced and finally rejected his claim mainly because the Sanad, granted by Lord Lake to Bhara Singh, acknowledged him as the original owner of the estate. Since Bhara Singh had left no male issue, the estate of Dharnagarh was annexed to the British territories.

A few months later, towards the end of May, 1812 Raja Bhag Singh paid a visit to Ochterlony at Patiala and taking him into confidence disclosed to him his intention of depositing his will

with him, which was to be sent to the Resident of Delhi ~~at the same time~~  
77. N.A: Raja Bhag Singh to Resident Delhi dt 13th March, 23rd March and 21st April, 1810; Resident of Delhi to Edmonston dt 28.8.1811 alongwith the petitions of Bhara Singh to Lord Lake dt 1804 and the Lord's reply to him dt 5.9.1804; Letters of Nawab Najabat Ali Khan, Nawab Rehmat Ali Khan, Bhai Lal Singh and Faizullah Khan to the Resident of Delhi dt 26th August, 28th August, 30th August and 4th September 1811 respectively; Reports of Chandries and Qanungos of Karnal dt 10.9.1811 and Edmonston to Resident of Delhi dt 18.10.1811.



and was to be opened whenever the Resident received information of his death. He informed Ochterlony that he had decided to declare his second son, Kanwar Partap Singh, as his successor and to give Jagirs to his eldest son, Kanwar Fateh Singh, and to his youngest son, Kanwar Dentsab Singh. The Raja then desired Ochterlony to affix his signature and seal on the will in token of his approval of his decision. But since Ochterlony disagreed with his decision and pleaded for the establishment of the principle of primogeniture for settling the succession, the Raja returned to his headquarters without depositing the will. But after holding consultations with his men he again called on Ochterlony after a few days and deposited the will without taking his signature.

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The will is dated 6th June, 1812 and at the time of writing it Raja Bhag Singh was in the full enjoyment of his mental faculties. It consists of three papers; one is the declaration of appointing Kanwar Partap Singh as his successor after his death, the second is a memorandum showing the distribution of territories of the state among his three sons and the third a codicil annexed to the will showing the addition of the parganas of Gohana and villages of Jasrath to the share of Kanwar Fateh Singh as well as requesting the Government to grant them in perpetuity to him.

In April, 1813 the Raja got a severe attack of paralysis, possibly on account of his excessive drinking, and there was little hope of his recovery. As most of the officials were against Partap Singh, the two high officers of the state, Dewan Jaishi Ram and Vakil Shadi Ram, who were privy to the will, not only disclosed the secret of the will to their colleagues but also began to make serious efforts to get the will set aside. Ochterlony immediately forwarded the will to the Government in a sealed envelop with his remarks

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strongly favouring the rule of primogeniture.

78. For the full text of the will of Raja Bhag Singh see Appendix R.

79. The author of fazkirat mentions that the Raja got this attack as the result of the curse of a Brahmin of Jind, on whom the Raja had perpetrated some atrocities.

80. N.A: Ochterlony to John Adam dt 21.4.1813.

The Government agreed with Ochterlony and he was authorized to declare " that the succession of Kanwar Partap Singh can not be recognized by the British Government." He was also authorized<sup>81</sup> to employ the name and the authority of the British Government in support of the claims of the eldest son to the Raja and that care will be taken to secure to Partap Singh a suitable provision as well as to see the request of the Raja regarding the youngest son to be full concerned.

Raja Bhag Singh also possessed some lands in Jagirs, granted to him or to his son, Kanwar Partap Singh, for life by the British Government in recognition of the meritorious services of the Raja. . They consisted of the parganas of Kharkhoda, Faridpur Barsat, Bowanch and the Mauzah of Manrempur. The pargana of Gohana was held jointly by the Raja with Shai Lal Singh. Now the question whether these Jagirs were to be permitted to be inherited by his sons on his death also came up for the consideration of the Government. Mr. Metcalfe, the Resident of Delhi, wrote to the Government in this connection: " A great portion of the extensive territory under the control of the Resident of Delhi has been disposed off in Jageers and Jaidad to various Rajas, Nawabs, Khans and Sardars and other persons great or small. In consequence a great portion of the revenue of the British Government is alienated and though the territory is large, its produce is small and this district instead of paying the expenses, which belong to it, is a burden on the other provinces of the British Government." Hence Metcalfe strongly urged that the lands, thus, held in Jagir by Raja Bhag Singh be resumed after his death. He also deemed it advisable to resume the Jagirs of Kanwar Partap Singh and suggested that the Kanwar might be

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granted a pension of equal value in cash. Ochterlony, too, had made similar suggestions in this respect to the Government. The Government approved these recommendations regarding the Raja's Jagirs issued

81. N.A: John Adam to Ochterlony dt 21.4.1813.

82. N.A: Metcalfe to John Adam dt 18.6.1813.

orders for their resumption on his death.

But the Raja's illness was prolonged and at one time there appeared slight improvement, too, in his health. Ochterlony met him in November, 1813 at the marriage of Shai Lal Singh and found that he (Raja Bhag Singh) understood what was said to him and could answer by signs. The Raja's sons began to quarrel among themselves and were kept quiet<sup>e</sup> only by suitable injunctions from Ochterlony and Metcalfe. Under these circumstances Metcalfe felt the imperative need for making some arrangement for the proper management of Raja Bhag Singh's affairs, as his then condition bordering on total imbecility was likely to continue for an indefinite period. After carefully taking into consideration all other possibilities Metcalfe finally suggested that "the most unobjectionable mode of providing for the deficiency, said to exist in the Raja's Government in consequence of the loss of some of his faculties and the probable decay of his intellects, would seem to be to place in the hands of Rani Subrahi, the mother of the 3rd son, a general control over the administration of affairs. The Government approved the above arrangements and issued orders of their being carried out.

These arrangements naturally gave offence to Kanwar Partap Singh, who started creating such ~~his~~ trouble for the Rani and the officers of the state that finally on 3rd July, 1814 Rani Subrahi wrote directly to Ochterlony intimating to him as to how instigated by his followers Kanwar Partap Singh was planning against her life. In another letter, which was sent with her Vakil Shadi Ram, she reported as to how Kanwar Partap Singh was intriguing to get Raja Bhag Singh poisoned and have her as well as Dewan Jaishi Ram murdered.

Ochterlony at once<sup>c</sup> wrote a strong letter of rebuke and warning

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84. N.A: Adam to Metcalfe dt 9.7.1813 and Adam to Ochterlony of the same date.

85. N.A: Metcalfe to Adam dt 28.11.1813.

86. Ibid.

87. N.A: Adam to Metcalfe dt 23.12.1813.

88. N.A: Rani Subrahi to Ochterlony dt 3.7.1814.

89. N.A: Rani Subrahi to Vakil Shadi Ram dt 3.7.1814.

90

to the Kanwar. But the Kanwar did not desist from carrying out his evil intentions. One day viz 23rd August, 1814, he suddenly attacked the Jind fort and after killing Ali, the Janadar, he rushed in and beheaded Rani Subrani and Dewan Jaishi Ram, who were busy holding the court. Immediately on receipt of the news of these tragic happenings, Ochterlony and Metcalfe alerted the British troops at Karnal and Hansi and issued orders for the arrest of the Kanwar. The Jind administration was entrusted to Kanwar Fateh Singh, who was to run the Government in the name of the Raja.

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Kanwar Partap Singh was, however, soon taken into custody and was being taken to Delhi for undergoing a trial when he managed to escape near Hansi and fled towards the Sutlaj. Raja Bhag Singh, who was then in his company, returned to Jind and began to live with Kanwar Fateh Singh.

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Kanwar Partap Singh crossed the Sutlaj and joined Akali Phula Singh at Anandpur Akhawal. Later both of them recrossed the Sutlaj and came to the fort of Balanwali with their forces. The British Agent at Ludhiana (Cap Birch) immediately called upon the rulers of Patiala, Kalchhal, Nabha, and Malerkotla to send their forces to join with the British troops in apprehending them. The combined forces besieged the fort of Balanwali from all sides and compelled the garrison to surrender on 28th January, 1815, though they failed to capture Phula Singh and the Kanwar. Phula Singh escaped to Muktsar and the Kanwar crossed the Sutlaj to seek shelter with Maharaja Ranjit Singh. But the Maharaja refused all protection and handed him over to the British authorities, who ultimately brought him to Delhi in the last week of March, 1815 to stand his trial and

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he was put there under restraint in a house belonging to his father.

94

90. N.A: Ochterlony to Kanwar Partap Singh dt 4.7.1814

91. Duni Chand, pp 62.

92. N.A: Metcalfe to Adam dt 24.9.1814.

93. Akali Phula Singh later joined the forces of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and won laurels in the Sikh invasions on various places on the N.W.F., till he died in action in that quarter in 1823. He was a brave patriot and a daring soldier. The Sikhs respected him for his sacred character and for that reason the British could never apprehend him in spite of all help from the various Sikh chiefs.

94. N.A: Cap. Birch to Monckton dt 18.12.1814 and Metcalfe to Monckton dt 26.3.1815 Mal.Pap: Captain Birch to Nawab of Malerkotla dt 16.12.1814 and Duni Chand PP 63-64.

Kanwar Partap Singh made out a plausible story and threw the responsibility of the murders on his father. The Rani was alleged to be guilty of infidelity to the Raja and that of having illicit connection with the Dewan. As the Rani was said to be actually pregnant at the time of her death it was asserted that the Rani and the Dewan were put to death by order of the Raja in vindication of his honour. Thus, in fact, Kanwar Partap Singh was not concerned in the act. The story was taken to be correct by Mr. Fraser, who conducted the investigation, and it even led Mr Metcalfe, who was earlier definitely of the view that the Kanwar had deliberately murdered the Rani and the Dewan to usurp the Government<sup>85</sup>, to conclude that " the guilt of Partap Singh has not been sufficiently proved. Under these circumstances while the Government<sup>86</sup> was still thinking of making some provisions for the Kanwar when he was let off, he died in August, 1815 after a short illness of three days. The Government immediately resumed his Jagirs, which it had earlier given to him for the services of his father.<sup>87</sup>

Raja Bhag Singh after lingering on for a few years more died in the first week of July, 1820.<sup>98</sup> The British Government resumed his personal Jagirs. The territories of the Jind state were, however, given over to Kanwar Fateh Singh, who was recognised the successor to the Gaddi. He was duly installed at Jind in January, 1821 in the presence of the various Cis-Sutlaj Sikh chiefs and a representative of the British Government, who also conferred upon the prince a Khilast on the occasion.<sup>99</sup> But Fateh Singh's reign was not destined to be long. He died on the 3rd February, 1822 at Sangrur, while still in the 35th year of his age. He left behind a son named Sangat Singh

95. N.A: Metcalfe to Adam dt 29.7.1815.  
96. N.A: Metcalfe to Adam dt 7.9.1815.  
97. N.A: Metcalfe to Adam dt 15.9.1816.  
98. N.A: Ochterlony to Metcalfe dt 7.7.1820.  
99. N.A: Ochterlony to G. Swinton dt 15.2.1821.

who was then only 13 years old, hence a council of Regency was formed by the British Government to carry on the administration of the state till Sangat Singh came of age. The formal installation ceremony of Raja Sangat Singh, however, took place at Jind on 29th July, 1822 when Captain Ross honoured the Jind ruler with a Khilant on behalf of the British Government.

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(d) LADWA

Sardar Gurdatt Singh of Ladwa died in the first week of Sept. 1810, and was succeeded by his seven years old son, Kanwar Ajit Singh. His mother, Sardarni <sup>a</sup> Sarna Kaur, was appointed as the Regent of the State by the British Government.

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A couple of years later, the G.G. received a memorandum on behalf of the young chief in which he requested the Government to restore the villages of Dhomsse and Khanpur, which had been wrongfully taken from him by Ochterlony and given to other persons, who claimed to be their original owners. Formerly these persons conjointly held these two villages, but later they fell out among themselves and gave up the villages to his father of their own accord, who then assigned to them two other villages out of his territories for their maintenance. When Ochterlony came to Thanesar to attend the marriage of Kanwar Karam Singh of Patiala in January, 1811, these persons represented their case in a wrong manner, with the result that Ochterlony accepted their claim and ordered the restitution of the two villages, which he (Ajit Singh) had to obey. The G.G. referred the matter to Metcalfe for his comments, but Metcalfe could not be convinced of the Ladwa chief's claim, and the Government upheld the decision of Col. Ochterlony.

102

In June, 1817 Ochterlony received an application from Sardar Dulcha Singh of Radeur, the father in law of Sardar Ajit Singh of Ladwa, wherein along with other serious charges of immorality,

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100. N.A. R. Ross to G. Swinton dt 7.2.1822 and Secy to the G.G. Raja Sangat Singh dt 11.10.1822.

101. N.A. Resident De hi to Edmonston dt 4.9.1810; Edmonston to Seton dt 28.12.1810, and Seton to Edmonston dt 27.1.1811

102. N.A. Monckton to Metcalfe dt 26.6.1812 with its enclosures.

brutality and mal-administration against Sardarni Samma Kaur, he also alleged of her having placed Ajit Singh and his wife (Dulcha Singh's daughter) under wrongful confinement and asserted that their lives were in danger. After having duly confirmed the facts of the case, Ochterlony reported that "that young chief, though not in absolute confinement, is somewhat under restraint," ( and that) " the younger Sardarni is really confined and is attended by only one woman." Ochterlony suggested the removal of Sardarni Samma Kaur from the management by assigning her a separate Jagir for her maintenance and the appointment of some honest and tried persons to look after the interests of the state and the minor chief, who was still 14 years of age. He remarked that Sardar Dulcha Singh, who could have been safely entrusted with the guardianship of the chief, had declined the offer for reasons of his very old age and infirmity. The Government fully approved Ochterlony's suggestions, but before some suitable arrangements could be possibly made reports were received from Dulcha Singh about Ajit Singh having escaped from Ladwa and having taken shelter with him, while his mother, Samma Kaur, having collected everything of value had left for Patiala. Dulcha Singh had also informed them that he was immediately proceeding to Ladwa to take charge of the affairs till some arrangement was made. Captain Birch sent urgent instructions to Samma Kaur to remain at Patiala till she received further instructions from him regarding her residence and provision and not to return to Ladwa. The Captain himself went to Ladwa and in consultation with Dulcha Singh and Ajit Singh appointed old and tried officers of the Ladwa state on some of the important posts like that of the Dewan and the Commanders of the troops. They had instructions to work under the overall control of Sardar Dulcha Singh, who had by now been prevailed upon by Captain Birch to take over the duty in the interests of his son in  
104  
law.

Samma Kaur was feeling restive all the time. One day she moved on to the Ladwa territories near Ludhiana and established her head-  
103. N.A: Ochterlony to Adam dt 8.7.1817 alongwith its enclosures and Adam to Ochterlony dt 18.8.1817.  
104. N.A: Captain Birch to Ochterlony dt 13th, 15th and 16th October, 1817.

quarters at Buddowal. But she was soon made to quit this and was assigned the Tealuca of Dogree of the value of Rs.7000/-/- a year for her maintenance.

(3) KALBIA.

In September, 1810, the Resident of Delhi received a letter from Kadir Sobha Singh, the eldest son of Sardar Jodh Singh of Kalbia, that his father had divided the whole state into three equal portions giving one to Sobha Singh, one to Hari Singh the 2nd son, and keeping the third for himself. This fact was also confirmed by Ochterlony in his letter to the Resident. Sobha Singh requested the Resident to prevent such a division of the state as he being the heir of the Raj was entitled to the whole on the death of his father. But the Resident declined to interfere in the matter during the life time of Sardar Jodh Singh, "lest it be construed as taking part in the family squabbles of the chiefs."

Later, towards the end of the year 1813, Jodh Singh forcibly deprived Punjab Singh of Thanesar of some of his lands. The British authorities intervened and made him restore those lands to the original owner.

A few months later fresh reports of aggression by Jodh Singh reached the British authorities. Having persuaded the Patiala chief to lend him 500 Savars and two guns for securing some of his villages, which some chiefs had usurped in his absence, Jodh Singh used the troops for usurping about 78 villages belonging to various chiefs including the big village of Beajalpur of the widow of Sardar Baghel Singh. Jodh Singh was also alleged to have informed these chiefs that he was taking possession of the villages with the approval of Ochterlony and Metcalfe.

When these two British officers heard about the misuse of their name, they, at once, wrote a strong note to Missar Nau Nidhrai,

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105. N.A: Ochterlony to Birch dt 20.10.1817; Birch to Commanding Officer Ludhiana dt 21.10.1817 and Birch to Lushington dt 30.10.1817.

106. N.A: Metcalfe to Edmonston dt 24.9.1810.

108. Ld. Cor: pp 352-54 and 365-66.

108. N.A: Captain Birch to Monckton dt. 1.12.1814 and Birch to Ochterlony dt 19.12.1814 with its enclosures.



the chief Minister of Patiala, not only to withdraw the Patiala troops from Jodh Singh but also to employ them positively for the restoration of the villages to their legal owners, failing which they would despatch troops against Jodh Singh to arrange compliance of their orders. Nau Nidh Rai immediately complied with these orders and within the course of a few months arranged to restore all the villages to the rightful owners. Sardar Jodh Singh expressed his regret over what he did and obtained pardon from the British authorities through the good offices of Missar Nau Nidh Rai.

About a year later Lt. Murray, the political Assistant at Ludhiana, made Sardar Jodh Singh give an undertaking by signing an Iqar Namah (agreement) to the effect: "I will not take one man from among the Missaldars and Putteedars of the Zilah across the river Sutlej for the services of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Those, who are already with him, will be sufficient." In return he requested the British Government "to consider my territory in the same light as those of the Rajas and Sardars who are in the Protected States," and further readily agreed to "perform the required services of the British Government." The Resident of Delhi and the G.C. in Council, while appreciating Lt. Murray's zeal for the public interests, did not deem the Iqar Namah to be as advantageous to the British interests as Murray had thought it to be, but was regarded to be beneficial to Jodh Singh alone. Still the Government accepted the deal as it was and wished to give it a trial.

In May, 1817 Jodh Singh renewed his aggression on territories of the Bilasour State and captured some of its villages. This time the British Government determined to reduce his power and authority. But before taking any active step they called upon Jodh Singh to restore the usurped Illaga, but no hopeful response was forthcoming even after the lapse of <sup>n</sup>ay months. At last, Brigadier Arnold was

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109. N.A: Birch to Monckton dt 3rd, 11th, and 26th December, 1814 and 31st January, 1815.

110. N.A: Murray to Metcalfe dt 23.1.1815; Metcalfe to Murray dt 4.10.1816; Metcalfe to Adam dt 21.2.1816 and Adam to Metcalfe dt 2.3.1816 and the Iqar Namah is dt December, 1815.

ordered to march on the 13th October, 1818 from Karnal to occupy his territories in the Cis-Satlaj area. However, the Brigadier had been already instructed to confine his action only to the securing of the submission of the Kalsia chief and to the restitution of the usurped villages, if no resistance was shown by him. Jodh Singh was then away to Multan in Maharaja Ranjit Singh's service. In his absence his agents submitted to Brigadier Arnold and restored the villages to the Rani of Bilaspur.

Sardar Jodh Singh died in 1819. He had left behind a will according to which Sobha Singh succeeded to the Gaddi and got, besides his share of 1/3rd of the state, half of the reserved share of his father along with the Sardari share consisting of 28 villages in the parganas of Chachrauli (Kalsia), Bassi and Soogree / well as elephants and horses. The remaining half share of Jodh Singh's lands were given to Deva Singh, the son of Hari Singh, who was then dead. The will also contained the instructions that this share was to remain with Sardarni Jeewan, the mother of Hari Singh deceased and the grandmother of Deva Singh, during her life time and after her death it was to be passed on to Deva Singh. The Poshak Khana (the store of dresses) was divided half and half between Sobha Singh and Deva Singh. The British Government sanctioned these arrangements in full.

A few months later on the death of the Rani of Bilaspur, Sobha Singh extended his claim to the estate of Bilaspur on account of his being a collateral. But the Government laid down certain conditions for his succession to the estate to which Sobha Singh did not agree, whereupon the estate was resumed by the British Government.

111. N.A: Birch to Ochterlony dt 16.12.1817; Metcalfe to Adam dt 10.10.1818; 21.10.1818 and 17.11.1818; Ochterlony to Metcalfe dt 16.11.1819.

112. N.A: Birch to Ochterlony dt 1.4.1820 and Ochterlony to Metcalfe dt 24.9.1820.

113. N.A: Sobha Singh to Birch dt 28.4.1820; R. Ross to H. Middleton dt 3.4.1822 and G. Swinton to R. Ross dt 4.5.1822.

(f) THANESAR

In the beginning of the year 1813 Ochterlony made a tour of the minor Cis-Sutlaj states to settle on the spot some of their pending inter-state disputes. One of these cases was that Sardar Bhanga Singh of Thanesar had seized one of the four villages belonging to Mohi-ud-Din Khan, the brother of the chief of Kunjpura, and had encouraged the zamindars of one of the villages of the widow of Bughall Singh to eject her Thanas. On enquiry Ochterlony found the complaints to be correct, and ordered for the restoration of the usurped territories to their original owners. Bhanga Singh died in 1813  
114  
and was succeeded by his son Pateh Singh.

Now Mehtab Singh's share (2/5th of the state) had been earlier divided in two equal shares by his two younger brothers, Gulab Singh and Punjab Singh, on his death in 1806. Gulab Singh being the senior in age had succeeded to the Sardari or chiefship. In December 1813 the servants of the Ludhiana bankers were looted within Sardar Gulab Singh's territories by two Gujars. The British Government took very serious view of this incident and issued a public notification making all the cis-sutlaj Sikh chiefs under the protection of the British Government responsible for all the property, ~~was~~ plundered from the British subjects within their respective jurisdictions.

With respect to the particular case of Gulab Singh, the chief was ordered to reconstitute the plundered <sup>u</sup>amount either by immediate payment or in such instalments as Ochterlony might settle and that in case of any failure on his part Ochterlony was authorized to take necessary steps to enforce payments. Sardar Gulab Singh duly  
115  
complied with the orders of the British Government.

Sardar Panjab Singh carried out aggressive designs against his neighbour and was punished by the British Government for that reason. He was kept under restraint by the British for several months in 1818

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114. N.A: Sobha Singh to Cap. Birch dt 28.4.1820; R. Ross to H. Middleton dt 3.4.1822 and G. Swinton to R. Ross dt 4.5.1822.  
115. Ld. Cor. pp 369, 370.

and was released on a ~~clear~~ clear understanding that he would never again commit any similar crime. But <sup>on the death of</sup> ~~the death of~~ Gulab Singh in 1823 Panjab Singh forcibly occupied his lands and the fort of Thanesar. ~~His troops ejected him out of the fort of Thanesar.~~ Then the British troops ejected him out of the fort of Thanesar and again took him into custody. He was brought to Ambala, where he died a few months later. Punjab Singh left behind two widows, one of whom was the younger widow of Gulab Singh, who had chosen to go to Panjab Singh with her share of property. The British Government, therefore, made provisions for the three widows of Gulab Singh and Panjab Singh and allowed a nephew of the two deceased chiefs, namely Jamiat Singh, to succeed to the Gaddi.  
116

(g) MANI MAJRA.

In August, 1812 Sardar Gopal Singh, the chief of Mani Majra, submitted an application to Ochterlony soliciting the permission of the G.G. to apply to the court of Delhi for the title of Raja, which was granted to his ancestor by Ahmad Shah Durrani. Ochterlony recommended the application to the Government of account of his having helped the British in every possible way in the Past.  
117

The G.G. accepted the recommendations provided this case did not create an inconvenient precedent. Gopal Singh was granted the title of Raja Bahadur by the court of Delhi in 1813. On his death his son Hamir Deo also applied for the title which was granted.  
118

(h) BOORIA

Sher Singh, the head of one of the different branches of the ruling family of Booria, was killed in an engagement with Col. Burn in 1804. He left behind two infant sons from two wives. A dispute arose over the question of succession of either of them to the Gaddi. At length by the intervention and influence of Sardar Karam Singh of Shahabad, whose daughter was married to Jaimal Singh the elder of the two, settlement was made. Jaimal Singh was given the 3/5th share and the remaining 2/5th went to Gulab Singh the younger son.

116. N.A. Murray to Elliot dt 20.3.1823; Elliot to G. Swinton dt 23rd May and 19th December, 1823 and Swinton to Elliot dt 30th January, 1824.

117. N.A: Edmonston to Ochterlony dt 28.8.1812 and 16.10.1812; Ochterlony to Edmonston dt 27.9.1812; Monckton to the Mani Majra chief dt 21.12.1812 and Ochterlony to Adam dt 18.12.1813. -----118. N.A: Metcalfe to G. Swinton

However, 5 villages in all were kept out of the shares of both these brothers for the mother and one of the brother-in-laws of Sher Singh. The Booria state along with other Cis-Sutlaj states came under the British protection in 1809. Subsequent to this date, however, the widowed Sardami (mother of Sher Singh) desired to give the whole estate to Jaimal Singh, whereupon Gulab Singh's sympathisers represented the matter to the British Government.

In November, 1810 the British authorities decided that the guardians of the two brothers should be put in possession of the villages awarded to each according to the Partition Deed of Karam Singh Shahabadi. The claim of their grandmother for the guardianship of the two grandsons was considered invalid on account of her partial attitude. When she was asked to restore the share of Gulab Singh to him, she ~~g~~ bid her time by giving evasive replies. At last, with the aid of troops Gulab Singh's share was restored to him. This left behind some bitterness among the adherents of the  
119  
two camps.

Sardar Jaimal Singh died in 1817 leaving behind only a widow named Anand Kaur. Now there were two claimants to the chiefship of Booria; Gulab Singh and Anand Kaur. The British Government instructed Ochterlony to arrange the Karewa marriage of the two, as it was  
120  
permissible according to the customs of the family. But Anand Kaur did not agree to the proposal. Then Ochterlony gave 2/5th of the share of Jaimal Singh to his widow and reserved the remaining 1/5th for the Sardari or the chiefship, which was after long deliberations equally divided between the two claimants. Gulab Singh was, however, compelled to return the revenues and properties which he had forcibly  
121  
taken away from Anand Kaur.

Half portion of the original Booria state had for long been in the hands of Sardar Bhagwan Singh on whose death it also became a  
118 (Contd) dt 17.6.1817 & Swinton to Metcalfe dt 7.7.1817.

119. N.A:- Resident Delhi to Edmonston dt 15.11.1810 and 11.6.1811;

Ld. Cer: pp 354; P.L.R. Sahib Kaur to Ochterlony dt 27.6.1810

120. Karewa or Chadarandazi is a system of marriage among some Indian tribes, particularly the jats, both, Hindus and Sikhs. According to this system after the death of a person, one of his surviving brothers or cousins, whom the widow likes, can marry his widow or widows by putting his chadar or white cloth on her in presence of his kith and kins. His children from this marriage are taken as legitimate.---121. N.A: Ochterlony to Adam dt 30th Sep, 3rd Oct

matter of dispute between his two widows. In her letter to Ochterlony <sup>(reported in Oct. 1817 that the elder widow)</sup> the junior widow, Sardarni Daya Kaur, had kept her under restraint since the death of Sardar Bhagwan Singh and hence she could not bring forward her claim to her share at an earlier date. Now she requested Ochterlony to restore her to her share i.e. half of Bhagwan Singh's share.

Ochterlony first tried to get the matter settled by means of mediation of the bankers of Jagadhri, but this effort failed and finally he himself had to give a decision, which was duly approved by the Government. He decided that the administration of the estate was to be still carried on in the name of Sardar Bhagwan Singh by his senior widow, while the junior widow was to get an equal share in the previous balance and jewels left by Bhagwan Singh and also half of the net income from the state. 122

(1) SHAHABAD

In July, 1818 Captain Birch received an application from Sardar Ranjit Singh, one of the sons of the late Sardar Karam Singh of Shahabad, that when his father died in 1807, he left behind the following four widows and children:-

- (1) Pardhan, Mother of Kanwar Sher Singh and Kharak Singh,
- (2) Rani Kaur, mother of Ranjit Singh the applicant,
- (3) Rup Kaur, mother of Kahan Singh,
- (4) Mehar Kaur, mother of Nand Kaur and Chand Kaur, the former was married to Sardar Jaimal Singh of Booria.

On the death of Sardar Karam Singh his eldest son, Kanwar Sher Singh, and the 4th widow, Mehar Kaur, siezed whatever they could and excluded all others from their rightful shares. As Kharak Singh was married to one of the daughters of the Patiala chief (Raja Sahib Singh,) that chief intervened and obtained his due share for him after a couple of years, later on when in 1811  
121 (Contd) and 13th December 1817; Adam to Ochterlony at 19th Sept,  
26th Oct. & 29th December 1817 & Birch to Ochterlony at  
31st Oct. 1817,  
122. N.A: Ochterlony to Adam at 4th October, 1817 with enclosures.

the guardians of Kahan Singh approached the Resident of Delhi, Mr Metcalfe ~~was~~ effected a partition of lands through Col. Marshall without nominating any one to the chiefship. Ranjit Singh characterised this partition as unjust and requested Cap. Birch for the redistribution of the lands. Captain Birch and Ochterlony recommended to Metcalfe for reopening the case as well as to name one of the sons of late Sardar Karam Singh as the chief of Shahabad. But Metcalfe considered it derogatory to the name and authority of the British prestige to reopen the case. He, however, was keen to recompense Khawars Ranjit Singh and Kahan Singh, who were the losers by the partition, and recommended to the Government that the villages, then available due to the death of Sardarni Mehar Kaur, should be added to their shares. The Government sanctioned his  
123  
proposals.

(j) ROPAR

On the 3rd December, 1813 Sardar Bhoop Singh met Ochterlony on the latter's arrival at Ropar and informed him that though he had been invited by Maharaja Ranjit Singh to attend him with his troops, but he most anxiously wished to avoid going there. He also informed Ochterlony that " he did not possess even a Bigha of land on the right bank of the Sutlaj and would gladly relinquish any future claim on that side for the comfort and security enjoyed  
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under the British protection."

(k) KAKRALA

Bhai Karam Singh, the chief of Kakrala, died on 27th September, 1810. Two persons came forward with their claims for the chiefship, Sardarni Bhag Bhari, the widow of Bhai Karam Singh, and Bhai Lal Singh the chief of Kaithal, whose father and Karam Singh's father

123. N.A: Birch to Ochterlony dt 27.7.1818; Ochterlony to Metcalfe dt 30.3.1819 and 26.6.1820; Metcalfe to Government dt 20.6.1820 and Government to Metcalfe dt 20.7.1820.  
124. N.A; Birch to Monckton dt 16.4. 1815 and Adam to Birch dt 25.4.1815.

were full brothers. The British Government invited the important Cis-Satlaj Sikh chiefs to express their opinions on the issue. The chiefs of Patiala, Jind and Nabha were unanimously of the opinion that the widow could succeed her husband to the Gaddi in the absence of any male issue but it was to be during her life time only. On her death the succession must revert to the male collateral of the deceased Sardar. Thus, the chiefship of Kakrala was given to Sardarni Bhag Bhari in 1811.

On her death in 1818 the question of succession once again arose. There were a number of claimants this time including the three daughters of Bhai Karam Singh, the widow of Bhai Karam Singh's son, who had predeceased his father, and Bhai Partap Singh, the successor of Bhai Lal Singh.

The succession of the daughters or their male descendants was contrary to the provisions of the Hindu Law and the usage prevalent among the Phulkians and the Bhaikians. Hence the G.C. in Council decided that the succession be decided upon according to the Phulkian and Bhaikian customs and ordered " that the chiefship and the territory of Kakrala would devolve on Bai Partap Singh of Kni Thal. The territory however, would be charged with the suitable assignments of the widowed daughter of Karam Singh and the widow of his son."

The personal property of Karam Singh and Bhag Bhari was, however, to descend to the three daughters and it was ordered that the same should be equally divided among them. But these three daughters were not satisfied with this decision and continued to refuse their share in the personal property thus allowed to them.

The widowed daughter died in the meanwhile. Finally when the  
125. N.A: Seton to Edmonston dt 28.12.1810, 22.1.1811 and Edmonston to Seton dt 15.3.1811; P.L.R. Zabardast Khan Vakil of Bhai Lal Singh to Seton dt 11.1.1811; Bhag Bhari to Ochsterlony dt 11.1.1811; Seton to Bhai Lal Singh dt 13.12.1810 with eleven enclosures; Pat. Arch: H.30 K.  
126. N.A: Metcalfe to Adam dt 8.12.1818; Adam to Metcalfe dt 19.1.1818.



youngest daughter asked for her share the property was sold and the sale proceeds from the same were equally divided between the two sisters. The amount thus received from the sale proceeds was not even half of the original value of the property.

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(1) CHIEFSHIP HELD BY WIDOWS.

In March, 1820 Captain Birch forwarded to Ochterlony a detailed list of the chiefship held by the old and infirm widows, who were without any male or even female heir on their husband's side, known to be in existence, and who were neither according to the Sikh customs nor the Hindu Law permitted to adopt a successor or acknowledge any of their own relations to be lawful heirs and sought instructions as to what would happen to the estates after the present owners were dead. The list included the following estates:-

- (1) Ambla worth 50 or 60 thousand rupees per year. The owner, Sarjami Daya Kaur, was 90 years old.
- (2) Bilaspur worth about ~~xx~~ 30 thousands a year.
- (3) Chilgundi worth about Rs. 20 thousands a year.
- (4) Dhinauree worth about Rs. 8 thousands a year.
- (5) Booria worth about Rs. 80 thousands or a lakh a year.

Ochterlony recommended the assumption of these states by the British Government on the death of the present owners. The G.C. in Council too agreed with this suggestion and directed for the attachment of such domains, as may be so circumstanced, on the demise of the present occupants. Special instructions were, however, issued that 'the care must be taken in any disposal of such lapse to preserve the rights of the vassals or Putteedars and other inhabitants in order that no class of people may suffer by their transfer to our authority.'

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transfer to our authority.'

(2) AMRALA.

Sardar Sukha Singh of Amrala had complained about his younger brother Chet Singh that he was pursuing aggressive designs against him. At the instance of Captain Birch the Patiala troops apprehended

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127. N.A: Cap. Ross to Henry Middleton dt 4.4.1822 and G. Swinton to A. Ross dt X 4.5.1822.

128. N.A: Birch to Ochterlony dt 18.3.1820; Ochterlony to Metcalfe dt 25.3.1820; Metcalfe to Ochterlony dt 15.4.1820.

Chet Singh and seized his land. Later on the British Government forfeited the share of Chet Singh and granted it to the chief of Patiala. <sup>129</sup> Sudha Singh's share, was, however, restored to him.

(n) INDRI.

Sardar Boodh Singh was a joint sharer of Indri with Nawab Musen-ud-Din Khan of Manjpara. He had proved " a turbulent, ~~xxxxxxx~~ refractory and a wicked chief, " and had committed a murder and <sup>130</sup> hence was deprived of his share in that estate.

(o) DHANAURA.

Sardaraj Raj Kaur of Dhanaura died in October, 1823. The survivors were 8 nephews of S. Sudha Singh, the Sardaraj's husband, 7 of whom lived on the other side of the Sutlaj and the 8th i. e. Sahib Singh in the Cis-Sutlaj area. The British Government <sup>131</sup> appointed Sahib Singh to the Chiefship of the estate.

Thus, the policy pursued by the British during the period under review (1806-23) towards the Cis-Sutlaj chiefs big or small appears, when viewed in its broader prospective, an application of the general principles laid down for regulating their political relations with the Indian princes. One of these principles was that 'no native state should be left to exist in India which is not upheld by British Power or the political conduct of which is not under its absolute control'. It was in pursuance of this object that the various matters which came up for decision, whether relating to disputed succession or maladministration of a state or those requiring arbitration between two or more states, were decided, whether the decision was given by Ochterlony, Murray, Birch or Metcalfe. With the Earl of Moira, who held the reins of administration during the greater portion and this period, it had almost become an article of political faith that all Indian

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129. N.A: Birch to Conkton dt 16.4.1815 and Adam to Birch dt 25.4.1815.

130. N.A: Elliot to Swinton dt 18.12.1823 and Swinton to Elliot dt 30.1.1824.

131. N.A: Ochterlony to Swinton dt 5.10.1821 and Swinton to Middleton dt 24.11.1821.

States must be held as vassals (if not in name certainly so in practice) and that in return for protection they received they must be made to support the British rule with all their resources by submitting their mutual differences to arbitrating. However, the immediate good, which came to the people of such states or estates as were taken under the direct British control, was that, as the annexed Illiasas were administered on the model of British India, their inhabitants did feel the change as regards the security of life and property and also in regard to the pecuniary exactions under the systematic and more orderly British rule.

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## CHAPTER VI.

### THE BRITISH GRIP TIGHTENS OVER THE AREA - (1824-1834)

#### 1. The British Continue Their Consolidation Drive.

By now the British had acquired considerable control and domination in this region on account of their direct and indirect intervention in the affairs of the states. They were able to arbitrate in their affairs and by free exercise of their sovereign powers they were able to crush the refractory element and gratify the friendly chiefs. They acquired an intimate knowledge of the affairs and of the people of the states and were ever keen to fully utilize their weaknesses to their own advantage. The British star was definitely in ascendance, and more opportunities came their way to enable them to increase their hold and domination over these states and thus to consolidate their position further, despite the mediocre rule of Lord Amherst (1823-28) and the so called policy of Non-Intervention by Lord William Bentinck (1828-35). Thus, as Lyall very aptly described : "By swift means or slow, by fair means or forcible, the British dominion was certain to expand..... our policy might vary, backward or forward; we still found ourselves mounting step by step upto the high office of ultimate arbiter in every dispute and supreme custodian of the peace of all India." In order to understand the actual process it would once again be advisable to narrate them separately statewise.

#### (a) PATIALA.

Kanwar Ajit Singh, the son of Rani Nand Kaur and the half brother of Maharaja Karam Singh, whom Mai Khem Kaur had put up as a rival candidate to the Gaddi of Patiala in 1813, preferred his claim to the Patiala chiefship once again in 1823. Mai Khem Kaur had died in June, 1821, and it was now Sardar Gopal Singh and others who instigated him to do so. The Kanwar had been creating trouble for the Maharaja by giving shelter to the latter's enemies and when admonished for doing so, he left for Delhi with his mother (1720), where due to his extravagant habits he soon became heavily indebted. In his application to the Resident of Delhi he accused Maharaja Karam Singh of having poisoned his father and of trying to kill him too. Hence he

requested the British Government to set aside Maharaja Karam Singh's succession and order his installation instead, failing which he demanded the equal division of the state between Maharaja Karam Singh and himself.<sup>1</sup>

To strengthen his case he started using with his name all the titles of his father, whereupon the Maharaja of Lahore, various Cis-Sutlej chiefs and even some British Officers also began addressing him as such.<sup>2</sup>

Maharaja Karam Singh was very desirous of reconciling the Kanwar, lest the mutual dispute should bring bad name to the Patiala ruling family. He had requested Captain Murray through his Chief Minister, Mir Barkat Ali Khan, to use his good offices to persuade the Kanwar and bring about a settlement by giving him an annual pension of Rs. 50000/- besides what allowance and Jagir he and his mother were already enjoying. The Kanwar demanded some important towns or the strong fort of Bhatinda and finally a Jagir worth about two lakhs of rupees. But the Maharaja was not willing to add anything save one or two additional ordinary town to what he had already offered, hence the Kanwar finally rejected the offer.<sup>3</sup>

The negotiations having failed the British Government entrusted the case to Sir Charles Metcalfe, who, recommended on 26th November, 1826, the rejection of the claims of Kanwar Ajit Singh to the chiefship as well as to the titles, and deemed an amount of Rs. 50000/- a year to be quite suitable and sufficient for him. The Government accepted his recommendations on 18th May, 1827.<sup>4</sup>

Then seeing no other alternative Kanwar Ajit Singh accepted the terms offered by the Maharaja (December, 1827). The Maharaja now gave him an additional Jagir worth Rs. 10000/- a year, and the Kanwar alongwith his mother returned to Patiala, where the Maharaja performed the marriage ceremony of the Kanwar in June, 1829 with great pomp and show.<sup>5</sup>

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1. N.A: Kanwar Ajit Singh to Elliot, dated 1823 and Raj, pp.62.
  2. N.A: Elliot to G. Swinton dated 6-4-1825 and Swinton to Metcalfe dated 9-12-1826.
  3. N.A: Capt. Murray to A.G.G. dated 18th January, 23rd February, 19th and 17th May, 1823; A.G.G. to Capt. Murray dated 21st January and 21st February, 1824.
  4. N.A: Metcalfe to G. Swinton dated 26-11-1826 and Metcalfe to A Stirling dated 2-6-1827.

Meanwhile in 1827 the British authorities had prevailed upon Maharaja Karam Singh to grant a loan of rupees twenty Lakhs on interest at the rate of 8% per annum to the British Government. It is reported that as the Maharaja of Patiala was known to possess a considerable treasure and to enjoy a large surplus revenue under the protection of the British Government for which he paid nothing in the shape of tribute or military service, it was, therefore, thought beneficial and creditable mode of employing his wealth to invest a part of it in the public funds whilst a large subscription to the 8% loan, now open, would in the present state of things afford a most desirable accommodation to the Government. At this time the Government was in great need of money on account of the huge expenditure incurred in the 1st Burmese War (1824-26) and hence in return for the gratitude for an amicable settlement of his dispute with his half brother, Maharaja ~~Chand~~<sup>Karam</sup> Singh was urged to come to the help of the Government.

This loan was actually paid to the Resident of Delhi in instalments from 25th August to 6th September, 1827 and when in July, 1831, the British Government paid back this loan, the Patiala chief returned the sum he had received so far as interest saying: "In the name of our old relations I never desired any interest on it and had only given it as loan" and thus he further proved his fidelity to the Government. The G. G. then wrote a long complimentary letter to the Maharaja expressing his pleasure over these feelings of attachment and friendship.

In the meantime the old Dolladhi boundary dispute between Nabha and Patiala was revived in 1827 and once again caused a great bitterness between the chiefs of the two states. The details of the earlier dispute in this connection, which had ultimately led to the 1st Cis-Sutlaj campaign of Maharaja

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5. N.A: G. Swinton to Colebrook dated 22-1-1828 and Colebrook to G. Swinton dated 30-6-1829.
  6. N.A: Stirling to G. Swinton dated 28-5-1827.
  7. N.A: G. Swinton to Metcalfe dated 17-6-1827.
  8. N.A: Resident of Delhi to A. Stirling dated 6-9-1827; Maharaja Karam Singh to the G. G. received on 8-8-1831 and Princip to the Maharaja of Patiala dated 12-8-1831.

Ranjit Singh (1806-07) have already been fully described in the 4th Chapter. On that occasion Ranjit Singh had settled the issue by giving the village of Dolladhi to the Patiala chief and by marking out a boundary between the two states with the erection of pillars along a line of wells.

But during the course of these 20 years the pillars had disappeared and the wells had dilapidated. Thus the piece of land between the ruined wells and the gates of Nabha, once more became the bone of contention between the two states, and, therefore, ~~remained~~ remained untilled, unirrigated and hence unproductive. But for some time back the villagers of Dolladhi had started ploughing some portion of it with the full support of the Patiala chief and claimed the boundary of the village right upto the gates of Nabha. The Nabha chief protested against it and thus the trouble began.

On the request of the two chiefs Captain Murray visited the scene of trouble and once again marked out the boundary by erecting pillars about 20 to 40 paces ahead of the ruined wells. But neither of the chiefs accepted it and the matter was referred to the Resident at Delhi.

Consequently, Sir Edward Colebrook with some Vakils of Jind and Keithal remarked the boundary line in the middle of the disputed land and the pillars erected by Murray were removed. This decision was too rejected by both the chiefs. The chief of Nabha claimed having a document signed by Raja Karam Singh and his mother in his possession granting him the village of Dolladhi and a Tammasukh or a promise deed for Rs. 35000/- in compensation of the expenses of the troops employed by him in their domestic disputes with Raja Sahib Singh (this deed has already been referred to in the 4th Chapter) and solicited that the village in question and the money might be made over to him. The Government was unconvinced regarding the eligibility of this claim, still, it appointed a commission to go into the matter which finally recommended the acceptance of the Murray award and the G.G. agreed to it in December, 1828. Now the two chiefs had to agree to it and thus the age long quarrel came to an end.

9.N.A: Murray to Colebrook dated 12th April, 11th May, 30th July, 4th, 5th and 21st October, 1828; Colebrook to Murray dated 15th May, 18th June, 25th July, 30th September, 2nd and 13th October

The next trouble spot was the estate of Maharajkian over which all the three Phulkian chiefs of Patiala, Jind and Nabha claimed supremacy. The forefathers of Chaudhri Phul, the progenitor of the above three ruling houses, were the founders of these villages and named them after one of them, Maharaj, the 5th in ascent from Phul. The progeny of Maharaj enjoyed in common the profits accruing from the lands of 22 villages and their internal affairs were regulated by a nominal Panchayat of their own. In a society so strangely constituted breaches of peace and excess of crime were of frequent occurrence and the authority of Panches or heads, where all considered themselves to be on the same social level, was little respected, decisions were vacillating and the hand of power was required to carry them into effect and render them stable. But where should such a power <sup>reside,</sup> was the point at issue?

The Maharajkians had so far been autonomous body under the joint supervision of the three chiefs but with no demarcated spheres of control. On the 10th January, 1824 the British Government appointed the Patiala chief as the umpire of the Maharajkian affairs for five years and appended certain conditions to be fulfilled by the Maharaja to which he never agreed. On the other side the Raja of Nabha protested against this arrangement claiming that till that arrangement was made the Maharajkian villages were attached to the pargana of Phul which formed a part of his state. He also strengthened his claim on the basis of common ancestorship, to whose senior most branch his family belonged and added that during the Cis-Sutlaj campaigns of Ranjit Singh his troops protected them against ~~the~~ his aggression.

Under these circumstances the British Government thought it advisable to issue a Hukam Namah or an order on 16th February 1829 on the expiry of the 5 years of Patiala guard<sup>ian</sup>ship, to the Maharajkians, calling upon them 'to repair ~~the~~ <sup>to</sup> Captain Murray at Ambala and laying aside all animosities mutually abide by any

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1828; G. Swinton to Colebrook dated 16th August and 24th October, 1828; Colebrook to A. Stirling dated 28-10-1828; Raja of Nabha to G.G. received in November, 1828; A. Stirling to Colebrooke dated 29-11-1828 and Murray to Colebrooke dated 13-12-1828 and letters to the chiefs of Patiala and Nabha.



arrangements that you may deem advantageous and proper. With all his usual diplomatic skill, ~~XXXX~~ Captain Murray finally made them agree in August, 1833 to come under the British rule.

(b) KATHAL.

Bhai Partap Singh of Kathal died in the 2nd week of March 1824 and was succeeded by his younger brother, Bhai Ude Singh, with the approval of the British Government. As this chief was also a minor, the existing council of Regency was allowed to conduct the administration of the state, till the chief came of age.

(c) JIND.

Sangat Singh ascended the Gaddi in 1822 at the age of 13 years only. A couple of years later in April, 1824 he was married to the daughter of Sardar Ranjit Singh of Shahabad and the marriage party was attended by Captain Murray on behalf of the British Government and by Sardar Baisakha Singh and others on behalf of Maharaja Ranjit Singh with the permission of British authorities.

Raja Sangat Singh was tall and possessed handsome personality; he looked every inch a prince. He was a man of aesthetic tastes and was particularly fond of fine horses and keen on extending patronage to scholars and artists. He is reported to be brave with a particular liking for hunting and travelling. He was generous to a fault and eagerly attended the musical and dancing concerts. He was, of course, addicted to drinking at a rather very young age - a vice which he had possibly contracted in the company of bad associates.

The Raja, however, did not take any interest in the administration of the state which was entirely left to his Dewan Sardar Dewan Singh, who was neither well read nor much experienced in the art of administration and badly lacked foresight. The natural outcome was mal-administration and anarchy. Further the Raja seldom stayed at the

capital but usually lived at Sangrur, which made

- 10. N.A: Murray to Metcalfe dated 5-3-1826; Raja of Nabha to Metcalfe received in 1827; Murray to Colebrooke dated 27.1.1829 Colebrooke to G. Swinton dated 2-3-1829; Resident Delhi to Pol. Agent dated 23rd March, 5th May, 19th Sept., 1831 and 21st July 1832 and Secretary to G.G. dated 5th Nov., 1832 and 22nd August 1833.
- 11. N.A: Elliot to G. Swinton dated 15-3-1824 and G. Swinton to Elliot dated 20.4.1824.
- 12. N.A: Murray to Wade dated 11.4.1824; Raj, pp.146; Duni Chand, pp 67-68; Murray to Elliot dated April, 1824.
- 13. Duni Chand, pp 68 and Tazkirat.

the matters worse confounded and selfish officers did what  
14  
they wished.

Still, in persuasion of the urges of his natural aptitudes the Raja proceeded to Amritsar in 1826 on a pilgrimage to Golden Temple as well as to partake in the Holi celebrations there. When Maharaja Ranjit Singh knew of his arrival at Amritsar, he sent a few dignatories to request the Raja to pay him a visit. Raja Sangat Singh, thus, met the Lahore chief for the first time and very much impressed the latter with his princely appearance, fine tastes and high generosity. The Maharaja treated him with great attention and kindness and made his own officers offer him nazars on the Holi day. Then after an exchange of presents he accompanied the Maharaja at his request to a pilgrimage of Jowala Mukhi, but stayed at Dinanagar on the way awaiting the Maharaja's return, who on return conferred on him the Jagir of Rai Majra in the Jullunder Doab worth Rs.13000/- a year. Thus the Jind Raja returned  
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fully gratified and pleased.

Next year Raja Sangat Singh again paid a visit to the Lahore chief, who, once again, received him very cordially and honoured him with additional Jagirs worth Rs.12500/- a year in all in the Trans-Sutlaj area and also three villages on the south bank of the Sutlaj for a nazrana of Rs.30000/-, a female Sawari elephant and a horse of high price.

Of these three villages that of Aitiana which was only 15 miles from the Ludhiana Cantt, soon involved the Jind Raja in trouble. Raja Sangat Singh took possession of this village in May, 1828 by ousting its owner Baba Ram Singh, whom Ranjit claimed his vassal, but the British had not yet admitted this claim. Baba Ram Singh represented to Wade, the Pol. Agent at Ludhiana, against this ejection, who in his turn reported the case to the Resident at Delhi. Murray was, however, asked to advise the Jind chief to get his dispute with Baba Ram Singh settled through the constituted authority and not to take law

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13. ~~Jind Raja, pp. 69-70 and Murray to A.C.G., dated 3-10-1824.~~

14. Duni Chand, pp.69-70 and Murray to A.C.G., dated 3-10-1824.

15. Sohan Lal, pp.321-23; Duni Chand, pp.70-71 and Raj, pp.146.

in his own hand.

The British Government took a very serious view of all the activities of Raja Sangat Singh during the last three years. His repeated visits to Lahore were not liked as they were bound to form dangerous precedents for other chiefs to follow which would ultimately undo the political cleavage caused between the Sikh chiefs on either side of the Sutlej by the Treaty of 1809. The British, therefore, attached great importance to the Aitiana case and called for the explanation of the Jind chief. The Raja submitted two papers, "purporting to be copies of a grant from Maharaja Ranjit Singh to himself for the village in question and two other villages." In his report to the Government dated 12th June, 1828, the Resident submitted: "The conduct of Raja Sangat Singh in accepting a grant from the Lahore sovereign, although with a promise for the consent of the British Government and particularly in proceeding to take forcible possession without even asking that consent, appears to me to be highly reprehensible and I would recommend that he be required to give up this connection and allegiance which he has promised to Ranjit Singh, while in enjoyment of our protection."

The G. G. agreed with the Resident and on 3rd July, 1828 instructed him 'to call on Sangat Singh to immediately relinquish the possession of the three villages and to restore to Ram Singh the domain from which he has been ousted. You will at the same time explain to the Raja of Jind that as a protected dependent of the British Government he is not at liberty to enter into correspondence or negotiations with a foreign ruler and that the purchase of any estate from the chief of Lahore without any reference to the British authority is considered to be highly indelicate and improper.' The Jind Raja was thus left with no alternative but to obey.

16. Sohan Lal, pp. 359-64; Duni Chand, pp. 71-72; Raj, pp. 146-47; N. A. Wade to Colebrooke dated 25th and 31st May, 1828 and Wade to Murray dated 25th May, 1828.

17. N. A. Colebrooke to A. Stirling, dated 12-6-1828; A. Stirling to Colebrooke dated 18-7-1828; Colebrooke to Wade dated 14-6-1828 and 23-6-1828; Colebrooke to Murray dated 19th August, 1828; Wade to Colebrooke dated 5th July and 15th August, 1828.

At the same time the Resident of Delhi also raised the issue of the grant of Jagirs to the Jind Raja by the Lahore chief in the Trans-Sutlaj area and characterised these grants to a 'British feudatory as objectionable'. The G.G. too agreed with this view and remarked: "It is a fundamental principle of our alliance with the states and chiefs of that class to require them to abstain from all connections or intercourse with foreign powers and Governments, excepting such as may be of complimentary nature, without the full knowledge and the sanction of the Local British authority." However, the Jagirs already granted were not to be given back as that was likely to cause some political inconvenience, though a more positive order was issued to the protected chiefs restraining them from accepting any Jagir from Lahore, when the Nabha chief paid a visit to Ranjit Singh in February, 1829 with a view to secure a Jagir for himself.

Raja Sangat Singh once more invited the wrath of the British Government, when he again exchanged letters with the Lahore Durbar without its previous permission. This correspondence was in connection with six villages in the Cis-Sutlaj area, held by the two chiefs in joint proprietorship, which the Jind chief desired to possess altogether by framing the Lahore chief's share whereas the civil and criminal jurisdiction over them was to be retained by the Lahore authorities. The British strongly objected to it and ordered Raja Sangat Singh to abandon the scheme. The Raja obeyed. But it was almost impossible for the British to cause complete severance of relations of the protected chiefs with the Lahore Durbar so long as those chiefs had their Vakils at Lahore and whose withdrawal would have caused some estrangement of relations between the British and Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

In the face of all these events the British authorities could never be expected to be well disposed towards the Jind Raja. The maladministration in his state gave them a due cause for interference and an administrator was sent to control the Jind affairs and Raja Sangat Singh was forced to shift his residence

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18.N.A: Resident Delhi to A. Stirling dated 24-6-1828; A. Stirling to Colebrooke dated 18-7-1828; Colebrooke to Wade dated 23rd June, 24th June and 29th July, 1828 and 16th September, 1829; Wade to Colebrooke dated 19th June, 5th July, 1828 and 27th July, 1829.

from Sangrur to Jind. But as soon as the administrator was withdrawn, the Jind Raja again returned to Sangrur and the anarchy prevailed as before. Soon after Lt. Talbot, a British Officer of the 8th Regiment Native Infantry, was attacked in Jind territory by robbers and was put to personal outrage and monetary loss. The British at once demanded the persons of the accused and compensation for the loss. The state authorities made good the loss but the culprits had escaped and could not be ~~punished~~ punished.

A few months later Raja Sangat Singh proceeded to attend the Dushehra Durbar of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, to which he had been specially invited. It was a visit of a purely complimentary nature but the British felt very much exasperated at it and issued very stern orders to Sangat Singh to return back. Sangat Singh had then reached the village of Bassian, about 25 miles from Ludhiana, where these orders reached him on the 2nd November, 1834. This act of British authorities of stopping even his social visit to the Maharaja who was his near relation and for whom he had developed very great regards and affection perhaps broke his heart. He was in perfect health that day but following morning he complained of being unwell and his condition rapidly worsened. The Raja's followers advised a quick return to Sangrur. But they had hardly taken him out of Bassian in a palanquin that he breathed his last (3rd November 1834). The Raja was then only about 24 years of age.

(d) NABHA.

During the decade under review there occurred three cases in the Nabha State which invited British interference. The first was a dispute in the ruling family and the other two were territorial disputes; one with Patiala and the other with

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19. N.A: Wade to Colebrooke dated 17-2-1829; Colebrooke to Wade dated 10th February and to Murray dated 27th March, 1829; Murray to Resident Delhi dated 7-2-1829; W. Fraser, A.G.G. to Mr. G. R. clerk dated 20th April, 1832 and vice versa dated 28th May, 1832; Murray to Fraser dated 22-3-1833 and to Lt. Talbot of the same date; Fraser to clerk dated 17th July, and 23rd August and vice versa dated 19th August, 1834; clerk to Fraser dated 25th October and 6th November, 1834; Duni Chand, pp. 72-74; Raj, pp. 147-49; Sohan Lal, pp. 402-3 and Sahib Singh, ff. 134-39.

Sunni and Ledhran Sikh chiefs. Taking family dispute first, Raja Jaewant Singh had married four wives. The senior most of them, Rani Daya Kaur - the daughter of Sardar Jai Singh of Leda, had given birth to the heir apparent, Kanwar Ranjit Singh. The second and third wives had no issue. The youngest, Rani Har Kaur - the daughter of Sardar Joran Singh Jodhpuria, was the mother of Kanwar Devinder Singh. The Raja was very much attached to his youngest Rani and acted as she desired. She prevailed upon him to make her son, Kanwar Devinder Singh, his successor in place of Kanwar Ranjit Singh. The Raja was aware that his declaration of the younger son as his successor in preference to the elder son would not be accepted by the British as they had not done it previously in the case of Jind State. Consequently he began to create trouble for Kanwar Ranjit Singh and his mother, who tolerated it for some time but when the Raja confiscated their Jagir, the Kanwar openly rebelled against him in 1818. His chief associate being Sardar Raja Singh of Ledhran, an old enemy of the Raja of Nabha. However, Captain Birch's efforts brought about a reconciliation between the father and the son and the Raja restored the estate to the Kanwar.

But it proved to be only a temporary patch up and the trouble recurred in 1822 when the Raja accused his son of plotting against his life at Jind and again resumed his lands. The dispute was prolonged and in 1824 the Raja brought about a definite charge of parricide against the Kanwar and threw him in prison alongwith his associates and conveyed the facts of the case to the British authorities. He proposed to disinherit the Kanwar and also to confiscate the lands of his chief accomplice Raja Singh.

The A.G.G. at Delhi forwarded the whole case to the G.C. in council with the remarks that, "there is too much reason to fear that the crime of parricide has been contemplated by him, and that in the attempt to perpetrate it, he was aided by Raja Singh".

But when consulted by the G.C., Sir Charles Metcalfe

disagree with this view and opined that the charge was not established as the statements of confession had been taken from the various persons by coercion. The G.G. accepted Metcalfe's view and remarked, "It is by no means established by the contents of the papers in question that he ever desired, much less attempted, the ~~assassination~~ <sup>assassination</sup> of his father". The Kanwar and ~~Raja~~ Sardar Raja Singh were, therefore, ordered to be released along with the two servants. The Raja naturally did not feel satisfied with the decision and moved the Government several times without any success to change its views.

According to Sir Lepel Griffin "Prince Ranjit Singh, though of extravagant and dissolute habits, was a young man of considerable promise and was extremely popular with the chiefs on both sides of the Sutlaj." It was, therefore, very unfortunate that under the influence of his youngest wife Raja Jaswant Singh estranged his relations with such a son, for whose insolence and misbehaviour his own excesses were mainly responsible.

But the trouble was not yet over because the Raja refused to assign anything to the Kanwar for his maintenance. At last the Kanwar migrated to Lahore, where Maharaja Ranjit Singh in consultation with Captain Wade, conferred on him two villages of Loian and Dherian in Jullunder Doab. The Kanwar made Loian his headquarters and built a fort there. On 17th June, 1832, he came to Shahzadpur to marry his 3rd wife, the sister-in-law of Sardar Gulab Singh Shaheed. But unfortunately he suddenly died that day. His dead body <sup>was</sup> ~~marks~~ <sup>marks</sup>, which created suspicions in the minds of his relatives that his death was not natural, more particularly so as the Kanwar's 16 years old son, Santokh Singh, had also similarly died all of a sudden at Nabha a couple of years earlier. Under the circumstances the Kanwar's widows naturally suspected the hand of the Raja in the sudden death of their husband and son. But on this occasion two persons acted rather wisely, though with different motives. First was the Maharaja of Patiala who secured the dead body of the Kanwar

which was being carried to Nabha, and had it cremated at  
Kankar Bahadurgarh on the way, where his Samadh still exists.  
The second was the mother of the Kanwar who sometime later  
wrote to the British authorities in reply to their query that  
the death of her son was natural and that the Raja had nothing  
to do with it. The Patiala chief had done so, lest the  
Kanwar's dead body should be disrespected at Nabha and the  
Kanwar's mother wanted to save the Raja from all troubles.

The second case was of the dispute between the Zamindars  
of village Molasheri and Phulasheri in Patiala and Nabha  
States respectively, in which the two chiefs charged each  
other with encroachment. The British appointed arbitrators  
who gave their verdict in favour of the Nabha chief. Similarly  
the British Officers gave their decision in favour of the  
Nabha chief in yet another case, in which he was involved with  
the chief of Bhador about the village of Kangar.

The third dispute was regarding the Nabha Raja's claim  
of supremacy over the minor chiefs of Sunti and Ledhran. These  
chiefs belonged to the Nishanwala Misl and held their lands  
since the Sikh Conquest of Sirhind in 1764. In 1827 they  
complained to the British authorities against the Nabha Raja's  
aggression and denied his superiority over them. The British  
officers held different views on the subject and the issue  
hunged fire till 1837-38, when they finally decided that the  
two minor chiefs were not altogether independent of the Nabha  
Raja, but they also directed the Nabha chief to demand <sup>e</sup>feudal  
services from them rather sparingly such as on the occasion of  
the birth of a son, the marriage of one of his sons or  
daughters, the death of the ruler and in time of actual war.

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20. Raj, pp. 103-106; Rajas, pp. 430; N.A.:C. Elliot to G. Swinton,  
dated 30-11-1824 and 6-4-1825; A. Stirling to Metcalfe,  
dated 27-4-1827; Colebrooke to A. Stirling dated 13-4-1828;  
M. Ranjit Singh's parwana to his Vakil dated April, 1828;  
Murray to Acting Resident dated 4-10-1830; Clerk to Fraser  
dated 20th June and 7th September, 1832 and letter of the  
mother of K. Ranjit Singh to Mr. Clerk received in September  
1832.

21. Captain Birch to Ochterlony dated 20-11-1820.

22. N.A.:Murray to Colebrooke dated 13-9-1827; Clerk to Metcalfe  
dated 12th August, and 1st September, 1836; Metcalfe to  
Clerk dated 31st March, 1837 and Clerk to Metcalfe dated  
19-4-1837 and Government to Raja of Nabha dated 25-8-1838.



Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia of Kapurthala had entered into friendly relations with Lord Lake in January, 1806, but since most of his possessions were in the Trans-Sutlaj area and after the Treaty of Lahore of April, 1809 he had preferred to be an ally of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, his relations with the British prior to 1825, had not been very intimate. Yet the possessions in the Cis-Sutlaj area, which consisted of 454 villages in all, of whom 291 were held in sovereignty by him and 163 by his vassals in Jageers, were never viewed by the British with favour. They always desired to curtail his authority over them. A few instances would support this statement. The estate of Bhirog consisting of about a hundred villages had been conferred by S. Jassa Singh Ahluwalia on one Mirza Singh in return for the services rendered by his son Jawahar Singh. This gallant soldier and Sardar spent all his life in the Kapurthala services and his descendants continued to recognise the Kapurthala Sardar as their over-lord. This position had also been admitted by Ochterlony in 1817, when he requested the Kapurthala chief to penalize the Bhirogiya chief for his misdemeanour towards the British. Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia accepted his request and expelled the Bhirogiya chief and resumed his estate. Later, Maha Singh, the 43 years old Bhirogiya chief, submitted to the British and Ochterlony asked Sardar Fateh Singh to restore him the estate. The Sardar, however, declined to do so, unless Maha Singh submitted to him. But Ochterlony threatened Sardar Fateh Singh with the use of force, which compelled him to restore the estate and to withdraw his troops.

The second occasion when the British were unjust to the Kapurthala chief, was that Sardar Fateh Singh started building in 1818 a massive fort in his Cis-Sutlaj possessions on the design of the famous fort of Govindgarh at Amritsar. The British could never tolerate the construction of such a

23. Captain Birch to Ochterlony dated 12-3-1817 and 1-11-1817  
Metcalf to Birch dated 29-8-1818 and Birch to Ochterlony  
dated 11-11-1817.

fort in the midst of the protected area and, therefore, strongly objected to its erection on a petty excuse of its threatening the safety of the Patiala territory. The Sardar had to abandon the idea.

There was yet another occasion for the British to mitigate influence of the Kapurthala chief in the Cis-Sutlaj area. It arose when the two brothers, Nihang Khan and Balwant Khan, the subordinate chiefs to the ruler of Kapurthala quarrelled over their estate of Kotila. Balwant Khan had sought the assistance of the Kapurthala chief and Nihang Khan approached the British for help. Sardar Fateh Singh exercising his superior right occupied Kotila by force and refused to vacate it when the British officer at Ambala asked him to do so. The matter was referred to the Government of India which decided it against Sardar Fateh Singh and reinstated Nihang Khan in his estate. Even the half share of Balwant Khan was also confiscated and handed over to the Kotila chief.

But the Kapurthala affairs took a strange turn in December 1825. Fateh Singh got suspicious of the intentions of Ranjit Singh and quietly crossed over to the British side of the Sutlaj and encamped at Jagraon. He then requested the British Government to take him under their protection and to guarantee his possessions on both sides of the Sutlaj. The British were not prepared to incur the displeasure of Ranjit Singh at the moment and hence showed their unwillingness to agree to safeguard his Trans-Sutlaj possessions, which were subsequently occupied by the Lahore troops. Regarding his ancestral Cis-Sutlaj possessions the protection asked for by Sardar Fateh Singh was readily given, whereas those originally granted to him by the Lahore Durbar were left under Lahore supremacy. Soon after, however, Maharaja Ranjit Singh succeeded in dispelling the Sardar's doubts and persuaded

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24. N.A: Birch to Resident Delhi dated 10th March and 22nd June, 1818 and 14th November, 1820.

25. N.A: Captain Ross to A. Ross dated 26-8-1822; Murray to A. G. G. dated 9-8-1822 and A. G. G. to Murray dated 20-8-1822; Captain Ross to A. G. G. dated 26th August and 29th Sept., 1822 and A. G. G. to Capt. Ross dated 26th August and 21st September 1822; A. G. G. to Government of India dated 10-3-1824 and its reply dated 30-4-1824.

him to return to the Panjab.

(f) LADWA.

On 8th April, 1832 a serious complaint was lodged in the court of Delhi against Sardar Ajit Singh of Ladwa by a Kashmiri Muslim named Shadi Khan. It was alleged that in October, 1831 while travelling from Ludhiana to Delhi with his family, the complainant was detained at Ladwa and his young daughter was forcibly taken by Ajit Singh into his own Zanana. Shadi Khan managed to escape to Delhi after six months but his wife and children were still under detention at Ladwa. The A.G.C. immediately wrote a strong letter to Sardar Ajit Singh asking him to set free the family of Shadi Khan. The Ladwa chief released the mother and the children but not the daughter and then paid no heed to the subsequent reminders of the A.G.C. When the A.G.C. threatened the Ladwa chief with stern action if he did not set the girl at liberty, Ajit Singh appealed to the G.G., Lord William Bentinck directly for his intervention on the plea that the girl was mature and that Shadi Khan had given his daughter of his own accord for which he gave him property worth thousands of rupees. He also stated that the girl was very much willing to live with him. The G.G. under his own signature replied asking him "to set all your affairs in order by the advice of my Agent, Mr. Clerk," and "to remain in subordination to the above gentleman and to show every proper degree of reverence to his advice and requisitions."

The A.G.C. at Delhi was much agitated against the Ladwa chief for defiance of his authority and for his having snatched the liberty of a British subject and he reported the case to the G.G. in full and finally added, "The Sardar of Ladwa has for the last two years been gradually losing his character even among his own subjects. He indulges in violence, exacts heavily on his subjects and is cruel."

The G.G. ordered the Ladwa chief to bring the girl at Panipat or Karnal where the A.G.C. would interrogate her and threatened him with a heavy loss at the hands of the Government if he failed to comply with this order. The girl was brought

to Karnal and duly interrogated but she informed the British Officers that she was living with the chief of her own accord.

27

Thus ended this sad story.

(g) THANESAR.

Sardar Panjab Singh of Thanesar died in 1823 leaving behind only two issueless widows, Ratan Kaur and Prem Kaur. The chiefship was conferred by the Government upon Jamiat Singh the nephew of the deceased vide its order dated 30th January, 1824 and the widows were provided with villages Jalheri worth Rs. 400/- a year and Jognakhara worth Rs. 350/- a year respectively. In November, 1827 Prem Kaur alleged that having been betrothed to the Sardar earlier though his marriage with Ratan Kaur took place prior to her's, she was actually the elder widow and was therefore, entitled to the chiefship of the state. In support of her claim, <sup>she</sup> cited the example of about 15 estates in which the widows succeeded to the chiefship after the death of their husbands. But the Government rejected her claim firstly because betrothal is only a preliminary to the marriage ceremony and by various accidents could be set aside and as such is only a promise of mutual agreement and secondly because the widows whose precedents had been given had no brothers or nephews, whatsoever.

In November, 1830, Sardar Jamiat Singh was guilty of some violence against one of the widows of the former chief and as a punishment thereof, the British Government deprived him of the Thanesar fort and his share in the town itself and gave him villages of equal value in the estates elsewhere. Jamiat Singh died very suddenly on 16th December, 1831 when he was only 35 years of age. He left behind two widows, of whom the senior one was pregnant at the time of the Sardar's death.

Now the question of a successor to the chiefship was again at issue. The original state of Thanesar had earlier

26. Raj, pp. 210-214; N.A: Metcalfe to G. Swinton dated 29-12-1825; Murray to Metcalfe of the same date and of 7-1-1826; Metcalfe to Swinton dated 14-1-26; Murray to Metcalfe dated 10-1-1826; G. Swinton to Metcalfe dated 17-2-1826 and Murray to Metcalfe dated 26-4-1827.
27. N.A: Macnaughton to Pol. Agent Ambala dated 19-12-32; Lord William Bentinck to the Ladwa chief dated 19-12-32; William Fraser to Secy., to G. G. dated 17-1-33; S. Ajit Singh to G. G. received on 29-4-1833 and 27-3-1833 and Macnaughton to A. G. G. dated 11-7-33 and 22-8-33.

been divided into two parts; Bhanga Singh, though younger but succeeding to the 3/5th of the state territory and Bhag Singh the elder brother, getting 2/5th of the state. The town of Thanesar had been divided into two halves, but the fort was to remain with the chief. Bhanga Singh had been succeeded by his son Fatch Singh, who died childless leaving two widows. His share was first held by his mother, Mai Jea, and on her death by the senior widow named Chand Kaur. Jamiat Singh had succeeded to Bhanga Singh's share and now the question of succession related to that part of the state worth Rs. 20000/- a year.

The question of succession remained in abeyance till the birth of a child to the senior widow of Jamiat Singh who in due course gave birth to a daughter. Now there were two claimants to the chiefship, the senior widow of Jamiat Singh and the widow of Mehtab Singh, the eldest son of Bhag Singh. Mr. Clerk suggested (18th November, 1832) that the estate should lapse to the British Government except that three villages be granted to the widows of Jamiat Singh, Khem Kaur and Khushhal Kaur, and the mother of the deceased, Mand Kaur, respectively. About 16 villages of which 12 were held by the widows of the former chief, 2 by the brother-in-law of Bhag Singh and 2 by the Sodhis of Anandpur Makhwal, he suggested, that they should continue in their possession during their life time and should be resumed by the Government on the death of the grantees.

The A. G. G. personally favoured the idea of giving cash pensions but as the widows considered the cash allowance as something derogatory to their position the Government ultimately agreed to accept the suggestion made by Mr. Clerk. It was, however, settled that the two villages given by the late chief as a religious grant to the Sodhis of Makhwal were not to be resumed at all. The personal property of Jamiat Singh was, of course, to be divided among his widows.

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28. N. A. Colebrooke to G. Swinton dated 18-1-28; Murray to Sutherland dated 26-3-1826; Murray to Colebrooke dated 10-1-1828; G. Swinton to Colebrooke dated 1-2-1828; Princep to Resident Delhi dated 15-1-1831; Clerk to Resident Delhi dated 18-12-1831 and 2-1-1832; Fraser to the Secretary G. G. dated 17-7-1832; Clerk to A. G. G. dated 18-11-1832; A. G. G. to Secy.,

(h) BOORIA.

Sardarni Daya Kaur, the widow of Sardar Bhagwan Singh, died in April, 1828, and the British Government decided that her share of the estate should lapse to the Government for want of a male issue, her property be auctioned and the town of Jagadhri, which was important from the commercial point of view, should also be attached, whereas her co-sharer in that town Sardarni Sukhan was to be paid in cash for her share. All claims of Sardarni Sukhan to the share of Sardarni Daya Kaur were summarily rejected, though this rejection was contrary to the Ochterlony-award given in October, 1817.

At this stage an interesting disclosure came to the light. Sardarni Daya Kaur had gone to Delhi in 1820 for the purpose of soliciting in person from Sir David Ochterlony a favourable adjustment of her claim to the sole management of the entire state of Jagadhri as the eldest widow of her late husband. Ochterlony, then Resident, did suggest to the Government ~~that~~<sup>the</sup> sanction of Sardarni Daya Kaur's claim to the entire management of the state, though the Government later did not approve of the arrangement. For this obligation Daya Kaur is reported to have given, possibly for presentation to Ochterlony a sum of Rs. 50000/- to Munshis Barkat Ali Khan and Farid-ud-Din Khan, Munshis of Ochterlony and Captain Ross respectively. These two men were close relations and had been in the service of Ochterlony and Ross; Barkat Ali having been the Sarishtedar of Ochterlony. She had borrowed this amount by mortgaging 12 villages to the bankers, Jawahar Mal and Raghbar Dass of Jagadhri who were employed in the Ambala treasury and whose books contained full entries of this transaction on dates 29-3-1822 and 16-9-1822.

Search was made for Munshi Farid-ud-Din but since he had gone under ground he was not traceable. Mir Barkat Ali, Sardarni Daya Kaur and Sir David Ochterlony were dead. Still the G.G. in council took a serious view of it and remarked: "His

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G.G. dated 21-5-1833 and Macnaughton to A.G.G. Delhi, dated 6th June, 1833.

29. N.A: Colebrooke to A. Stirling dated 18-4-1828; A. Stirling to Colebrooke dated 13-6-1828; Murray to Colebrooke dated 30-6-1828 and A. Stirling to Acting Resident Delhi dated 21-10-1822. 2-10-1829.

Lordship in Council now learns with equal pain and indignation that the claim originates in a transaction of so discreditable a character, as the payment of a bribe of Rs. 50000/- to the Munshis of a former Resident and Pol. Agent (Sir David Ochterlony and Captain Ross). The bribe to the Munshis was paid in 1822. The Resident's order as above was never carried into execution, although never expressly rescinded and Daya Kaur held exclusive possession of Jagadhri until the day of her death".

This incident certainly gives a peep into the conduct of the high Government Officers and also throws light on the modes adopted by many to get things done in those days. The only victims of the disclosure, in the end, were the bankers, Jawahar Mal and Raghubar Das, who lost their jobs in the Ambala treasury.

#### (1) SHAHABAD.

On the death of Sardar Karam Singh of Shahabad, the state property and territory had been divided among his sons and widows and ~~that~~ none of them had been appointed to the chiefship but in September, 1831, the Pol. Agent at Ambala, once again, moved the Government to decide the issue as it was difficult to exact any service from the state without a chief. He suggested the name of Sher Singh, one of the sons of the late Sardar Karam Singh, for the chiefship, who, he pointed out, could also unite the share of his brother Kharak Singh with his own by marrying his widow through Karewa or Chadarandazi. But the Government sanctioned the proposal only to the extent of uniting the two shares through Karewa marriage ~~but~~ <sup>+</sup> not regarding the chiefship. <sup>31</sup>

#### (1) OTHER MINOR STATES.

The other minor states which afforded chances of intervention and arbitration to the British during the decade were Indri, Bidwan, Bassi and Ballalae Ahmadpur.

The town of Indri was since long jointly held by Sardar Dal Singh and Nawab Mohi-ud-Din of Kunjpura. In 1820 a dispute

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30. N.A: Colebrooke to G. Swinton dated 12-5-1829 and A. Stirling to Resident Delhi dated 5th June, 1829.

31. N.A: H. B. Martin (Acting Resident Delhi) to Secy., Government dated 21-9-31 and H. J. Princep (Secy., to Government) to Resident Delhi dated 28-11-31.

arose between Dal Singh's eldest son, Sardar Sudh Singh, and the Nawab. Ochterlony suggested a division on 22nd January, 1820, but the Government rejected the proposal in their order of 12th February, 1820 and the feud continued. Soon after Ochterlony reported the murder of the Chaudhri of the town by Sudh Singh, Sudh Singh pleaded that that was done in retaliation in answer to the murder of one of his subjects by Nawab Mohi-ud-Din Khan. The Government, therefore, ordered the confiscation of Sudh Singh's share and handed that over to the Nawab in lieu of a tribute of Rs. 2000/-/- a year by its order of 29th March, 1823.

But the confiscated share did not belong to Sudh Singh alone but also to his two younger brothers, Budh Singh and Nihal Singh, and their mother ~~also~~. This fact, though denied by the Nawab, was fully established. Since the Nawab had, later on, shown himself unworthy of British favour, the Government deprived him of the new grant in 1828 and it was again divided among Sudh Singh, his two brothers and their mother. They were also paid compensation for the losses suffered during the last five years.

The over-all control of the town, however, was allowed to remain in the hands of the Nawab, but it was laid down that, though the administration of justice and the collection of public revenue belonged to the Nawab, yet the Sikh family was entitled to half of the income from custom duty; one officer on its behalf was to be present at the time of such collection as well as at the time of settlement and collection of the revenue and was entitled to take copies of all papers relating to them and the Sikh family was to remain independent of the Pathan chief of Kunjpura.

30. N.A: Colebrooke to G. Swinton dt 12.5.1829 and A. Stirling to Resident Delhi dt 5th June, 1829.
31. N.A: N. B. Martin (Acting Resident Delhi) to Secy Government dt 21.9.31 and H. J. Prinsep (Secy to Govt. of India) to Resident Delhi dt 28.11.31.
32. N.A: ~~XXX~~ J. Sutherland to A. Stirling dt 30.7.1827; Colebrooke to A. Stirling dt 7.6.1828; A. Stirling to Colebrooke dt 27.6.1828; E. Colebrooke to G. Swinton dt 26.7.1828; A. Stirling to E. Colebrooke dt 29.8.1828; W. Fraser to A. Stirling dt 11.8.1829 with an enclosure i. e. Travelyan's Memorandum of division.



The estate of Bidwan was originally held by Sardar Ranjit Singh. On his death it was divided equally among his three sons, Jassa Singh, Khoop Singh and Albel Singh. Jassa Singh died in February, 1828. He had left behind a widow named Sahib Kaur and a dashta or keep, Khen Kaur, who had an infant son from the deceased. The Government decided that Jassa Singh's share should be divided between his two surviving brothers and that the widow Sahib Kaur was only entitled to a maintenance allowance. Khen Kaur and her son were not considered eligible to any claim on his share.

At this stage one Prem Kaur, who claimed to be the wife of Ranjit Singh married by him during his later years of life, submitted an application alleging that her husband had left behind a will in which he had bequeathed the estate to her in preference to his three sons and that she could not put forward her claim earlier as she was kept in confinement by the three sons for the last 6 years. But on investigation the will was found to be a forged one and even otherwise the Government showed its unwillingness to give over the estate to a widow in preference to the sons and hence her claim was rejected.

Sardar Dewan Singh of Bassi and the father of Sardar Fateh Singh Abluwalia of Kapurthala had married two real sisters. Bassi was a dependency of Kapurthala. On the death of S. Dewan Singh his widow Sardami Sukhan selected one Sahib Singh to manage her affairs. But Sahib Singh soon put his benefactress under restraint and subjected her to harsh usage and indignities. It was subsequent to such happenings that Maharaja Ranjit Singh in one of his Cis-Sutlaj invasions took possession of Basse but relinquished on the interference of Sardar Fateh Singh in lieu of a nazrana of Rs. 20000/-/-. Sahib Singh, thus, continued to be the chief till 1817 when on the plea of mis-government Sardar Fateh Singh sent force and imprisoned and kept the family prisoners for 7 or 8 years in one of his forts. Then Fateh Singh for fear of Maharaja Ranjit Singh came to the Cis-Sutlaj area but before doing so he issued orders for the assassination of the family, which was, however, saved by Maharaja Ranjit Singh's men.

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33. N.A: Colebrooke to G. Swinton dt 11.2.1828; A. Stirling to G. Swinton dt 21.3.1828; A. Stirling to Colebrooke dt 13.6.1828.

The family was, of course, released but the day following their release Sahib Singh fell down from the horse and died. Since then the estate of Bassi had remained in the hands of Sardar Fateh Singh. Now in September Sardarni Sukhan had approached the British for help in securing for her husband's estate from the Kapurthala chief. But the British refused to interfere, though they strongly recommended her case for a suitable maintenance allowance to Sardar Fateh Singh  
34  
Ahluwalia.

Sardar Budh Singh of Ballalee and Ahmadpur, formerly a vassal of the Jhanesar State, died in September, 1831. He had left behind two childless widows. The Political Agent Ambala suggested that the villages should lapse to the government, but the Resident Delhi was of the view that the senior widow should possess the villages and the younger widow should get a maintenance allowance, which was to continue during her life time, even after the death of the senior  
35  
widow. The Government agreed with the Resident's view.

(k) ESTATES LAPSED.

The minor estates which lapsed to the British Government for want of male issues, during the decade under review, were Ambala, Radaur, Jagdahri, Dhanaura, part of Booria, Bilaspur, part of Shahabad, Serai Lashkar Khan, Doodla, Sadhaura and part of Jhanesar. The state of Ambala was resumed by the British on the death of Sardarni Daya Kaur on 13th January, 1824, as had been earlier decided by them on 13th  
36  
April, 1820.

The state of Radaur passed on to the British Government in November, 1827 on the death of Sardarni Ind Kaur, whose husband Sardar Dulcha Singh had already died without any male issue in 1820. The claims of Sardar Ajit Singh of Ladwa, the son-in-law of the late Sardar, and that of Dasaundha Singh, who proclaimed himself a son of Sardar Dulcha Singh by another wife but was declared illegitimate  
37  
by the British, were rejected.

Jagdahri fell to the British on the death of Sardarni Daya Kaur  
34. N.A: Clerk to Secy G.G. dt 17.9.1831 and Secy G.G. to Clerk  
26.10.31.  
35. N.A: Clerk to Resident Delhi dt 18.9.31; Resident to Secretary G.G.  
dt. 24.11.1831 and Secy G.G. to Resident Delhi dt 30.12.1831.  
36. N.A: Ch. Elliot to G. Swinton dt 14.1.1824.  
37. N.A: Colebrooke to G. Swinton dt 13.11.1827; G. Swinton to Colebrooke

as has been described earlier. Dhanaura was escheated on the death of Sardarni Raj Kaur, widow of Sardar Sudh Singh; part of Booria state lapsed on the death of Sardarni Anand Kaur; Billaspur on the death of Mai Daya Kaur, part of Shahabad on the death of Sardarni Goojri and part of Thanesar on the death of Sardar Jamiat Singh. The minor estates of Serai Lashkar Khan and Doodla were confiscated in January, 1829 on the death of the two widows of Sardar Mohar Singh Nishanwala, Warce and Bhagan, who held them separately since the death of their husband. The claim of the Maharaja of Patiala, who already held a part of Serai Lashkar Khan, to the whole of that estate, was rejected.

The estate of Sahnaura lapsed in July, 1834, on the death of Mai Rajan.

## 2. MURRAY - WADE CONTROVERSEY.

Meanwhile there ranged a bitter controversy between two British Political Officers in the Cis-Sutlej area, Murray and Wade, which greatly influenced its course of history. Captain W. Murray was promoted to the post of Deputy Superintendent Sikh and Hill affairs, Ambala, on 29.2.1823 and Captain C.E.M. Wade was appointed in his vacancy at Ludhiana as Political Assistant, which he joined 4 months later. The memorandum of duties of the two officers specifically stated that the duties of political Assistant at Ludhiana were strictly local and if even engaged in communication with protected states, he was to be under Deputy Superintendent. Again while both were ordered to report to the Resident any news of the area beyond the Sutlej, it was definitely clarified that in an emergency, when both are required to co-operate, the one at Ambala will be considered as superior authority and that at Ludhiana as subordinate.

But Wade never took his subordinate position in good taste and was always keen to increase the importance of his own office. An opportunity for this came his way in 1826 when Ranjit Singh, once  
(Contd) 37. dt 30.11.1827; E. Colebrooke to A. Stirling dt 27.5.1828 and 4.5.1829; Murray to Colebrooke dt January, 1829; A. Stirling to Colebrooke dt 30.5.1829; Hawkins to Swinton dt 26.10.1829.  
38. N.A: Murray to Stherland dt 26th March, 1828.  
39. N.A: E. Colebrooke to C. Swinton dt 10.1.1829; Murray to E. Colebrooke dt. 5.1.1829 & E. Colebrooke to G. Swinton dt 20.2.1829.  
40. N.A: Clerk to Fraser dt 18.7.1834 and Machaughton to A. G. G. dt 21.8.1834.

again, requested the British Government to entrust the settlement of his Cis-Sutlaj affairs to the Political Assistant at Ludhiana, "who is at hand instead of the Deputy Superintendent who is 50 kos away." Wade lent his full support to the proposal and argued that the British relations with Ranjit Singh and the protected states formed two ~~xxx~~ separate charges, which should be handled by different persons. But Murray, who always hated Wade's care for personal dignity and self respect, strongly opposed it on the plea that it would cause such decrease in efficiency and even hinted that Ranjit Singh possibly initiated that suggestion at the instance of Wade. The Government weighed the pros and cons of the proposal and after long deliberations decided, at Metcalfe's suggestion, in December 1827 that Murray would be incharge of protected state's affairs and Wade of Ranjit Singh's Cis-Sutlaj possessions and that both would be independent of each other in the discharge of their duties. However, all disputes between the protected states and the Lahore chief's Cis-Sutlaj possessions were to be settled by them by mutual correspondence<sup>u</sup> and the decision of the Resident of Delhi would be final in those cases. The designations of Murray & Wade were also earlier changed to those of Pol. Agent, Ambala, and Pol. Agent, Ludhiana, respectively. This decision augmented the jealousy and animosity between the two officers, all the more.

Another point which further increased the bitterness between the two officers was that in Murray's time there used to be present at Ludhiana the Vakils of the protected sikh chiefs to help him in settling the various issues regarding the states. But during the interval of four months between Murray's departure and Wade's arrival on duty all the Vakils, except those of the Lahore court and the Ladwa chief, had retired from Ludhiana. Now Wade desired the old practice to continue. But Murray opposed it saying that in his times the Vakils were there to help him in writing the Political and Historical Review of the Sikh States and now they were no more needed. Here the Government decided in favour of Murray.

This controversy between the two officers continued with full

force right upto the death of Murray at Sabathu in June, 1831, and found its expression in their correspondence. At times <sup>it</sup> even crossed the limits of decency or decorum, for which the blame largely lay with Murray, and it invited a strong rebuke from the G. G. in council for the two officers in January, 1830, which did cure the <sup>41</sup> disease to some extent but not fully.

3. SETTLEMENT OF RAJIT SINGH'S CIS-SUTLAJ POSSESSIONS.

Now the full echo of Murray-Wade controversy could be heard in the Cis-Sutlej affairs between the British ~~XXX~~ Government and the Lahore Durbar from 1827 to June, 1831. As mentioned above the Political Agents at Ambala and Ludhiana had been appointed in December, 1827, to superintend the affairs of the protected states and Ranjit Singh's Cis-Sutlej possessions respectively. Consequently, the Resident of Delhi demanded a list of Ilacag from Wade which he was to take in his charge. Captain Wade prepared the list with the <sup>42</sup> help of the Lahore Durbar within a month. This list contained the names of 47 Ilacag over which Ranjit Singh had preferred claim. The Government consulted Murray regarding the correctness of the list. Murray was a true expansionist and always desired to limit the authority of Ranjit Singh in the Cis-Sutlej <sup>area,</sup> hence he divided that list into two parts; the first part consisted of those Ilacag which were admitted to have belonged to the Lahore Durbar and the second part of those about whom the claim of the Lahore chief was disputed. Wade, who believed that "the officers of the Government are bound to preserve to Maharaja Ranjit Singh the integrity of his ~~territory~~ territory as much as of any other independent state," pleaded for

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41. N.A: Murray to Wade dt 14.1.1826; Wade to Metcalfe dt 3.12.1826; Metcalfe to A. Stirling dt 7.7.1827; Murray to Trevelyan dt 4.11.1827; Colebrooke to Wade dt 9.12.1827; Wade to Murray dt 18.9.1828; Wade to Metcalfe dt 5.12.1827; Murray to Metcalfe dt 26.3.1828; Hawkins to G. Swinton dt 22.1.1830 and Stirling to Hawkins dt 29.1.1830. Lahore Durbar, pp 22-29

42. For the details of the list see appendix S.

an impartial enquiry about each Ilaga. The Government agreed. The details of the important disputed Ilagas and the decisions arrived at in their respect can be thus summarised.

(1) WADNI.

Ranjit Singh had made an unconditional grant of the estate of Wadni to his mother-in-law, Mai Sada Kaur, in September 1806 in lieu of a Hazarana of Rs.15000/-/-. Previously it was in the possession of Mian Kaudha, from whom a part of it had been seized by Dewan Mohkam Chand in 1808. On 25th October, 1811 Mian Kaudha was made a vassal of Mai Sada Kaur, but in 1817 she possessed the Wadni estate by turning out Mian's son altogether.

A couple of years later Mai's relations with Ranjit Singh were estranged and the latter imprisoned her and occupied her fort in 1820. The Mai appealed for help to the British. The British agreed to take her under protection in her own capacity as an independent ruler of a Cis-Sutlaj estate and sent troops to turn out the Lahore forces. Ranjit Singh deliberately avoided a clash.

A few months later the Mai died without leaving a male issue and the Government by its order of 11th October, 1820, declared her estate (Wadni) an escheat and some time later even contemplated the restoration of it to some representative of Mian Kaudha.

Wade supported the Maharja's claim on three grounds. Firstly, the wakil of Mai Sada Kaur always acted in concert with the Lahore wakil at the British Agency of Ambala. Secondly, Mai had been reconciled to her son-in-law before her death and was thinking of bequeathing her possessions to him. Thirdly, Ochterlony had permitted Ranjit Singh to send troops to Wadni to establish her authority there, which clearly implied Wadni being a dependency of Lahore.

The third argument appealed to the Resident<sup>at</sup> Delhi who "considered (it) as a sufficient ground for recognising Ranjit Singh's supremacy over Wadni" and felt that this concession would perhaps reconcile him in some measure to the assertion of British supremacy over Perozpur." The G.C. in Council too fully concurred with the Resident's opinion

and consequently ordered the withdrawal of all opposition to Ranjit Singh's claim for sovereignty over ~~Wadni~~  
43. N.A: Colebrooke to Wade dt 9.11.1827; Wade to Colebrooke dt 7.12.1827  
Murray to Colebrooke dt 18.12.1827 and 19.2.1827 and Wade to Hawkins dt 14.12.1829.

44  
Wadni."

(11) THE AHLUWALIA POSSESSIONS.

It has been already stated that the British Government had by its order of 17.2.1826, issued at the request of the Ahluwalia chief, taken his ancestral possessions under its protection while the territories granted to him by the Lahore chief during his Cis- Sutlaj campaigns were allowed to remain under that chief's supremacy. Now Murray pointed out to the Resident Delhi on 24th September, 1828, that the grants of the Lahore Durbar were not gratis but in exchange for nazrana, which was the purchase price itself. Hence, he proposed, <sup>That</sup> the British protection granted to the Ahluwalia chief for his Cis-Sutlaj possession should not confine to his ancestral territories only but also to those which Sardar Fateh Singh had bought from Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The Resident accepted Murray's views that "the word nazrana in the transaction between these parties (Ahluwalia and the Lahore chiefs) and in similar transactions between the Maharaja and the chiefs of Jind, Patiala and Nabha seems to imply not a pecuniary tender or acknowledgement of supremacy and allegiance but an actual bonafide equivalent of purchase money for the acquisition of an independent property." He, however, also added, "If, therefore, his Lordship in Council should deem it proper to recognise Maharaja's claim of supremacy over Fateh Singh and the latter also does not appear himself to press for a decision to the contrary, some ground might be assumed which should not give an opening to future claims on the part of Maharaja upon the feudatories of British Government."

The Kapurthala and Lahore chiefs had reconciled their differences in March, 1827 and the former had, once again, accepted the supremacy of Lahore over all his possessions on both sides of the Sutlaj. It was on this basis that Ranjit Singh had extended his claim to the ancestral as well as possessions held in grants from him by Fateh Singh. But the G.G. in Council did not consider

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44. N.A: Wade to Colebrooke dt 10.1.1828, Murray to Colebrooke dt 19.2.1828; Colebrooke to Wade dt 28.4.1828; Colebrooke to A. Stirling dt 30.9.1828 and Colebrooke to A. Stirling dt 14.11.1828; Cunningham, pp 163-164 & Lahore Durbar, pp 33-34.

the mere declaration of the chief sufficient to release him from his allegiance to the British and hence allowed the Lahore supremacy to continue over the granted possessions alone and not on ancestral ones.

(iii) FERROZPUR.

Sardani Bachni Kaur was placed in possession of Ferozepur estate by Ranjit Singh on the intercession of Captain Murray. Since then she occasionally sought help from the British to curb the refractory element in her estate, which according to the British, implied her dependence on them.

The British had a covetous eye on Ferozepur since long for its political, military and commercial importance. It was very near Lahore and the boundary line of Bahawalpur and, thus, besides serving a centre of effective control over the protected chiefs, it could also work as an important check on Ranjit Singh's capital as well as on his movements towards Sind. The Commercial importance of the town mainly lay in its being situated on the important ferry of Hari-ke-Pattan.

It was for these reasons that the British arranged to give it to Sardani Bachni Kaur, knowing full well that she having no heir the estate was sure to escheat to the British on her death. Ranjit Singh extended his claim over it on two grounds in which he received full support from wide and staunch opposition not from Murray alone but the whole British Government. His first plea was that the place was under his control until 1823 and secondly that it was his by right of conquest. But the Government did not listen to any of the arguments of the Maharaja, however, just they might have been and did not allow him to acquire supremacy over the place. Ranjit Singh was alive to the naked selfishness of the British, yet he thought it politic to remain quiet.

45. N.A: Metcalfe to Murray dt 14.1.1826; Murray to Colebrooke dt 24.9.23; Colebrooke to A.Stirling dt 30.9.1828 and A. Stirling to Colebrooke dt 14.11.1828.

46. It must be noted here that the negotiations were deliberately prolonged by the British who were engaged in wars with (1) Burma (1824-26) and (ii) with the Jat Raja of Bharatpur (1825-26). The decision to retain Ferozepur was announced to Ranjit Singh only after the settlement with Bharatpur and Burma was made. After the decision viz. 1827 Ranjit Singh was involved in the prolonged Frontier trouble created by Khalifa Sayyad Ahmad (1827-31).



Sardani Lachmi Kaur died in 1835, Ranjit Singh revived his claim over it again on old pleas but with new proposals that the fort and the town of Ferozepur be levelled to ground and then claims should be considered for its disposal or that the British should accept some place of equal value in Maharaja's Cis-Sutlaj possessions and hand over Ferozepur to him, as its possession by the British threatened the safety of his capital. But the British rejected all such pleas and proposals and declared the estate escheat to the ~~xxxxxx~~ Government. In 1823<sup>38</sup> it was converted into a British Military cantonment.  
47

#### (IV) SIALBA

Sardar Dewa Singh inherited his possessions on both sides of the Sutlaj from his father, Sardar Hari Singh, who held his possessions in the Trans-Sutlaj area under the supremacy of Ranjit Singh and his cis-Sutlaj territories under the British protection. Although Sardar Dewa Singh himself was an important feudal Sardar of Ranjit Singh, yet like those of Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia his relations also got estranged with the Maharaja in 1825 and he crossed ~~xxxxx~~ the Sutlaj to seek the British protection, which was granted to him for his Cis-Sutlaj Ilagas. Hence Maharaja's claim over Dewa Singh's Ilaga of Sialba was rejected on 14th November, 1828.  
48

#### (V) MACHIWARA

The owner of Machiwara in 1828 was Sodhi Faujdar Singh, whose grandfather Sodhi Karam Singh had acquired it from Zain Khan in 1764. Murray claimed the British supremacy over Machiwara on account of their direct interference in its affairs in 1816 for the re-annexatio<sup>n</sup> of two villages usurped from it by its Sikh neighbours and in 1823

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47. N.A: Murray to Wade dt 30.1.1828; Murray to Colebrooke dt 21.4.1828; Murray to Elliot dt 12th December, 1823; Colebrooke to Wade dt 18.3.1828; Colebrooke to Murray dt 19.12.1828; Clerk to Metcalfe dt 4.10.1835; Wade to Macnaughton dt 23.4.1836 ~~xxx~~ Meckeson to Wade dt 11.1.1836; Macnaughton to Wade dt 23.5.1836 and Lahore Durbar pp 43-46.

48. N.M: Murray to Colebrooke dt 19.2.1828; Colebrooke to Murray dt dt 19.12.1828; Murray to Elliot dt 17.5.1825 and Lahore Durbar, pp 41.

for the division of the estate into three claimants, Kharak Singh (Faujdar Singh's father) and his two brothers, Charat Singh and Puhar Singh. On the ~~contrary~~ contrary Ranjit Singh claimed Faujdar Singh as his feudatory and carried his point with the British in this case.

#### VI. MAKHOWAL ANANDPUR.

The Sodhis of Anandpur Makhowal were the decedents of Guru Gobind Singh. Murray claimed them under the British protection as the copies of the British proclamation of 1809 and Declaration of 1811 promising protection against Ranjit Singh and against one another respectively were sent to them also by Sir David Ochterlony.

Ranjit Singh on the other hand claimed the Sodhis as his vassals and argued that their business was always conducted at the British Agency of Ambala through the Lahore wakil. The G.C. accepted his claim with the remark that it would be best managed "under the sovereignty of the chief of their own religious persuasion."

#### VII. THE KANG POSSESSIONS.

The owner was Sardar Hari Singh, who possessed lands on both sides of the Sutlaj and who on ~~his~~ his estrangement of the relations with Ranjit Singh crossed the Sutlaj in 1824 and sought British protection for his Cis-Sutlaj territories. But meanwhile Ranjit Singh reconciled his differences with Hari Singh, who, once more, recognised the former as his over-lord. Hence the British withdraw their claim and the Ilaca was left to the authority of the Maharaja.

Hari Singh died in March, 1828 and the Maharaja occupied his territory on both sides of the Sutlaj. He, however, granted his two widows a maintenance allowance of Rs. 4900/-/- a year alongwith the ancestral village of Kang.

#### VIII. POSSESSIONS OF QUTB-UD-DIN KHAN OF KASUR.

Qutb-ud-Din Khan of Kasur held lands on both sides of the Sutlaj Ranjit Singh had made him his vassal before the Treaty of 49. N.A; Murray to Colebrooke dt 19.2.1828 and Colebrooke to Murray dt 19.12.1828.  
50. N.A: Murray to Colebrooke dt 19.2.1828; Wade to Clerk dt 10.1.1828 and Colebrooke to Murray dt 19.12.1828; A. Stirling to Colebrooke dt 14.11.1828.  
51. N.A: Elliot to Murray dt 11.11.1824; Colebrooke to Wade dt 16.1.1828 and 22.1.1828; Murray to Colebrooke dt 7.3.1828 and 2.6.1828 and Wade to Colebrooke dt 14.8.1828.

Anandpur 1809. However, later, like Sardar Hari Singh Kang, he also applied for British protection. Meanwhile Ranjit Singh conferred on him Mandot and Rumnuwala and asserted his claims of supremacy over the Khan, which was ultimately admitted by the British.

#### IX. OTHER MINOR ILAQAS.

Other disputed Ilagas of minor importance such as Rajowana, Amrala, Kalal, Majra, Hassanpur, Kot Guru Harsehai, Chankaur, Tughal etc., were admitted by the British in Lahore supremacy and their charge was handed over to Wade.

But within a few months two more disputes arose regarding Fatehgarh Garhi, a mud fort, and the minor estate of Talwandi, in which the Murray-Wade controversy reached its height. Their correspondence, full of charges and counter charges, ran into about one hundred letters. These two places were neither of much political or strategic importance, nor were they very coveted bone of contention between the two states. But the vituperations of the two officers against each other brought discredit to the name of the British Government, and besides wasting the time and energy of its high officers raised an unnecessary alarm and bitterness between the two Governments.

The mud fort of Fatehgarh, "about 25 paces square with a few huts attached to it", was situated within the precincts of Anandpur Mahowal, and was occupied by the Sodhis of Anandpur and a few Sikh Faqirs. Its general administration was in the hands of a Thanedar of Lahore Government for the last 23 years. However, in August, 1839, the Lahore troops ejected the occupants on the plea that with the collaboration of the Singhpuria chiefs they harboured dacoits and undesirable persons, and themselves occupied it. Murray considered it a great injustice to the Singhpuria chiefs, who, according to him, owned the fort for the last 50 years and were under the

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52. N.A: Wade to Metcalf dt 29.11.1826; Murray to Metcalf dt 18.10.1826 and 25.11.1826 and Metcalfe to Murray dt 10.12.1826.

53. N.A: A. Stirling to Colebrooke dt 14.11.28 and resident to Maharaja Ranjit Singh dt 20.12.1928.

British protection, and hence desired that the Government should come to their rescue. Wade on the other hand argued that since the British Government had admitted the supremacy of the Lahore chief over Anandpur Makhwal by its order of 14.11.1828 and as Fatehgarh Garhi formed a part of that Ilaga, the Lahore chief was authorized to act as he pleased.

Now the main question was whether the Garhi formed a part of Anandpur Makhwal or not. It was decided when a committee of three persons namely Wade, Dr. Murray (a Surgeon in British Indian Army) and Lt. Nichol of the Horse Artillery visited the spot in December, 1829, and prepared the sketch map of the place, which clearly showed that the Fatehgarh Garhi was a component part of Anandpur Makhwal. The Government therefore, accepted this position in January, 1830.

But the proceedings of the two officers in this case brought forth the wrath of the Resident Delhi and the Secretary to the G.G. was compelled to write that "the G.G. in Council has noticed with regret and dissatisfaction on several occasions, and particularly on the present the unfriendly feelings existing between Captains Murray and Wade, and the tone of acrimony which pervades their correspondence. Both, the public interests are injuriously affected and the character of the British Administration brought into discredit by these exacted altercations and angry collisions between frontier authorities, entrusted with the Government's charge, of one of the most important circles of our political relations, and I am instructed accordingly to intimate the expectation of Government that Captains Murray and Wade will endeavour for the future to lay aside their feelings of personal animosity in the discharge of their public duties and cooperate cog<sup>rd</sup>ially and zealously for the general good. Any neglect of these injunctions will compel the G.G. in Council to adopt decisive measures for

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54. N.A: Hawkins to Murray dt 25.9.1829; Wade to Fraser dt 19.9.1829; Murray to Fraser dt 30.8.1829; Colebrooke to Murray dt 19.12.1829; Wade to Hawkins dt 17th October and 29 December 1829; Hawkins to Wade dt 5.1.1830 and Hawkins to Murray dt 26.4.1830; Lahore Durbar, pp 48-55.  
 55. N.A: F.Hawkins to A.Stirling dt 14.1.1830.

correcting the mischief which must ensue from the continuance of such unseemly and discreditable ~~misunderstandings~~ misunderstandings." 56

Another dispute was about Talwandi. It was in the possession of Mai Sukhan, the widow of Sardar Sudda Singh, the Rajgarhian chief, till her death in 1824, under the protection of the British. The new claimants of the estate were Sodhi Uttam Singh and Mata Raj Kaur the widow of Sodhi Bilok Singh, two collaterals of Sardar Sudda Singh. The British accepted the claim of Mata Raj Kaur. This sowed the seed of ~~an~~ rivalry between the two parties.

Raj Kaur's weak rule soon resulted in anarchy. Uttam Singh took advantage of the situation and captured Talwandi in July, 1828. But the British Government came to her rescue and restored Talwandi to her. After some time there was again a rebellion of her officers and this time she controlled the situation with the help of Lahore forces. But soon after in September, 1829 the Lahore forces ~~again~~ captured the fort of Talwandi by ejecting Mata Raj Kaur herself.

Now Murray claimed the estate as a dependency of the British Government but Wade considered it under Lahore chief's supremacy. The British Government finally accepted Wade's point of view in 1835 at Murray's death in June, 1831. 57

Two things must be noted in the end. Firstly the Murray-Wade controversy had brought all the details of the disputed Ilagas into light and afforded ample chances to the higher British authorities to reach fair decisions in most of the cases. Secondly, there was a tangible reason for the generous attitude of the British in deciding these disputed cases in favour of the Lahore chief to a great extent. It was the Russian fear, which, the British authorities believed, was fast approaching India and subsequently the British territories there either via Punjab or Sind. This Russian bogey 58

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56. N.A: A. Stirling to F. Hawkins dt 29.1.1830.

57. N.A: Hawkins to Murray dt 5.1.1830; Murray to Hawkins dt 23.10.1829; Hawkins to Wade dt 27.4.1830; Wade to Hawkins dt 3rd November, 23rd November and 5th December, 1829; Murray to Hawkins dt 27th September, 23rd October & 12th November, 1829 and Clerk to Wade dt 17.8.1827; Lahore Durbar, pp 55-61

58. N.A: Malcolm's note dt 4.7.1830. For its text see appendix 'F',

obliged the Britishers to offer friendly gestures to the Lahore chief who, after the disputed claims had been settled, wrote to the Resident: "The intelligence of the fair decision, as indicating a x favourable termination of many affairs pending between the two states, has afforded me and all well wishers unbounded happiness. It has expanded the hearts of friends and planted thorns in the eyes of the evil disposed, who were unable to see, such strict friendship existing between the two states."

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#### 4. BENTINCK-RANJIT SINGH MEETING AT RUPAR.

The fear of Russian invasion, with the collaboration of the Shah of Persia through Herat, Khurasan, Gandhar and Kabul to the Indus and then via the Panjab or ~~XXXXXX~~ Sind, on the British possessions in India had set the British authorities busy thinking of suitable safeguards against it. They became anxious to rope in the ruler of the Panjab and the Amirs of Sind so that they could control both the routes from the Indus to the Sutlaj. It was not an easy task. The ruler of Lahore himself had a covetous eye on Sind for sometime past and any open endeavour to contact the Amirs of Sind was sure to arouse his jealousy and suspicions. Besides, the British, so far, were not very intimate either with Sind or with its rulers. They, therefore, decided to send a commercial mission to Sind under Burnes, apparently to find out the possibilities of opening the Sutlaj and the Indus for commercial navigation and inwardly to acquire first hand knowledge of the topography of Sind as well as to facilitate a treaty with the Amirs of Sind-a task which had been separately entrusted to Col. Pottinger. The whole project was to be kept a close secret from Ranjit Singh but at the same time the ties of friendship were to be made stronger and x tighter with him.

On the other hand Ranjit Singh had a perpetual fear of the British. He always followed a policy of great caution and watchfulness towards them, at the same time, he was always anxious to have their good will on his side. It was for this reason that he

frequently sent missions to the ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Governor Generals either at Simla, where they came during the course of their usual tour of upper India or to their headquarters at Calcutta. The Governor Generals also sent similar missions to the Lahore chief as a mark of friendship. ~~241~~

But in 1831 the British G.G., Lord William Bentinck, in view of the above project, was personally eager to see that Ranjit Singh's friendly gesture should result in an interview between them. Wade played a very important part in making this wish a reality. The place of meeting was fixed at Rupar on the left bank of the Sutlaj and the dates in the last week of October, 1831.

The preparations for interview began on both sides. Even in the Cis-Sutlaj area the Political Agent of Ambala, Clerk, drew a list of sixty nine chiefs of note, who were to be presented to the G.G. on his arrival. Besides, Ranjit Singh requested the British Government that the Rajas of Jind and Nabha, the Bhai of Kaithal and the chief of Ladwa be allowed to join him at the time of interview with the G.G. He desired the presence of the Raja of Jind and the chief of Ladwa on account of his near relations, that of the Raja of Nabha due to old friendship and of the Bhai of Kaithal on the basis of his regard for him by virtue of his religious character. But the Government granted such permission only to the rulers of Jind and Ladwa who formed the suite of Ranjit Singh at the time of interview.

The G.G. arrived at Rupar on the 22nd October and the next day the notable Cis-Sutlaj chiefs were presented to him. On this occasion Sardar Bhoop Singh of Rupar presented a long application to the G.G. about his long standing dispute with his uncle Sardar Dewa Singh of Sialba regarding the division of ancestral property and territory. In this application he brought all the details of dispute to the notice of the G.G. and narrated in detail his sufferings at the

hands of the British Political Officers of the area specially of  
60. N.A: Clerk to Resident Delhi at 1.10.1831. For this list see appendix U.

61. N.A: Wade to H. T. Prinsep at 9.10.1831 and Appendix VII Lahore Durbar pp 341.

Charles Elliot and Captain Murray. In the end he had humbly implored the G.G. to go through the matter personally and redress his  
62  
grievances. The G.G. referred the matter to Pol. Agent Ambala for further investigation, if not already done and if done, then to communicate His Lordship's displeasure to Shoop Singh for the attempt,  
63  
thus, made.

Ranjit Singh arrived on the right bank of the Sutlaj on 25th October and crossed the Sutlaj by way of a bridge built for the purpose. The meeting took place on 26th October and subsequent days and proved a great success for both the parties. The British rendered Ranjit Singh very happy by the most friendly talks and exchanges of visits, presents and bilants, ~~partly~~ <sup>yet</sup> stole a march over him in making their mission to Sind a success which ultimately resulted in the Anglo-Sind Treaty of 1832 and awakened Ranjit Singh to the real danger. However, after the meeting the Lahore chief felt that the British were most favourably disposed towards him and that the whole Khalesa had realized that the British Power had recognized him as its  
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chief representative.

But the visit of the G.G. to the Cis-Sutlaj area resulted in his displeasure towards the Shahabad Sardars. The Government had divided the state of Shahabad among the various sons of Sardar Karam Singh but had not appointed any one of them as its chief. All had equal positions and hence worked with divided responsibilities. Under these circumstances the Deputy postmaster of Karnal failed to get any horseman to carry the G.G.'s letters to him, and even when Captain Andrew, a senior army officer at Karnal, personally approached the Sardar for it, none came forward to assist him, except Sardar Sher Singh, who offered one horseman. The G.G. was highly displeased at this<sup>s</sup> and asked Clerk to institute an enquiry, who declared the Sardars  
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guilty and recommended a collective fine of Rs.5000/-/- on them. But when the G.G. came to know the exact cause of the Sardars' neglect, he reduced the fine to Rs.2000/-/- saying: "The offence would not seem

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62. N.A: Sardar Shoop Singh to G.G. dt 23.10.1831.

63. N.A: H.T.Princep to Clerk dt 10.11.1831.

64. Lahore Durbar pp 79-94.

65. N.A: Clerk to Princep dt 13.11.1831.



to have been a wilful act of disobedience and disrespect but to have originated in the division of the chiefs and their shifting from one to another the duty of providing the horsemen.<sup>66</sup> The fine was duly realized and was later contributed, with the permission of the G.G., towards the expenses of erecting four gates at the each extremity of the new and handsome Bazars in the great commercial town of Jagadhri.<sup>67</sup>

5. THE CHIEFS REJECT THE BRITISH PROPOSAL FOR TRIBUTE.

Russian bogey too, however, had not brought about any change in the attitude of the British authorities towards the Cis-Sutlaj chiefs. On the other hand their drive for consolidation was continuing at a much greater speed, as was amply clear during the course of the year 1831 when the British Government instructed Clerk to sound the chiefs of Patiala, Kalthal, Jind and Nabha to find out, "if they were willing to pay tribute, on the understanding that should they not do so the Government would take advantage of all lapses as the only means of reimbursing itself for the expenses incurred in protecting the states between the Sutlaj and the Jamna." Explaining it further Clerk was to make it very clear to the chiefs " that they had full liberty to adopt the suggestion or reject it, but the consequences of non-payment of tribute might justly cause some apprehension as to the permanency of which there were no direct heirs."<sup>68</sup> The amount of tribute desired to be paid was 1/8th of the revenues of each state.<sup>69</sup>

The four major chiefs and their Dewans, who met at Bhawani-garh for consultations, regarded this proposal as a bombshell. They had helplessly seen most of the promises of the British Government

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66. N.A: Princep to Clerk dt 19.11.1831.

67. N.A: Clerk to Princep dt 24.11.1831 and Princep to Clerk dt 12.12.1831.

68. Rajas, pp 362.

69. Hassan, pp 301.

regarding the security of their possessions being broken one after the other but the present deviation from earlier declarations and assurances was a most shocking and surprising one. But what could they do? Could they afford to reject the proposal and take the risk involved, especially when the rulers of Kai thal and Jind had no direct heirs? Did they possess sufficient resources to resist the consequent British repercussions? They felt very much perturbed when they thought of the answers to these questions. But equally or rather more agitating was the thought that the acceptance of the proposal would be tantamount to signing their death warrant, as that would ~~mean~~ pave the way for the complete annexation of their lands, besides nullifying the persistent efforts made by their ancestors to resist such demands. Hence they acted rather sentimentally than statesmanly and taking courage in both hands they rejected the proposal.

The British felt much exasperated at this wilful refusal of their offer and looked forward to opportunities to penalize them for their insolence.

This intention was further strengthened when the chiefs rejected in December, 1833, the second British proposal for reducing the transit duties in their territories so as to bring them to the British Indian Level.

During the decade under review the policy pursued by the British towards the Indian states became more pronounced. Governor General Lord Hastings (1813-23) had laid down for the guidance of all political officers, Residents, Agents to the G.C., Assistant Agents etc., that the aim of the Government was to make the British authority supreme in effect, even when the semblance of power was allowed to be retained by a vassal state. His successor Lord Amherst (1823-28) remained occupied with the Burmese War and the War with the Jat ruler of Bharatpur. The triumphant emergence of the British made their position stronger and considerably enhanced

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70. Rajas, pp 362-63; Hassan, pp 301-302 & Duni Chand, pp 74.  
71. N.A: Clerk to Macnaghton dt 31.12.1833.

their prestige with the result that Lord William Bentinck(1828-33) now openly applied the doctrine of Lapse and escheat, and exercised the privilege of a paramount power of furnishing with dethronement an unworthy ruler of a state. The states of Mysore and Coorg were taken over by the British East India Company for reasons of mal administration, Kachar was annexed because the Raja died without issue and the ruler of Jantia was dethroned because he had refused to surrender men who had kidnapped a few British subjects. What we have seen in the Cis-Sutlaj region during the period of ten years under review was very similar to what was happening on a larger scale in the rest of India in respect of the Company's relations with the Indian princes.

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## C H A P T E R VII

### PERIOD OF ARBITRATION AND LAPSES (3rd Nov. 1834\_\_\_ 1844).

#### 1. PARTIAL LAPSE OF JIND STATE.

On 3rd November, 1834 Raja Sangat Singh of Jind died issueless when he was only twenty four. It so happened that there was no male issue left in the whole family of Raja Bhag Singh. The Jind ruling house was, practically, reduced to a family of widows: Three widows of Raja Sangat Singh, two widows of Raja Fatch Singh, three widows of Kanwar Partap Singh and one widow of Kanwar Mehtab Singh. The nearest male collaterals were the three second cousins: Sardar Sarup Singh of Bazidpur, and Sardars Sukha Singh and Bhagwan Singh of Badrukhan all being grandsons of Sardar Bhoop Singh, the full younger brother of Raja Bhag Singh. Another nearer male collateral was Raja Paswant Singh of Nabha, the son of Chandhri Hamir Singh,<sup>1</sup> who was the half brother of Raja Bhag Singh.

G.R. Clerk, the Political Agent at Ambala, conveyed all these facts to Agra Governor through the A.G.G. at Delhi and pointed out that since all the male collaterals, mentioned above, enjoyed separate Jagirs or estates from the state, they had no claim to the chiefship of Jind. He also proposed that Mai Sahib Kaur, the senior widow of Raja Fatch Singh and the mother of Raja Sangat Singh, who had already worked as Regent of her son during his three years of minority (1822-25), should continue to administer the affairs of the state, until the final instructions regarding the state were received from the Supreme Government, as he apprehended no<sup>2</sup> inconvenience to the state from that arrangement.

The Governor of Agra, Sir Charles Metcalfe, in his turn laid down a few principles to settle the Jind case. He said that the first point for consideration was whether the widows, or one of them, had a claim to succeed to the chiefship, which, he believed, they had not according to the usage of the family. If the widows or widow were not entitled to succeed, he observed, there were other questions to be determined as to who should succeed to the

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1. See also the Genealogical table in Appendix A.

2. N.A. Clerk to Fraser dt 6.11.1834.

chiefship and to what part of the state territory. The state territory, he said, consisted of two types of lands at the time of Raja Sangat Singh's death: (1) what Raja Bhag Singh inherited from his father, Maharaja Gaipat Singh, and (2) the grants made by the Lahore chief to Rajas Bhag Singh and Sangat Singh. He, therefore, felt that whatever descended to Raja Bhag Singh from his father should go to the nearest male heir of Maharaja Gaipat Singh, who should also succeed to the chiefship, whereas the grants made by the Lahore chief to the family should in equity return to that prince.<sup>3</sup>

But in his orders of 7th January, 1835, the G.G., Lord William Bentinck, accepted the views of Mr. Clerk that the sons of Bhoop Singh and Hamir Singh, the full and half brothers of Raja Bhag Singh, could have no claim to the chiefship of Jind since the former had been separately provided for from the Jind territory and the latter held a separate principality altogether. He left the question of the life interest of the widows open for discussion, and ordered that the mother Rani should continue to hold the management. As regards the future of the lands which were conferred by Ranjit Singh upon the family, it was left to the Maharaja to lay claim on such territories if the whole chiefship lapsed to the British Government.<sup>4</sup>

Taking cue from the Government despatches on 26th February Clerk opined that he considered the rule of the widows inadvisable in the case of a large principality like Jind for reasons of the notorious evils attending the female rule, and recommended the disposal of the Jind question by providing for the Guzara or maintenance allowances for the widows and the lapse of the state to the British Government, as, he thought, such was the wish of the people.<sup>5</sup>

A few months later he further worked out his detailed recommendations regarding the maintenance allowances to be granted to the various widows, if the state lapsed to the Government, and submitted

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3. N.A: Secy Agra Govt to Secy Govt of India dt 3.12.1834.
  4. N.A: Macnaughton to Offg. Pol. Secy to the Governor of Agra dt 7.1.1835.
  5. N.A: Clerk to Fraser dt 26.2.1835.

to the higher authorities for their consideration.

At this time Sir Charles Metcalfe, was officiating as the G.G. Pending any final decision on the question, he issued orders on 13th July, 1836 for the immediate resumption of the whole state by Clerk. Clerk issued the proclamation to all concerned on 1st August and subsequently took over the administration into his own hands. The revenues of the state at this time were calculated to be about Rs 387000/- a year.<sup>7</sup> Clerk was granted an allowance for this additional work in Jind State.<sup>8</sup>

Now after due consideration the British Government began to dispose off the claims of the various parties to the chiefship of the state, some of which had arisen during the course of the year 1835. The claims of the widows were finally considered invalid and even the maintenance allowances recommended by Mr. Clerk were deemed to be 'unnecessarily large'. It was decided to fix adequate allowances of the widows later along with the final orders on the Jind question.<sup>9</sup>

The next claim to be decided was that of Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha whose great grandfather, Chaudhri Gurditta, was the full brother of the grandfather of Raja Bhag Singh. Thus, Raja Jaswant Singh, was a collateral in the 4th line and hence a distant one, but among the collaterals he had the best resources to maintain an efficient administration in the state. Besides, he even promised to pay Rs 4 lakhs as nazrana to the Government if his claim was recognised, but the Government characterized his claims "too mythical to be substantiated by any payment of nazrana".<sup>10</sup>

The next claim was that of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the son of Maharaja Gaipat Singh's daughter. In his first letter on the Jind question, sent in January, 1835, he inquired as to how his own grants to the Jind family, were going to be disposed off.<sup>11</sup> The Maharaja preferred his representation on the subject in May, 1835,<sup>12</sup>

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- 6. N.A: Clerk to Fraser dt 26.2.1825.
  - 7. N.A: Secy Govt Agra to Secy G.G. dt 19.12.1835.
  - 8. N.A: Secy Agra Govt to Secy G.G. dt 19.12.1835 and Secy G.G. to Secy Agra Govt dt 18.1.1836.
  - 9. N.A: Ibid.
  - 10. N.A: Pol. Agent Ambala to A.G.G. dt 24.6.1836 and Rajas, pp 365-366.
  - 11. N.A: Secy Agra Govt to Secy G.G. dt 29.1.1835.
  - 12. N.A: G.G. to Ranjit Singh dt Feb 1835.

stating that " in respect to those (Jagirs) granted after the treaty, the right to them seems to be entirely mine." <sup>13</sup> Sir Metcalfe accepted his claim to the grants, made after the Treaty of 1809 and added that the grants made prior to the treaty would be considered with reference to that treaty. <sup>14</sup>

When in August, 1835, Ranjit Singh heard ' the rumour' that Jind State was declared an escheat to the British and was, consequently, being taken possession of by them he sent his vakils to Wade to enquire how the town and district of Ludhiana was to be administered. <sup>15</sup> Wade referred the matter to the Government and in reply he was informed that the issue would be taken into consideration after deciding what portion of the state lapses to the Hon'ble Company and what portion of it belongs of right to Ranjit Singh'. <sup>16</sup>

Ranjit Singh was, perhaps, convinced that his persistent efforts and appeals in the name of his friendship with the British would surely bring him back, at least, some of the territories granted by him to the Jind family. Hence he again wrote to the G.G. enquiring from him the intentions of the British Government regarding his grants to the Jind house and also expressed that ' relying on the sentiments of friendship and the regard which each government is known to entertain for the interests of the other, I hope, that your reply in respect to the Jagirs granted before the treaty will be consistent with these terms of friendship.' <sup>17</sup> The G.G. wrote back in reply to the Maharaja: " with regard to your Highness's claim on a portion of the cis-Sutlaj possessions of the late Raja of Jind, it is difficult for me to form an opinion until I know what places are included and on what grounds respectively they are claimed," and hence asked him to send a list of those grants. <sup>18</sup>

At this stage the G.G. in Council took up the matter regarding the final disposal of the district and town of Ludhiana, which

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13. N.A: Wade to Secy Agra Govt dt 29.5.1835 along with the letter of Maharaja Ranjit Singh to G.G.  
14. N.A: G.G. to Ranjit Singh dt 15.6.1835 and Clerk to Wade dt 17.8.1835.  
15. N.A: Wade to Macnaughton dt 23.8.1835.  
16. N.A: Macnaughton to Wade dt 14.2.1835.  
17. N.A: Wade to Macnaughton dt 17.9.1835.  
18. N.A: Metcalfe to Ranjit Singh dt 12.10.1835.

was definitely becoming a bone of contention between the British and the Lahore Governments. Maharaja Ranjit Singh's anxiety in respect of Ludhiana had increased since the British had recently dismissed his claim over Ferozepur and the possession of these two towns by an alien power was sure to extend a serious threat to the security of his capital (Lahore) as there lay only the river Sutlaj in between them. For similar reasons the British authorities had been persistently urging for the acquisition of Ludhiana either by an order of lapse or through exchange with some other escheated territory to the British Government in the cis-Sutlaj area. <sup>19</sup> Now none else knew the importance of Ludhiana more than Sir Charles Metcalfe. He, therefore, ordered on 19th October, 1835 that Ludhiana and its villages, except 8 villages owned jointly by the Jind and Lahore Governments and at that time under the control of the Lahore Karkuns, might be taken possession of by Wade and be administered by him under the A.G.G. and the Agra governor. To pacify the Lahore chief at the decision, Wade was also instructed to convey to him that his claims regarding other possessions would be decided later and that the measure won't prejudice his claim and that if later found right, arrears would be paid to him since the date of British occupation'. <sup>20</sup>

But Ranjit Singh, instead of feeling discouraged by the decision, put forth his claim to the entire state of Jind. While forwarding this claim to the G.G. Wade discussed at length the ineligibility of this claim and finally remarked: "Whatever attention may, therefore, be due to the pretensions of the Maharaja, founded on his connection with the Jind family, according to Shastras, it does not appear that a concession to them is required either by the terms of the Treaty of 1809, or it would be compatible with the rights acquired, or the obligations contracted by the protection <sup>21</sup> which we have extended to these state in consequence of that Treaty."

The G.G. in Council agreed with the conclusion drawn by Wade

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19. N.A: Secy Govt Agra to Secy G.G. dt 11.12.1834; Wade to A.G.G. dt 17.11.1834 and Wade to Macnaughton dt 9.10.1835.  
20. N.A: Macnaughton to Wade dt 19.10.1835.  
21. N.A: Wade to Macnaughton dt 27.12.1835.



regarding the ineligibility of the Lahore chief's claim to the grants made by him to the Jind family before the Treaty of 1809, but did not accept all the arguments leading to that opinion. The Government did not concur to its full extent with his view " that the Sikh chiefs claiming British Protection were, under the Treaty of 1809, absolved from their dependence on the ruler of Lahore".

At the same time it was also pointed out that the Maharaja could not probably claim the reversion of lands absolutely granted in free gift, and thus completely ceded without conditions, whether before or after the Treaty, as on the left bank too there was <sup>no</sup> law or custom that would warrant the resumption of lands by the Donor on the death without heirs of the Donee. <sup>22</sup>

Simultaneously the G.G., Sir Charles Metcalfe, wrote to the Lahore chief: " It is hardly necessary for me to remind your Highness that though you may be distantly allied to the late chief, yet the succession to principalities is not governed either in law or usage by the ordinary rules of inheritance, which are applicable to the property of individuals."

Moreover, some time back Sardar Sarup Singh had submitted an application putting forth his claim to the state of Jind on the basis of his being a descendant of a common ancestor with the deceased chief. The G.G. in Council had thereupon issued orders to the Agra Government for the full investigation of his claim a couple of months back. Consequently the Government thought that should the claim of Sardar Sarup Singh be established, it was possible, the Maharaja might not deem it necessary to urge his own <sup>claim</sup> ~~rights~~ to the resumption of any portion of the state hence in the same letter the G.G. apprised the Maharaja of these facts. Still, Sir Charles Metcalfe thought it politic to keep the issue open, and asked the Maharaja to send "your claims for particular portions <sup>23</sup> of the Jind possessions to which you deem yourself entitled", which were to be treated with the most liberal considerations and

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22. N.A: Macnaughton to Wade dt 1.2.1836.

23. N.A: Metcalfe to Ranjit Singh dt 1.2.1836.

cordial attention.

However, Wade, still, remained completely unconvinced about the incorrectness of the line of argument he had taken earlier regarding the sovereignty of the Lahore ruler over some of the cis-Sutlaj sikh chiefs and once again wrote to the Government saying that 'if the protected chiefs are declared not to be at liberty to form tributary connections with the sovereign of the Panjab after the Treaty, the presumption seems to be, that they were absolved from all such connections with him on the conclusion of that engagement.'

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The lucid and exhaustive treatment of the question by the Wade so much impressed the new G.G, Lord Auckland, that he made up his mind on that basis to exclude Ranjit Singh from his claim to the grants made by him to the Jind family before the Treaty.

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Sir Charles Metcalfe, had in the meanwhile reverted as the Governor N.W.Province at Allahabad on the arrival of Lord Auckland, and as such he wrote a forceful note in support of the original stand he had taken in the first week of December, 1834, regarding the reversal of the Lahore grants conferred on Jind family to the Lahore chief.

But Metcalfe failed to bring the G.G. to his own point of view as to make him change his earlier decision.

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Meanwhile Clerk, who had been charged with the task of conducting the investigation about the claim of Sardar Sarup Singh to the chiefship of Jind by the Agra Government, submitted his report to the Government of Allahabad on 26th March, 1836, wherein he repeated his old arguments and made out a case for lapse of the state as before. Thereupon Sir Charles Metcalfe asked Clerk to clarify some points which could prove helpful in settling the Jind case. His answers were not very much different in theme from what he had originally said in his earlier reports and submissions. He pointed out that " the Rajas of Patiala, Nabha

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24. N.A: Macnaughton to Wade dt 1.2.1836.  
 25. N.A: Wade to Macnaughton dt 2.5.1836.  
 26. N.A: Minute of Lord Auckland on Jind case dt 27.7.1836  
 27. N.A: Metcalfe to Auckland dt 7.9.1836.  
 28. N.A: Macnaughton to Bushby dt 16.1.1837.

and Jind and the Bhais of Kaithal, were all Malguzars or tributories of the Delhi Emperors. When this tribute fell into arrears, they were compelled by force of arms, to make it good, in the same way as other contumacious zamindars. The British Government, which had assumed towards them precisely the same position that the Delhi Government had held, was entitled to the benefits of all escheats in return for its protection and as a compensation for the non-payment of tribute." Clerk clarified the position of Sardar Bhoop Singh's estate by saying that it was separate from the Jind State and Sardar Bhoop Singh had always been treated by the British authorities as a separate chief. Similarly his descendants had been regarded in that capacity. This circumstance alienated Bhoop Singh's branch from the main family and, thus, deprived it of the reversionary right to succeed to the property of the Jind family.

When it was known that Government had ordered the investigation of Sardar Sarup Singh's claim to the chiefship of Jind the chiefs of Patiala, Nabha and Kaithal now enthusiastically backed him, as in their own interests, they were most anxious to avoid the lapse of Jind State to the British Government. They all had very little hope that Clerk will do justice to the case hence they sent a deputation of Moamids from all the major states to Allahabad and Calcutta to personally advocate the case of Sardar Sarup Singh on their behalf. They reached Allahabad in the last week of April and submitted their master's joint memorial to the Governor, Sir Charles Metcalfe, on the 28th April. In this memorial the chiefs frankly stated that the fact that notwithstanding the existence of an heir and the good services rendered formerly by Raja Bhag Singh and ourselves, an order for the escheat of Jind Raj after the demise of Raja Sangat Singh had been passed, had occasioned on them great grief and real surprise. They, however, expressed the hope that "a full reliance on the equity and justice of the British Government and on the spirit and letter of the orders passed by General Lord Lake on our Wajib-ul-Arz and the wording of the Ittilahnamah and

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29. N.A: Metcalfe to Auckland dt 7.5.1836 and Rajas pp 370-71.

statements issued by the officers of Government make us perfectly confident that as the Raj of Jind was founded by Maharaja Gajpat Singh and became strictly the inheritance of his heirs, the British Government will not, when the great grandson of Gajpat Singh is in existence, uphold and approve the ~~the~~ order of escheat, to set aside which we have taken the liberty to depute our confidential servants with a statement on the Jind case and copies of documents in support of the arguments we have advanced." <sup>30</sup>

The news of this deputation made Rani Sahib Kaur, who had not, yet, lost all hopes of her succession to the chiefship, uneasy. She had, so far, made repeated endeavours to engage Maharaja Ranjit Singh to her interests but hitherto the Maharaja had not paid any attention, still at this time she once again sent her confidential Sawar, Jawahar Singh, to the Maharaja to try, to secure his help for her cause. But the Maharaja had by now been sufficiently disillusioned at the British hands, and he did nothing except to send some agents to Wade to make some enquiries from him whether any favourable result was going to come out of the deputation that had proceeded to Allahabad, but Wade did not commit either side <sup>31</sup> and the Sawar returned disappointed.

Meanwhile Sir Charles Metcalfe studied the report of Clerk on Jind case and his answers to the queries subsequently made to him thereon and on 7th May wrote a forceful note to the G.G. to vindicate his original stand on the issue. Metcalfe was actually very much influenced by the united efforts of the Sikh chiefs and the restlessness expressed by them in their memorial, though he tried to show it just the other way. Metcalfe wrote: "I am unable to concur in the view taken of this (Sarup Singh's) claim by the Agents at Delhi and Ambala." After full discussion of the various points raised by Clerk Metcalfe went on to state the real situation thus:-

"It is true that these Sikh States pay nothing for our protection

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30. N.A: Major chief's Memorial to Sir Charles Metcalfe submitted on 28.4.1836.

31. N.A: Wade to Macnaughton dt 2.5.1836.

but it is also true that we have guaranteed to them that protection, and that we gave it without demanding tribute or revenue in return. This is the state of our relation with them, and can not affect the question of Sarup Singh's accession.

" I concur with Mr Clerk in his general sentiment that a sikh chieftship is a plague to the people ..... but if we can not satisfy ourselves of our right to keep it, we have no alternative but to resign it to the legitimate claimant. We took them under our protection as masters of their own territories, and we can not now claim privileges contrary to our stipulations because former supremacies, not more powerful than our own, exacted them.

" The separate maintenance allowed to the grandfather and his partition of his territories among his sons do not apparently themselves vitiate the claim of a dependent of that branch of the family on failure of heirs to the elder house; and the assignement of an independent maintenance and separate authority to a younger member, before or after our connections with the sikh state, would not have excluded him from reversionary hereditary rights before we became paramount and would not exclude him under our paramountcy. It can not certainly be supposed that we made any alteration in the ties of the family and the privileges of inheritance by our engagements to secure the chieftains in the possession of the lands which they respectively held antecedently to the last invasion of Ranjit Singh."

He referred to the effects of the resumption of the Jind territory on other sister states and wrote: " The appropriation of Jind has alarmed the rulers of other states, that all would in time be swallowed up. This might soon happen in the case of Kaithal, where the chief is without any issue."

In conclusion he opined that " Sarup Singh is heir to the territories of his ancestor Gajpat Singh and that nothing has been adduced of sufficient force to establish his exclusion. Consequently we are bound to relinquish to him the territories, possessed by Gajpat Singh. It does not appear to me that Sarup Singh is entitled to more than what belonged to his ancestor. The remainder of the late Raja's possessions might, I conceive, be differently

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disposed off."

The G.G., Lord Auckland, on the receipt of the above note examined all the documents relating to the Jind case and wrote his interim minute saying: " After careful perusal of all the documents connected with the case I have scarcely any reason to doubt the correctness of Sir Charles Metcalfe's opinion that nothing has been adduced of sufficient force to the exclusion of the claimant Sarup Singh from the portion of the Jind territories, which were possessed by his great grandfather Gajpat Singh."

Agreeing with the views of Sir Charles Metcalfe about his rejection of Clerk's plea for escheat because of their non-payment of tribute, the G.G. wrote: " We made it, in a public declaration, an essential part of the relation that the chiefs shall be exempt from all pecuniary tribute. There was surely nothing in this voluntary exemption from tribute, which could now justify us in denying, or abrogating, their customs and laws of succession." 33

Under instruction from the G.G. Sir Metcalfe assured the Sikh deputation at Allahabad that Sarup Singh's claim would receive full consideration of the Government. The Sikh deputation felt satisfied with the assurance, but before leaving Allahabad all the members signed an application, addressed to the G.G. ~~at Calcutta~~ supporting the cause of Sardar Sarup Singh, which was submitted by 34 L.Kaka Mal, the Patiala Vakil, to the G.G. at Calcutta on 6th August.

Meanwhile on learning of Rani Sahib Kaur's efforts to win over Maharaja Ranjit Singh the major sikh rulers had sent a deputation of their vakils to Lahore also in August. It was received with attention by the Lahore chief, but the Maharaja did nothing substantial to comply with its request to send some one to Allahabad or Calcutta to support the cause of Sarup Singh. However, the British Government very much resented this union of the sikhs of both sides

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32. N.A: Governor N.W. Provinces to G.G. dt 7.5.1836.  
33. N.A: Lord Auckland's Interim minute on Jind case dt 4.7.1836.  
34. N.A: Application of the vakils of Patiala, Kaithal, Nabha and Jind to the G.G. submitted by Kaka Mal on 6.8.1836.

of the Sattaj and conveyed its displeasure at this act of Ranjit Singh through Wade. The Lahore chief hastily disposed off the Sikh deputation and assured Wade of his readiness to do everything according to the wishes of the British Government.<sup>35</sup>

When the G.G. wrote his first interim note on the Jind case he also ordered further investigation of the case so that none of its possible points might remain unattended. Thereupon, on 7th September Sir Charles Metcalfe wrote his second memorable note on Jind case to the G.G. wherein he indulged in a bit of plane speaking. He wrote: " In the Jind case we have assumed the right of taking possession of the country, notwithstanding the existence of collateral heirs to the principal portion of it. We exclude the collateral heirs on the ground that they have lost the right of succession by being otherwise provided for, and we deny the succession of widows, because their rule is notoriously bad, although by the sikhs their succession has been in many instances allowed. Our own claim is founded solely on our own assumption of a right as the protecting power to succeed to all chiefs without heirs, but in order to make good the assumption in the instance we must exclude two descriptions of heirs, both of which are in existence.

" No engagement was entered into, when these states were taken into protection, which gave us any title to succeed to their principalities. Since heirs are in existence we must be very cautious in asserting our right like that. The recent resumption of Jind, one of their own class, has alarmed them (the bigger states) and they have in consequence demonstrated their remonstrance. I should entirely disregard, if I thought that we had a clear right in what we have been doing, but my apprehensions, that we have been assuming what we are not entitled to, and that the nearest male descendant of Raja Gajpat Singh is the rightful heir of the territories of the chief."

In the end Sir Metcalfe urged the G.G. to expedite the final decision on the case which was already much over due.<sup>36</sup> But it was

35. N.A: Wade to Macnaughton dt 2.8.1836, 5.9.1836; 7.9.1836 and 13.9.1836; Macnaughton to Wade dt 29th August and 3rd October, 1836.

36. N.A: Sir Charles Metcalfe to G.G. dt 7.9.1836.

further delayed for about another four months on account of the prolonged investigations into Ranjit Singh's claim to his grants to the Jind family as well as by the representation of Sardar Sukha Singh of Badrukhan, who challenged Sardar Sarup Singh's right to succeed to the Jind chiefship on the grounds that Sardar Karam Singh, the father of Sardar Sarup Singh, was never on good terms with his own father, Sardar Bhoop Singh, and hence had been disinherited from the family property by Raja Bhag Singh. Sardar Sukha Singh also alleged that Sardar Sarup and his father Sardar Karam Singh did not enjoy any respect and status in the family and hence they were not allowed even to perform the cremation ceremonies of Raja Sangat Singh and Sardar Bhoop Singh, which were performed by him and his father, Sardar Basawa Singh, respectively. As such he pleaded that in preference to the branch of this disinherited collateral he was better entitled to succeed and the chiefship of Jind should consequently be conferred on him. <sup>37</sup>

Sardar Sarup Singh, on enquiry, denied all the allegations of Raja Bhag Singh having disinherited his father, and to substantiate his own statement he produced a decree passed by Ochterlony in 1816 under his seal and signature, confirming the division of the estates of Bhoop Singh into two equal shares, whereby Sardar Karam Singh received three villages and Sardar Bassawa Singh got two villages.

As regards the performance of the obsequies he disclosed that Sardar Sukha Singh did so because he was residing at Badrukhan - a place only three kos from Sangrur where Raja Sangat Singh had died. Sukha Singh had reached Sangrur immediately on receiving the news and in time to perform the cremation ceremony whereas his own residence at Bazidpur - a distance of twenty five kos - made it impossible to have been in time for the obsequies. Further at the time of Sardar Bhoop Singh's death, his father Sardar Karam Singh actually happened to be at Lahore and hence on that occasion, too, the ceremonies were performed by Sardar Basawa Singh, the father of Sardar Sukha Singh. <sup>38</sup>

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37. N.A: Bushby to Macnaughton dt 27.7.1836.

38. N.A: T.T. Metcalfe (A.G.G) to Bushby dt 12.9.1836.



After investigation the British Government found the allegations made by S. Sukha Singh meaningless and the version of the facts given by S. Sarup Singh mostly correct. Moreover, the right of primogeniture having been fully established among the Phulkian states by the British Government, the prior claim was obviously that of S. Sarup Singh therefore, the Government rejected S. Sukha Singh's representation.

At this time when the Government was still busy investigating Sarup Singh's claim, Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha addressed a strong letter to the G.G., which was delivered to him, on 3th November, 1836. The letter pointed out that "Sardar Sarup Singh is the great grandson of the late Maharaja Gajpat Singh and a lawful heir of the deceased," and finally added that restoring to S. Sarup Singh his due rights will "greatly redound to the universal fame of the uniform and disinterested justice and equity of the Supreme Government." This letter further impressed the G.G. about the deep interest of the Major chiefs in Sardar Sarup Singh's affairs.

At last, the G.G. in Council announced his final award in the Jind case on 16th January, 1837, recognizing Sardar Sarup Singh's claim to the possessions of Maharaja Gajpat Singh. The territories of Bessian, Ludhiana, Morindah, half share in Mudki and Jandiala in all consisting of 146 villages and worth Rs. 166000/-/- a year lapsed to the British while the illages of Halwara, Talwandi, the remaining half share in Mudki and Ghiaspur, had already been handed over to Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Thus, the state of Jind was parcelled out into three

parts allowing only a little more than the ~~amount of the original award~~

39. N.A: Macnaughton to Bushby dt 5.10.1836.

40. N.A: Raja Jaswant Singh to G.G. received on 5.11.1836.

41. These possessions were as follows:

S.No.	Name of Illage	Yearly estimated Revenue.	Number of villages.
1.	Jind	Rs. 1,20000/-	140
2.	Safidon	<del>Rs. 20000/-</del>	25
3.	Assaundh	Rs. 42000/-	26
4.	Salwan		8
5.	Balenwali	Rs. 20000/-	108
6.	Jarehwal		
7.	Bhotia	Rs. 4000/-	4
8.	Sarwat		
9.	Mahelan		
10.	Sangrur.	Rs. 50000/-	11

TOTAL:-----Rs. 2,36000/- a year 323 villages

42. N.A: Macnaughton to Bushby dt 16.1.1837.

half of its original territory to remain with the legal heir.

While announcing its decision in this case the G.G. in Council also laid down a definite principle of succession to the Sikh chiefships for future guidance 'that every consideration of usage, justice and policy, seems to require that as regards the four principal chiefships of Patiala, Jind, Kaithal and Nabha, the estate should devolve entirely to the nearest male heir according to the Hindu law, and to the exclusion of the females. With regard to all other sikh states, the custom of the family must be ascertained in each instance by the best available evidence.'<sup>43</sup>

But the decision of the G.G. in Council did not satisfy either Sardar Sarup Singh or any other major chief. He made one more representation to the G.G. protesting against the partial lapse of his state. However, the reply of the G.G., that 'he has obtained all that is considered to be his due x x x x x and that His Lordship in Council regrets to find him so insensible of the liberality evinced towards him by the British Government,'<sup>44</sup> finally silenced him.

A few months later, the court of Directors in London considered Sardar Sarup Singh entitled to the whole territory of the state, but their ruling also did not prove effective, as the Government of India later convinced them of the correctness of their own decision<sup>45</sup> in the case.

Raja Sarup Singh was installed to the Gaddi at Jind in April, 1837 in the presence of all the Phulkian chiefs and G.R. Clerk.<sup>46</sup> The new Raja sent two every costly khilats, one each, along with a nazar of 101 and 51 Gold Mohars by way of gratitude to Lord Auckland

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43. Ibid.

44. N.A: R.H. Scott to Macnaughton dt 10.6.1837 and Macnaughton to R.H. Scott dt 3.7.1837.

45. N.A: Court of Directors to Govt of India dt 8.11.1837 and Clerk to A.G.G. dt 19.8.1837 and to Col. Richmond dt 15.2.1844.

46. The Khilaaat to G.G. consisted of ten woolen pieces; 16 silk pieces; 20 white cloth pieces; 4 Muslin pieces; 3 jewels; one elephant with silver Howdah and trappings; 4 bows and quivers; Swords and Shields; Matchlocks and accoutrements and several horses with trappings. The Khilaaat to Sir Charles Metcalfe contained 5 woolen pieces; 10 silk pieces; 20 pieces of white cloth; 4 jewels; one elephant with silver Howdah; one quiver and two sets of arrows; Swords and shields and two horses with trappings.

and Sir Charles Metcalfe respectively. Sir Charles accepted the presents gratefully but returned the nazar saying that only the highest authority in India was entitled to such nazars.<sup>47</sup> The G.G., however, after expressing his thanks for the presents wrote to the Raja: " It behoves you in exercising your authority over those, who have been placed under your control, to conduct yourself towards them with justice and moderation so as to gain their esteem and respect and to ensure the prosperity of your <sup>country</sup> ~~company~~."<sup>48</sup>

None was more displeased with the succession of Raja Sarup Singh to the Jind Raj, than the mother and the two widows of Raja Sangat Singh. They addressed a long memorial to the G.G., bringing forth serious yet baseless charges of treachery, cruelty and misbehaviour against Raja Sarup Singh and made the Maharaja of Patiala<sup>49</sup> too the target of their angry outbursts. But the Government did not taken any notice of this except in asking the Jind Raja to fix suitable maintenance allowances for them, which the Raja duly granted. The third widow of Raja Sangat Singh, Rani Nand Kaur,<sup>50</sup> had, however, married Raja Sarup Singh through Karewa.

A question does now arise , as to whether the partial lapse of Jind State to the British Government could possibly be justified according to the usage of the family or by any canon of law and equity. The only answer is 'No'. It must be admitted, that there was no codified law of succession among the Sikh rulers, but generally they all and the Phoolkians particularly admitted the applicability of the Hindu Law based on the Hindu Shastras to their cases. The British Government also accepted this position. The Hindu Law fully recognized the right of the widows of the deceased Raja to succeed to the chiefship, but in the case of the Phulkians they were denied this right by the prevailing Customs of the family. However the claim of the seniormost male collateral was fully honoured by both, the Hindu Law and the family customs. Such a

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47. N.A: Scott to Macnaughton dt 29th August and Macnaughton to Scott dt 21 Sep, 1837.

48. N.A: G.G. to Raja Sarup Singh dt 19.6.1837.

49. N.A: Memorial of Ranis Sahib Kaur, Subh Kaur and Sukhan to the G.G. received on 23.9.1837.

50. N.A: Macnaughton to the Ranis dt 16.10.1837 and Hamilton to Macnaughton dt 20.9.1837.

collateral was allowed to succeed to all that was left by the last owner of the state with whom the direct line ended and not only to that part alone which belonged to the common ancestor of the last owner and the senior/most male collateral. A clear corroboration of this fact could be easily found in the principle laid down by the G.G. in Council on 16th January, 1837 for the determination of the succession to the sikh chiefships, in which the property to be inherited by the nearest male collateral on the break in the direct line of rulers was 'entirely' and not only that which belonged to the common ancestor. Similar ruling was given by the court of Directors in this case but that too was not complied with. Thus, the theory of giving to Raja Sarup Singh only the possessions of Maharaja Gajpat Singh, the common ancestor, was a creation of the British diplomats in India to suit their purpose. In fact, the British officers were determined to impress upon the minds of the major chiefs the consequences of their rejection of the British proposal regarding the payment of tribute. Besides, the importance and the value of the portions which were made to lapse to the Paramount Power further lured them away from the path of justice.

## 2. THE BALLANWALI INSURRECTION.

The story of partial lapse of Jind State would remain incomplete without the narration of the Ballanwali insurrection, which occurred, during the British occupation of the state, on 17th March, 1836. The town of Ballanwali is situated at a distance of 12 miles East of Bhatinda, and was earlier the scene of action when Kanwar Partap Singh and Akali Phula Singh took refuge in its fort in 1815 and under the direction of Ochterlony the troops of

51. Clark and Edgeworth give the following description of the town and the fort of Ballanwali in 1836: "Ballanwali is a populous town inhabited principally by Jat Sikhs. Its circumference is about 2 miles at the most. Near the town there are plenty of Phulian, Jand, Phras and Peenal trees. The soil is sandy and the water is scarce. The town is surrounded by a low mud wall with bastions and four gates. The gates are shut by Phulsa or thorn hurdle gate.

The Ballanwali fort is of burnt bricks laid in mud. It is nearly in the centre of the town. It consists of a court surrounded by a brick wall 20 feet high and 5 feet thick with bastions at the four corners. There is an outer court surrounded by habitations.

the major states besieged it and subsequently got it evacuated. The inhabitants of the town were according to Mr Clerk " a wild people, who under the rule of the late Raja of Jind did entirely as they pleased not only in regard to paying revenue but in all other matters."

The trouble arose, possibly, over the collection of the arrears of land revenue by Edgeworth, the first Assistant of Clerk for Jind affairs.

The disturbance began with the ~~was~~ seizure of the fort by a party of the insurgents, consisting of about 350 or 400 matchlockmen under the leadership of Sardar Gulab Singh Gill, a former Resaldar in the Jind army. This party made its way into the place clandestinely by escalade and secured the gates. Edgeworth had earlier retreated to a neighbouring village. When he moved up towards the fort with his guard, he found the gates of the town closed against him and occupied by large body of men, armed and otherwise. Then he proceeded post-haste to Ludhiana. The people afterwards sallied out and plundered Edgeworth's tents and the state officials in the fort were detained by the insurgents.

Clerk called troops from Ludhiana and Karnal. On their approach the insurgents evacuated the fort on 5th April and fled. Gulab Singh Gill was killed by the Zamindars of the Mandot country, who opposed his escape across the Sutlaj; and his eight followers were captured. About forty persons including several of the principals were apprehended within the limits of the Ambala Agency. The whole incident was, in fact, a local affair and no outsider had any hand in it.

The fort of Ballanwali was dismantled and the stores of grain, preserved in the fort, were sold to reimburse the amount spent on the movement of the troops and other sundry

3. HARIANA - BHATIANA BOUNDARY DISPUTE.

Another case in which the British Government took away a big slice of the Patiala territory by arbitration was the Hariana-Bhatiana Boundary Dispute. The Hariana - Bhatiana territory was earlier a waste strip of land, situated south of the territories of the cis-Sutlaj Sikh states. Now it comprises the districts of Hissar and Sirsa. The Hariana portion is so called on account of the growth of green grass in abundance there during the rainy season ~~while~~ while the other portion is called Bhatiana, as it was occupied by the sturdy pastoral tribe of the Bhattis. Raja Amar Singh of Patiala having conquered a large portion of this territory subdued the inhabitants of the area and annexed it to his state. But after his death there occurred the notorious famine of 1783 and at the same time internecine warfare began between the sons of Nawab Mohammad Amin Khan Bhatti, which made the whole area desolate and except some big places like Hansi, Hissar, Sirsa, Fatehabad, Ranian, Abchar and some other no trace of habitation was left in that region. Besides during the minority of Raja Sahib Singh, the Patiala State Officers, did not feel much interested in the lands of this area and retained only a nominal control over them.

Later George Thomas occupied the Hariana portion and repopulated it. The Bhatiana territory still remained with the Bhattis. Fatehabad was then held by Bahadur Khan and Sirsa was under Qumar-ud-Din Khan. On the fall of George Thomas Hariana portion came into the possession of Sindhia and thence in 1803 it passed on to the English. The Bhatiana territory even then remained in tact. However, the British conquered Fatehabad from Bahadur Khan in 1809 and Sirsa from Zabita Khan, the son of Qumar-ud-Din Khan, in 1813. But the British occupied only the inhabited villages.

But Gen. Ferris had given over certain Ilagas of this region to the Patiala state and the Patiala officers continued to

52. N.A: Edgeworth to Clerk dt 19.3.1836; Clerk to F.T. Metcalfe dt 20th March, 31st March and 6th April, 1836; Clerk to Gen. A. Duncan, Commanding Sirhind Division, Karnal dt 23.3.1836 and to Lt.Col. Wild dt 2.4.1836 and Sir Charles Metcalfe Lord Auckland dt 30.4.1836.

rehabilitate the waste land along with the other places, which had been under its nominal control, from 1803 to 1835. During these years though some officers like Fraser, Gardner, and Brown did bring that matter to its notice the British Government did not particularly object to anything. At last, when Fraser became the Resident of Delhi he took up the matter and obliged the Government to appoint Ross Bell, the Collector of Hissar, to investigate into the matter to demarcate the boundary line between the British possessions and those of the Patiala State. He first laid down the principle that whatever parts were possessed by the two Governments in 1803 should be retained by each. This principle was apparently unjust to the Patiala territory and inequitable, too, as the British conquered the Bhatiana territory itself in 1809 and 1813. Maharaja Karam Singh, therefore, protested against it and refused to accept the decision made on that basis. But the Government paid no heed to his arguments and Ross Bell rejected a large number of claims of the Patiala State about the lands which lawfully belonged to it in 1803. He submitted his report to the Government, whereby the Patiala state was deprived of a vast tract of land, more than a hundred miles long and from ten to twenty miles broad, which had been in actual possessions of the state and which it had rehabilitated at enormous cost.

The Government of India accepted this decision but the Home Government in London did not approve of it. In its despatch of 11th February, 1833 it admitted the principle laid down to settle the dispute as just but pointed out that it was a matter for compromise and not for arbitrary assertion of right. It also observed " that if the Sikhs could really prove that Gen. Perron had agreed to give up to them certain districts, to which, at that time, they asserted their right and which they were expecting to receive when the country came into possession of the English, then ~~then~~ Lord Lake's guarantee of their actual possessions would be too strictly construed by affirming that the accident of their not having actually received possession

cancelled all equitable claim on their part; and secondly, that any right founded upon the sort of possession which a roving tribe like the Bhattis could be considered to maintain over any country, was not such as would be creditable to English liberality to assert without qualifications, after allowing the other claimants without official remonstrance to expend money in bringing the country into cultivation."

This ruling of the Home Government and persistent protests against this gross injustice, at last, bore fruit and the Nili case, as it was commonly called by the people of the area after Nili, the other name of the river Ghaggar, was reopened with instructions to Conolly on first January, 1840 to bring about some sort of compromise. Conolly submitted his report about the Hariana portion in May, 1840, which was more favourable to the state than the Ross Bell report, but still the grievance remained largely unredressed.

However, when the Maharaja protested against this report the British Government administered to him a strong rebuke saying that either he should accept the decision or reject it, in which case the whole tract would be taken possession of by the British. The Maharaja submitted and in April 1842 transferred to the British villages, due to them according to the Conolly Report.

In Bhatiana portion Mr Conolly considered the waste land adjoining the Patiala state border retainable by the state. The Government accepted this in principle and appointed Captain Robinson, the Superintendent of Hissar, to determine the villages to be transferred to the Patiala State. Robinson adjudged Patiala State entitled to only 41 villages out of a total number of 120 villages. The Maharaja regarded it grossly unjust and refused to transfer.

The dispute, thus prolonged, continued to hang fire till 1855 when Mr G. Barnes, Commissioner Cis-Sutlaj States submitted his final report on the subject to the Government. Mr. Barnes considered Patiala entitled to no village at all, but, since the principle of giving something to the state, had been accepted by the Government, he recommended only 20 villages to be given



to Patiala and 7 more at the most, if necessary. The chief Commissioner disagreed with the view and upheld the Conolly award, which, the Maharaja of Patiala was now forced to accept under the duress of a threat that otherwise even those forty one villages would be resumed by the British Government. Thus, the twenty years old boundary dispute came to an end in May, 1856, resulting in a considerable territorial loss to the Patiala State in that part of the country.

#### 4. PATIALA'S SECOND LOAN TO THE BRITISH

But all this did not deter the British Government and Clerk was asked on 22nd September, 1833, to arrange a loan of Rs 20 to 30 lakhs at a suitable rate of interest from the ruler of Patiala, which was immediately needed for expenses to be incurred on the forces then assembled at Karnal, possibly in connection with the first Afghan War.

When Clerk intimated the need of the British Government to the Maharaja of Patiala, he offered to place all his resources in men, money and provisions at the disposal of the G.G. in Council, for which Lord Auckland wrote a long letter of thanks to the Maharaja. The Government, however, requested the Maharaja to raise the amount of debt to Rs 40 lakhs. The Maharaja informed the authorities that he had Rs 25 lakhs ready which he was prepared to pay at the shortest possible notice on the same terms as were settled in 1827 in connection with the first loan. The Government accepted the offer thankfully and instructed Clerk not to negotiate absolutely a further loan, but merely prepare the chief or chiefs, with whom you may enter into communication for the possible requisition appraising

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53. N.A: A.G.G. Delhi to Pol. Ag. Ambala dt 11th January, 7th February, 3rd and 19th April, 30th June, 23rd August and 23rd September and Pol. Ag. Ambala to A.G.G. dt 12th March, 3rd and 12th May, 1834; Secy Govt Agra to A.G.G. dt 11.7.1835; A.G.G. to Govt N.W.F.P. dt 15.9.1836 and Govt to A.G.G. dt 29.10.1836; Clerk to A.G.G. dt 3.5.1836; Mr Bell's report to A.G.G. with a letter dt 15.9.1836; Mr Conolly's report dt 5.12.1839 and 23.5.1840 and Barnes to Pb. Govt dt 22.9.1855 and chief Commr to Govt of India dt 7.1.1856; Hussain, pp 223-231 and Rajas, pp 136-7.

54. N.A: Macnaughton to Clerk dt 22.9.1833.

55. N.A: Clerk to Macnaughton dt 2.10.1833 and Patiala chief to G.G. dt 20.9.1833.

56. N.A: Auckland to Patiala chief dt 8.10.1833.

them that the Government money is on its way upto Ludhiana and that it will probably arrive **before** it is required, and if at all need be they may advance loans which will be ~~repaid~~<sup>repaid</sup> within two or three months.<sup>57</sup>

Meanwhile persistent demands for money came from the Political Agent Ludhiana and accordingly Clerk arranged a further debt of Rs 15 lakhs with the permission of the Government ~~from the States~~ at 5 %<sup>per</sup> annum interest from the states of Nabha, Kaithal and Mahan and some Sahukars.

#### 5. BRITISH DISPLEASURE WITH THE LADWA CHIEF.

In July, 1842 the British Government received adverse reports about the activities of Raja Ajit Singh of Ladwa from their Political Agent at Ambala. The Raja was said to be addicted to such excessive debauchery that his mind was much impaired, Moreover,<sup>58</sup> he mostly lived at the Lahore court where he intrigued and worked against his own sons, who were recently compelled to fly from Ladwa and take shelter with Clerk, who did not consider this case fit for authoritative British interference, but, still, he displayed the British displeasure towards Ajit Singh by dismissing his vakils from Ambala.<sup>59</sup> This action of Clerk was mainly due to that chief's intimate association with the Lahore court.

#### 6. LAPSE OF KATHAL STATE.

Another opportunity, which afforded a chance to the British Government to punish the major chiefs for their refusal to accept the British proposal regarding the payment of tribute, came its way on the morning of 15th March, 1843, when Bhai Ude Singh, the chief of Kaithal, who was seriously ailing for the last four years, died without leaving any issue. The Pol. Agent, Ambala expected his death any moment during the last one month and hence had made adequate arrangements to occupy the major portion of the Kaithal State, which, he thought, was to <sup>lapse to</sup> the British Government on that chief's death

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57. N.A: Clerk to Macnaughton dt 26.10.1838 and Macnaughton to Clerk dt 26.11.1838.

58. The title of Raja was conferred on the Ladwa chief by the British Government on the request of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1839.

59. N.A: Clerk to Muddock dt 17.7.1842 and Muddock to Clerk dt 26.7.1842.

Issuing instructions in this connection to his Assistant, Greathead, even on the 13th March Clerk had asked him to keep himself in readiness to be in the vicinity of Kaithal to take possession of the parganas in the event of the Bhai's demise, while the pargana of Gujarwal, conferred on Bhai Lal Singh by Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1812, was to be handed over to the Lahore Karkuns. A proclamation to be read out to the ruling family, officers and the people of that state was also sent to him. A separate letter had already been issued for a military escort from Ambala which was to accompany Greathead to Kaithal. Instructions were also issued to Missar Tulsī Ram, the chief Minister of Kaithal State, on the 16th March to assist Greathead in carrying out the orders of the British Government and to ask the local officers and subordinates to obey his instructions.

Clerk had decided to dispose off the Kaithal case on the lines similar to the Jind model. The nearest male collateral of the deceased chief was his second cousin, Sardar Gulab Singh of Arnoli.<sup>60</sup> Clerk considered him entitled only to the possessions of the common ancestor, Bhai Gurbakhsh Singh, although the G.G. in Council had clearly laid down on the 16th January, 1837, that "as regards the four principal chiefships of Patiala, Jind, Kaithal and Nabha the rule ought to be that the estate should devolve entirely to the nearest male heir according to the Hindu Law and to the exclusion of females." Thus this decision of Clerk was a clear violation of the above principle. Anyhow, Clerk regarded the Ilaqas of Halree, Bhuchokee, Bekkan, Khoddal, Kunab and Dhansu worth about a lakh of rupees a year as the share of Sardar Gulab Singh and the Ilaqas of Kaithal, Fatehpur-Pundri, and others worth about Rs 4 lakhs a year as an escheat to the British Government. While reporting all this to the G.G. in Council on 16th March Clerk wrote: "The pargana of Sulhar, which adjoins Ambala, will prove a convenient acquisition as affording grass pastures for the cavalry to be stationed there and general grazing for the public cattle."

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60. N.A: For the Genealogical Table of the Bhaikian family see appendix V.

Moreover, Clerk informed Bhai Gulab Singh of Arnoli on 16th March and the Maharaja of Patiala on 17th March about the Government decision in the Kaithal case. The G.C. in Council fully accepted these conclusions of Clerk and the steps taken by him to carry them out.

Immediately on receipt of the news of Bhai Ude Singh's death <sup>from Bassian</sup> on the 16th March Greathead proceeded ~~to~~ to Kaithal via Malerkotla and Gohana. From Malerkotla he had forwarded an advance copy of the Government proclamation with his own notice to the Kaithal Ministers, asking them to remain on posts to preserve order and to give confidence to the people.

He himself reached Kaithal on 23rd March where he was received by a number of Kaithal Ministers, the major chiefs' Muattids and the Agency Vakil, all whom he apprised once more, of the Government orders regarding Kaithal and sought their co-operation in carrying them out. Greathead then called upon the Kaithal ministers to place him in possession of the escheated parganas, the treasures and the effects of the late Bhai and desired that all subordinate officers should be instructed to submit to his authority.

The same evening he wrote letters to the chiefs of Patiala, Nabha and Jind asking them to withdraw their deputies from the Kaithal Council, as otherwise they would incur the imputation of supporting the contumacy, which was then being displayed by the Kaithal authorities.

Greathead received the reply from the Kaithal Council to his note on 25th March, in which the latter asked for a time limit of a month to comply with the demands, as the whole month was the period of mourning at Kaithal when all the relatives of the royal family would be present there.

On the 26th March Rani Suraj Kaur, the senior widow of Bhai Ude Singh, waited upon Clerk at Ambala and complained against Greathead's obstinacy to resume the escheated area and the treasure

61. Clerk to Greathead dt 13th March, to Commanding Officer Ambala of the same date, to Tulsi Ram chief Minister of Kaithal dt 16th March, to S.Gulab Singh of Arnoli of the same date, to J.Thompson dt 17th March, to Maj.Gen.Fast dt 17th March and Thompson to Clerk dt 30th March, 1843.
62. N.A: Greathead to Clerk dt 24th March; Clerk to the rulers of Patiala, Jind and Nabha dt 24th March, 1843.
63. N.A: Greathead to Clerk dt 25.3.1843.

forthwith, and pointed out that any such action during the period of mourning amounted to an insult to the Kaithal Ruling family. But Clerk did not pay any heed to her appeals and dismissed her by saying that delay would be followed by evil consequences. <sup>64</sup>

Thus about two weeks passed and still the Kaithal Ministers had taken no steps to comply with the orders, nor the chiefs of Patiala, Jind and Nabha had cared to withdraw their deputies. The fact was that the three Rajas were aiming at securing the possession of the entire Kaithal principality to Bhai Gulab Singh of Arnoli, while Mai Sahib Kaur and Rani Suraj Kaur were aspiring to the Government jointly or individually during their respective lives. Efforts were also being made to bring about a compromise between the Rajas and the Mai so that Rani Suraj Kaur should adopt the son of Bhai Gulab Singh of Arnoli, retaining in conjunction with Mai Sahib Kaur the sovereignty of the country during their respective lives, and that the chiefship should devolve upon the Arnoli family after their deaths.

When Greathead warned Mai Sahib Kaur against the evil consequences of her persisting in non-compliance with Clerk's orders she repeated her desire for a respite of a month to accomplish the funeral obsequies and mourning to the late Bhai.

A company of troops commanded by Lt. Farri arrived there in the morning of 26th March. <sup>65</sup> But it was obvious that more troops might be needed, hence at the express request of Clerk he was authorized to call troops from Karnal, if the Kaithal authorities persisted in avoiding the compliance with the British demands. <sup>66</sup>

On 9th April Clerk sent strong warnings to Mai Sahib Kaur and Rani Suraj Kaur asking them not to involve themselves in measures, that would render the British Government indisposed to afford them the requisite support and means of comfort which were, due to them. Finally he pointed out that if they persisted any longer in their disobedience military means would be used to carry into effect his

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64. N.A: Clerk to Rani Suraj Kaur dt 26.3.43.

65. Greathead to Clerk dt 27.3.1843.

66. N.A: Clerk to Thompson dt 30.3.1843; Thompson to Clerk dt 6.4.1843 and to Maj.Gen. East of the same date.

orders of the 16th and 17th March. 67

On the 10th April, however, a general rising took place at Kaithal under the leadership of Sardar Tek Singh, the Kaithal Minister. Greathead and his escort were attacked, as a result of which some of the British servants were killed or seriously wounded. The insurgents captured the fort and the town and plundered the royal treasury along with the property of the British officers and staff. The British troops stationed there could not cope with the situation and, thus, lawlessness reigned supreme there for a few days. But the reinforcement soon arrived and the situation was brought under control, though the ring leader and most of his followers escaped.

As soon as Clerk came to know of this occurrence he proceeded towards Kaithal with a military escort, and from Thanesar on the 11th April he wrote letters of warning to the chiefs of Patiala, Jind, Nabha, Thanesar, Ladwa, Kotla Maler and Arnoli. <sup>68</sup> Some time later the same day another set of letters was issued to these chief and some others whose territories were contiguous to that of Kaithal calling upon them to see that none of the Kaithal rebels were allowed to pass through their territories, contiguous to Kaithal. <sup>69</sup>

Clerk tried to secure the cooperation of the Lahore Government in intercepting the Kaithal rebels from crossing the Sutlaj and entering into the territories of the Lahore State by requesting Maharaja Sher Singh through his agent and vakils to make requisite arrangements on the ferries and ferds of the Sutlaj. <sup>70</sup>

On the 13th April a Proclamation, addressed to all the people of Kaithal territory, was read out at Kaithal assuring them to spare all but those who have taken part in the guilt, and calling upon them to hasten to acknowledge submission to the British Government. <sup>71</sup>

On the 14th April the Patiala chief himself arrived at village Ghooram with his troops to capture the insurgents. <sup>72</sup>

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67. N.A: Clerk to M.Sahib Kaur and Rani Suraj Kaur dt 9.4.1843.  
68. N.A: Clerk to the various chiefs dt 11.4.1843.  
69. N.A: Clerk to the various chiefs dt 11.4.1843.  
70. N.A: Clerk to Faqir Chiragh-ud-Din and Rani Gobind Jas dt 11.4.4  
71. N.A: Proclamation dt 13.3.1843.  
72. N.A: Clerk to the chief of Jind and Nabha dt 14.3.1843.

On the 15th April Mai Sahib Kaur wrote to Clerk intimating him of her efforts to reach him but the insurgents surrounded her and took her forcibly back into the fort. She expressed her keen desire to get released from their hands to be able to go to Clerk and sue for justice on her behalf.

In the meanwhile having taken the Mai under his charge and plundered whatever he could lay hand upon the cash and property of the Kaithal Government, Tek Singh, the leader of the insurgents had fled from the town with his armed followers with the intention of proceeding to the North of the Sutlaj. At her request the Zamindars of the village Nawagarh arranged to get the Mai released from his hands, and despatched her to Pehowa, where she had put up. Thence she sent her agent to the Maharaja of Patiala on 16th April intimating him that those hostilities against the British did not take place with her consent and that all her attempts to stop them had been frustrated. The Maharaja was also informed that Tek Singh, the rebel leader, was then proceeding with cash and property to the other side of the Sutlaj in progress to Chuka (village), whereupon he sent his troops under Bahshi Gharmand Singh to intercept the rebel leader." Consequently Tek Singh was captured on the 17th April by the Patiala troops along with 2 guns, elephants and carts laden with property. Further troops were despatched to intercept other insurgents.

When reporting all these developments to the G.G. in Council from his Fatehpur Camp, Clerk wrote: "By their having delayed the orders of the Government, until the assemblage of a large force, to punish them for the animosity with which their followers pursued the British escort on the 11th instant, I concede that Mai Sahib Kaur; the mother, and Suraj Kaur, the Rani of the late Ude Singh, will no longer be deemed deserving objects of the British Government in any form. I had intended to have proposed to the Government to assign to them jointures yielding in the aggregate Rs 60000/- per year."

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73. N.A: Mai Sahib Kaur to Clerk dt 15.4.1843.

74. N.A: Patiala Chief to Clerk dt 16.4.1843.

75. N.A: Patiala Chiefs Parwana to Meer Sarfraz Ali Khan dt 17.4.1843.

76. N.A: Clerk to Thompson dt 17.4.1843.

The G.G. in Council duly approved of all the steps taken by Clerk to deal with the Kaithal situation. The G.G. was, however, disposed to place the most indulgent interpretation upon the conduct of the ladies of Kaithal and was most unwilling to diminish the provision to be made for them as to place them in a position inconsistent with the dignity and their personal comforts. At the same time as an indication of his grave displeasure the G.G. reduced the annual provision for the ladies by Rs 10,000/-.

Tek Singh and his immediate adherents were to be considered as having acted hostilely against the Kaithal state, as well as against the British Government and were to be awarded capital punishment.<sup>77</sup>

In all 68 insurgents had been captured by the rulers of Patiala, Jind and Nabha and sent to Ambala after interrogation to stand their trial. A special letter of appreciation<sup>78</sup> was written to the Maharaja of Patiala for the apprehension of Tek Singh. The services of the other two chiefs along with that of the Nawab of Kunjpura were also appreciated.<sup>79</sup>

On the 26th April a memorial was submitted on behalf of Mai Sahib Kaur and Nanak Suraj Kaur to the G.G. in Council complaining against the proceedings of Greathead and Clerk and praying for the continuance of the Kaithal chieftainship, as, if the state was resumed, the interests of the Kaithal Ruling family and its dependents would be injured, the Treaty of 1809 infringed and confidence of all the chiefs of Hindustan in the British Government shaken. But the G.G. in Council saw no reason to cancel or modify their earlier orders and the officers were informed accordingly.<sup>80</sup> Still, the three major chiefs continued to make representations to the British Government 'urging the claims of the nearest of kin or of the widow to the whole of the territory.' Their objections were, however, set aside and the case finally settled at the close of the year 1844.<sup>81</sup>

Sometime later the Government allowed the Jind Raja to exchange

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77. N.A: Thompson to Clerk dt 20.4.1843.  
78. N.A: Thompson to Clerk dt 21.4.1843.  
79. N.A: Clerk to Thompson dt 25.4.1843.  
80. N.A: Mai's Memorial to G.G. in Council dt 8.4.1843 and received on 26.4.1843.  
81. N.A: H. Lawrence to Clerk dt 11th May and 9th July, 1843 and Richmond to N.W. Provincial Government dt 1.8.1843.



a portion of his Safidon Illaga with the escheated Kaithal Illaga  
32  
of Mahilan and Ghabdan.

Now a word of explanation is needed for this aggressive policy of the British Government against the Indian States. Under Lord Auckland, especially during the last two or three years of his period of administration, the level of political morality had gone too low - to its lowest ebb. The facts, how he forced his way for the 'Army of the Indus' through Sind when Ranjit Singh had refused the way through his own territory and how he had extracted a huge sum of money from the Amirs of Sind on behalf of Shah Shujat-ul-Mulk, even though they (the Amirs) had produced documentary evidence that the Shah had absolved them from payment of tributes, are not unknown to a student of History.

Ellenborough proved worse in this respect. The humiliation which the British had suffered on account of their failure in Afghanistan (1838-42) had produced a reaction. They came to believe that their prestige had fallen in the estimation of the people and princes of India since their failure in Kabul. They were determined, therefore, to crush any state big or small which showed an unpleasant attitude.

Another explanation lies in the statement of the policy of the Home Government in 1834 when it laid down that adoption of an heir for purposes of succession to the estates or states was to be discouraged - indulgence was to be the exception, not the rule, and was to be granted only as a mark of special favour. In 1841, Government of India further declared its deliberate policy to persevere in the one clear course of abandoning no just and honourable accession of territory or revenue. It was in pursuance of this policy that Dalhousie had applied his axe.

Thus, the decade ending with the year 1844 witnessed the lapse of the Kaithal state and considerable portions of the states of Patiala and Jind going into the British hands - a sufficiently big

loss to the territories of the cis-Sutlaj Sikh States. Besides, since a number of minor states had already fallen prey either fully or partially to the British machinations, none of the Sikh chiefs of the cis-Sutlaj area felt friendly towards the British by the end of that decade.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE FINALE OF THE CIS-SUTLAJ POLICY. ( 1845-1849)

#### 1. ANGLO-SIKH WAR OF 1845-46.

Meanwhile some momentous events were taking place at the Lahore court, which resulted in a war between the British and the Sikhs and this in its turn greatly influenced the British policy towards the Cis-Sutlaj states. Maharaja Ranjit Singh died in June, 1839, and with him departed the power and the prestige of the Lahore Kingdom. His son and successor, Maharaja Kharak Singh, lost all his power in the midnight of the 8th October, 1839 as a result of a revengeful plot hatched by Raja Dhian Singh, the powerful minister of Ranjit Singh, who feared his own extinction at the hands of the new chief, and his life too came <sup>to</sup> an end on the 5th November, 1840 probably as a result of that shock. On the same day a sudden collapse of an archway under which he was passing on his return from the obsequies of his father, killed the promising prince, Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh, who had succeeded to the Lahore throne that very day and on whom Ranjit Singh had pinned his hopes for the preservation of the integrity of the Sikh kingdom. Now there rose two rival claimants to the throne: Mai Chand Kaur, the widow of Maharaja Kharak Singh, who wished to act as regent of the expected child of her late son, Nau Nihal Singh, and Kanwar Sher Singh, another son of Ranjit Singh. The Lahore court was, thus, divided supporting the two rival claimants. Raja Dhian Singh took the side of Kanwar Sher Singh while the powerful Sindhianwala chiefs, Sardars Atar Singh and Ajit Singh, backed the Mai. Raja Dhian Singh succeeded in the beginning and Maharaja Sher Singh came to the throne on the 13th January, 1841. But the Sindhianwala chiefs harboured the grudge and looked for an opportunity to turn tables on their rivals. They got their chance on the 15th September, 1843, when one of them, Ajit Singh, shot dead the Maharaja, his son and heir, Kanwar Partap Singh, and the Wazir, Raja Dhian Singh. The Wazir's son, Hira Singh, then, killed Ajit Singh and his followers with the help of the Lahore army and consequently the kingship descended on to Dalip Singh, a five year old son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh who now began to rule, with his mother Rani

Jindan as his Regent and Hira Singh as Wazir. Still another revolution took place on December 21, 1844, when Hira Singh was killed and the power came into the hands of Hani Jindan and her brother, Sardar Jawahar Singh. However, the Lahore army, which had got the upper hand by then, brought about Jawahar Singh's downfall and shot him dead on September 21, 1845. At last, after an anarchy of a few weeks Lal Singh was appointed the Wazir and Tej Singh as C.in.C of the Lahore forces, but the reins of power, still, remained in the hands of the army, which constantly clamoured for more pay and plunder.

The British on their part were not idle spectators of these hectic events. They saw in the Lahore anarchy the fruition of their long cherished dream of the annexation of the Panjab, as is revealed by Lord Ellenborough's private correspondence of the years 1843 and 1844. Hence they continued to make adequate military preparations for the purpose and to strengthen their garrisons near the frontier at Ludhiana, Ferozpur and Ambala. The replacement of Lord Ellenborough by Sir Henry, later Lord Hardinge, a famous veteran of the Peninsular war and the Waterloo campaign in July, 1844, gave a new impetus to this policy.

However, the news of these preparations reached the other side of the border. The Sikh army, therefore, partly to save their motherland from the clutches of the British troops, who had almost encircled it by <sup>this</sup> time, and partly at the instigation of the deceitful officers like Lal Singh and Tej Singh, who thought their safety was possible only if the army proceeded to the other side of the border and perished fighting the English, crossed the Sutlaj between Hafiki and Kasur on December 11, 1845. The British in their turn confiscated the cis-Sutlaj possessions of the Lahore Darbar and declared war against it.

The Sikhs gave a very tough fight, but the treachery of Lal Singh and Tej Singh as well as their own indiscipline made them lose battle after battle at Mudki near Ferozpur on December 18, at Ferozshahr on December 21, at Aliwal on January 21, 1846, and the final decisive battle at Sobraon on February 10, 1846, which decided the issue in favour of the British.

The victorious British forces, then, proceeded to Lahore, where

the Treaty of Lahore was signed between the two Governments on March 3, 1846. It was ratified the next day. Since the British considered it impolitic on military as well as political grounds to annex the whole Panjab at that juncture, they postponed it to a further date and only took measures to cripple the power of the Lahore Darbar. Thus the Treaty entitled the British to occupy the Lahore territories not only on the south of the Sutlaj but also between the Sutlaj and the Beas as well as to a war indemnity of a crore and a half rupees. But as the Lahore Darbar could not pay more than Rs 50 lakhs in cash, on that account and consequently the hill country between the Beas and the Indus including Kashmir and Hazara were also given to the British to make up the deficiency of a crore of rupees. The strength of the Lahore forces was reduced to 20000 infantry, 12000 cavalry and 36 guns. The minor chief of the Panjab also recognised the independent sovereignty of Raja Gulab Singh, who had rendered a singular service to the British by not helping the Lahore Darbar during the last war. The Maharaja promised not to employ any European or American without the previous permission of the British Government, while the British undertook not to interfere in the internal affairs of the Lahore Darbar.

Later, on the 11th March the two Governments agreed to a few additional articles, which authorized the British to station their troops at Lahore for a year in possession of the fort and the city at the cost of the Lahore treasury to protect the person of the Maharaja and the inhabitants of the Lahore city, whereas the Lahore forces were to remain away from the city. Rani Jindan and Lal Singh were to continue<sup>d</sup> as regent and Wazir respectively and Henry Lawrence was to act as the A.G.G. with Lahore Darbar.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. ATTITUDE OF THE CIS-SUTLAJ CHIEFS AND THE BRITISH REACTION.

Now the cis-Sutlaj Sikh chiefs, one and all, had during the last few decades fallen a prey to the aggressive consolidation drive of the British and were, thus, chafing inwardly against them. Among the major chiefs the ruler of Patiala had been deprived of

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1. Cunningham, pp 237-344 and Mahajan, pp 15-39.

a large portion of his Mariana-Bhatiana territory, the Kaithal family had lost its entire state and the Jind State was reduced to about a half of its original size, whereas the Nabha chief always felt more akin to the Lahore ruling family than to the British. Besides, the confiscation of village Nowran by the British in 1841, which the Nabha chief considered his own, gave that chief an immediate cause of complaint. On the other hand some of the minor states like Thanesar, Dooria, Ambala, Nadaur and a number of others of lesser note had either fully or partially lapsed, while others were on their way to a similar end. In these circumstances almost all of them might have considered the occasion of the Anglo-Sikh conflict a golden opportunity to take their revenge and some of them like the rulers of Nabha, Ludha, Sialba and Malodh took that line of action, but others perhaps deemed such a step rather suicidal, specially when the sikh opposition was neither well organised nor a concerted one, and hence ultimately they cooperated with the British. The ruler of Faridkot, Sardar Pahara Singh, who bore some grudge against the Lahore Court, helped the British all the more actively.

In his report<sup>2</sup> the G.S. in Council on 29th September, 1846, Major H.M. Lawrence, the A.G.G. of N.W. frontier has given a clear though somewhat exaggerated picture of their as well as their Subject attitude. He wrote: "The feelings of the great mass of the cis-Sutlaj population, without any reference to the disposition of their rulers, was decidedly hostile to the British Government. It has been estimated that from 4 to 15 thousands of the inhabitants of the cis-Sutlaj States, chiefly of Jat extraction, were serving in the Lahore ranks at the commencement of the war. It was then but natural that the zamindars of every village in the cis-Sutlaj area should hope success to Lahore cause, on which depended the fortune of their friends and relatives. Moreover, they had everything to expect and nothing to fear from the Lahore Government of whose

2. The contemporary poet Shah Nuhd whose knowledge of the details of the Sikh wars is unquestionable writes:-

پاہارا سنگھ سے یار فرنگستان دا - سکھان نال سے اسی اسی کی غمناک  
 اہو تان بھج کے لڑتے توں جاویا - گھر جاوے گا ساری بھیت والی

(Pahara Singh was a friend of the British and an alien to the interest of the sikhs. He quickly crossed over to the British and disclosed all the secrets of the sikhs to Lord Hardinge.)

munificence they had heard much, of whose tyranny under British protection they knew nothing."

Referring to the chiefs he stated that "not from one chief did we receive any information of the intentions of the enemy or of the hostile feelings of the cis-Sutlaj population. If my views be correct, every chief is abnoxious to the occasion of having been (prior to the outbreak of the hostility) at least, lukewarm and indifferent.

"The protected chiefs are bound to assist the British Government in time of war to the best of their ability, to furnish information, forward supplies and to join their contingent to the British force. When I proceed to report in detail on the conduct of each chieftain, his activity or negligence as regards supplies will be clearly seen. As a general rule, however, with the few exceptions hereafter noted, small supplies were sent in till the contest had been virtually decided by the victories of Aliwal and Sobraon. Then, where before had been indifference, if not open hostility, all was zeal and devotion and an examination of dates will show that the sikh chieftains were obedient only, when they considered us in a position to enforce obedience. Of the contingents, which the protected chiefs were bound to furnish, it will be sufficient to remark that how some fought against us and many never appeared at all. Even those that did join our army were little to be depended upon and such was their want of discipline and equipment that had they been faithful, they had still been useless. The least, that we had a right to expect from protected chiefs, was that they should protect the roads in our rear and restrain their subjects from robbery and pillage. But in most cases the chiefs seemed on the outbreak of the hostilities to have suspended all civil control in their own states except where it could be employed with effect to keep back the supplies required by our army. It must be borne in mind that the acts of the chiefs were in the face of continued orders, sent from the various officers

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3. The British political officers on the spot alleged that they demanded 75000 maunds of flour from the states, but they supplied only 4254 maunds.

of the Agency, who spared no pains to impress on the minds of all the necessity of obedience and the consequence, if neglected."

Then he reported on the conduct of all the notable cis-Sutlej chieftains, both major and minor, one by one. According to him 'whatever may have been the feelings of his subjects, the Patiala chief, Maharaja Harinder Singh, who succeeded his father, Maharaja Karam Singh on the latter's death on 23rd December, 1845, exerted for the British from the first. With the exception of Faridkot, obviously enough it was the most favourable case, still the British officers complained that the exertion were not such as might have been expected. Moreover a very serious charge was made against the chief of Bhadour, who was one of the feudatories of Patiala. The author of Tawarikh-i-Patiala, however, records quite a different story and says that Maharaja Karam Singh, contributed Savars, soldiers, artillery-men and guns and continued to send the required supplies at full rate without any break. After Maharaja Karam Singh's death his son and successor, Maharaja Harinder Singh, followed the same policy with similar vigour and <sup>4</sup> zeal.

The Jind Raja was charged with being somewhat lukewarm to the crossing of the Sikhs because of his alleged non-compliance of British demand in the beginning of 1845, for which he was fined Rs 10000/-, but the distance of his territory could have been its possible cause. His later exertions were, however, spoken of favourably, by all, so also was the conduct and appearance of his <sup>duly off</sup> contingent. The fine was paid at Ludhiana previous to the Raja being admitted to the G.C.'s Darbar.

All the British officers had, however, complained in a very strong words against the conduct of Raja Davinder Singh, who had succeeded to the Gaddi of Nabha on the death of his father, Raja Jaswant Singh, on May 22, 1840. The inattention to, and the delay in execution of orders shown by him had for some time past given great



dissatisfaction, but on the commencement of the military operations all orders were formally treated with contempt. Measures were taken to lay in provisions of supplies at Khanna and as nothing was received from the districts of the Raja, the district immediately adjoining was sequestered on the 11th December. Reminders sent to him in this connection remained unanswered and even unattended. There was every reason to suppose that the Raja had been in some manner or other in correspondence with the court of Lahore for sometime past, Gen. Ram Singh, an old resident of Nabha, but now a servant of the Lahore Government, Mohan Singh Malwal, who was sent to seduce the cis-Satlaj protected chiefs, and the wakil of Sodhi Dewan Singh of Makhwal were the possible channels of communication.

Mills clearly states: "No assistance was rendered by this chief or the subordinate officers till the arrival of the army at Ferozpur and after the defeat of the Sikh army at Mudki and Ferozshahr." He suggested that to mark the severe displeasure of Government, the district formerly belonging to the Rani of Khanna and to which he had no just right be confiscated.

The Ladwa chief, Raja Ajit Singh, openly fought against the English in the battle-field on the side of the Lahore forces. The British Government forthwith confiscated his estates and issued orders for the sale of all his property elsewhere. The Government was, however, ready to make proper provisions for the sons of the Ladwa Raja, who had not joined their father.

Captain Abbot, who was placed in charge of the Ladwa estate, reported on 27th March that for years the revenue had not been regularly collected by the Raja of Ladwa and that his Wazir himself made huge remissions of revenue upon a small cash advance from the Zamindars and that there were a number of unsettled claims against the estate. After much consideration,

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5. N.A: Mr R. Least to Major Mackeson dt 7.3.1846.  
6. N.A: Report of Cap. C.E. Mills, dt 1.2.1846.  
7. N.A: F. Currie to Major Mackeson dt 4.2.1846.

ultimately the Government ordered that all bonafide debts taken before the 12th December, 1845 should be paid out of the proceeds of the estate.

The Raja of Ladwa had managed to escape from the battle-field but was siezed by the men of Raja Lal Singh on 27th April and thus, through the mediation of Raja Lal Singh he surrendered himself to Major Macgregor on 1st May at Lahore. He was finally brought to Delhi and he was kept there under safe custody. He was charged with treasonable practices against the British Government and his confinement was legalized through a warrant under Regulation III of 1818. The Raja appealed to the British authorities for leniency being shown to him, but his request remained unheeded. For the time being he continued to stay at Delhi, but later he was sent down to Allahabad where he was kept under detention in the Cantonment there. But on the 28th December, 1848, Raja Ajit Singh escaped from there after having suffocating the Santri (Sentinel). A reward was offered for his siezure, dead or alive, but in June, 1849, the government received the news that Ajit Singh had died on 2nd April at a small village on the road to Kashmir. Six attendants of the Raja, who arrived at Lahore on 9th July, further confirmed the news. They carried the Raja's seal with his name inscribed in it along with some of his other belongings. They disclosed that from Allahabad the Raja had moved on by way of Rewa, Gwalior, Jaipur, Bikaner, and then after crossing the Sutlaj arrived within 30 miles of Lahore near Sheikhpura and thence took road to Kashmir, when he finally arrived<sup>at</sup> the place of his death.<sup>10</sup>

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8. N.A: Abbot to Mackeson dt 5.4.1846 and reverse of the same date and Currie to Mackeson dt 14.4.1846.
9. N.A: Macgregor to Major Lawrence dt 30.4.1846 and 1.5.1846; Currie to Mackeson dt 8.5.1846; Currie to A.G.G. Delhi dt 8.5.1846; Lawrence to Currie dt 9.5.1846 and 17.5.1846; Raja Ajeet Singh to G.G. dt 16.5.1846; Govt to Lawrence dt 1.6.1846; Lawrence to Currie dt 4.6.1846 and of 24.7.1846.
10. N.A: Commr. Allahabad on to Offg. Secy N.W.P dt 30.12.1848; Commr Cis-Sutlaj states to A.G.G. Rajputana and Banchellkhand dt 5th January; Secy Board of Adm, Pb, to Govt of India dt 9th June and 11th July, 1849.

The position of the Faridkot ruler according to Major Lawrence 'was really critical as his possessions lay near the Sutlaj and opposite to Ferozpur and were till the victory of Ferozshahr in the pawn and partly in the possession of the enemy. Still he was from the first faithful and, with a slight exception, was throughout active in and firm to our cause.' When he was introduced to the G.G., in consideration of his services already rendered the latter promised to invest him with the title of Raja at the first public Darbar. This promise was redeemed at Ludhiana.

The attitude of the rulers of Malerkotla, Mandot and of the Rani of Bahkot remained quite faithful. Though a relative of the Patiala Raja, the Sardar of Malodh did not emulate the fidelity of the head of his family, but intrigued with Lahore, for which he was admonished and warned. His later conduct was on the whole satisfactory. The Ronar chief had been carrying on his intrigues against the British, and when he was threatened with the confiscation of his estate, he only withdrew his vakil from Lahore. The contingent of this Sardar did not appear, and no supplies whatsoever were received from him.

The rulers of Sialba and Kharar withheld all assistance from first to last. No supplies were received from either, notwithstanding the stationing of the Amans in their estates, and repeated orders complaining of neglect.

'All the Sodhis, as the religious leaders of the Sikhs, were probably and not unnaturally hostile to our Government. But the intrigues of the Sodhis of Anandpur were the most notorious on account of their hostility and their neglect of orders' and hence their possessions were confiscated.

Out of the 41 minor chiefs dependent on Ambala, the greater number was so insignificant and so distant from Ferozpur that their names were not even mentioned in any of the official reports. Notwithstanding the little assistance afforded almost daily orders were issued to each and many of the chieftains were summoned and personally warned, but most of them did not comply with the orders.

A few states, however, gave their willing cooperation to the English. The State of Kalsia in particular gave supplies immediately they were demanded and sent its contingent at an early period in spite of the fact that it had a close and long continued connection with the Lahore Darbar.

In the states attached to Ambala there was another trouble too. Being beyond the jurisdiction of the Police court of Ambala and having no sort of criminal courts in their own limits, all the bad characters in these regions collected together in these partially independent states, whence they issued occasionally to plunder in the surrounding districts, and the chiefs of these states were strongly suspected of levying and affording protection to thieves in return for a percentage on their spoils. During the war these irregularities reached a great height and the roads about Ambala, especially the grand road to Karnal, was rendered dangerous to the unescorted travellers.

The ruler of Kapurthala was one of the hostile chiefs. Sardar Fatch Singh having died he was succeeded by Sardar Nihal Singh, who had placed all his resources at the disposal of the Lahore Darbar and fought the English till the sikhs were defeated. Major Lawrence recommended the confiscation<sup>11</sup> of his Cis-Sutlaj possessions by way of punishment.

With the ultimate victory over the Lahore troops, the entire angle of vision of the British in respect of the Cis-Sutlaj chiefs was changed. Their importance as a sort of buffer state between the independent Punjab and the British possessions in Northern India had vanished since the district of Dist Jullunder was annexed by the British. It was obvious, therefore, that the old treaty relations with the Cis-Sutlaj chiefs were revised. Major Lawrence writes in this connection: " In the first place I would suggest that, with the following exceptions, all transit and custom duties should be abolished between the Janna and the Sutlaj

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11. N.A: Major Lawrence to Currie dt 29.9.1845.

The conduct of the chieftains has been such that they can not claim compensation and the nature of the order will show that Government does not seek any pecuniary advantage, but makes the punishment of their misconduct a means of benefit to the mercantile classes. On the advantages of such a change, and on the stimulus it would give to commerce, I need not dilate; by the present system, trade has been virtually destroyed, nor can there be much hope of its revival except by some such measures.

" In the second place as the contingents of all the chiefs were found, more or less disaffected or useless, it would be unwise to accept any assistance from them in any future war. I, propose, therefore, that with the under mentioned exceptions, the contingents be commuted to a money payment and that land be taken equivalent to those amounts:

(1) Patiala, (2) Jind, (3) Faridkot, (4) Malerkotla, (5) Raikot, (6) Kalsia, (7) Dialgarh.

" The above told seven are the only states that on the most liberal interpretation behaved well. I recommend that negotiations be entered into with them for the removal of all custom duties on the terms of giving the states a full equivalent in the lands for loss incurred thereby. I further recommend that the contingents of Kalsia, Raikot and Dialgarh, amounting in all to only 95 foot and 45 horse, be excused during peace and that Patiala, Jind, Faridkot and Malerkotla may continue on the old footing. On each of the state of Jind, Kalsia, Dialgarh and Raikot escheated Lahore lands to the amount of from Rs 1000/- to Rs 1500/- a year revenue be conceded. The last two are ruled by ladies and the latter is aged. The fine of Rs 10000/- on Jind be remitted.

" Malodh: I would suggest  $\frac{1}{4}$ th of his lands be declared as escheat to Government and that the police management of the

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12. For the contingent to be supplied by each state see appendix 'W'.

remaining  $\frac{1}{2}$  be assumed by the officers of the Government.

" KOPAR: I would confiscate his lands allowing him a pension of Rs 87000/- a year, equal to half the revenue of his territory, to end at his death. He has no male heir. One son is recently born to him, but there are doubts about his legitimacy. An enquiry has been ordered. If he be the Sardar's son, a maintenance be allowed, and I recommend a separate allowance of Rs 3000/- per year be at once granted to the Sardar's daughter. The ex-Sardar should reside east of the Janna.

" SIARBA AND KHARAR: I would suggest that  $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the lands of each of these estates be confiscated. The Police management of the remaining to be in the hands of Government.

" THE SOBHIS OF ANANDPUR: I recommend that the various estates of these Sobhis remain, as now, confiscated to Government and that on a special report from the Commissioner Cis-Sutlej states a maintenance according to circumstances be given to the individuals deserving or requiring support.

" As regards the Ambala states I would suggest that with the exception already mentioned the police management of all be assumed by Government, that no compensation be given to any one in lieu of transit duties and that lands equivalent to the expenses of the police management be assumed.

" In all cases where the police management is now assumed or where the police authority is already in our hands I recommend that Dastur-ul-Amal be given from the Zila Collector's Office by which all parties are to abide and whatever chiefs or Putteedars are proved to break through the rules so laid down, they be deprived of all fiscal powers and their collections be made for them through the Government Tehsildars.

" There are probably several petty states, formed of single village or fraction of villages, that have not been mentioned by the Commissioner or any of the Zila Officers - such silence apparently shows that no service was performed - I, therefore, recommend that all such be treated on the terms of as other Ambala states.

" I also recommend that some fixed rule or law be made regarding succession in each state or estate so that the family feuds may come to an end.

" I am inclined to believe that it would be beneficial to all to resume all the cis-Sutlaj estates with the exceptions of the seven recommended for reward and afterwards to grant them new Sanads from Government on the terms specified in the report.

" Finally I recommend that the new Sanads should distinctly express the terms of each holding including the rule of inheritance and provide for the attendance of full contingents during the war (double that of peace) from the seven states, continued in that privilege, all the chiefs to attend personally when required and during the war or the movements of troops to place their resources at the disposal of Government."<sup>13</sup>

On the 11th November, 1846 Lord Hardinge wrote his important minute on the cis-Sutlaj states. He observed: " This system (of Protecting the Sikh States) has lasted nearly forty years, during which period judging from the experience of the last campaign no progress has been made in gaining the attachment of the Sikh population under British Protection. The people seldom have any opportunity of feeling the benefits of British rule being in all their internal affairs governed by their own native chiefs. Although of warlike and predatory habits they were never taken into our service, while their own national and religious feelings disposed them to consider the Sikh Army, in whose ranks they were enrolled in thousands, as composed of friends and relatives. The Panchayat system, good pay and loose discipline were infinitely more agreeable to their habits than the stricter system of our regular service.

" Our protection was felt by the chiefs during Ranjit Singh's career of conquest, but as regards the people of these states, our intercourse was not of a nature, by which we could confer benefits to secure their attachment.

" Every village had some relations in the sikh ranks, and if questioned by our officers to what Regiment they belonged, the soldiers usually replied in a tone of defiance that he was soldier of the Khalsa army on furlough at his native home. On the breaking out of the war, these men came over to their villages as emissaries and whenever the hostile feeling against the British Government could be prudently exerted, no occasion was omitted for so doing by intercepting stragglers and plundering baggage - even in the case of the troops of the Maharaja of Patiala, the most faithful of our adherents, when the affair of Buddowal was going against us and the baggage was cut off from the main body, the whole of the Patiala cavalry, about 300 in number, went over boldly to the enemy and the villages in the rear cut up our sick and plundered the camp followers. This force at Ludhiana conveyed daily information to the enemy. I notice these facts because this contingent was esteemed to be the most trustworthy, in consequence of the fidelity of their chief, to the British cause.

" It is scarcely necessary to dwell upon the fact that the hearts of the sikh population in our protected states were with the men of their own tribe and sect and decidedly adverse to the British Government.

" The disaffection to the British power, which for years had protected them, may be said to have been almost universal from the Janna to the Sutlaj with the exception of a few villages, which for years had been administered by British officers.

" The great majority of the petty chiefs, some of whom held offices at Lahore and to many whom the Lahore service held out the prospects of making their fortunes, were as adverse as their own ryots to the British Government. In fact, neither these petty chiefs nor their ryots derive any direct and manifest advantages from British Protection.

" Throughout the Lahore districts and the Ahluwalia estates, now about to be brought under the direct superintendence of the British Officers the case will be difficult. Liberal assessment and strict justice over the sikh states, ceded to us, will, I should



hope, in a short time create a feeling very favourably to British rule, as contrasted with those of the native chiefs. The Estates now belonging to the East India Company will comprise about one half of the territory between the Janna and the Sutlaj.

" But the papers disclose that the hostility was not confined to less wealthy chiefs. The Raja of Ladwa with an estate of £10000 a year almost openly avowed his treason and after a time went over to the enemy with all his troops and artillery.

" The Raja of Nabha with an estate of £ 40000/- a year did not hesitate openly to defy the British authorities by a total disregard of the orders he received.

" There can be no doubt if we had suffered reverses that, as in the case of Patiala troops at Ruddowal, the contingent would have joined the enemy and we should have had a general rising of the population in our rear as far as east as Karnal cutting off our supplies and our small detachments and making war upon us *in* the knife.

When the war suddenly broke out I felt, notwithstanding the hostile feelings on the part of the population, that it was quite impossible to apply a military remedy by detachments in sufficient strength to keep up our communications with the rear. This could only be partially and occasionally done by the Regiments marching upto the front. No detached forces could be afforded of sufficient strength. It was absolutely necessary to concentrate every man, when the battle was to be fought against a well appointed and well drilled army inferior to none in Asia for its courage and its national pride and superior to every other native army except our own from its European system of <sup>discipline</sup> ~~discipline~~.

"There can be no doubt that security on the part of the country demands a modification of the existing system as far as it can be affected consistently with good faith and an adherence to Treaty.

" These states have in reality, with very few exceptions, forfeited their privileges by their repeated acts of disaffection and disobedience during the war. They have shown that their contingents are not to be depended upon. They cannot be distinguished

from the enemy. They are neither an efficient nor a faithful force and are worse than useless as they are positively dangerous.

" To abolish the existing practice of each petty chief furnishing his contingent for the service of the paramount power, and substitute in lieu of it local corps commanded by our European Officers, recruited from the sikh population and paid by the sikh chiefs indirectly will to a certain extent remedy the mischief of the present system.

" I, therefore, without hesitation sanction the proposition that moderate rate shall be taken in commutation of personal service, making the exceptions recommended by the Pol. Agent and including the chief of Mandot in the number of the excepted chiefs.

" I also sanction, on the same ground that these states have forfeited their privileges by their disobedience, the abolition of all transit and custom duties which, levied through so many independent small states is a system most ruinous to the trade of the country and ought to be, as it has been in our provinces, abolished. I approve of the exceptions made in the case of the chiefs who conducted themselves with loyalty to the British Government and I trust the equivalent for their loss by the abolition will be given so as to afford satisfaction.

" I also entirely approve of the proposal to take this opportunity of settling the rule of succession to property by a recorded declaration of what the rule is to be for the future in the families of the land holders.

" With regard to the resumption of all the sikh Protected States and granting new Szads from the Government, I consider the same ends will be obtained by carrying out the proposals of the Political Agent which I have sanctioned above. A general measure of resumption of the Sikh Protected states would create alarm and must be preceded by a public declaration of the disloyalty of a large section of them explaining the grounds of forfeiture, which general measure not being absolutely necessary had better

be avoided. The object in view seems to be as well obtained without it.

" I, therefore, prefer to apply the remedies proposed, being justified by the misconduct of the chiefs during the late war without proclaiming that misconduct to all India.

" With regard to the cases of individuals, who deserve punishment for special misconduct, the two most prominent are the Rajas of Nabha and Kapurthala.

" In case of the Raja of Nabha when war broke out on the 13th December last, that chief instead of repairing to my Head-quarter in obedience to the orders he received and according to his duty, not only evaded the orders, which he repeatedly received, but in contempt of the authority of the British Government, omitted to furnish supplies or transport.

" Considering his power, rank and station his bad example was exalted to mislead all the other chiefs and his conduct was considered by me to be so flagrant, that I had authorized his seizure, which the more active operation of the campaign prevented the Political Agent from carrying the intention into effect, as the Raja remained in his capital at Nabha, a distance of 96 miles to the rear. No means were neglected to bring him to a sense of his duty. But these efforts seem to have had the effect of increasing his idea of his own importance. He was in hopes that his neglect in furnishing supplies would distress the ~~army~~ army and his example of disaffection became universal among his countrymen. His intrigues at Lahore do not admit of personal proof, but his ~~disloyalty~~ disloyalty is proved by his perverse disobedience of orders and by his acts of omission to furnish the provisions, which he was bound to supply at a moment of emergency, which misconduct lasted till after the struggle was at an end.

" The proposal of the Political Agent regarding the confiscation of about  $\frac{1}{4}$ th of his territories is sanctioned. He is not to be provided any compensation for the loss to be incurred by the abolition of custom and transit duties. These steps are as just as they will be polite in acting as a warning to all native chiefs,

that disaffection and disobedience to the Government of India in war will not be pardoned."

The G.G. also sanctioned the confiscation of all the cis-Satlaj territories of the Kapurthala chief, which were worth about Rs 56500/- a year. Custom and transit duties were abolished in his territories in the Jullunder Doab and he was ordered to substitute money payment for personal service. Besides, all other proposals regarding other cis-Satlaj chiefs and their states made by the A.G.G. were accepted in toto.<sup>14</sup>

Consequently the Nabha chief was deprived of a part of his Ilaga worth about a lakh of Rs a year.

Earlier it was proposed that out of this territory, lands worth Rs 22000/- a year should be resumed by the British as commutation for contingents and the remaining should be divided half and half between the rulers of Patiala and Faridkot as reward. But Faridkot ruler desired to take the Ilagas of Kot Kapura and Muktsar instead, <sup>which were</sup> formerly belonging to the Lahore Durbar and were contiguous to his territories. The Government sanctioned his request, but as the two Ilagas were about Rs 23500/- of more value, this amount was received in cash from that ruler. Similarly the request of the Patiala chief for being given the Ilagas instead of Fatehgarh and Bassi (Sirhind) instead was agreed to. In the circumstances out of the escheated territory of the Nabha state the village Kandela was given to the Jind Raja, as it was contiguous to the Jind area; <sup>pargana</sup> Mohri was annexed to Sirsa district and <sup>that of</sup> Dheraroo <sup>15</sup> to the Ludhiana district of the British Government.

The Jind Raja got the villages of Dalanwala, Kanhuri Kalan and Kanhuri Khurd also from the Nabha and Kaithal territories, all worth about Rs 3000/- a year. His fine of Rs 10000/- was remitted and

14. N.A: Minute of Lord Hardinge dt 11.11.1846 and Edwards to Lawrence dt 17.12.1846.

15. N.A: Mackeson to Elliot dt 2.4.1847; Elliot to Mackeson dt 2.6.1847; Mackeson to Elliot dt 21.6.1847 and 24.6.1847 and Edwards to Mackeson dt 24.8.1847.

and it was decided that the khilaaat, to be conferred on him in the future Public Darbars and on other similar occasions, was to consist of eleven pieces instead of seven. The Patiala chief, not only got additional lands worth about Rs 49 thousands but also got back the famous brass gun named "Kava Khan," which was taken away by Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore from Raja Sahib Singh during one of his cis-Sutlej campaigns and which was captured from the Lahore troops in the first sikh war. His khilaaat was in future to consist of forty one pieces and his gun salute was now raised to 17.<sup>16</sup>

At this stage the rulers of Patiala and Jind thought of getting a renewal of assurance regarding the safety of their territories and privileges from the British Government and submitted separate Wajib-ul-Arz to the G.G. for signature.<sup>17</sup> But the G.G. did not approve of the idea and preferred to issue new Sanads to them which were to contain all the required provisions such as regarding the safety of territories, sovereignty over chaharmans, rule of successions, abolition of custom and transit duties as well as of Satee and mutilation, previous sanction of the British Government for awarding the capital punishment, supply of contingents in the times of peace and war, + exemption, from tribute and non-interference, in the internal affairs of the two states. These sanads were subsequently granted to the two rulers in a public Darbar at Simla on 22nd September, 1847.<sup>18</sup>

The various members of the Sodhi family of Anandpur were given maintenance allowances in all totalling upto Rs 5,000/- per month.<sup>20</sup> Meanwhile news was received about the death of Raja

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16. N.A: Edwards to Lawrence dt 17.12.1846; Mackeson to Currie dt 13.4.1846; Currie to Mackeson dt 13.4.1846; Mackeson to Edwards dt 22.9.1847; Currie to Mackeson dt 5.2.1847 and 12.2.1847.
17. N.A: For full texts of the two Wajib-ul-Arz see appendix 'X'
18. N.A: For full text of the two Sanads see Appendix 'Y'.
19. N.A: Mackeson to Elliot dt 16.3.1847; Elliot to Mackeson dt 8.4.1847, 26.4.1847, 5.10.1847 and Edward to Mackeson dt 13.10.1847.
20. N.A: Mackeson to Elliot dt 7.9.1847 and Edward to Mackeson dt 15.10.1847.

Goverdhan Singh of Hari Majra on 14th April, 1847. His son Raja Gurbakhsh Singh aged 24 years was permitted to succeed him.

But one more point about this state came up for consideration on that occasion that the affairs of this state had been very much mismanaged and nearly all of it had been mortgaged, without the prior sanction of the Government, to the rulers of Patiala and Nabha, who had posted their own police in the villages, they held in mortgage. No account was rendered by them of the proceeds of the villages they had held for the last 9 or ten years, so that it could not possibly be asserted as to in whose favour the balance stood in respect of these villages.

The reduced revenues of the estate were, then, estimated at Rs 54000/- a year. The debts were calculated to amount to Rs 5 lakhs. The new Raja Gurbakhsh Singh as well as his younger brother and other collateral brother had no heirs, so that an early lapse of the estate was within the range of possibilities. There were chances that the rulers of Nabha and Patiala might advance claims due to mortgage. Under these circumstances it was decided not to interfere till the time of lapse came.<sup>21</sup>

In the end all the cis-Sutlej territories, which had so far lapsed to the British Government, were divided into four districts, of Ferozepur, Ludhiana, Ambala and Kaithal. Their total annual yield amounted to Rs 12,14,746/-.<sup>22</sup>

### 3. SECOND SIKH WAR AND THE ANNEXATION OF THE PANJAB.

Meanwhile the events at the Lahore court speedily drifted towards the annexation of the Panjab. The Lahore Treaty of 9th March, 1846 had ceded Kashmir to the British Government, which they gave away to Raja Gulab Singh as a reward for his services to their cause in lieu of a razdara of Rs 75 lakhs. But Sheikh Imam-ud-Din, the Governor of Kashmir, refused to hand over the charge and raised an open standard of rebellion. Though finally the British compelled him to deliver Kashmir over to Gulab Singh, yet they were very much surprised when the Sheikh disclosed to them that he was all

21. W.A. Mackeson to Elliot dt 14.4.1847 and reverse dt 2.6.1847.

22. Mackeson to Elliot dt 24.9.1847 and reverse dt 12.10.1847.

along acting under the written instructions of Raja Lal Singh and produced the original instructions before them, in support of his own statement. Raja Lal Singh was, therefore, tried by a tribunal consisting of five British Officers, which held him/guilty. He was consequently deposed from Wazarat and exiled from the Punjab. The powers of Wazarat were temporarily conferred on a Council of four: Sardar Tej Singh and Sher Singh, Diwan Dina Nath and Faqir Hus-ud-Din.

The Treaty of Lahore had also laid down that the British troops, stationed at Lahore, were to be moved out within a year. That time was now drawing near. But the G.C. in Council was determined to retain them. Maharani Jindan and other Sardars at the court also desired it. But when they came to know that the G.C. also thought of vesting the British Resident at Lahore with all the powers of the State relating to internal and external affairs during the minority of Maharaja Dalip Singh, they withdrew their consent. But the British won over most of the Sardars by favour or fear and only Rani Jindan and Diwan Dina Nath persisted in their opposition, which was ignored and the Lahore Treaty was revised by the Treaty of Bhyrowal in December, 1846. This treaty made the British the virtual rulers of Lahore under the nominal chiefship of Maharaja Dalip Singh. Rani Jindan was deprived of all her powers and was given an allowance of Rs one and a half lakhs of rupees a year. Later in August, 1847 it was alleged by the British that Rani Jindan had obliged her son, the minor Maharaja, to refuse to apply the Tilak mark on the forehead of Sardar Te j Singh, whom the British wished to honour with the title of Raja. Her influence over her son was considered baneful and hence she was removed to Sheikhpura with a reduced allowance of Rs 48000/- a year in September, 1847.

Lord Hardinge was succeeded by Lord Dalhousie as the G.C. of India in January, 1848. The new G.C., who was sufficiently young and energetic, worked all the more enthusiastically to finalize the occupation of the Punjab. The ball was set rolling at Multan,

whose Governor Dewan Mul Raj was obliged to resign his job in December, 1847, due to the excessive British demands of Nasirana, of the cession of one third of the province to settle the arrears and of the introduction of the practice of making appeals to the British Resident against his decision. But John Lawrence, the British Resident, requested him to continue to work till further orders, to which Mul Raj agreed. Currie took over the Residency from John Lawrence on 6th March, 1848. He, at once, appointed Sardar Kahan Singh Man as the new Governor of Multan, and Agnew as the Political Agent there with Lt. Anderson to assist him. These officers arrived at Multan on the 18th April and took over the administration on the 9th April. But the same day when these officers were returning to their place of residence after taking over the charge, the misbehaviour of a chaprasi of Agnew towards a Multan soldier caused an attack on Agnew by that sepoy. The trouble spread. Anderson was also wounded and Mul Raj fled to the fort for his safety. Later on all the Multan soldiers rebelled and the Lahore troops, who had accompanied the new officers, also joined them. The rebels killed the two British officers and took Sardar Kahan Singh under custody. They also compelled Mul Raj to assume the leadership of the movement on the pain of death.

On knowing all these details Currie asked for immediate despatch of troops to Multan but the G. in C, Gen. Gough, considered it inexpedient to move in that scorching heat and decided to march against Multan when the rains set in.

Mackeson called upon the Maharaja of Patiala and all other cis-Sutlaj chiefs to be prepared for requisitions for grain and carriage and to make such arrangements, as would admit of their complying with those requisitions, when they were made, without delay. He also requested the rulers of Patiala, Jind and Nabha to be also ready to furnish a loan to the British Government.

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23. N.A. Mackeson to Govt dt 10.5.1848.



But Edwards marched even with his inadequate forces against Multan and compelled Mul Raj to withdraw within the fort walls in July. However, Gough remained unmoved and in the meantime trouble spread to other quarters. Then having obtained the permission of the Lahore Resident Edwards with the help of Major Napier commenced preparations to lay siege of the Multan fort, which commenced on 4th September.

Meanwhile Rani Jindan was again accused of causing disaffection against the British among the Lahore troops and was, therefore, transported in May to Benaras with only an allowance of Rs 1000/- a month. This caused a great discontentment among the sikhs, which further increased by the British excesses against the sikh Governor of Hazara, Sardar Chatar Singh Atarwala, who was the father-in-law of Maharaja Dalip Singh and the father of Raja Sher Singh. At last, Raja Sher Singh, who had been sent to crush the rebellion at Multan, deserted the British with his troops and joined Mul Raj on 15th September, and, thus, the whole movement against the British gained added strength. Both of ~~them~~ wrote letters to all the Trans and Cis-Sutlaj Sardars to rise against the British in a common cause. The chiefs of Patiala, Nabha, Kalsia, Sialba, Jind and Bidwan received them through personal messengers. The contents of each of these letters were almost the same. Each of them was called upon to "collect together and unite all the Rajas and Sardars and make prisoners or drive out all the people of the British, for, by uniting with us you will preserve your possessions, your rule and your faith."

The cis-Sutlaj rulers avoided giving any response to this call, but on the other hand they handed over the letters to the British authorities. The G.C. in Council thanked them for this proof  
24  
of their continued friendship.

The rebellion of Raja Sher Singh was followed by that of the Lahore Darbar also, which finally led to the second Sikh war and

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24. N.A: Mackeson to John English dt 31st October, 1st November, and 10th November; and Elliot to Currie dt 14.11.1848.

and the subsequent defeat of the Sikhs and the annexation of  
the Panjab on 29th March, 1849.

#### 4. FINALE OF THE BRITISH CIS-SUTLAJ POLICY

With the annexation and the consequent control of the British over the Panjab the North Western frontier of the British dominions in India was pushed up to the Indus and the British found themselves absolutely free to further curtail the power and prestige of the cis-Sutlaj chiefs. The services of the rulers of Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Malod, Badrukhan, Thanesar, Dialgarh, Singhpuria Sardars, Kunjpura, Malerkotla and Mandot were deemed satisfactory. The Patiala Maharaja had given a loan of Rs 30 lakhs too besides many other things. The Superintendent of Cis-Sutlaj States, however, found considerable difficulty in obtaining what was required both in carriage and supplies from the Raja of Faridkot. But he remarked: " I attribute this not so much to an unwillingness on his own part as to the lack of proper control over his officers and the people placed under his rule." Hence where the Raja was given Rs 2000/- a year by way of compensation for the loss incurred by him on account of the abolition of custom and transit duties, he was deprived of a portion of the lands received by him in 1846 as a mark of displeasure because according to the G.G. " to punish him by depriving him of revenue given voluntarily as a reward is better and less liable to miscontumation than to deprive him of a revenue given by pledge in lieu of other revenue taken away."

At the end of the 1845-46 campaign the petty cis-Sutlaj Sikh States were punished for their sympathy and support to the Lahore Government against the British. They were deprived of police powers; Custom and Transit duties were abolished; the estates of some of them were confiscated and the chiefs of all the protected states, except some exempted ones, were reduced from the rank of dependent sovereigns to that of the subjects of the British Government. But due to some mistaken impression of the Commissioner and the

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25. Mahajan, pp 59-128.

26. N.A: Erskine to John English dt 22nd March, Secy. Board of Administration Panjab to Secy Govt of India dt 14th May and Secy Govt of India to Secy Board of Administration dt 24.5.1849.

Superintendent of Cis-Sutlaj States the recusant chiefs still continued to remain invested with fiscal and civil authority, with the result that they and the inhabitants of their Jagirs were still exempt from the control of the British civil and revenue courts.

The Board of Administration in Punjab therefore, urged on 9th May that all the cis-Sutlaj states, other than those formerly exempted, be brought under the full control of the British courts in all matters, fiscal, criminal and civil. Thereupon the G.C. in Council immediately ordered the Board "to reduce the recusant chiefs to the position of British subjects merely and put an end to the status they have hitherto held of independent or partially independent states."<sup>27</sup>

Thus, all the cis-Sutlaj chiefs, except those of Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Kalsia, DIALGARH, Faridkot, Malerkotla, Mandot, Kunjpura and Raikot were reduced to the position of mere Jagirdars with no power, whatsoever, over the inhabitants of their lands. They were now no better than other zamindars in the British territories except that they enjoyed large amount of revenues from their lands. The ten chiefs mentioned above also survived only as dependent sovereigns and enjoyed their powers and privileges during the pleasure of the British Government. Out of them the last four, viz the chiefs of Malerkotla, Mandot, Kunjpura and Raikot, were Muslim rulers, and Raikot was being ruled by an aged lady, on whose death her state was to lapse to the Government. Similarly among the six sikh rulers Sardarni Sukhan of DIALGARH was another old widow, on whose death her state was as well to be resumed by the British. The fiscal and military resources of the remaining five sikh<sup>States</sup> were as follows, whereas the territories of the state of Kapurthala were, of course, now merely confined to the Jullunder Doab:<sup>28</sup>

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27. N.A: Board to Govt of India dt 9th May and reverse dt 23rd May, 1847.

28. N.A: Mackeson to Elliot dt 30th August, 1847.

<u>S.No.</u>	<u>Name of Ruler</u>	<u>Name of the State.</u>	<u>Yearly estimated Revenue.</u>	<u>Cavalry</u>	<u>Infantry</u>	<u>Field Guns</u>
1.	Maharaja Navender Singh	of Patiala	Rs 1960400/-	1560	2000	6
2.	Raja Sarup Singh	of Jind	Rs 244400/-	250	500	3
3.	Raja Devinder Singh	of Nabha	Rs 230400/-	570	500	3
4.	Raja Pahara Singh	of Faridkot	Rs 68000/-	60	100	-
5.	Sardar Sobha Singh	of Kalsia	Rs 1067000/-	75	50	-

But these states enjoyed their powers and resources only during the pleasure of their British masters and, thus, the latter succeeded in their mission of gaining an absolute and solid control over the cis-Sutlej area through sheer diplomacy coupled with the occasional use of force. All this had proved to be equally true in respect of their dealing with all other states in the rest of India.

## CHAPTER IX.

### RETROSPECT

#### 1. THE LAP OF THE BRITISH.

At the dawn of the 19th century the Marathas held complete control over the Imperial Capital, Delhi, and the areas around it. The English were gradually advancing in this direction. A clash between the two became almost inevitable. On the other hand, the Durrani ruler of Kabul, Zaman Shah, was contemplating to recover the Panjab and Delhi. He had already made more than one effort, had crossed the Attock but was recalled to Kabul for reasons of trouble in home politics. All <sup>these</sup> circumstances had increased the strategic and political importance of the cis-Sutlaj area or the lands between the Janna and the Sutlaj, which was very rightly called Sir-i-Hind and Tabr-i-Hind, viz the axe on the head of India.

The occupants of the area were mostly the Phulkian and some of the Manjha Sikhs, who had conquered it from the Afghan faujdar, Zain Khan, in 1764, and had subsequently laid the foundations of their numerous principalities, out of which the four major states were Patiala, Kapurthala, Jind and Nabha. There were hundreds of minor ones too. Besides, there were also three Muslim states of Baskot, Malerkotla and Kunjpura in the area, and the state of Kapurthala, whose territories mostly lay in the Jul under Doab, also possessed about two hundred and fifty villages in the cis-Sutlaj region.

After a persistent struggle of about twenty years against the Mughals and the Afghans, these Sikh states had acquired an independent status during the eighties of the 18th century.

It was rather difficult to trace the boundaries, or determine the individual revenues and the forces of each of these states, as they were always changing, but collectively its area could be said to have extended from the Janna in the west, to the Siwalik Hills in the North-east, to the Sutlaj in the North and to the confines of the Maliana tract in the South and South-east. Its total yearly revenue was about Rs 40 lakhs; its main source being land revenue which yielded about one half of this gross total

The combined forces at their command numbered about 27 thousands, which consisted mostly of cavalry and infantry. Their artillery was rather weak on the whole.

The population of the area consisted mainly of Jats, Gujars, Dogars and Ranghars, a large number of whom had accepted Sikhism. Muslims and Hindus both lived there side by side. The main profession of the people was agriculture and the main crops of that region were wheat, maize, gram, seson oil seeds, sugar-cane and melons. Heavy transit duties were levied by the chiefs on the commodities, which passed through their respective areas, a factor which very adversely affected the trade and commerce of this part with Kashmir and other North Western countries. For some decades past most anarchic conditions had prevailed in this area, hence every village and town was fortified for self defence.

The notable rulers of the states at that time were Raja Sahib Singh of Patiala, Bhai Lal Singh of Kaithal, Raja Bhag Singh of Jind and Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha. There were also a few others like Sardars Gurdet Singh of Ladwa, Bhanga Singh of Thanesar, Jodh Singh of Kalsia, Sher Singh and Rai Singh of Beoria and Jagadhri, Bhoop Singh of Ropar, Deva Singh of Sialba, Gulab Singh of Shahzadpur and Karam Singh Nirmala of Shahabad, who were no less important in their own limited fields.

The cis-Sutlej Sikh Chiefs were supreme in their own states and allowed the remnants of the Mughal Provincial Administrative system, which had survived the shocks of the 18th Century, to continue to function in their respective states. There was no codified law and the administration of Justice was rough and ready. There were neither regular jails nor was capital punishment ever resorted to. The common forms of punishment were fine, mutilation, extra duty, stocks and fancy punishment such as blackening of the face of the culprit or stamping and branding of his forehead and exiling him from his native town. The system of trial by ordeal was not unknown and the theory of punishment was rather retributive.

These states followed a different course of history from that of the Mahaja Sikhs in the Trans-Sutlej area, though the rising power of Ranjit Singh towards the close of the 18th Century proved to be a serious threat to their independence. Their attitude towards the English, as was revealed by the Mission of Mir Yusuf Ali Khan, was that of responsive cooperation. The Mughal Emperor having lost all his earlier powers and prestige, except the enjoyment of a nominal sovereignty over the territories between the Chambal and the Sutlej, the chiefs of these states recognized and paid him homage only when it suited them. They had further successfully annulled all the schemes of Mahadji Sindhia to bring them under his control. But the Sikhs, as a political body had no unity among themselves and, hence they suffered greatly at the hands of their enemies. It was only on rare occasions that the major and some of the minor cis-Sutlej Sikh chiefs did pool their resources and took a united stand against a common foe.

How ever, their struggle for independence had hardly ended when they were called upon to embark on a fresh struggle which continued throughout the first decade of the 19th century. During this struggle the chiefs had to face the machinations and aggressive designs of various powers against their own possessions and privileges, to combat which they had to mobilize all their diplomatic skill, besides their other resources.

The first among these powers was the power represented by their French General, <sup>M. Perron in the service</sup> of Daulat Rao Sindhia. Perron reached Karnal on 1st January, 1799, to demand the submission of the Sikhs particularly with a view to check their raids into the Ganga-Jamna Doab. They first thought of opposing him, but, considering their limited resources, they signed a peace treaty with him on March 10, which laid the foundation of Perron's domination over them.

Then appeared on the stage the Irish adventurer, George Thomas. Thomas had originally come to India in 1782 and served in the South for five years. Later he joined the service of Begum Samru of Sardhana. He left her after four years and joined Appa Khanda Rao,

the Maratha Governor of Mevat, for two years, during which he drove out the Sikhs from the Ganga Jamna Doab in compliance of the orders of Sindhia's viceroy of Northern India, Lekwa Dada, and got the parganas of Panipat, Sonapat and Karnal as Jagir from him in reward. Then he served Appa's successor, Vaman Rao, for a couple of years. But not contented with his subordinate career Thomas determined to carve out for himself an independent principality in the no man's land of Hariana, which he did in April-May, 1798. His capital was Hansi. His revenues were about Rs 5 Lakhs all told and his forces both regular and irregular, numbered between 5 to 10 thousands men. He issued his own coins and cast his own artillery.

Feeling encouraged by this initial success Thomas thought of conquering the neighbouring sikh lands and even to lead an expedition to Lahore, if possible. With this end in view he invaded Jind in 1798, but the brave Bhag Singh drove him back. Thomas next tried his luck against Patiala and invaded Raja Sahib Singh's territory in the middle of January, 1800 on the pretext of helping the Raja's sister, Bibi Sahib Kaur, with whom the Raja had fallen out for domestic reasons. But as the Patiala chief was not well prepared to oppose him, he bought off Thomas. The Irish free-booster then plundered the minor Sikh estates on the bank of the Jarna and returned to his Capital after six months.

For the next few months Thomas was busy making heavy preparations for a final trial of strength with the cis-Sutlaj chief, which he eventually launched in January, 1801. A number of sporadic raids were made throughout the region between Patiala and Ludhiana and Indiana and Hansi for about six months. Although he did not win even a single major battle against them, yet he plundered their property worth lakhs of rupees, took hostages and fully impressed the Sikh chiefs with his superior military resources particularly in artillery. The Sikh Chiefs were so much impressed with his personal courage and quick movements, that they accepted a treaty dictated by him. But at the same time they resolved to invite some strong foreign power to their aid to bring about the downfall of the Irish Raja of Hansi.



Thus, a Sikh Mission, consisting of Raja Bhag Singh, Bhai Lal Singh and the representatives of Patiala and Malerkotla, approached Gen. Perron, their old patron and the staunch enemy of Thomas, for the purpose and by offering him a hazana of Rs 4 Lakhs cash and a promise of military help of 5000 troopers they made him agree <sup>to</sup> their request. Perron tried to rope in Thomas through negotiations, but having failed in that endeavour, he despatched troops against him under his deputy, Louis Bourquin, on 19th September. Bourquin was, however, outmanoeuvred and was finally defeated at Jehazgaoh by Thomas on 30th September. He was, therefore, replaced by Pedron and the troops under him were very much reinforced. Thus, Thomas, feeling outnumbered so well as his supplies having run short, made a sudden break through on 10th November and escaped to Hansi. Pedron was then called back and Bourquin persuaded him with his troops. Thomas gave a very tough resistance and exhibited rare specimen of personal valour but was, at last, obliged to surrender towards the close of the year.

On the first January, 1802 Thomas was allowed to leave Hansi for Anupshahr with his family and personal possessions under a military escort and, thus, ended dismally the independent career of that great British adventurer. The Sikh chiefs too felt relieved of this constant threat in their immediate neighbourhood.

Now, Perron desired to utilize his friendly relations with the major Sikh chiefs in concluding a definite alliance with them and through their helpful intercession in obliging all the minor Sikh chiefs to acknowledge his sovereignty. The Sikh Chiefs too, who had recently failed to secure a promise of help from the British, were now keen to fall in line with Perron's wishes.

Louis Bourquin, arrived at Patiala on 20th April, 1802 and concluded the alliance with the major chiefs on 23rd April. Afterwards, <sup>he</sup> combined ~~the~~ forces of the chiefs and the French General marched to the Sutlaj via Bassi and Khanna to punish the refractory Chaharmians and also to secure the submission of the petty chiefs in that region. They encamped for some time on the left bank of the Sutlaj and in the meantime Raja Bhag Singh and the representatives

of Patiala, Kaithal and Gen. Perron proceeded to Lahore to secure Ranjit Singh's alliance with Perron. But Ranjit Singh disliked the whole idea and the Mission had to return disappointed. They then came back to Patiala via Malerkotla, divided the nazrana among themselves and then Bourquin returned to Hoshi.

Perron had been, by now, convinced of his insecurity in Sindhia's service and had, therefore, decided to keep ready to sail for Europe at the shortest possible notice. He started collecting every penny to carry home with himself. He thought of fleeing the sikhs, but the news leaked out and some of the minor sikh chiefs like the Sardars of Booria and Kalsia voluntarily offered to pay nazrana to Perron which they thought it prudent to remit to Hoshi which was the French General's headquarters. Still, there were a number of other chiefs to be mulcted and hence Perron made preparations for the expedition and invited the four major chiefs to send troops according to the treaty, which they did under the command of Bhai Lal Singh and Sardar Chen Singh, the Patiala Meatrid. But the expedition was delayed by a violent quarrel between Perron and Bourquin, and thus, the latter could go ahead with it only towards the end of October.

Meanwhile the rivalry between Sindhia and Holkar to control the affairs of the Peshwa and the efforts of the foolish Baji Rao II to get out of their clutches with the help of the British brought Sindhia and Bhonsle at war with the British, whereas Holkar felt obliged to keep himself aloof. While the British 'C. in. C. Gen Lake and Maj. Gen. Arthur Wellesley - the future Duke of Wellington - defeated the Maratha forces in different zones, Perron turned a traitor to Sindhia and left Agra for Chandranagar and thence for Europe under a British military escort without firing a shot.

Bourquin had just finished with his cis-Sutlej expedition that he came to know of the arrival of the British troops near Agra. He hasten~~ed~~ed to Delhi and having known of Perron's defection declared himself the Supreme Commander of Sindhia's forces in Northern India and decided to defend Delhi with the help of his allies. The major Sikh Chiefs, however, preferred a policy of

wait and see, though the adventurous minor sikh chiefs joined Bourquin with 5000 Sawars. But Bourquin and his associates were obliged to surrender to Gen. Lake on the 14th September, 1803. The loss of Delhi was followed by the defeats of the Maratha on all fronts and, finally, Sindha had to sign the Treaty of Sarji Arjangah in December, by which he renounced his claim to all the territories and protectorates between the Chambal and the Sutlaj and hence the Sikh chiefs, once more, regained their independence.

Now the British and the Sirhind Sikh chiefs thought it mutually beneficial, to come closer to each other. The latter recognized the change of authority at Delhi and some of them even paid a personal visit to Col. Ochterlony the British Political Officer I/C of Delhi. Ochterlony also realized that it was essential to secure the goodwill of Raja Bhag Singh and Bhai Lal Singh and through them of the other Sardars, and, therefore, recommended them for attention to Gen. Lake. The General gave them an interview at Mindaun (March, 1804) in which he granted them some lands in Degir and gave them an assurance regarding the safety of their possessions and honour. The two sikh chiefs also assured the General of their best services.

But the British soon discovered that the minor chiefs, who had fought on the side of Bourquin, were in league with Holkar, who had in the meantime fallen out with them. Ochterlony deputed his assistant Col. Burn to chastise them as well as to stop their raids in the Ganga - Janna Doab, which they had started once again. At the same time Ochterlony submitted a report to the G.G. in which he essayed the policy which the British Government followed in regard to their relations with the cis-Sutlaj chiefs in later years. He emphasised the futility of an alliance with the weak and disunited Sikhs and suggested the establishment of an over-all British control over them either by reducing them to the position of mere tributaries or by depriving them all of their lands and then distributing the whole territory among the four major chiefs alone, who would prove more serviceable.

But as the British Government were not sure of their own strength at the time, the G.G. did not approve of the idea, since the course suggested by Ochterlony was likely to lead to many political inconveniences. Ochterlony was instructed to continue his policy of gratifying the useful Sikh chiefs and of penalizing the inimical ones. Meanwhile Ochterlony had himself speeded up the campaign against the hostile sikhs, who were all brought under control either through force or general amnesty. Sher Singh of Booria lost his life in the struggle. Gurdatt Singh of Ladwa, the leader, was deprived of his important pargana of Karnal and all of them, who held any possessions in the Ganja-Jamna Doab, were divested of the same. Besides, troops were stationed at Karnal to keep a more effective control over the sikhs.

In the meantime Holkar having been driven out of Malwa came to the sikh lands via Rajputana and Sheikhwati to seek help from the sikhs and then from the Afghans. Among the Sikhs none responded to his call except a minor chief, Karam Singh Nirmala of Shahabad. The Patiala Chief, however, received him at Saifabad near Patiala only to secure his help in recovering his capital from his own ambitious and rebel wife, Rani Aus Kaur. But Holkar fleeced both of them of their hoarded treasure while he did nothing to better their mutual relations. Then having come to know of Gen. Lake's arrival in his own pursuit, Holkar crossed the Sutlej and the Beas to win over the Lahore chief to his side. Soon after Lake arrived at Patiala, where, the rapprochement having taken place in the meanwhile between the Raja and the Rani through the mediation of the Kaithal and Jind chiefs, he was given a grand reception by these three major chiefs. After securing their goodwill Lake reached the bank of the Beas, both to pursue Holkar as well as to detach the Lahore chief from him with whom he was reported to be on closer terms. The British General also sent Raja Bhag Singh of Jind, the maternal uncle of Ranjit Singh, to Lahore to persuade the Lahore chief not to enter into any alliance with Holkar. The net result of

all these efforts was that Holkar was forsaken by all the Sikhs and the Afghans and was consequently obliged to surrender to the British. Lord Lake, then, signed a treaty of friendship with Ranjit Singh on 1st January, 1806 and rewarded Raja Bhag Singh with some landed Jagirs for his good services on this occasion.

We have seen that the cis-Sutlaj chiefs had known no peace since the opening years of the 19th Century due to the aggressive designs of Perron, George Thomas and Holkar against them. Now they had felt relieved for hardly a couple of months when a new threat to their possessions arose, this time from one of their brethren viz Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The story of his frequent visits and visitations during which he mulcted some chiefs, sequestered the territories of others and had forced the more powerful one <sup>to</sup> give him large nazranas has already been narrated in some detail in the 4th Chapter. It was this Ranjit Singh episode which had ultimately brought these cis-Sutlaj chiefs to seek the British protection.

Now there were only two alternatives for Ranjit Singh: to surrender or to go to war. Ranjit Singh was preparing for the latter course, but better sense prevailed and he accepted the terms offered by the British. On 25th April he signed the Treaty of Lahore with them, according to which ~~the~~ he renounced all his claims to the cis-Sutlaj area and promised to regard the Sutlaj as his southern boundary. The British in return declared not to interfere in the Maharaja's territory a/cross the Sutlaj and to maintain relations of amity with him in future.

Ochterlony notified the above treaty to all the cis-Sutlaj chiefs and while he guaranteed them the safety of their possessions, exemption from tribute and internal sovereignty he also bound them to assist the British troops with supplies and contingents in the case of war and to exempt the British commodities from custom duties in their respective territories. Thus, after a struggle of nine years the chiefs found themselves forced into the British lap.

The chiefs are generally blamed for their defection from

Ranjit Singh and this act of theirs is characterised as anti-national. This may be partly true but Ranjit Singh himself, too, cannot escape the charge of aggression and of forcibly driving them to the British Protection. Had he acted more sagaciously and sympathetically towards them, as he did in the case of Sardar Pateh Singh Ahluwalia, he would have succeeded in keeping them with him.

### 2. THE BRITISH TIGHTEN THEIR GRIP.

The Treaty of Lahore had, no doubt, extended the British influence from the Janna to the Sutlaj, but, still, it was mainly limited to the responsibility of defence against any external aggression. The British political authorities were determined to convert this influence into an absolute control over the chiefs and their territories, but as they were anxious to avoid hurting the sensitiveness of the chiefs regarding the integrity of their states lest there should be a general alarm and rising, they decided to proceed slow with caution.

To begin with, the military post at Ludhiana was made permanent with Ochterlony as its officer, I/C, and he was to act under the overall control of the Resident at Delhi. This step locked up the chiefs between the two British military stations of Karnal and Ludhiana. Then the relations of the chiefs were so adjusted with the Lahore chief that the British not only saved themselves from the censures of Ranjit Singh but were also able to throw a cordon sanitaire round their proteges in their own favour. In fact, the chiefs were made independent of the Lahore control to a degree to which they became dependent upon the British.

The next step which the British took to strengthen their hold was to bring back the chiefs and their possessions to the position which they enjoyed on the day of Metcalfe's first visit to Ranjit Singh i.e. the 12th Sep, 1803 - an order which had been earlier issued but had not been complied with. First of all the major chiefs were freed from the obligation of the payment of the part of Malerkotla partana to Ranjit Singh for which they had stood sureties with him and which he was persistently demanding from them. Then the estate of Teera was restored to Sardarni

Dharmo, which had been earlier usurped by the nephews of the deceased husband; Sardar Gulab Singh Shahid was made to return the village of Karoli to Rani Daya Kaur of Ambala; the Ilaga of Chilaundi was restituted to the widow of Sardar Bughail Singh after that was taken back from Sardar Jodh Singh of Kalsia; Sardars Beer Singh and Dip Singh of Bhador were compelled to surrender the villages of Bharta and Saidoti to the Lahore chief and when it was discovered later that the villages legally belonged to the Bhador chiefs and that the claim of the Lahore Darbar was not supported by facts, a compensation of Rs 1000/- a year was granted to those chiefs in perpetuity with retrospective effect and lastly the interests of Sardar Nand Singh of Chamkoian were safeguarded against the alleged aggression of the Bhadrarian and Patiala, chiefs. Thus, the faith of the people in the British Justice and their prestige as a supreme power was fully established in the Cis-Satlaj area.

Then came the Akali Phula Singh episode. He had previously attacked the escort of Metcalfe at Lahore (1808), and now attacked the British surveyor, Lt. White, in the Patiala territory. The British forced the major chiefs to despatch their troops to capture the assailant dead or alive. The forces of the major states, specially that of Patiala, drove him across the Satlaj, but there, too, he could not remain for long, as the Lahore chief, in compliance with the British request, forced him to quit his lands. Thus, Phula Singh became a fugitive for the time being and the British took advantage of the occasion to reward the Patiala chief for his services. He was awarded the title of 'Maharaja Adhiraj Raj Rajeshwar Mohinder Bahadar' by the Mughal Emperor at the recommendation of the British. At the same time the goodwill gesture shown by Ranjit Singh in turning out Phula Singh from his territories very much improved the relations between him and the British. But this incident did leave one impression on the mind of the British authorities that the population of the area, especially the Akalis, were not well disposed towards them and to avoid further antagonism

with the priestly class they very quietly established a judicial tribunal at Ludhiana with a very limited scope of its jurisdiction. The contemplated introduction of a regular police organisation in the territories of the minor states was also postponed for the time being.

In the meantime the Janna had changed its course and some of the villages of the Sikh Chiefs were, thus, transferred from its western to the Eastern bank. The British authorities took advantage of the situation and brought those villages under the jurisdiction of the British laws, though the revenues which accrued from them continued to go to the chiefs as before. Similar action was taken when a few years later the Sutlaj also changed its course and brought some of the Lahore villages under the British jurisdiction.

The British had so far taken all the Sikh chiefs of the area together under their protection and assured them against the inroad of any outsiders, but, now the territorial disputes among the various chiefs afforded them an opportunity to go a step further so as to grant them protection against each other. This was done by the Proclamation dated the 22nd August, 1811, and thereby took them under their control individually, too.

Now a period of about a quarter of century i.e. from 1809 to 1834 brought luck to the British authorities to achieve their aim in still another way. It was during this period that there arose a number of circumstances in the various states, such as the family feuds, the successions disputes and the renewal of contacts by some of the chiefs with Maharaja Ranjit Singh, which afforded them excellent opportunities for active interference in the internal affairs of the state or estates concerned. Such opportunities, besides making them the arbiters of their affairs, made them fully acquainted with the weaknesses of the Sikh States, and more they came to know them, the more encouraged they felt to bring them under their absolute control. It is not necessary to reproduce here the circumstances in individual states and the British reaction thereon, but it is sufficient to mention that almost every notable state had to face this situation at one time



or another and they all in turn lost their former influence and prestige with the British. The latter handled them as it suited their purpose and not only made them fully subservient to their will, or seized the possessions of good many of the minor states by way of escheat, but also stopped some of the rulers like those of Jind and Nabha from forming any alliance with the Lahore chief.

Another notable feature of the period was a controversy, between Captains Murray and Wade, the British Political Agents at Ambala and Ludhiana respectively. Wade always attached much importance to his personal dignity and self respect and never took his earlier subordination to Murray in good taste, which naturally turned Murray against him. At last, their posts were made of equal ranks and they were given separate duties to discharge. Murray was put in charge of the affairs of the cis-Sutlaj chiefs, whereas Wade was required to look after the Lahore territories in that area. But even then the rivalry of the two officers continued till their observations against each other crossed all limits of decency and invited rebukes from the higher authorities. This unpleasant episode ultimately closed with the death of Captain Murray in June, 1831.

This Murray-Wade controversy was most apparent in the discussions as to what territories actually belonged to the Lahore Darbar and as such were to be given in Wade's charge. The Lahore Darbar drew up a list of 47 Ilagas, which it claimed its own. But when consulted by the British Government regarding the correctness of the list, Murray objected to the inclusion of about 17 Ilagas therein, which, according to him, were British Protectorate. Wade, who believed that it was incumbent upon the Government to preserve the integrity of the possessions of the Lahore chief as much as those of any other of the Cis-Sutlaj chiefs, supported the claims of the Lahore Darbar whereupon an enquiry into the claims was instituted.

The British were, of course, determined to restrict to the minimum the influence of Ranjit Singh in the cis-Sutlaj area but

the fear of the Russian invasion in collaboration of Persia obliged them not <sup>to</sup> incur the displeasure of the ruler of the Panjab. Hence they ultimately admitted the Lahore claim of sovereignty over good many places such as Wadhli, the Ahluwalia possessions in the <sup>cis-Sutlej</sup> area granted by Ranjit Singh, the Kang possessions and those of the Kasur chief, Chenkaur, Tughal and Futehgarh. But, all the places of greater strategic importance such as Ferozepur, Sialba, and Talwandi were retained under the British protection.

The fear of the Russian invasion further prompted the G.G. to meet the Lahore chief, which meeting was arranged at Ropar in the last week of October, 1831. As far as the cis-Sutlej chiefs were concerned this visit of the G.G. to that quarter resulted in his displeasure towards the Shahabad Sardars, since they were found amiss in supplying the Sawa's to carry the G.G.'s dawk from Karnal to Ropar. They were punished with a fine of Rs 2000/-. This amount was spent in erecting four gates at each of the extremities of the new and handsome bazars in the great commercial town of Jagadhri, lately acquired by the British as an escheat.

Thus, a consolidation drive of about 25 years made the British hold over the area strong enough to demand tribute from the cis-Sutlej Chiefs. They were told that should they not pay the tribute, the Government would take advantage of all lapses as the only means of reimbursing itself for the expenses incurred in protecting the states even though this demand was in contravention to all past assurances. The chiefs, were, of course, told that they could reject the proposal, if they so chose, but the consequences of non-payment of tribute might justly cause some apprehension as to the permanency of which there were no direct heirs. Now the chiefs, who had seen all the previous British assurances vanishing one after the other, considered it a death-warrant of their existence and hence boldly rejected it. Their attitude gave offence to the British authorities, who now looked forward to the suitable opportunities to penalize them for rejecting the tribute-proposal.

### 3. PERIOD OF LAPSES AND ARBITRATION.

The opportunities were not slow in coming. The first of these

came on 3rd November, 1834, when Raja Sangat Singh of Jind died at the young age of only 24 years without leaving any issue. There was, in fact, no male issue left in the whole family of Raja Bhag Singh, which was now reduced to a group of widows: two of Raja Fatch Singh only, three of Raja Sangat Singh, three of Kanwar Partap Singh and two of Kanwar Mehtab Singh. The nearest male collaterals were Sardars Sarup Singh of Bazidpur and Sardars Sukha Singh and Bhagwan Singh of Badrukhan, all being the grandsons of Sardar Bheop Singh, the full brother of Raja Bhag Singh.

Now according to the Hindu Law, the applicability of which in the cases of the Phulkian chiefs had been acknowledged by the Chiefs themselves as well as by the British, entitled, first of all, the senior widow of the late Raja to possess the state territories and to succeed to the chiefship during her life time. But since the usage and the customs of the Phulkians did not grant that privilege to a woman, the next claimant according to the Hindu Law was the nearest male collateral i.e. Sardar Sarup Singh of Bazidpur.

However, the British, determined as they were to exploit the situation to their best, rejected the claims of all the widows and the various near male collaterals on one pretext or the other and took over the administration of the state in July, 1835. Later however on the joint representation of the Phulkian Chiefs Lord Auckland reversed the original decision and restored <sup>about half the</sup> territories of the State to Raja Sarup Singh in January 1837.

Besides, an important principle of succession to the Sikh chiefships was laid down for future guidance. According to it in the four principal chiefships of Patiala, Kaithal, Jind and Nabha the state was to devolve entirely to the nearest male heir in consonance with the Hindu Law, and to the exclusion of females. With regard to the other Sikh states the custom of the family must be ascertained in each case by the available evidence.

The next case in which the British got a chance to take away a big slice of the territories of one of the major states

was the Hariana- Bhatiana boundary dispute between Patiala and the British. A big portion of the Hariana-Bhatiana lands had been conquered by Raja Amar Singh of Patiala. But the notorious famine of 1783 and the constant internecine warfare among the Bhatil chiefs turned that part of the country into a waste, and during the minority of Raja Sahib Singh the Patiala Officers kept only a nominal control over them. However, when Gen. Perron demolished the influence of George Thomas from Hariana, the General again granted the control of a big portion of the lands to the Patiala State. Besides, that state repopulated a large number of new villages. Meanwhile the British conquered the two Ilakas in 1809 and 1818, but they did not disturb the Patiala possessions there. However, in 1835 Fraser, the Resident at Delhi, obliged the Government to appoint Ross Bell, the Collector of Hissar, to demarcate the boundary line between the British and the Patiala possessions in that quarter. At the very outset Bell, laid down the principle that the two Governments were entitled to possess what belonged to them in 1803, the year when the British established their sway at Delhi. Now this principle was wrong at its very face, but Bell went ahead with his work and on that basis deprived the Patiala state of a big portion of its lands. The protests of the Patiala Maharaja got the case reopened and the other officers were appointed to reconsider the decision, but the injustice, once done, was never righted.

There came yet another opportunity to the British to punish the major chiefs for their refusal to pay tribute. This time it was the turn of the Kaithal state, when its chief, Bhai Ude Singh died in March, 1843 without leaving any issue. Although the principle laid down by the G.G. on 16th January, 1837 regarding the successions to the chiefship of the major states entitled the nearest male collateral, Sardar Gulab Singh of Arnoli, to succeed to the chiefship as well as to possess all that was left by the late Bhai, yet the Political Agent Ambala was determined to dispose off the Kaithal state on the Jind model. He, therefore, sent his assistant, Greathead, to Kaithal immediately

to take possession of the escheated lands. All efforts of the major chiefs and the appeals of the widows to get the execution of these orders postponed till the final decision of the Supreme Government on their representation proved futile.

At last, one of the Kaithal ministers, Sardar Tek Singh, and his followers raised a standard of rebellion at Kaithal which caused a general insurrection there. This event expedited the execution of the British orders. Troops were called in and the situation was brought under control. Tek Singh and his chief associates were captured with the help of Patiala forces and were later duly punished. The widows were granted maintenance allowances. The revenues of Kaithal state were then estimated at about Rs 5 lakhs a year, of which territories worth Rs 4 lakhs a year lapsed to the British and that of Rs one lakh a year went to the Arnoli chief.

#### 4. FINALE OF THE BRITISH Cis-SUTLAJ POLICY.

Thus, in the beginning of the year 1845 there was not left a single chief, who had not suffered at the hands of the British and naturally all of them entertained a deep feeling of resentment against them.

Meanwhile Maharaja Ranjit Singh died in June, 1839 and with him disappeared the power and prestige of the Lahore Kingdom. His death was followed by the quick removal from the scene, of his son and successor, Maharaja Kharak Singh, as a result of court intrigue and of his promising grandson, Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh, on account of an accident. Then there appeared rival claimants for the throne of Lahore, whose sides were taken by powerful persons at the court, like Raja Dhian Singh, the powerful minister of the late Ranjit Singh, and the Sindhianwala chiefs. At the outset Raja Dhian Singh succeeded in bringing his own candidate, Maharaja Saer Singh, to the throne but after some time one of the Sindhianwala chiefs got his chance and killed the Maharaja, his son, and the minister Raja Dhian Singh. Dhian Singh's son Hira Singh then took full revenge on the murderer of his father and, once more, restored order out of chaos by conferring the

Kingship on Dalip Singh, the youngest son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, with his mother, Rani Jindan, as his Regent and himself as Wazir. But another Coup de etat followed in December, 1844 when Hira Singh was killed and the power came into the hands of Rani Jindan and her brother, Sardar Jawahar Singh. However, the growing anarchy and indiscipline of the Lahore army brought about the fall of Jawahar Singh, too, and ultimately Lal Singh was appointed the wazir and Tej Singh the C-in-C of the Lahore forces. The army had been constantly clamouring all along for more pay and plunder.

On the other hand the British who were closely watching these hectic events at the Lahore court were constantly preparing for the final advance and ultimate annexation of the Panjab. The news of their preparations reached the other side of the river, too, and these two new most important officers, Lal Singh and Tej Singh, advised them to cross the border outwardly to check the evil designs of the British, but inwardly to annihilate the power of the army. This brought about the first war between the British and the Sikhs which closed after four hard fought actions in February, 1846. The Kingdom of Ranjit Singh was partitioned - East Jullunder was ceded to the British and the provinces of Jammu and Kashmir formed into an independent kingdom under Gulab Singh and the remainder was left to Dalip Singh the boy-ruler of the Panjab. The Sikh army was reduced to 20000 infantry, 12000 cavalry and 36 guns; British troops were stationed at Lahore in possession of the fort and the city at the cost of the Lahore treasury and a British Agent was appointed at the Darbar to control its activities.

Now the attitude of the cis-Sutlej chiefs and their subjects was generally characterized as hostile and they were all more or less charged with the violation of the terms of their treaty with the British by not providing requisite supplies and necessary contingents. However, exception was made in the case of the chiefs of Patiala, Jind, Faridkot, Divalgarh, Kalsia, Malerkotla,

Ranjot, Kunjpura and Mandot, who were found generally helpful. But the chiefs of Nabha, Kapurthala, Ladwa, Sialba, Ropar, of the estates dependent on Ambala and the Sodhis of Anandpur Makhawal were declared definitely hostile.

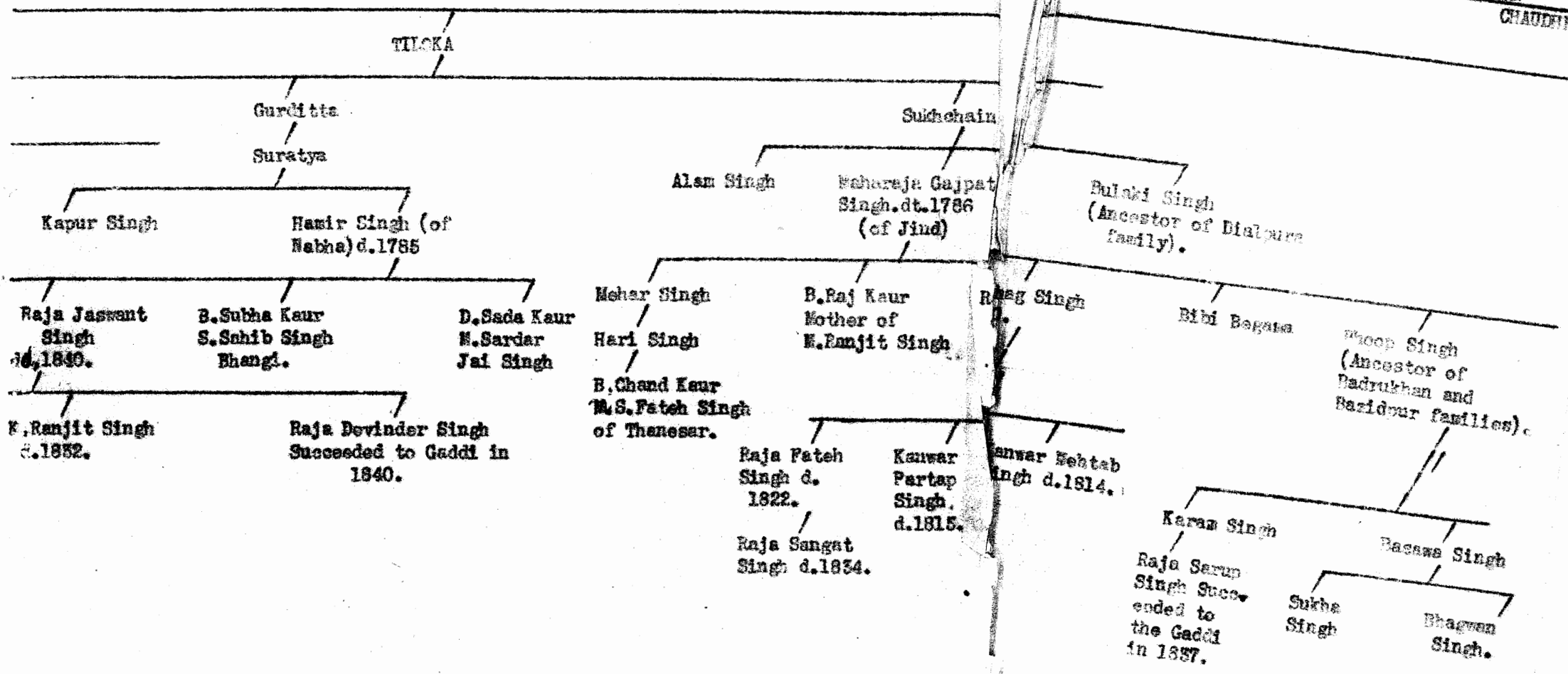
Now the British North-western frontier had shifted from the Sutlaj to the Beas and was likely to shift still further upto the Indus in the event of the complete annexation of the Panjab. Moreover, the Lahore Darbar lay prostrate at their feet. Hence the cis-Sutlaj chiefs lost even that little prestige with the British which had survived their aggressive tactics. The British, therefore, dealt with them rather directly and sternly. Whereas they rewarded the friendly chiefs with fresh territorial grants, title and Saads, the inimical chiefs were deprived of big slices of their territories and were further required to cede territories to the British in lieu of the supply of contingents, which were now to be definitely commuted into land assignments. The chiefs of Ladwa Ropar and Sodhis of Anandpur Makhawal, however, lost their states altogether. All transit and custom duties were abolished between the Janna and the Sutlaj and all the minor chiefs with the exception mentioned above were divested of the police and judicial powers in their respective states.

Meanwhile the events in the Panjab moved in a manner that another war with the Sikhs became inevitable. It started at Multan and later spread over the whole of the Panjab. The Panjab was annexed in march 1849. With the annexation of the Kingdom of Ranjit Singh the importance of the cis-Sutlaj chiefs had gone. Hence the latter brought about the finale of their consolidation drive, which they had started 40 years earlier, indirectly and slowly. All the minor sikh chiefs with the exception of Kalsia, Faridkot, and Divalgarh were now deprived of their fiscal and civil powers, ~~too~~ and, thus, the numerous chiefships of the area were reduced to a number of landed Jagirs held by the Sardars with no power whatsoever over the inhabitants. Of the three surviving minor states the last (Divalgarh) was held by a issueless widow, on whose death it was to be declared as an escheat to the British Government.

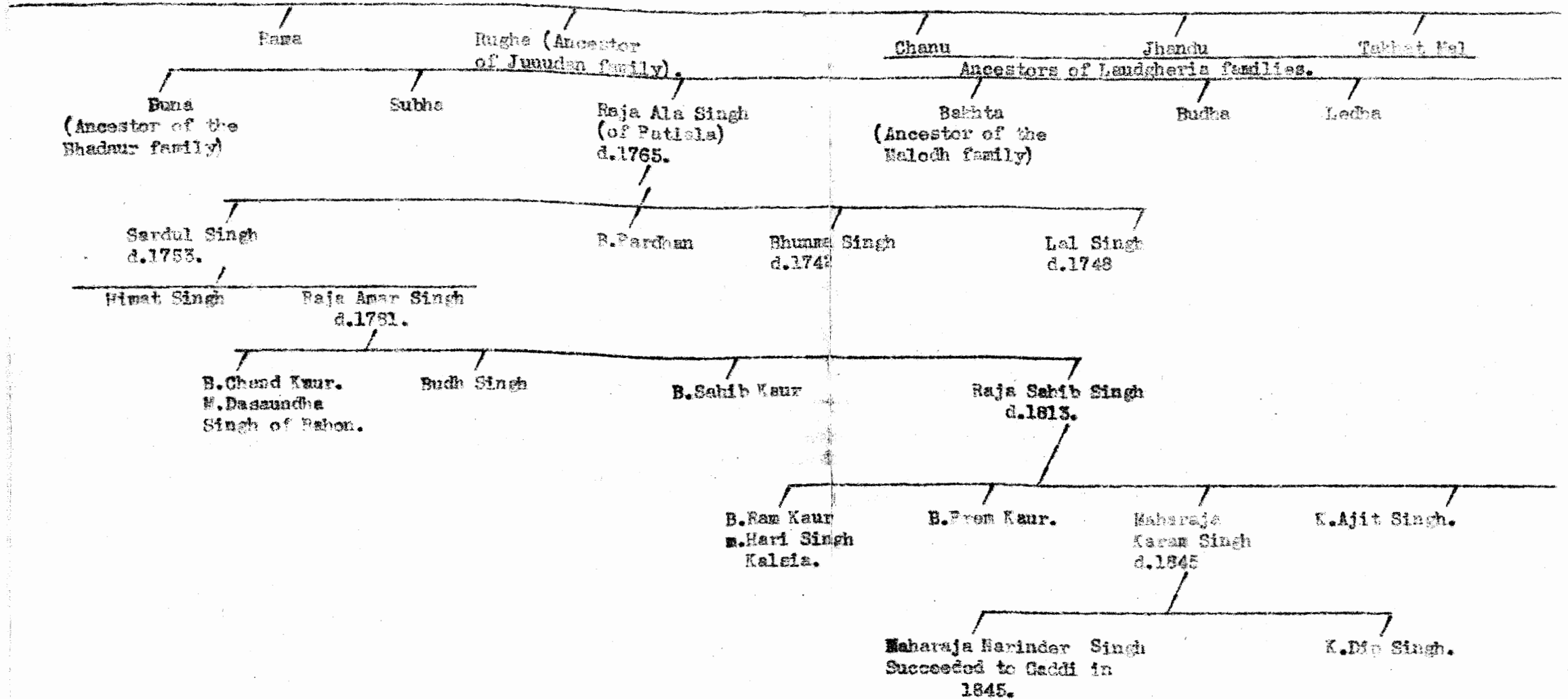
Of the four major states, the state of Kaithal had been already liquidated and the other three of Patiala, Jind and Nabha with their reduced territories survived only as the subservient dependencies of the British power. The Muslim States of Malerkotla, Kunjpura, Mandot, and the minor Jagir of Bairpur remained as they were in 1809. Thus, the British succeeded in their mission of gaining an absolute and solid control over the cis-Sutlej area through sheer diplomacy coupled with the occasional use of force. All this had proved to be equally true in respect of their dealing with all other states in the rest of India.

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FAMILIES



Brief sketches of a few other Cis-Sutlej Sikh Chiefs.

1. Rani Daya Kaur of Ambala. Rani Daya Kaur was the widow of Sardar Gurbakhsh Singh and had succeeded to the Gaddi after the death of her husband. (Khushvaqat Rai, P.P. 154).
2. S. Rai Singh of Bheri. Sardar Rai Singh belonged to the Kotla Badla family of the Karorsinghia Misl. He was married to the daughter of Sham Singh Karorsinghia. He was one of the active Participants in the raids on the Doab. Sardar Rattan Singh, the author of the Panth Parkash, was his son. (Massy PP.199 and Ludhiana District Gazetteer PP.19).
3. Sardarni Ran Kaur of Chiloundi. Sardarni Ran Kaur was the widow of Sardar Bughall Singh Karorsinghia, who was one of the most active and renowned sikh chieftains. Some portion of her estate also lay beyond the Sutlej (Rai Khalsa PP.38).
4. Sardar Dharan Singh of Dharankot. Sardar Dharan Singh belonged to the Dalkowalea Misl. His ancestors were close relatives of Sardar Tara Singh Ghaiba. He founded the village of Dharankot and made it his headquarters. (Massy pp.222).
5. S. Budh Singh Singhpuria of Ghanauli. S. Budh Singh was the son and successor of Sardar Khushal Singh and the nephew of Nawab Kapur Singh Karorsinghia. The Sardars of Ghanauli, Manoli, Bharatgarh and Kandhla all were his descendants. The Sardars of Ghanauli came to be regarded as the titular heads of the line. All of them held Jagirs in the Khasar and Ropar Tehsil. (Massy P.P.59).
6. S. Mohan Singh Shaheed of Jhanauli. Mohan Singh was the son of S. Chuhar Singh, a near relative of Sardar Rai Singh Bhangi, the chief of Jagadhri. (Karnal District Gaz. and Massy P.P.41).
7. Kenwar Rani Daya Kaur of Khanna. The estate of Khanna was originally held by S. Dasauntha Singh, a Majithia Jat of Narowal near Amritsar and a follower of S. Tara Singh Ghaiba. His daughter Daya Kaur was married to Kenwar Hari Singh, the grandson of Maharaja Gajpat Singh (being the son of S. Mehar Singh, the first son of Maharaja Gajpat Singh of Jind. Hari Singh was a drunkard and, thus, died young. The widow returned to her father and succeeded to the Gaddi on the death of the latter. The estate consisted of 17 villages (Ludhiana Distt.

Gaz. P.P.19, 75; Duni Chand P.P.39, Phul Wana P.P.71-72, Raj Khalsa Vol. II. P.P.133).

8. S. Dharam Singh of Kharar. The chief of the estate was S. Dharam Singh. The estate lay on the road from Ambala to Ropar, 25 miles North of Ambala. (Ambala Distt. Gazetteer).

9. Sardars of Kheri. The founder of the estate was S. Wodh Singh Nishanwala. He was a Manjha jat who established his power over a very fertile piece of country in the South-east corner of the Samrala Tehsil. (Butt Shah Vol. I, pp. 603 and Ludhiana Distt. Gazetteer).

10. S. Charat Singh of Iedhran. Sardar Charat Singh was the son and successor of S. Jai Singh Nishanwala. His brother Kharak Singh was a notorious robber and was given only one village of Banwan as a share in the estate. Charat Singh's sister was married to Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha. (Ludhiana Distt. Gaz. PP. 19, & Massy PP. 136).

11. S. Dalel Singh of Malodh. The estate of Malodh was taken by Sardar Man Singh, son of Bakht Mal or Bakhta, a descendant of Chaudhri Phul, from the Afghans of Malerkotla in 1754. On his death two thirds of the estate passed on to his elder son S. Dalel Singh, and one third to the younger. (Massy P.P. 195. Ludhiana Distt. Gaz. PP. 18-19).

12. S. Sopha Singh of Mansurwal. Sopha Singh was the son of Sardar Sawan Singh, the third cousin of Sardar Sangat Singh Nishanwala. He was brave and of warlike disposition. The descendants of the family still live at Mansurwal and Sonti. (Massy PP. 219-221 and Ludhiana District Gazetteer pp. 19).

13. S. Dharam Singh of Morindah. The estate of Morindah consisted of the parganas of Morindah, Rolkah and Dayalpur. S. Dharam Singh, the chief of the estate, had a son Nihal Singh whom he had nominated as his successor. (Khushwaqat Rai pp. 155).

14. S. Gopal Singh of ManiMaira. The estate consisted of 184 villages and lay 23 miles North of Ambala. Its chief was then S. Gopal Singh. (Ambala Distt. Gaz.).

15. Sardarni Gauran of Mustafabad. The estate was founded by S. Desu Singh of Allavelpura, a village 7 kos to the South of Amritsar. Desu Singh joined the Dallewalea Misl and associated himself with Dewan Singh Bassiwala in raids and plunders. When Dewan Singh secured Sikandra Desu Singh conquered Mustafabad. On his death

the estate was equally divided between his two widows. But in due course the whole estate passed on to the widow named Gauran, who <sup>lived</sup> ~~the~~ at Mustafabad. Mustafabad lies in Jagadhri Tehsil of Ambala District. (Massy P.P.61; Dute Shah Vol.I, pp, 612).

16. Mian Kishan Singh of Waraingarh. The estate consisted of 256 villages and lies in the present Ambala District. Its chief then was Mian Kishan Singh. (Ambala District Gazetteer).

17. S.Kirpal Singh of Shamsarh. Kirpal Singh had got the village of Shamsarh from his brother-in-law, Sahib Singh Khondah. He joined Sahib Singh in many of his expeditions. His daughter, Bhagbhaj<sup>ai</sup>, was later on married to K.Pantap Singh, the second son of Raja Bhag Singh of Jind. (Massy, pp.43).

18. S.Joga Singh of Shahkot. Joga Singh was a Badocha Jat Sikh and the descendant of Anrika Jat of Amritsar. He also held a Jagir in Nakodar parana of Jullundur District. (Massy, pp 154).

19. S.Ugah Singh of Sikandra. The founder of the estate was S. Dewan Singh Lunde Bassivala. He was a close associate of S.Hari Singh Kang and was himself a Kalal by caste. As he had no son his wife Jotishi managed to secure one newly born son of a Banjara Muslim Jat and brought him up as her own son. The child later on was named Sahib Singh, who succeeded Dewan Singh on his death. The neighbouring Ahluwalia Sardars opposed Sahib Singh's succession and imprisoned him. The estate then passed on to Ugah Singh, Dewan Singh's sister's son. The estate consisted of 12 villages and lay in the District of Karnal. (Karnal Distt. Gazetteer and Dute Shah Vol.I, PP.603-5).

20. S.Bhag Singh Sikerchakia of Sikri. Bhag Singh belonged to the village Chare in Amritsar District. He secured ~~the~~<sup>the</sup> estate of Sikri consisting of 6 villages from Dhara Rao, ~~the~~<sup>a</sup> Paratha officer. The estate belonged to S. hanga Singh of Thanesar. Bhag Singh acted as the Wakil of Cis-Sutlaj Sikh chiefs at the court at Agra. (Massy PP.45).

21. S.Chuhar Singh of Tangaur. Chuhar Singh was the son of S.Dewa Singh and the grandson of S.Gurbakhsh Singh Shaheed. The estate was equally divided between him and his brother, Jawahir Singh, on the death of Chuhar Singh. The estate lay in the Karnal District. (Massy PP.39.40).

1. Translation of the Arzee of Meer Yusuf Ali Khan to Col. Collins, dated 12-19-1800.

"..... Just now a singular event has occurred here - Raja Bhag Singh the uncle of Ranjit Singh living in constant alarm and dread from G. Thomas has long devoutly prayed for the arrival of Mr. Perron in this quarter, and this occurrence lately taking place by the approach of Mr. Perron to Kernal all the Sardars in that vicinity influenced by their fear of Mr. Thomas sent letters, nazars and presents to Mr. Perron on this occasion Bhag Singh in particular gave his personal attendance. Mr. Perron by act of conciliation relieved Bhag Singh's mind from the solicitude felt in this respect to Mr. Thomas and afforded him the fullest satisfaction. He gave him at the same time two parganahs in Jaidad, made a friend of him and through his means opened a correspondence between himself and Ranjit Singh. In consequence of this letters were received that time by Ranjit Singh from Bhag Singh and Mr. Perron and a repetition of them has just now taken place. What these letters contain of malicious suspicion and unjust imputation to the prejudice of the English Government and of me, God only knows. It is, however, certain that after perusal of them Ranjit Singh became exceedingly ill-humoured, displeased and vexed so as to render it disagreeable for me to continue any longer at Lahore. In order to learn the particulars of this circumstance, I sent a person to Munshi Ram Dayal with a request that he would inform me of the subject of Mr. Perron and Bhag Singh's letters. The Munshi from motives of caution did not send me the letters in question but himself said he would show them to me when he should return to the city. The fact, however, is that Raja Ranjit Singh, confiding in the communication made for him by Bhag Singh, harbours some evil intentions. May God avert the dangerous consequence of it. To write more on this subject would be imprudent. It is sufficient that the Karkarah, who went to Munshi Ram Dayal and saw and heard everything himself, is despatched to you that he may lay all the facts before you. As I have not seen the letters of Mr. Perron and Bhag Singh and as people assert a great deal on this subject, I have, refrained from stating all I have heard. At present I pass time in anxiety and apprehension. In

both the city and the camp it is circulated that Raja Ranjit Singh regarded me with anger and dissatisfaction. I will hereafter acquaint you with whatever else may happen.

" All descriptions of people in Lahore say without reserve that Mr. Perron and Raja Bhag Singh have written to Raja Ranjit Singh to this effect, " Meer Yusuf Ali Khan who has come to you on the part of the English has no other purpose but to inspect your country and to explore the way. The practice of the English is this that they first obtain a knowledge of the country and then design to possess themselves of it. Do not on any account permit Meer Yusuf Ali Khan to remain with you and do not trust him, for it is the intention of the English to establish a factory in Lahore and to station two or three brigades there. It is, thus, that they siezed on Bengal and other places. We mention this for your information. If you act, as we advise, it is well, otherwise you will repent it and therefore turn out the Wakil of the English speedily from Lahore and do not see his countenance there!.

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2. Raja Bhag Singh of Jind to Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

" Prior to this I sent to you a letter through Bassaco, a harkarah, informing you of the news of this place. I have now to inform you that I have lately received a letter from General Perron which I enclose to you. In this Perron and I refer you to it for all particulars. Intimations had been conveyed to Perron that Vakils had been sent to Raja Ranjit Singh by English in order to negotiate a formation of a camp and the establishment of a factory and a dak in Lahore. Upon learning this intelligence he sent me a pair of harkarahs from the impulse of friendship and interest he entertains for me. He instances the conduct of the English towards all the chiefs of this province such as Raja Chet Singh, Nawab Qasim Ali Khan, Nawab Wazir-ul-Mumalik and Tippu Naik saying that having in the first instance commenced an intercourse and friendship with them and conciliated them by handsome presents they began to form a camp and to establish a factory and dak and that when they had gained this footing, they afterwards became supreme in the country and annihilated the powers of the chieftains there. From the same motives they have now deputed Vakils to you, with the view of their

of their establishing a camp in your dominions or otherwise a factory and that in the event of their not succeeding in either of those objects they may establish a dak there. It is evident that the wish to get possession of your country that he had by means of my regard for him, cultivated a friendship and opened a correspondence with you and that he, therefore, from the friendly concern and interest he took in me had written to me not only to dissuade you from acceding to either of these proposals, but to prevail upon you to dismiss the Vakils since it was not advisable that they should remain there, as otherwise they would be able to survey the whole country before they went..... If should it so please God that you consent to the establishment of a camp, factory etc your acquiescence could be productive one day or other of most serious ill consequences to you. You should write and send a letter to Mr. Perron to this effect.

" That in conformity to the desire of your uncle, Rajah Bhag Singh, you have dismissed the Vakils from the English Government and that you had not consented to any one of the three proposals, that you entertain for him (the General) the warmest sentiments of friendship and regard and the highest confidence in his ability and friendly attention.

" I have sent Burna Singh Rehleah to Secrore (Sangrur) to proceed on to Lahore and he will reach you in about 15 days time after departure from Secrore (Sangrur). I consider you as my own son and may the Almighty add two-fold increase to your prosperity which will ever afford me pleasure and satisfaction. You should send two guns of the manufacture of Lahore and two bows under charge of some confidential as a present to Gen.Perron."

" General Perron is a great Sardar, a man of wisdom and the ruler in Hindustan and it is proper to cultivate the friendship of a person of such consequence. You should by no means neglect to send these presents!.

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3. Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore to Col. Collins, dated 13.1.1804

" Certain superiors of my tribe (meaning Raja Bhag Singh) and certain persons of your nation (meaning Gen.Perron), actuated by



selfish views, have written stories and accounts to me tending to excite suspicion and destroy the friendship, that subsists between us, but I place no reliance on their communications. I believe them false and that they are intended for interested purposes. I have treated your Vakil Meer Yusuf Ali Khan as my own and as firm in friendship with you".

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APPENDIX D.

Wajib-ul-Arz of the Sikh Mission to General Perron.  
( Signed by General Perron on 30th August, )

1801

The Sikh Demand

Perron's remarks.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>1. Establishment of cantt. with disciplined troops in their area.</p> <p>2. Movement of the State forces and the change of Cantt headquarters will be according to our counsel.</p> <p>3. Expulsion of George Thomas from the fort at Hansi.</p> <p>4. That the places belonging to us which are under the control of the opponent may be recovered and given over to us.</p> <p>5. That the signature of his honour may be affixed on the favours which are to be shown to us in the territories of the opponent. We are further hopeful that in case the military operations cease, so much the better; otherwise nothing more in the name of military expenses than the instalments promised by us will be our concern.</p> <p>6. Rai Ilyas; the Afghan chief of Malerkotla and Raja Jaswant Singh etc; <u>brothers,</u><br/>Chaharmians and Taaluqdar's who have joined Raja-i-Rajgan and ourselves in drawing this bond. If any one of them forgoes any excuses as to the cash payment of his share and say run counter</p> | <p>1. Agreed.</p> <p>2. That which may be agreed upon by all will come into operation.</p> <p>3. What to speak of Hansi wherever he may be.</p> <p>4. They will possess those possessions which they had at the time of Nawab Najaf Quli Khan and that of Maharaja Mahadjee Sindhia Bahadur.</p> <p>5. It is not agreeable to us to make excessive demands. But if the warfare of the opponent does not end soon and is prolonged for a month or two or to any time whenever it may stop the cash expenditure over and above shall have to be paid according to promise by their banker.</p> <p>6. The amount of shares of falling to their lot should be paid along with your shares to the treasury of the Government and Nazrana as to the dispossession of their places may be given according to the scale of Nazrana in such cases.</p> |
|---|---|

to our will, we hope that their places having been brought under occupation may be handed over to us; the amount of the unpaid share will be remitted by us. And over and above that, the amount of Nazrana which may have been paid (heretofore) for taking other places will also be paid by us.

7. And in the matter of Sikhs other than the Chaharnians of Raha-i-Rajgan, whatever increases or decreases in cash or tribute money have to be carried, may be done with our advice. Your own signatures may kindly be affixed over the amounts which are to be rewarded to us in lieu of our services out of the assessments so made.

7. Whatever may be realised from them will be distributed by two shares to the Government and one share to you. The state forces to the extent of 5000 will remain present with the Government forces until the opponent has been punished. After the campaign is over there will remain the present strength.

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Translation of the Qaul Namah dated 22nd January, 1802, from  
General Perron to Raja Sahib Singh of Patiala (original in Persian).

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Seal: Nasir-ul-Mulk Intizam-ud-Daulah  
Gen. Perron, Muzaffar Jang.  
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Lord Christ.

Friendship, unity of purpose and brotherly treatment, which have been so established and friend and foe, pain and pleasures of either parties have become one. Accordingly at the time and request of Raja-i-Rajgan Bahadur, the armies in the cantonment will be despatched for fighting and remodelling his affairs. Whenever army is wanted by our Government, his own army alongwith the troops of Raja Bhag Singh, Bhai Lal Singh and his brothers will join us.

No delay in this matter will happen on either side. And for a period of month or two, no question of expenditure will come up between the parties. If any interested person attempts to cause disruption in this alliance by offering any other sort of agreement, then neither of the party will lend ears to that proposal.

Therefore, these few words have been given in writing by way of pledge, so that it may stand for the present as Sanad.

Sd/- C.V.Perron.

APPENDIX F.

Letter from Mr. Edmonston, Secretary to the G.G., to Col. David Ochterlony, dated 13.1.1805.

"The expediency of establishing a complete control on the whole of the territory occupied by the Sikhs between the Jamna and the Sutlaj appears to be the basis of the object of your several suggestions on the subject of the measures to be persuaded with regard to the chieftains.

"With a view to the accomplishment of that object you have proposed two distinct modes of arrangements- one, the assignment of the whole of the territory in question to the four chieftains whom you have described as having a permanent influence in that quarter and as being intimately connected by interest according to a partition to be settled on terms to be dictated by the British Government. The other by exacting from the whole body of Sikhs occupying the territory in question, the tribute which was formerly exacted from them by Mr. Perron, by which is understood the complete establishment of our control over the Sikh chieftains in the actual condition of their respective possessions. Then you have suggested the expediency of concluding an engagement with Raja Ranjit Singh of Lahore or of protecting Sahib Singh of Patiala and the other chiefs from the violence of that Raja and the punishment of those who have armed against us and regard for those who have joined our cause.

" Previously to a consideration of the measures to be pursued with regard to the Sikhs it is necessary to state the nature and extent of H.E. the G.G.'s views with respect to these chieftains and the territory which they occupy on this side of the Sutlaj. H.E. has never considered as a measure either of justice or expediency the subjection of that territory to the authority of the British Government. The question, therefore, of annexing that territory to the dominions of the Hon'ble Co., must be entirely excluded in the discussion of the present subject. H.E.'s views in that quarter are limited to the secure and tranquil possession of the territories in the Doab and on the right bank of the Jamna ceded to us by treaty of peace with Daulat Rao Sindhia or which may be acquired in the course

of the existing hostilities with Holkar and the Raja of Bharatpore. Every proposition, therefore, for a permanent arrangement with respect to the Sikh chieftains (Cis-Sutlaj) must be decided with reference to that limitation.

"Under the general view of the subject it is necessary to consider whether the establishment of our control over the territories and the chieftains in question, in one or the other of the modes suggested by you, is indispensably necessary for the maintenance of tranquility ~~which~~ within our contiguous possessions and whether the advantages of such an arrangement are of a nature to counterbalance the inconvenience and embarrassment which probably attend it.

"Under any arrangement you have stated the indispensable necessity of maintaining a force of sufficient extent to overcome the Sikhs. This necessity is founded on the faithless character and predatory habits of that tribe. You have observed (and the G.G. concurs entirely in the justice of that observation) that no dependence can be placed on Sikh chieftains and that the influence and control which it may be necessary to establish over them must be maintained by the presence of our troops in a position which will enable those troops to repel or to punish any act of violence or aggression on the part of the Sikhs.

"The presence of such a force would also be necessary for the purpose of enforcing payment of the tribute proposed to be exacted from all the Sikh chiefs. The extent of the force which would suffice for these purposes must obviously be sufficient also for the protection of our territories against any serious occurrences of the Sikhs independently of any arrangements with the Sikh chieftains and consequently neither of the two modes of arrangements proposed by you can properly be said to be indispensably necessary for the maintenance of tranquility within our contiguous possessions.

"It remains to consider the advantages and disadvantages of that species of connection with the Sikhs and of control over their territory which you propose to establish.

"It must be admitted that an immediate and constant control over the possessions of those chieftains would afford a more *effectual security* against the predatory incursions of the Sikhs than any practicable

arrangement of a defensive nature. The ~~exaction~~<sup>exaction</sup> of a tribute which may be considered as an instrument for the establishment and the exercise of that control and also the advantages to us in the degree in which it might diminish the resources of the Sikhs and augment our own. No other benefits could, however, be expected from the proposed arrangements and as the tribute could only be collected by the actual presence of the military force of which it could not be expected to furnish funds exceeding the expences, no additional resources could substantially be derived by from such an arrangement since even the presence of a large military force within the territory of the Sikhs would not exempt us from the necessity of maintaining considerable body of troops in the vicinity of Delhi and towards the Northern frontier of the Doab.

"The Sikh chieftains in the actual situation of their respective tenures could not by any arrangement be rendered efficient allies and auxiliaries against an invading enemy. It would be impracticable to unite them in a common interest and a common cause. In the event of invasion they would probably, as you have observed, add by their junction to the number of the invaders and increase their measure of destruction.

"You have suggested a practicable combination of interests throughout the territories of the Cis-Sutlaj Sikhs by a new division and appropriation of that territory and it must be admitted that under that arrangement our general control over the whole body of the Sikhs in that quarter would be more completely established than by any arrangement by the Sikh chieftains in the actual condition of their respective tenures. Such a combination of their interests, however, would not necessarily enable us to control the application of the united power of the Sikhs in the event of a projected invasion. We cannot safely or prudently depend in any degree upon the sentiments of gratitude or the obligations of public faith and honour to govern the proceedings of such a tribe. The ruling chieftains would probably provide for their security from immediate plunder and destruction by conciliating and assisting and perhaps by joining the enemy, as you have justly observed with reference to the notorious character and disposition of the Sikhs. Not the least dependence can be placed

on their promises of assistance for supplies and their troops are dangerous as auxiliaries. It is on ourselves, our treasuries and on our armies alone that we can rely on. Even the protection of our contiguous possessions from the disposition of the Sikhs under the proposed partitions of heir territory would still depend upon the presence of our troops. Finally under any arrangement short of the absolute annexation of the whole territory of the Sikhs situated between the Janna and the Sutlaj, H.E. is satisfied of the impracticability of securing the application of the powers and resources of the Sikhs to purposes connected with our interests and security.

"Both of the proposed arrangements with the Sikhs, therefore, must be ~~examined~~ considered exclusively as measures of defence against the predatory incursion of that restless tribe.

"H.E. would discuss whether according to the principles of public law, the British Government would be justified on the partition and appropriation of the territory of the Sikhs in the manner you have suggested. It is sufficient to state on this point that in the judgment of the G.C. the arrangement which would justify such an exercise of our power would equally justify the absolute annexation of the whole of that territory to the British dominions and that the extension of our territorial possessions or of our political control for purposes of expediency or even of comparative security unsupported by motives of indispensable justice has never constituted an object of the Government policy.....

" Our power is founded not only on its intrinsic strength but on the justice and equality of our principles of action. Contiguous states will be best maintained in a due respect of our territory not by the perpetual alarm and terror of the restless spirit of domination and encroachment but by the certain knowledge and experience that our vigilance to frustrate treachery and that our alacrity to resist aggression and to punish all the principles and accomplices of unjust attacks or machinations against us or our allies are the attributes of a great, powerful and well ordered Government, uniting moderation of principles with energy and promptitude of action and equally determined to respect the just rights of other states and to maintain and



assert its own these principles ~~from~~<sup>form</sup> the most advantageous and desultry policy of native powers whose respect for our Government must be increased by every event which shall tend to confirm in their minds not only the sense of magnitude, vigour and stability of our power but a continuance of their own security in the steady observance of justice and good faith towards us and our allies.

"A connection such as is proposed, would produce the necessity of a constant interference in the concerns of the Sikhs chieftains. The politics of the British Government would become in a manner interwoven with those of the Sikhs and we should be involved in all the intricacies and embarrassments of their irregular or inequitable projects and designs. The proposed connection would render necessary a system of political proceedings and military expeditions founded on the maxims of Asiatic policy and inconsistent with those just and honourable principles which regulate the conduct of the British Govt. in every branch of its various and extended relations.

"H.E., however, agrees to your proposals of punishing the unfriendly and of rewarding the serviceable sikh chiefs. He also suggests the strengthening of defence arrangements on the Northern frontier of the Co's possessions."

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Translation of Wajib-ul-Arz of Raja-i-Rajgan Raja Sahib Singh  
Mohindar Bahadur.

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In this Wajib-il-Arz (Paper of request) Raja-i-Rajgan Sahib Singh Mohindar Bahadur of Patiala expects of Lord Gerard Lake, General Bahadur and representative of the brave East India Company, his signatures to the effect that that part of the country which has been in my possession from old until the Government of Gen. Perron, will as usual be in my possession and that nothing in the shape of Nazrana (present) and tribute will be demanded or drawn on behalf of the Government of the East India Company.

And, I on this side, declare with heart and soul to always occupy myself in the friendship and advancement of the Government of the brave East India Company and will consider the Company's friends as my friends and the Company's enemy as my enemy.

Seal: Gen. Lake  
(God is Mighty)

whereas he has accepted by heart and soul the friendship and advancement of the Government of the East India Company, the country in his occupation will ever remain intact; Nazrana and tribute will not be demanded by the Government.

Sd/- G. Lake.

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Assurance of Raja-i-Rajgan Sahib Singh of Patiala to Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore given at Lakhnor on 25th November, 1808.

باعث تحریر آنکہ وثیقہ موقوفہ آنکہ درین ولایا وجود والبط سابقہ و مراتب سابقہ این جانب و سید صاحب والا قدر  
رنجیت سید باور مخصوص و اخلص هلی مستحکم فرودیدہ - بنا بر آن در آئین اخلاص و اتحاد و شرم عزت و دل لری در امور  
راج ریاست سرکارین عالیین قرار یافتہ کہ ست گروہی درین قول و قرار ضامن و مہم خود را کفیل داریم ہرگز در هیچ وقت  
لینت بہ نیت ازین عہود تفاوت نخواہد شد - اول آنکہ این جانب را از رفاقت سید صاحب باور ہرگز و وقت از دل و جان  
نظارہ و باطن تفاوت نخواہد شد - دوم آنکہ ہر کسی کہ سید صاحب باور دوست این جانب و دشمن سید صاحب محمد صبح دشمن  
مایاں - باہر کسی کہ سید صاحب معزالیہ باشد سید صاحب این جانب - باہر کسی کہ صلح سید صاحب باور صلح مایاں  
سازش مایاں باہر سید صاحب باور و صلح سید صاحب باور باہر صلح سید صاحب باور و صلح سید صاحب باور ہرگز در ہر کار  
و ہر مہم کہ پیشین نہاد سید صاحب باشد این جانب تنفق اللفظ و المعنی بودہ از امور است سید صاحب این جانب  
را درین نخواہد شد - بنا بر این چند کلمہ بطریق عہد نامہ و مہم نیم نوشتہ دادہ شد کہ ثانی الحال سند باشد - تحریرتی  
ملکہ سہری ششمی ۱۸۶۵

Its free translation in English:-

It is to certify in this absolute and most reliable document that although there existed intimate relations and connections between us and Singh Sahib but they have been strengthened all the more at this moment. Hence on account of the modes of sincerity, unity, mutual respect and warmth of heart the following have been agreed to regarding the affairs of both the states. May the Almighty be witness to these assurances and keep us firm in them. We shall never, from generation to generation, falter in our words. Firstly we shall, at all times, under all circumstances and in all affairs be sincere friend of Singh Sahib, inwardly and outwardly. Secondly Singh Sahib's friend would be our friends and his foes our foes. Against, whosoever he declares war we shall do the same and with whomsoever he enters into treaty we shall do likewise. We shall never act without consulting him. Thirdly whatsoever new expedition or task Singh Sahib takes upon himself we being one in words and deeds with Singh Sahib would never keep back anything from him. We have therefore, written these few sentences on our oath and faith and have handed it over as a certified document, written on 23rd day of Maghar, 1865.

عہد نامہ منجانب مہاراجہ نجیت سنگھ صاحب

باعث تقریر آنگہ این وثیقہ موکرہ دریں ولاد باوجود روابط سابقہ خالصہ جی از مہاراجہ صاحب سنگھ مخلص و اخلاص دلی  
 مستحکم گزودیدہ - بنا بر در آئین اتحاد شرم و عزت و دل گرمی در امورات راجہ ریاست سرکارین عالیین چنین قرار یافتہ  
 بہت کہ ست گوروجی دریں قول و قرار دہم خود را کفیل داریم - ہرگز در بیچ وقت پشت بہ پشت از میں عہد تفاوت  
 نخواہد شد - اول آنگہ خالصہ جی را از فرات راجہ صاحب بہادر در برام و ہر وقت از دل و جان ظاہر و باطن  
 تفاوت نخواہد شد - دوم ہر کسیدہ دست راجہ صاحب باشد دست خالصہ جی و دشمن راجہ صاحب بہادر دشمن خالصہ جی -  
 باہر کسیدہ نظامہ راجہ صاحب باشد نظامہ خالصہ جی و با کسیدہ صلح راجہ صاحب باشد صلح خالصہ جی و بلا دشمن خالصہ جی  
 با محض راجہ صاحب و بی صلح راجہ صاحب با عہد نظیر نخواہد آمد - سیوم آنگہ در ہر کار کہ پیش مناد راجہ صاحب  
 باشد خالصہ جی را استغنی اللفظ و المعنی بودہ از امورات راجہ صاحب در رخ نخواہد شد - چہارم آنگہ حد حد و تمامی  
 ملک قوم در تصرف راجہ صاحب جی از خصمندانہ تا انبالہ بمعہ چہار میان و برادران سوائے در ملک سکھان دیگر  
 کسے املکاران خالصہ جی متعرض و مزاحمت نرساند - پنجم آنگہ اگر دائرہ دولت خالصہ جی لغاصلہ بعد رونق افزا  
 باشد دست گوروجی نخواہد شد و راجہ صاحب را با کسے نظامہ روکار آید تمامی افواج متعینہ این ملک  
 بزفاقت امداد راجہ صاحب حسب الطلب شامل خواہد شد و بیالہ و سری انہرت سرجی واحد گزودیدہ - بنا بریں  
 خیر بطور بطریق عہد نامہ مرقوم شد -

Free translation in English:-

It is to certify in this absolute and most reliable document that although there existed intimate relations and connections between Khalsa Ji and Raja Sahib Singh of Patiala, yet they have been strengthened all the more at this moment. Hence on account of the words of sincerity, unity and mutual respect and warmth of heart the following have been agreed to regarding the affairs of both the states. May the Almighty be witness to these assurances and keep us firm in them. Khalsaji shall never, from generation to generation, falter in their words. Firstly Khalsaji shall remain friend to Raja Sahib Singh Bahadur under all circumstances and at

all times, inwardly and outwardly. Secondly Raja Sahib Singh's friends would be our friends and foes our foes. Khalsaji would not act without consulting the Raja Sahib. Against whosoever he declares war, we shall do the same, and with whomsoever he concludes alliance we shall do likewise. Thirdly if he takes upon himself any new task or expedition, Khalsaji, being one in act and deed with him, shall never keep back anything from him. Fourthly whatever territory the Raja possesses from Bhatinda to Ambala including those of his tributaries would not be interfered with by any official of the Lahore State. Fifthly if Khalsaji is encamped at some distance and may God forbid, the Raja is forced by some problem, all the forces of Khalsaji would march to the help of Raja Sahib. In short, Patiala and Shri Amritsar Ji's affairs are one henceforward. These few sentences have been written by way of treaty (dated 25th November, 1808).

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APPENDIX I.

The Treaty of Lahore signed between the East India Co. and Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore, dated 25th April, 1809.

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Whereas certain differences which had arisen between the British Government and the Raja of Lahore have been happily and amicably suggested and both parties being anxious to maintain the relations of perfect amity and concord, the following articles of Treaty, which shall be binding on heirs and successors of the two parties, have been concluded by Raja Ranjeet Singh, on his own part and by the agency of Charles Theophilus Metcalf, Esquire, on the part of the British Government.

Article I. Perpetual friendship shall subsist between the British Government and the state of Lahore. The latter shall be considered, with respect to the former, to be on the footing of the most favoured powers; and the British Government will have no concern with the territories and subjects of the Raja Northward of the river Sutlaj.

Article II. The Raja will never maintain in the territory occupied by him and his dependents on the left bank of the river Sutlaj; more troops than are necessary for the internal duties of that territory, nor commit or suffer any encroachments on the possessions or rights of the chiefs in its vicinity.

Article III. In the event of the violation of any of the preceding articles or of a departure from the rules of friendship on the part of either state this treaty shall be considered as null and void.

Article IV. This Treaty, consisting of four articles, having been settled and concluded at Amritsar, on the 25th day of April, 1809, Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalf has delivered to the Raja of Lahore a copy of the same in English and in Persian under his seal and signature and the said Raja has delivered another copy of the same under his seal and signatures and Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalf engages to procure, within the space of two months a copy of the same duly ratified by the Rt. Hon'ble the Governor General in Council, on the receipt of which by the Raja, the present Treaty shall be deemed complete and binding on both parties and the copy of it now delivered

to the Raja shall be returned.

SD/- C.T. Metcalfe  
Co.'s Seal.

Signature and seal of Raja Ranjeet Singh.

Signed Hinto.

Confirmed by the G.C. in Council on the  
30th May, 1809.

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Precept or Ittilahnamah addressed by the Lt. Col. David Ochtoriany to the C s-Sutlaj chiefs on the 3rd May, 1809.

It is clearer than the sun and better proved than the existence of yesterday that the marching of the detachment of the British Troops to the side of the river Sutlaj was entirely to the application of the several chiefs, and originated solely from friendly considerations in the British Government to preserve them in their possessions and independence. A Treaty having been concluded on the 25th April, 1809 between His Majesty on the part of the British Government and Maharaja Ranjeet Singh agreeably to the orders of the Hon'ble the G. G. in Council, I have the honour of publishing for the satisfaction of the chiefs of the country of Malwah and Sirhind, the pleasure and resolution of the British Government as contained in the following seven articles:-

1st. The country of the chiefs of Malwah and Sirhind having under the British protection, they shall in future be secured from the authority and influence of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh conformably to the terms of the Treaty.

2nd. All the country of the chiefs, thus, taken under protection shall be exempted from all pecuniary tribute to the British Government.

3rd. The chiefs shall remain in the full exercise of the same rights and authority in their own possessions which they enjoyed before they were received under the British Protection.

4th. Should a British force on purposes of general welfare be required to march through the country of the said chiefs, it is necessary and incumbent that every chief shall within his own possessions exist and furnish to the full of his power such force with supplies of grain and other necessaries, which may be demanded.

5th. Should an enemy approach from any quarter for the purpose of conquering the country, friendship and mutual interest require that the chiefs join the British Army with all their forces, and exerting themselves in expelling the enemy act under discipline and proper obedience.

6th. All articles brought by merchants from the Eastern districts for the use of the army shall be allowed to pass by the Thanedars and Sayedars of the several chiefs without molestation and the ~~damag~~



demand of the duty.

7th. All horses purchased for the use of cavalry regiments, whether in the district of Sirhind or elsewhere, the bringers of which being provided with sealed rahdarries from the Resident at Delhi or Officer Commanding at Sirhind, shall be allowed to pass through the country of the said chief without molestation or the demand of duty.

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The first British Political Agency in the Cis-Sutlaj area was established at Ludhiana in Feb. 1809 when Lt. Col. David Ochterlony took up his position there as the protector of the Sirhind chiefs. He continued there till October, 1815, at first in the capacity of A.G.G. and then as Superintendent of Political affairs in the territories of the protected sikh and Hill chiefs. He had an assistant in Captain Birch. The Agency office was then shifted from Ludhiana to Karnal. Ochterlony continued to have an over-all control till October, 1817 when on his transfer to Rajputana his work was carried on by Captain Birch. Lt. (afterwards Captain) W. Murray had been posted as Assistant at Ludhiana in November, 1816. Captain Birch continued to work at Karnal till September, 1821, when he was succeeded by Captain R. Ross with the designation of Deputy Superintendent of Sikh and Hill Affairs. Captain Ross held this post till the 16th March, 1823, and was then succeeded by Lt. Murray, the Assistant at Ludhiana, while Lt. (later on Captain and Lt. Col) C.M. Wade was appointed in his place at Ludhiana. In June, 1827 the designation of Deputy Superintendent of Sikh and Hill Affairs was altered to Pol. Agent and that of the Assistant at Ludhiana to Pol. Assistant. The Agency office was now shifted to Ambala. On Captain Murray's death on 28th June, 1831, the charge of the Agency was first held by Mr Ross Bell and then by Mr. G.R. Clerk. Captain Wade was then Pol. Assistant at Ludhiana. In July, 1832 Captain Wade's designation was altered from Pol. Assistant to Pol. Agent at Ludhiana. In 1840 Captain Wade was transferred to Indore and the designation of Mr. Clerk was first changed to A.G.G. for the Affairs of the Punjab and later to A.G.G. North West Frontier. After the first Sikh War new posts of Superintendent of cis.Sutlaj area and the Commissioner of Trans and Cis-Sutlaj area were further created to exercise efficient control. No other change of office took place till 1849 except that of the creation of the Board of Administration in Punjab. The correspondence of the political officers was first direct with the Governor Generals and then through the Resident at Delhi and Lt. Governor of Agra.

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فرمانِ شاهی متعلق بخش نمودن خطاب مہاراجہ و صیراج راجہ راجیشور مہندر بہادر مہاراجہ صاحب

شاهی  
مہاراجہ

حضرت سرخ زنگ  
دستخط پادشاہ مخط طغرا

”دریں زمانہ بہت اقتراں فرمان و اللہ شان واجب الیٰ اللہ صادر شد کہ مقتضائے دُور مراعہم خاقانی و فرط تفضلتِ خسروانی  
کہ نمونہ انفعال امیزی است۔ فردی خاص لائق العنایت و الاحسان صاحب گندہ خطاب راجہ راجیشور مہاراجہ و صیراج  
راجہ راجگان مہندر بہادر بعین العیان لایرکان و فی المثال و اللہ قرآن سرفراز و متمنا ز فرمودیم باید کہ فرزندانِ ناموار  
و کامکار و اللہ تبار و وزرائے ذوی الاقدار و امرائے عالی مقام و جمیع ارکان دربار جہاں مدار و حکام ممالک فردی  
خاص موزا لیرا از جناب منض مآب پادشاهی شمول این خطاب بہرگز بدیدہ و القاب بسندیدہ موزا مباسی دانستہ  
انظار عنایت ماب دولت و اقبال را باحوال فرزندہ مآل بہادر موزا لیرا چسین یوگان فی یوما متزاید نہایت دانند۔ تاریخ  
عزہ شہر ذی عقد سال پنجم از جلوس ایدہ مالوس زب تکریر و زینت تقطیر نہایت۔“

Free Translation:

Royal Farman regarding the grant of the title of "Maharaj Adhiraj  
Raj Rajeshwar Mohinder Bahadur to Raja Sahib Singh of Patiala.

Figure of  
Royal Canopy in  
red colour.

Royal Seal

Signature of the  
Mughal Emperor.

In the most fortunate hour the Royal farman is issued that on  
account of great royal favours and kingly attentions, which are the  
symbols of Divine bestowals, we have honoured Sahib Singh, worthy  
of particular attention and kindness, with the title of "Rajeshwar  
Maharaja Adhiraj Raja-i-Rajgan Mohinder Bahadur". Our worthy  
ministers, Amirs, and all other officers should always honour the  
Maharaja with the use of this title and should find our favours  
daily increasing towards him. Written in November, 1810.

PROCLAMATION OF PROTECTION TO CIS-SUTLAJ STATES  
AGAINST ONE ANOTHER, 22nd AUGUST 1811.

" For the information and assurance of the Protected Chiefs of the plains between the Sutlaj and Jaena.

" On the 3rd of May 1809, a proclamation comprised of seven Articles, was issued by the orders of the British Government, purporting that the country of the Sirdars of Sirhind and Malwa, having come under their protection, Rajah Ranjit Singh, agreeably to treaty, had no concern with the possessions of the above Sirdars; that the British Government had no intention of claiming tribute or fine, and that they should continue in the full control and enjoyment of their respective possessions. The publication of the above Proclamation was intended to afford every confidence to the Sirdars, that they had no intention of control, and that those having possession should remain in full and <sup>quiet</sup> ~~peace~~ enjoyment thereof.

" WHEREAS several zamindars and other subjects of the chiefs of this country have preferred complaints to the officers of the British Government who, having a view to the tenor of the above Proclamation, have not attended, and will not in future pay attention to them; for instance, on the 15th June 1811, Dellawar Ali Khan of Samana, complained to the Resident of Delhi against the officers of Raja Sahib Singh, for jewels and other property said to have been seized by them; who, in reply observed, " that the village of Samana being in the territory of Raja Sahib Singh, this complaint should be made to him;" and also on the 12th July 1811, Dussownda Singh and Gurmook Singh complained to Colonel Ochterlony, Agent to the Governor General, against Sirdar Churrut Singh, for their shares of property, &c., and in reply, it was written on the back of the petition, that, " since during the period of three years no claim was preferred against Churrut Singh by any of his brothers, nor even the name of any co-partner mentioned, and since it was advertised in the Proclamation, delivered to the Sirdars, that every chief should remain in the quiet and full possession of his domains, their petition could not be attended to." The insertion of these answers to complaints is intended as examples, and also, that it may be impressed on the minds of every zamindar and other subjects, that the attainment of justice is to be expected

from their respective Chiefs only, that they may not, in the smallest degree swerve from the observance of subordination. It is therefore highly incumbent upon the Rajas and other Sirdars on this side of the River Satlej, that they explain this to their respective subject and court their confidence; that it may be clear to them that complaints to the officers of the British Government will be of no avail, and that they consider their respective Sirdars as the source of justice, and that of their free-will and accord they observe uniform obedience.

" And WHEREAS according to the first Proclamation, it is not the intention of the British Government to interfere in the possessions of the Sirdars of this country, it is nevertheless, for the purpose of ameliorating the condition of the community, particularly necessary to give general information, that several Sirdars have, since the last incursion of Raja Ranjit Singh, wrested the estates of others, and deprived them of their lawful possessions, and that in the restoration they have used delays until detachments from the British Army have enforced restitution, as in the case of the Ranees of Zeema, the Sikhs of Cholian, the talookes of ~~Chilandi~~ <sup>Karoli</sup> and ~~Chilandi~~ <sup>Chilandi</sup>, and village of Cheeba; and the reason of such delays and evasions can only be attributed to the temporary enjoyment of the revenues; and subjecting the owners to irremediable losses. It is, therefore, by order of the British Government, hereby proclaimed, that if any of the Sirdars or others have forcibly taken possession of the estates of others, or otherwise injured the lawful owners, it is necessary that, before the occurrence of any complaint, the proprietor should be satisfied, and by no means to defer the restoration of the property; in which, however, should delays be made, and the interference of the British authority become requisite, the revenues of the estate, from the date of the ejection of the lawful proprietor, together with whatever other losses the inhabitants of that place may sustain from the march of troops, shall, without scruple, be demanded from the offending party; and for disobedience of the present orders, a penalty, according to the circumstances of the case and of the offender, shall be levied, agreeably to the decision of the British Government."

اشتمار ۱۵ فروری ۱۸۱۱ء جاری کردہ اخترنونی صاحب

پیدا است کہ حضور اہالیان عالی شان صدر دارالامارت کلکتہ را از تعیناتی افواج انگریزی بمجاہدنی لودیانہ  
سوائے از حفاظت و حرارت انید سرداران واقع این روئے در پائے ستیج نوعی از تکلیف از تقدیر پیشکش و نذرانہ  
و مداخلت کار مردان متعلقہ سرکار دولتدار انگریزی در باب زلم و لوق مکانات آنہا عزلی و نصب کارکنان لوشان  
منظور خاطر و مطیع نظر نیت ضامنہ لفظن اللہ عنانہ جات خود اطلاع تمام بخشیدہ اماکن خود با و زمانت و امنیت  
رعایا و برآیا و افزو بے تردد زراعت و ترصیہ حال جمعیت ہمراہی کہ نتیجہ حفاظت و حرارت است متوجہ باشند  
کہ طور این ہمہ امور باعث خوشنودی و موجب رضائت اہالیان عالی شان ممنوع است از آنجا کہ سلسلہ انتظام امور  
ریاست سرکار مہاراجہ راجگان بہادر بسبب بد رویی منراج و تغافل اہلکاران با نواح طریق برہم بودہ و حقیقت حال باہین  
نظر بود کہ جاہد معین بے سوار و با گریبہ استحقاق وصول بر تباب حساب و جمع بے شمار - دوری صورت لہجہ مہاراجہ  
مکان گنہ حساب و راجہ صوبت شہ صاحب را کہ از مہاراجہ راجگان بہادر خصوصیت بر ادوی و مراتب کچھتی دار بندہ خط  
این چنین حالات برہمی ریاست دوستانہ ازین جانب ہم مشورت خود جستند و تقیرت شاہی کنور لوم شہ طلب  
نمودند - حسب نظم و نسق بطور خود ما تجویز نمودند - بر ضد کہ این جانب را در امور سرکار سرداران نوئے تعلق نیت  
و غیر اہالیان عالی شان صدر دارالامارت متعلقہ نظر فیض نظر نہ - مگر لہذا با انیدہ از امانت این طرف اصولی کارخانہ جات

سرکار مہاراجہ ممنوع نظر ہو کہ این معنی موجب خوشنودی خاطر اہالیان عالی شان ممنوع خواهد بود - بنا بر این  
در خواستہ مشارکت و مشاورت سرداران ممنوع منظور نمودہ شد - حسب رفع منظمہ ظاہر بیان قطعہ زیر الطریق  
استحالت نامہ مورخہ ۱۱ فروری در آمدہ تا دیکر خاطر شان خیال و علم بطور تصور نماید و مرا تینہ سوائے از آبادی انتظام امور ریاست  
نوعی این جانب را مداخلت در کار و بار سرکار مہاراجہ راجگان بہادر منظور نیت - فقط مرقومہ پانزدہ فروری ۱۸۱۱ء

Free Translation  
Notification dated 15th Feb. 1811.

It is evident that the main purpose of the G.G. in Council at Calcutta in establishing the military cantonment at Ludhiana is only the protection and preservation of the Cis-Sutlaj Sardars. They have no intention of either exacting any tribute or present from them or of interfering with their state administration. That is why they have always given all informations to the chiefs through Notifications so that their all suspicions and fears might be removed and they might peacefully manage the affairs of their respective governments. The affairs of Maharaja Sahib Singh have been for some time back mal-administered on account of his own carelessness and through

the negligence of the officers, so much so that Jageers have been granted to the undeserving persons and the feudatories supply no Sawars. It was for these reasons that Rajas Bhag Singh and Jaswant Singh, who are the near and dear ones of the Maharaja, consulted ~~him~~<sup>me</sup> (Ochterlony) earlier, and suggested the British intervention as a means to establish order in the state. I then pointed out to them that although the British authorities had no selfish designs against the state and the G.G. in Council had no intention to interfere in the internal affairs of the states, but if with their help some good could be done to the house of Maharaja Sahib Singh, nobody would be more pleased than them. Hence in such circumstances their request for intervention was granted. This notification is, therefore, issued so that the<sup>y</sup> ~~he~~ may not remain any mis-understanding in their minds. Written on the 15th Feb, 1811.

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۱۸۱۲

خط بنام صہد سرداران اس روئے ستیج مورخہ ۶ جون

”ظاہر و سہوید است کہ اہالیان عالی شان صدر لاہور عنوان بہتری و بہبودی خانہ بہر کس سردار واقع اس روئے دریا

ستیج مطیع نظر فیض مہراست کہ بدبجہی تمام بہ امنیت و طمانیت و رفاہ و فلاح حال رعایا و میرا یا پر حمتہ باشند

و بہ اساس و جمیت خاطر در ظل حفاظت و حمایت سرکار دو تہداری دام اقبالہ لوجہ تعاقب و فرماں برداری

احکام واجب - نوعی از کسے سردار اخذ پیشکش و نذرانہ منظور نیست و نبودہ و نخواہد شد - صرف بہتری و

آبادی آنہا مدنظر است - دریں ولکہ نظر بے انتظامی و برہمی امورات ریاست مہاراجہ راجپان صاحبہ باشد

اہالیان محدودین از تہذیب تجویز منتخبات رانی آسکور صاحبہ مداخلت فرمودہ صرف برائے آبادی و انتظام کارخانہ

مہاراجہ موصوف است نہ برائے اندیہ چیز سے انفع و فوائد خود از پیشکش و نذرانہ اس مداخلت مدنظر

بودہ - لہذا بخت اطمینان خاطر سامی ملکی نمورہ سے آید کہ از ملاحظہ تجویز مذکور آن صاحب نوع

توسہات را کہ موجب تشویش دادہ بود بخاطر راہ نرند و بدبجہی و فراغ خاطر در امان خود ما تام بودہ

بہتور معروف لہمداری خود باشند کہ ہرگز صاحبان عالی شان را از مکانات سردار کیہ بجانب اس نظم و نسق امور

ریاست درست است قطعی مزاحمت منظور نیست -“

Free Translation.

Letter Addressed to all the Cis-Sutlej Chiefs  
dated 6th June, 1812.

It is evident that the high British authorities at Calcutta very much wish the welfare and prosperity of one and all Cis-Sutlej Sardars. They should, therefore, live with peace caring for and doing good to their subjects. They should also know that to deserve the protection of the E. I. Company the obedience and carrying out of its orders are essential. The honorable Company has neither even wished, nor wishes, nor shall wish to exact tribute from any Sardar. They only desire their welfare. Now that the Regency of Rani Aus Kaur has been established at Patiala on account of the mal-administration of Maharaja Sahib Singh, it is nothing but to set the Patiala house in order - not that the British wish to derive any advantage by way



of tribute or Nazana. The Sardars should, therefore, after reading this notification remove all doubts and suspicions if any and live happily in their respective states. The Hon'ble Company has no trouble with that chief, whatsoever, whose administration is running well.

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استھار نامہ مرقومہ ۱۵ جون ۱۸۱۲ء

تاریخ ۱۵ اپریل ۱۸۱۲ء مہاراجہ صاحب مسند بہادر مختیار کا برانی صاحبہ آسکور صاحبہ کنگیات، حمایت امان عالی شان صدر قبول و منظور ساختہ برقعہ اقرار نامہ کہ شتملبرہ پنج مدت ہوئے است مہر و دستخط خود بخط گورکھی تبت نمونہ بودند حالکہ عرصہ دو ماہ تخمیناً با بقضاء رسیدہ ہیچ ازان لظہور نیامد بلکہ بعد مخلصیت اقرار نامہ عمل آور دند لہذا لمجاہ و عدہ ولدنی مہاراجہ صاحب و دیگر اسباب مشہورہ استھار دادہ سے آید کہ رانی صاحبہ رانی آسکور از طرف سرکار و تہذیب رکنی انگریز بہادر مختیار کاروبار ریاست گردید و بنام مہاراجہ و از مہر ایشیاں سرانجام امور خواہ نمود پس جمیع المکان و تحصیلداران و جمعہ داران جاہداد والہ نقدی والہ قلعہ داران و زمینداران حکم دادہ سے شود کہ رانی صاحبہ از طرف سرکار رکنی مختیار کاروبار تصور سازند و بدستھی تمام در تالہ باری و فرطانیہ واری رانی صاحبہ حاضر باشند و بذات خود کھلو کھنور این جانب آمدہ ڈیرہ نانند و جمعیت خود را شامل ڈیرہ حصہ خود سازند۔ ہر کسکہ از ایشیاں آمدہ حاضر خواہ شد۔ جاگیر و جاہداد اور ضبط خواہ شد و تالیے حال دریں سرکار مداخلت نخواہ یافت فقط۔

Free Translation.  
Notification dated 15th June, 1812.

On 15th April, 1812 Maharaja Sahib Singh Mohindra Bahadur had, with the approval of the British Government, sealed and signed an agreement consisting of 5 clauses in Gurmukhi, according to which the general administration of the state was to be entrusted to Rani Aus Kaur. But two months have elapsed and it has not been complied with. Rather reverse to this has happened. Hence in view of the breach of promise by Maharaja Sahib and for many other known reasons it is now notified that Rani Aus Kaur is hereby appointed as the Regent of the state by order of the Hon'ble Company. She would work in the name of Maharaja Sahib. Hence all officers, Tehsildars, Qiledars, Zamindars etc should obey Rani Aus Kaur as such and should personally wait upon her in token thereof and should make their troops join the troops of Missar Naudha. Any one who will disobey will be deprived of his Jageer and Jaidad and earn the displeasure of this government.

**Sanad to Raja Karam Singh of Patiala for Purgunnahs  
Mahili under the Seal and Signature of His Exce-  
llency the Governor General in Council.**

"WHEREAS all the hill country has come into the possession of the British Government, and whereas Raja Karam Singh was forward to afford the co-operation of his troops during the late contest, therefor the present Sanad is granted, conferring on the said Raja Karam Singh and on his heirs for ever, the purgunnahs of Waheoles, Kuljoun, Duntheera, Keesalia, Chubrote, Kehmullee, Baddayneer, Saugur, Toorasutgowa, Jubal, and Pollakotee, together with the saeer duties of the same, and all the rights and appurtenances belonging to them, in exchange, for a nazrana of the sum of one lakh and fifty thousand rupees; and the said sum having been paid into the company's Treasury by His s, as agreed upon, nothing further shall ever be demanded on this account. The British Government will always protect and support the said Raja and his heirs in the possession of this territory. The Raja, considering this Sanad a legal and valid instrument, will immediately take possession of the aforesaid lands, but he must not encroach on any lands beyond the acknowledged limits of the purgunnahs enumerated. In case of war, the Raja must, on the requisition of the British authorities, furnish armed men and Begarees to join the detachment of British troops which may be stationed for the protection of the country. He will omit no exertion to do justice, and to promote the welfare and happiness of the ryots; while they on their part, considering the said Raja as their true and rightful lord, must obey him accordingly, and pay their revenue punctually, and be always zealous to promote the cultivation of their lands, and to testify their loyalty and obedience.

Dated 30th October, 1815.

**Sanad to Raja Karam Singh of Patiala for the Thakooras  
Of Burhat and Jugentourh, under the Seal and Sign-  
ature of His Excellency the Governor General  
in Council.**

WHEREAS all the hill country has come into the possession of the British Government, and whereas Raja Karam Singh was forward in affording the co-operation of his troops during the late contest

Whereas by order of the Right Honorable the Governor General the present Sanad is granted to said Raja conferring on him and on his heirs for ever.

1st - The Purgunnah of Bughat and the city of Taksal with the first fort at Sockehinpoor; and the second fort at the end of the Bazar of Taksab, and the fort of Tharogurh; and Purgunnah Parleekhar with the fort of Ajeergurh, and Purgunnah Koeateen with the fort of Rajgurh, and Purgunnah Luchherany, and Purgunnah Berowlee, and together with these purgunnahs and the five forts specified, Saer collections amounting to one thousand eight hundred rupees, the whole forming a portion of the Thakoorace of Bughat, also.

2nd - The fort of Juggutgurh with the Purgunnah of Juggutgurh and its dependencie, forming a portion of Sirmore, together with all the rights and appurtenances belonging thereto, in exchange for the sum of having been paid at the Company's treasury, no further demand will ever be made on the Raja on this account. The British Government will always protect and support the said Raja in possession of the said lands, and the Raja taking possession of the aforesaid lands shall not encroach on the possessions of another. In case of war, the troops stationed by the Raja for the protection of the said lands shall be sent to join the British Forces. The Raja will promote the welfare of his ryots on their part &c., (as in preceeding Sanad).

Dated 20th October, 1815.

The Purgunnahs mentioned in these two Sanads were taken from the Ranas of Keouthal and Bhagat for their hesitating and unfriendly conduct during the war.

Translation of Raja Bhag Singh's will dated 6.6.1812.

" I am firmly convinced in my own mind that there is not the least stability in human affairs and that life in particular, which is borrowed altogether, lasteth not for a moment according to the works of the poet. Everyone that is born must necessarily drink of the wine of mortality from the cup of fortune.

"Under this condition, therefore, as well as from certain motives of worldly nature, lest after my death disputes should arise amongst my sons regarding any part of my property I (Bhag Singh) being of sound mind and body in conformity to the prescribed system of succession, which has from old been established in my family, for example in the case of Maharaja Sahib (my father) who in his life time not withstanding my having an elder brother made over the whole concerns of Government to me, have constituted my son Kanwar Partap Singh my successor to the Raj and bequeathed to him all the places and forts dependent upon and belonging to the Sarkar, but during my life time he is <sup>on</sup>no account to claim possession of the Government or to have any sort of concern with it. This is, therefore, written that after my decease Kanwar Partap Singh having become the successor of the Raj and of my property both such as there is in money and such as that appertains to the departments of stable and Fool Khana together with the whole of household effects, may continue to retain the same and be employed as my successor in exercising the functions and the privileges of the chiefship, but no one else of his brothers is to have any claim thereto. These few words have, therefore, been written as a deed of gift or conveyance to serve as a voucher to be used if required at some further period."

2. Memorandum of the Distribution of Places.

To Kanwar Fateh Singh, the oldest son; The taaluga of Sangrur with fort and villages and also the taaluga of Bassian-

To Kanwar Mehtab Singh, the youngest son; The taaluga of Sydwall and Jandiali-

To Kanwar Partap Singh, the 2nd son and nominated successor of my ancient possessions i.e. the parganas of Jeend, the fort of Safidon together with its villages; the parganas of Kharkhodah which I held before the Sikh chiefs came under

British Protection; the villages of Panjgraeen and the pargana of Ludhiana and Morinda; Out of the Jagirs a moiety of the pargana of Gohana and a moiety of the villages of Jasrath, the Mauzah of Paridpur Barsat, the pargana of Bowannah which was granted in the name of Kanwar Partap Singh under a Sanad of the Late Lord Lake.

Dt. 6th June, 1812.

3. Translation of a Codicil annexed to the foregoing will.

" I have from the beginning continued cordial in my attachment and goodwill towards the Hon'ble Company indeed the fidelity of my attachment stands in need of no illustration from me, it is more evident than the sun. In consideration, therefore, of my zealous services as well as from the favours which have from the first been continually manifested towards me by your Lordship. I trust in your Lordship's kindness that pargana of Gohana and certain villages dependent on Jasrath, which were assigned to me in Jagir for life by the British Government may in future be continued in the same footing to my son Kanwar Fateh Singh. I shall consider this as very great favour at the hand of your Lordship. I have explained to Kanwar Fateh Singh the entire nature of the service and obedience which he is to pay to the Hon'ble Company and please God he will not be in any degree wanting in his zeal to serve your Lordship and the affairs of the Hon'ble Company.

Dated 7th June, 1812.

APPENDIX S.

List of Cis Sutlaj Ilagas over which Ranjit Singh preferred his claims.

- \* 1. Saniwal, incharge of Lala Ram Dial, the Maharaja's Agent stationed at Ludhiana.
- \* 2. Bhaatgarh, Behlolpur, Chandelgarh, Labangarh formed by Jamedar Khushal Singh.
- \* 3. Fattengarh, Gungrana formed by Polah Singh and Tikka Singh
- \* 4. Dharamkot, formed by Hakim Rai.
- \* 5. Chuhar Chak, formed by Sodhi Jawahar Singh.
- \* 6. Behakbodia, Kot Kapura, Sri Muktsar, Bhagta, Jinwar Hitahwat incharge of Kanwar Sher Singh, the Maharaja's second son.
7. Pattoki, Himmatpur, wadhi, the Ilaga of Mai Sada Kaur, the mother in law of the Maharaja and grand-mother of Kanwar Sher Singh
8. Jagraon Guru, Tehra, Kot Isa Khan and Sadar Khan, Melanwala, Bassi, Naraingarh, Bhirog, Mahani Khas pura, Ilaga of S. Fatch Singh Ahluwalia.
- \* 9. Bajra Se Howab, Shujatwala, Sehera, Goewal, Karesh, held in Jagir by Desa Singh.
- \* 10. Mehlan, Jagir of Sada Singh.
- \* 11. Saholi, Jagir of Doleh Singh Malwai.
- \* 12. Nurpur, Jagir of Mah Singh Kakkar.
- \* 13. Dependency of the district of Phillaur situated on the bank of the Sutlaj, hold in Jagir by the sons of Koer Singh Kakkar, Mai Rupa, Jamedar Pir Bakhsh.
- \* 14. Sohala and Toderpur, Jagir of Megh Singh Kakkar and Jamadar Pir Bakhsh.
- \* 15. Kotaiah, Jagir of Gujar Singh Kakkar and Jamedar Pir Bakhsh.
- \* 16. Motiwala, Jagir of Daya Singh, Chiman Singh and Sardar Singh.
- \* 17. Talwandian Sayeedan, Dhillon, Jagir of Sodhi Jawahir Singh.
- \* 18. Boother, Jagir of Sodhi Jugeh Singh.
- \* 19. Rasulpur, Jagir of Dewan Ranghi Das.
- \* 20. Aitiana, Jagir of Ram Singh.
- \* 21. Khaifah, Jagir of Megh Singh Kakkar and Jamedar Pir Bakhsh.
22. Sialbeh, Ilaga of Sardar Dewa Singh Doabiah.
23. Machiwara, Jagir of Sodhi Faujdar Singh.
24. Chamkaur, Jagir of Sodhi Uttam Singh.
- \* 25. Zirah, Jagir of Sarbuland Khan.
- \* 26. Kencan, Jagir of the Sikhs of Bhendhichia.
27. Melwal, Jagir of Yusuf Khan.

28. Ferozpur, held by Sardarni Lachman Kaur.
- \*29. Mandot and Banniwala, Jagir of Qutab-ud-Din Khan.
  0. Fothgarh, Jagir of Sardar Hari Singh Kang.
- \*31. Khai, Masidpur, Musdroh, Jagir of Dharam Singh.
- \*32. Mari, Jagir of Pateh Singh Sirhialiwala.
- \*33. Keonki, Jagir of Dharam Singh Attariwala.
  34. Anwala.
35. Kalal Najra, conferred by S. Pateh Singh Ahluwalia on S. Himmat Singh Jehlawala.
- \*36. Jhendianah, Jagir of Sardar Jiwand Singh.
  37. Kot Guru Har Sahai, held by Gulab Singh Sodhi.
- \*38. Ranian, Jagir of Khazan Singh.
- \*39. Singhanwala.
  40. Mottewala, Jagir of Sodhi Attar Singh.
  41. Rajwana, in alias to Hari Singh and Karora Singh.
  42. Tughal, Jagir of Mohar Singh.
  43. Aklompur.
- \*44. Puwa want, Kotari, Jagir of L. Gobind Jas, the Maharaja's Agent at Delhi.
45. Shri Anandpur, Jagir of Sodhi Achel Singh, Tirlak Singh, Ram Singh and Chet Singh.
- \*46. Makhowal.
47. Suhewaren.

Note: The Ilagas marked with an asterik were included in Murray's list No. 1 and other in list No. 2.

N.A: Colebrooke to Wade dt 17.3.1828.

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N.A: Sir John Malcolm's Note on the Invasion of India  
by Russia dated 4th July, 1830.

" My attention was first given to the subject of the means any European Power possessed of invading India in 1800..... Russia has entertained, and still entertains, designs of invading India. This certainty is the popular impression in Russia, and to my knowledge, the invasion of India is a constant and favourite theme of conversation and speculation with the army of that nation, but though Prince Potomkin and others have presented plans to their sovereign for the accomplishment of this object, I much doubt if any Russian Statesman has ever seriously contemplated the immediate conquest of our Empire in the East, which now included all India, because such must know that independent of the hazards attendant on so vast an enterprise, and the treasure and blood, which it would cost, India could not be held for 3 years (even if subdued) by any European nation, that does not possess the command of the sea. But I have no doubt that the cabinet of Saint Petersburg has often contemplated and may probably at this moment contemplate the object of approximating her power to our Indian possessions ..... to endanger our power.

" It is by obtaining the Command of the resources of Persia, not in attempting an invasion through Khiva and Bokhara that the Russians will prosecute their designs on India.

" The King of Persia, if reduced to be a vassal of Russia, would with the help of the Russian Army easily conquer Herat and then both by marching from Khorasan from the usual route of Kandhar and Kabul they would easily establish on the bank of the Indus. Then the only two routes by which they could advance are via the Panjab or Sindh- The practicability of the former has been often proved, but the latter might perhaps be found to present equal facilities.

" We should be careful that the Eastern frontier of Russia in 1797 was on the North of the caucasus. It is at present (within 32 years) upon the Araxis. The advance of her direct rule from Muzdok to Erivan within 32 years is quite rapid."

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APPENDIX U.

N.A: List of Cis-Satlaj Chiefs presented to Lord William Bentinck at Ropar on 23rd October, 1831.

<u>Name of the State</u>	<u>Name of the Chief.</u>
1. Behlulpur	Mai Jasan.
2. Baloh	S. Har dial Singh Singhpuria
3. Bilaspur.	Raja Kharak Chand Bahadur.
4. Jassi	(S. Khushal Singh. (S. Ratan Singh
5. Bhabatgarh	S. Lal Singh Singhpuria.
6. Bongaon	Sardarni Mand Kaur.
7. Boria	S. Gulab Singh and Meigh Singh.
8. Bhabar	S. Kharak Singh and Khazan Singh.
9. Basi	S. Dewa Singh Kalsia.
10. Chilaundi	Sardarni Ram Kaur.
11. Chachrauli (Kalsia):	S. Sobha Singh.
12. Doon	Guru Bishan Singh.
13. Deon	S. Fateh Singh.
14. Dhanaura	S. Sahib Singh.
15. Dialgarh.	Sardarni Sukhan.
16. Ferozpur	Sardarni Lachman Kaur.
17. Faridkot.	Mai Dharmo.
18. Fatehgarh	S. Nihal Singh.
19. Gursahai	S. Bhopal Singh Singhpuria.
20. Ghanauli	S. Ram Singh.
21. Hulohar	S. Fateh Singh.
22. Hindour	Raja Ram Singh Bahadur.
23. Indri	S. Nihal Singh, Sooth Singh and Jawahir Singh.
24. Jind.	Raja Sangat Singh Bahadur.
25. Jag Saloo	S. Gulab Singh, Mohar Singh, Mohar Singh and Fateh Singh.
26. Kaithal.	Shah Ude Singh Bahadur.
27. Khai	S. Gulab Singh.
28. Kunjpura	Nawab Ghulam Ali Khan.
29. Katta.	S. Nihang Khan.
30. Kotla Maler	Nawab Amir Ali Khan.
31. Kootyn	Sayed Jagar Ullah Khan.

32.	Khandolah	S. Daya Singh Singhpuria.
33.	Kharar	S. Nihal Singh.
34.	Sassool	S. Ajit Singh.
35.	Ladva.	S. Ajit Singh.
36.	Lalpur Nugloo	S. Wazir Singh and Hamir Singh.
37.	Machiwara	Sodhi Ratan Singh.
38.	Majra	Sardarni Rup Kaur.
39.	Malpur	S. Dewan Singh
40.	Mauli Sohan	S. Bhoop Singh and Albel Singh.
41.	Mustafabad	Mia Gauran.
42.	Malod	S. Fateh Singh and Mit Singh.
43.	Mulloh	S. Jiwan Singh.
44.	Mani Majra	Raja Gowardhan Singh Bahadur.
45.	Manoli	S. Gopal Singh Singhpuria.
46.	Nabha	Raja Jaswant Singh
47.	Nahan.	Raja Fateh Perkash.
48.	Anandpur Makhawal	Mata Raj Kaur
49.	Patiala	Maharaja Karam Singh and Kanwar Ajit Singh.
50.	Rangarh	Nian Dhan Singh.
51.	Rai Kot.	Rani Nul-ul-Nissa.
52.	Raipur	S. Gurdial Singh and Natha Singh.
53.	Ropar	S. Bhoop Singh.
54.	Sialba	S. Dewa Singh.
55.	Sikri	S. Mehtab Singh.
56.	Sawarah	Sardarni Jassa Kaur.
57.	Shahabad	S. Sher Singh, Ranjit Singh, Kahan Singh and widow of Kharak Singh.
58.	Shangarh.	S. Sewa Singh and Fateh Singh.
59.	Shahzadpur	S. Gulab Singh Shaheed.
60.	Thanesar	Sardarni Jiya Kaur, Chand Kaur and Jamiat Singh.
61.	Toondial	Sardarni Karam Kaur w/o Mehtab Singh Shaheed.
62.	Tussa	Mai Dharmo.
63.	Kapurthala	S. Fateh Singh Ahluwalia.
64.	Annuli	Bhais Gulab Singh and Sangat Singh.
65.	Uttulgarh	S. Gurdial Singh.

66. Meerapur

S. Partab Singh  
and a few more.

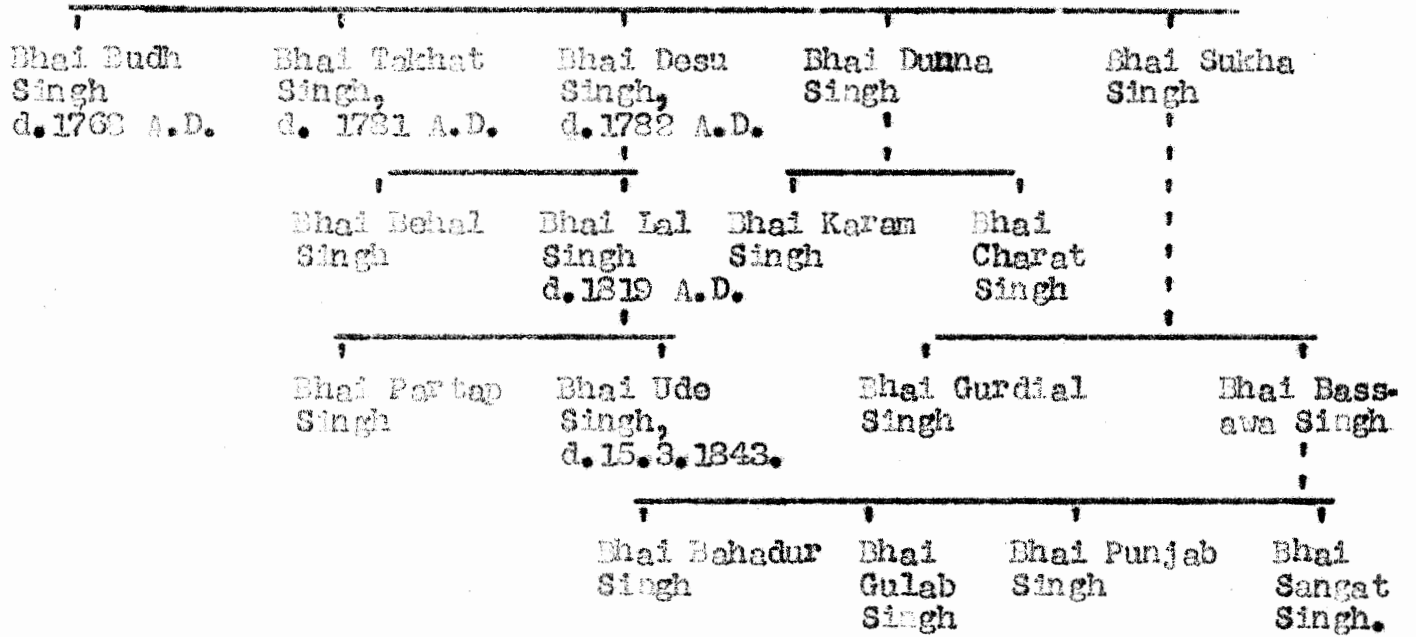
N.A: Clerk to Resident Delhi Dt. 1.10.1831.

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APPENDIX 'V'

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE BHAIKIAN FAMILY.

Bhai Gurbakhsh Singh  
d. 1766 A.D.



APPENDIX H

A: GRANTS AND FINANCIAL COMMITMENTS TO BE SUPPLIED BY EACH STATE TO THE HINDI GOVERNMENT.

<u>Name of State</u>	<u>Horses</u>	<u>Paidal</u>	<u>Total.</u>
1. Patiala	500	1000	1500
2. Kaithal	400	500	900
3. Feroz	300	400	600
4. Nabha	300	400	700
5. Ludhiana	100	-	100
6. Thanosar	25	50	75
7. Singhpurias	50	-	50
8. Kapurthala (Gis-Sutlaj)	100	-	100
9. Maharajkeans	10	20	30
10. Beawia	21	40	61
11. Malerkotla	50	-	50
12. Kalaha	35	75	110
13. Sahabad	22	40	62
14. Ropar	30	-	30
15. Faridkot	25	-	25
16. Thadour	45	-	45
17. Malod	15	30	45
18. Shahzadpur	15	30	45
19. Arnoli	10	20	30
20. Kunjpura	15	30	45
21. Mustafabad	-	30	30
22. Bidvan	10	20	30
23. Dhalgarh	10	20	30
24. Jhabua	-	15	15
25. Mani Nagra	15	50	65
26. Dhoonsi & 8 others	10	40	50
27. Bassi	5	10	15
28. Chalaundi	5	15	20
29. Tangour	15	15	30
30. Jodhran	15	-	15
31. Kharar	-	20	20
32. Shergarh	-	5	5
33. Bangarh	-	20	20

Total C/F	2033	-357-	2895	4943
34. Khanna	-		10	10
35. Dhanausa	-		10	10
36. Ledah	5		-	5
37. Raipur	-		5	5
38. Jhabu Rajpa	5		-	5
39. 27 other estates	30		168	198
	<u>3093</u>		<u>3088</u>	<u>5181</u>

B. NUMBER OF SAWARS, WHICH COULD BE RAISED IN EMERGENCY

<u>Name of the State</u>	<u>No. of Sawars.</u>
1. Patiala	5000
2. Kaithal	3000
3. Nabha	2000
4. Jind	1500
5. Ladwa	1000
6. Thanesar	500
7. Singhpurias	500
8. Kapurthala (Cis-Sutlaj)	500
9. Malerkotla	400
10. Kalsia	300
11. Booria	250
12. Shahabad.	250
13. Ropar	200
14. Faridkot	200
15. Bhador	130
16. Malodh	130
17. Shahzadpur	<u>150 etc</u>
	<u>GRAND TOTAL: 16060</u>

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C. MORE, IF REQUIRED, BUT ON BRITISH EXPENSES.

<u>Name of State</u>	<u>Sawar</u>	<u>Paidal</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Patiala	3000	9000	12000
2. Kaithal	1200	7800	9000
3. Nabha	1200	3800	5000
4. Jind	700	1800	2500

5. Maharajkeon	1500	8500	10000
6. Ladwa	1000	2500	350
7. Thanesar	400	600	1000
8. Kapurthala (Cis-Satlaj)	1000	1500	2500
9. Malerkotla	400	600	1000
10. Booria	150	250	400
11. Shahabad	300	300	400
12. Faridkot	300	300	1000
13. Shadore	300	50	250
14. Shahzadpur	120	180	300
15. Sialba	125	125	250
16. Arnoli	50	150	200
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL:	11475	37855	49330
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

Note: N.A. Clerk to Hudlock dt 9.9.1841.

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APPENDIX X

1. The wajib-ul-Arz of Raja-i-Rajwan Maharaja Narendar Singh Mahender Bahadur of Patiala to the Rt.Hon'ble the G.G. of India Lord Viscount Hardinge dt 9th March, 1847.

AFTER COMPLIMENTS.

" That my ancient hereditary estates and those conferred by the British Government in the times of my grand father and father and those now to be conferred on me are and shall continue for ever in the possession of myself and my successors, with all Government rights thereto belonging, rights to exercise police jurisdiction and to collect the revenue except customs and transit duties, which I have of my own free will and for the good of my people abolished.

" That my adherents and dependents continue bound to me by the same relations as heretofore - that the British Government never demand from me anything in the way of tribute or revenues or commutation in lieu of troops or otherwise in as much as that I am with heart and soul its sincere well wisher and that continuing as heretofore faithfully devoted to its interests and dignity.

" I shall ever look its friends as my friends and its enemies as my enemies."

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2. WAZIB-UL-ARZ OF JIND RAJA TO THE G.G. DT 24.3.1847.

" That in the internal administration of his country he and his posterity after him continue to enjoy, as his ancestors have heretofore done, perfect independence in all departments, civil, criminal and revenue with the exception of the collection of excise and transit duties, which he has of his own accord for the benefit of his people for ever abolished.

" That he and his posterity after him continue to enjoy from the British Government the same degree of consideration and respect as has heretofore been shown to him and that no demands be ever made on the part of the British Government for Peshkash(reliefs) tribute or commutation for troops or on other accounts.

" That complaints against the Jind Government by its subjects or servants shall be inadmissible. As heretofore he has been a humble well wisher, so he will ever continue according to ancient

custom, devoted heart and soul to the service of the British  
Government and will consider its friends<sup>as friends</sup> and its enemies as his  
enemies."

ASANAD TO THE MAHARAJA OF PATIALA, DATED 22ND  
SEPTEMBER 1847

The Right Honourable the Governor General having resolved to bestow certain lands on the Raja of Patiala as a mark of consideration for his attachment and services to the British during the late war with the Lahore State, and the Raja of Patiala having requested that he may at the same time receive a renewed assurance of protection and guarantee of his rights in his former possessions, the Governor General is pleased to confer this assurance in the form of a Sanad or grant as follows, in order that the Maharaja and his successors after him, may with perfect confidence, continue to exercise the same rights and authority in his possessions as heretofore.

The Maharaja's ancient hereditary estates, according to annexed schedule, shall continue for ever in the possession of himself and his successors, with all Government rights thereto belonging of police jurisdiction and collection of revenue as heretofore. The Maharaja's Chaharumians, feudatories, adherents and dependents, will continue bound in their adherence and obligations to the Raja as heretofore. His Highness will exert himself to do justice and to promote the welfare and happiness of his subjects, while they, on their part, considering the Raja as their true and rightful lord, must obey him and his successors accordingly, and pay the revenue punctually, and be always zealous to promote the cultivation of their lands, and to testify their loyalty and obedience. The Maharaja has relinquished for himself and his successors for ever all right to levy excise and transit duties, which have been abolished throughout the Patiala territory. His Highness also binds himself and his successors to the ~~suppression~~ suppression of Sati, infanticide and slave dealings within his territories. If, unknown to the Maharaja's authorities, any person should be guilty of these acts, the Maharaja's authorities will, on conviction, punish them with such severity as to deter others. The British Government will never demand from the Maharaja and his successors and their dependents above named anything in the way of tribute or revenue or commutation in lieu of troops or otherwise, for the reason that His Highness will

ever continue as heretofore sincerely devoted to the service and interests of the British. The British Authorities will not entertain complaints of the Maharaja's subjects or dependents, or interfere with the Maharaja's authority. Should an enemy approach from any quarter to this side the Beas or Sutlaj for the purpose of conquering the country, the Raja will join the British Army with his forces and exert himself in expelling the enemy, and act under discipline and obedience; and in time of war place the resources of his country at the disposal of the British Government. His Highness engages to have made and to keep in repairs, through his own officers, the Military <sup>troops of a width +</sup> roads through his territory, for the passage of British <sup>elevation</sup> to be determined on by the Engineer officer charged with the duty of laying down the roads. His Highness will also appoint encamping grounds for British Troops at the different stages, which shall be marked off, so that there be no claims made hereafter on account of damaged crops.

SANAD TO THE RAJAH OF JIND, DATED 22nd SEPTEMBER  
1847

The Right Honourable the Governor General having resolved to bestow certain lands on the Raja of Jind as a mark of consideration for his attachment and services to the British during the late war with the Lahore State, and the Raja of Jind having requested that he may at the same time receive a renewed assurance or protection and guarantee of his rights in his former possessions, the Governor General is pleased to confer this assurance in the form of a Sanad or grant as follows, in order that the Raja and his successors after him, may, with perfect confidence, continue to exercise the same rights and authority in his possessions as heretofore.

The Raja's ancient hereditary estates, according to annexed schedule, shall continue for ever in the possession of himself and his successors, with all Government rights thereto belonging of police jurisdiction and collection <sup>of</sup> revenue as heretofore. The Raja's Chaharumians, feudatories, adherents and dependents will continue bound in their adherent<sup>s</sup> and obligations to the Raja as heretofore.

His Highness will exert himself to do justice and to promote the welfare and happiness of his subjects, while they, on their part, considering the Raja as their true and rightful lord, must obey him and his successors accordingly, and pay the revenue punctually, and be always zealous to promote the cultivation of the lands and to testify their loyalty and obedience. The Raja has relinquished for himself and his successors for ever all right to levy excise and transit duties, which have been abolished throughout the Jind territory. His Highness also binds himself and his successors to the suppression of Sati, infanticide and slave dealing within his territories. If unknown to the Raja's authorities any persons should be guilty of these acts, the Raja's authority will, on conviction, punish them with such severity as to deter others. The British Government will never demand from the Raja and his successors and their dependents above named, anything in the way of tribute or revenue or commutation in lieu of troops or otherwise, for the reason that His Highness will ever continue as heretofore sincerely devoted to the service and interests of the British. The British authorities will not entertain complaints of the Raja's subjects or dependent or interfere with the Raja's authority. Should an enemy approach from any quarter to this side of Beas or Sutlaj, for the purpose of conquering this country, the Raja will join the British Army with his forces and exert himself in expelling the enemy and act under discipline and obedience, and in time of war, place the resources of his country at the disposal of the British Government. His Highness engages to have made and to keep in repair through his own officers, the Military roads through his territories for the passage of British troops from Ambala and other stations to Ferozepur, of a width and elevation to be determined on by the Engineer Officer charged with the duty of laying down the roads, His Highness will also appoint encamping grounds for British <sup>troops</sup> ~~troops~~ at the different stages, which shall be marked off, so that there be no <sup>claims</sup> ~~claims~~ made hereafter on account of damaged crops.

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## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### The Nature of Historical Material Relating to the History of Cis-Satlaj Sikh States During the period: 1800-1849 A.D.

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Of the published works in English relating to the rise, growth and development of the Cis-Satlaj Sikh States, Sir Lepel Griffin's 'Rajas of the Punjab' and the 'chiefs and families of note in the Panjab' are the only two books worth a mention. Sir Lepel Griffin was the Chief Secretary to the Government of the Punjab in the early sixties of the last century. He had had ample opportunities of meeting personally some of the important personages of the Sikh times and of verifying the correctness of the events direct from some of those who had taken part in these events. His books are useful for a preliminary study of the subject. But Lepel Griffin cannot always be taken as a sure and dependable guide by a researcher in the field. He had neither time nor material to do the work very critically or on a very elaborate scale. In appraising the correct value of Sir Lepel's views and his judgment about men and events it must not be forgotten that he wrote his books almost immediately after the catastrophic happening of 1857-58 which had created a definite ill-will between the English and the Indians. Again Sir Lepel Griffin's chronology is not very correct either. He appears to have been satisfied with the simple conversion of the Bikrim and Hijri years into the Christian years. This process gives us only approximate dates. Mainly due to the efforts of the Indian Historical Record Commission the official documents, which, twenty five years ago, were regarded as something secret and not meant for public eye, are now made available to a student of History. The National Archives in New Delhi are rich with such material both in English and in Persian and I have made their full use. In fact these Archives Records form the principal source of my Thesis.

On account of the main trends of events and also due to the nature of material available the entire period of this Thesis has been split up into two divisions namely:- (i) 1800-May, 1809; (ii) 1809-1849.

#### 1. Authorities Relating To The First Part.

During the first period the Sikh Chiefs of Sirhind are constantly

manoeuvring to secure the independence and integrity of their states from the machinations and aggressions of some powerful adventurers like George Thomas of Hansi, Gen. Perron of Sindhia's service or the Maratha chief Jaswant Rao Holkar. Later on, however, the danger from Ranjit Singh ultimately drove them to the lap of the British (April, 1809) who had come to stay in Delhi in September, 1803. The authorities for this period are mostly Persian.

The Patiala Akhbars furnish facts with dates of Louis Bourquin's visit to Patiala in April, 1802, detailed account of Holkar's march from Jind to Patiala and again of his fifteen or twenty days stay near Patiala in October, 1805. The Persian Letters Received supply details of Gen. Perron's Treaty with Raja Sahib Singh of Patiala; an account of the activities of Holkar's allies among the Sikh Chiefs and Lord Lake's letters acknowledging the services of Raja Bhag Singh of Jind and Zhai Lal Singh of Kaithal. These letters also throw light on Ranjit Singh's first Cis-Sutlaj Campaign (1806-1807). The Patiala Papers give complete details of Patiala-Babha Doladhi dispute, Ranjit Singh's Treaty with Raja Sahib Singh and Mr. Seton's friendly arrangements with the Cis-Sutlaj Sikh Chiefs. The Malerkotla Papers supply data regarding Badi Sahib Singh's attack on Malerkotla; Ranjit Singh's invasion of that state in 1803 and the efforts of the Nawab to apprehend Akali Phala Singh. The Patiala Akhbars and Persian Letters Received, now preserved in the National Archives of India, have no indexes and a student has to wade through the entire Persian correspondence of these years to get the relevant material. Tarikh-i-Shah Alaa by Munna Lala depicts the true position of Mughal Emperor and the activities of Daulat Rao Sindhia's officers in Northern India till 1803. Khushwaqt Rai, Dute Shah and Mufti Ali-ud-Din provide full dynastic details and the early political history of those Cis-Sutlaj Sikh Ruling families whose states and states came to an end before the annexation of the Punjab. Amir Naneh and Mohan Singh's Waga-i-Holkar are very helpful in reconstructing the account of Jaswant Rao's expedition to the Punjab and his activities with the Sikh Chiefs. Mukhzan-ul-Fatihat and Mafateh-ud-Rivasat supply details of the Anglo-Maratha conflict in Northern India between 1803 and 1805 with stray references to the part played by the Sikh Chiefs.

Undat-ul-Tawarikh and Zafar Namah Ranjit Singh give correct details of Ranjit's Cis-Sutlaj campaigns and Gul-gashta-i-Punjab and Iqbal Namah supplement this information.

The sources in the English language concerning this period come next to the Persian sources. They are mostly letters exchanged between the Governor Generals and the various British Political Officers in India on one side and between the former and the Select Committee of the Board of Directors in London on the other. The information contained in these letters is precise and chronologically correct. Besides these letters there are some published works which provide some useful material on the history of the Cis-Sutlaj States. They are the biographies of George Thomas, James Skineer, Lord Lake and Lord Metcalfe. The latest researches of Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar and Rai Bahadur G.S. Sa desai, incorporated in the 4th volume of the 'Fall of Mughal Empire' and the 3rd volume of the 'New History of the Marathas' respectively are also very helpful in the reconstruction of the history of these states from 1800 to 1805.

The only useful yet unutilized source of information in Gurmukhi is 'Phul-Bans-Parkash'. It is all in verse. It gives an authentic running commentary on the history of the Phulkian Ruling families and discloses some additional facts regarding the personal character of the various Sikh Chiefs.

Except for a few letters which Jaswant Rao Holkar wrote to his nephew, Bhar Mal, from Patiala and Amritsar in 1805 and which are published in Holkar Shahiatia Ittihasachin Sadhna Vol. II by V.V. Thakore, the Marathi records do not throw any light on the history of these Sikh States during this period. The reason for this paucity of material is easy to understand. The Peshwa's direct connection with the Punjab affairs had ended with the establishment of the supremacy of Mahadjee Sindhia in Northern India, though the interest of Nana Fadnis in the affairs of Northern India continued till the death of Mahadji Sindhia (Feb. 1794) and his agents in that quarter continued reporting various news in their letters to him ( See Ittihas Sangrah Dilliyathis Raj Karne Vol. I and II and Jodhpur Yathil Raj Karne). But with the death of Mahadji Sindhia and the troubles that started in the



Deccan at Poona after the sad demise of Peshwa Sewai Madho Rao in 1795, even this little interest of the court of Peshwa in the North Indian affairs disappeared.

Daulat Rao Sindhia, the successor of Mahadjee Sindhia, remained in the South and depended for his North Indian affairs on his viceroys in Hindustan. However, his effective control in that quarter was reduced to nil after the retirement of Gen. De Boign in the end of 1796. The final authority, thus, shifted to his agents and Generals in Hindustan. No Maratha records, dealing with these aspects of Sindhia's control, are extant. Again after the conquest of Delhi by Lord Lake in September, 1803, all possible connections between Cis-Satlaj area and Sindhia was completely cut off and the possibility of any further records on the Cis-Satlaj affairs in Marathi definitely ended.

## 2. Authorities Relating To The Second Part.

The dominant feature of the Second Period is the gradual but systematic growth of the dictatorial control of the British Government<sup>t</sup> over these states. By the year 1849 they had been definitely tamed into obedience so much so that eight years later when the great upheaval took place in 1857, one and all of them voluntarily placed their services at the disposal of the British. A detailed account of these events is obtained from the voluminous correspondence both in English and Persian.

The correspondence of the Political Officers appointed incharge of these Cis-Satlaj States was first direct with the Governor General and then through the Resident at Delhi and Lt. Governor of Agra.

All the relevant English correspondence is classified in the following branches in the National Archives:-

1. Secret proceedings.
2. Secret and separate Index.
3. Political proceedings.
4. Letters to the Court.
5. Letters from the Court.
6. Foreign proceedings.

One must go through the correspondence of all these branches in order to secure all the required material.

Besides this correspondence there are the private journal of Marquis of Hastings, Political Diary of Lord Ellenborough and

the state papers of Lord Dalhousie (all published) which form yet another very important primary source of information on the period.

The information derived from the English sources is supplemented by the Persian sources of this period. The Akhbarat and the Patiala State Papers supply precise details and dates of certain important occurrences such as Akali Phula Singh's activities, Patiala Ruling Family Disputes, Patiala-British boundary disputes, Jind succession case and the lapse of the Kaithal state. Tazkhat-ul-Umra gives additional facts regarding the character and career of certain Sikh Chiefs. Umdat-ul-Tawarikh and Gulgashta-i-Punjab supplement information on first and second wars and the attitude of Cis-Sutlej Sikh Chiefs towards them.

Detailed account of Akali Phula Singh's career is also now available from his biography in Gurmukhi by Baba Prem Singh of Hoti Mardan. But it has to be used with some care as in many places the account is much exaggerated. Fresh information is also available on the event of the murder of Rani Sobrahi and Dewan Jaishi Ram at the instigation of Hanwar Partap Singh of Jind in Tawarikh-i-Jind, as its author, Munshi Duni Chand, was the direct descendant of the Dewan and the history of the event has been preserved in the family.

But unfortunately sufficient material is not available to reconstruct the Socio-economic history of these states during the period which still leaves an important gap to be filled.

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PERSIAN  
AKHBARAT.

(National Archives of India)

A. Patiala Akhbars.

- Year 1802: 30th, 21st, 22nd and 23rd April.  
" 1804: 7th and 13th December.  
" 1805: 2nd March, 3th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 16th, 17th, 18th  
21st, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, and 25th October.  
" 1808: 17th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd and 31st October;  
1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th November.  
" 1809: 13th January and 4th February.  
" 1811: 27th December.  
" 1812: 3rd January; 1st to 7th; 8th to 20th and 26th to  
30th April; 1st to 30th May and 3rd July.

B. (Shri Raghbir Library, Sitamau)  
(Peshwa Daftar, Poona).

- (1) Muntakhil-i-Akhar-i-Hindustan and Ahwal-i-Faza Banujib-i  
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- Vol.iii) Year 1811-17, No.18.  
" iv) " 1810-15 " 19.  
" v) " 1811-17 " 64.  
" vi) " 1810-17 " 71.  
" vii) " 1810, 1812-17, No.71.  
" viii) " 1800-2.  
" ix) " 1810-17, No.83.

- (ii) Akhbarat-i-Deodhi Maharaja Jaswant Rao Holkar Nos.3 and 49.

- (iii) Akhbarat-i-Deodhi Muntazin-ud-Daula (Mr. Metcalfe) the  
Resident of Delhi.

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- (iv) Akhbarat-i-Deodhi Sardar Ranjit Singh of the Punjab,

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- (v) Akhbar-i-Deodhi Siwati Sahib (Mr. Seton),

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- (vi) Akhbar-i-Deodhi Ochterlony Sahib,

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C. (British Museum).

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Ser.No.4368.

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(I) January, March-April and October, 1810. I.O.L. Ser No.4343.

II) Feb-June, 1811. I.O.L. Ser No.4344.

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- " 1801: Nos. 66, 96, 254, 371 and the unnumbered letter of the 11th November.
- " 1802: Nos. 136, 138, 139, 140 and 187.
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- " 1804: Nos. 78, 79, 80, 131, 132 and of 7th March and 19th Dec.
- " 1805: Nos. 9, 10, 17, 174, 572, 600, 624, 649, 713, 714, 719 and 789.
- " 1806: Nos. 57, 156, 188, 253, 276, 285, 517, 810, 817, 842 and the unnumbered letters of 3rd, 7th and 8th November.
- " 1807: No.436.
- " 1808: Nos. 12, 120, 137, 172, 194, 274, 341, 364, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 501, 502 and 503.
- " 1809: Nos. 10, 59, 60, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 89, 90, 91, 92, 102, 103, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 269, 270, 271 and 272.
- " 1810: Nos. 391, 392, 393, 395, 416, 417, 535, 541, 542, 557, 567, 568, 577, 605, 649, 677, 701-7, 721, 724, 727, 732-33, 734, 739, 740, 746, 747, 838 and 851.
- " 1811: Nos. 17, 18, 19, 82, 179, 188-201, 205b & c, 247, 300, 301, 325, 327, and 352.
- " 1812: Nos. 17, 81, 91, 95, 96, 129, 131, 226, 248, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 297, 298, 299, 300, 328, 329, 357, 359, 360, 469, 555, 582, & 703.
- " 1813: Nos. 212, 219, 213-6, 237-8, 240-43, 255, 280, 282, 301 & 410.
- " 1814: Nos. 81, May and 23rd June.
- " 1816: Nos. 117, 372, 391, 403, 410, 478 and 566.
- " 1817: Nos. 143, 220, 313, 422, 461 & 475.
- " 1818: Nos. 55 and 525.
- " 1819: Nos. 162, 163, 178, 179.
- " 1820: Nos. 102, 120, 247, 332 and 340.
- " 1835: Nos. 172, 196, 201, 344, 382, 412 and 443.
- " 1837: Nos. 7, 12, 14, 18, 19, 22, 31, 36, 52, 56, 70, 73, 84, 87, 167, 324, 336, 372, 703 and 705.
- " 1842: Nos. 387, 460, 535 and 592.
- " 1843: Nos. 44, 46, and 535.

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" 1849: 23rd March, 1849.

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- (ii) Basta Raja-i-Raigan Maharaja Karam Singh. Documents Nos:- H.14.K, H.24.K, H.29.K, H.30.K, H.33.K, H.35.K, H.51.K, H.69.K, H.73.K, H.83.K, H.89. ., H.97.K., H.108.K, H.134.K, H.174.K, H.274.K, H.277.K.
- (iii) Basta Raja-i-Raigan Maharaja Harinder Singh. Documents Nos:- H.132.N, H.141.N, H.146.N, H.149.N.

2. (H.H.Nawab Sahib of Malerkotla Collection).

Documents dated:- March, 1794; October, 1807; October, 1808; 3rd and 6th May 1809 and 6th December, 1809.

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2. 'Tarikh-i-Shah Alam' by Munna Lall, 1811. Oriental Library Bankipor MS. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar's copy used. It is an account of Shah Alam's reign, year to year, of the period from 1760 to 1806 A.D.
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4. 'Tarikh-i-Punjab', 2 Volumes by Ghulam Mohy-ud-Din alias Bute Shah, 1848. Punjab (Pakistan) University Library, Lahore MS. Khalsa College, Amritsar copy used. The author was in the service of the British Government. He compiled this huge work at the desire of Col. Ochterlony who provided him with the materials collected from the various Sikh Chiefs.

5. 'Ibrat Namah' by Mufti Ali-ud-Din of Lahore, 1859. India Office London MS. Khalsa College, Amritsar copy used. The author was in the service of the British Government. The work is geographical, statistical and historical description of the Punjab with a detailed history of the Sikhs from the origin till 1849.
6. 'Amir Namah' compiled by Munshi Basawan Lala Shadan, 1832. Tonk State MS. Shri Raghbir Library of Sitamau copy used. This is the memoirs of the noted general of Holkars and famous Pindari leader, Amir Khan, who later became the first Nawab Ruler of Tonk State in Rajputana when he entered into Treaty with the British in 1812. It has been translated into English by Princep.
7. 'Waga-i-Holkar' by Mohan Singh. Bodleian Library Oxford MS. It is a history of Jaswant Rao Holkar from 1798 to 1808. MS.No.Bod 779 (Bod. I.No. 1970.PP.1122).
8. 'Taqat-ul-Umra' by Col. James Skinner, 1830. British Museum, London MS - Add. 27254 (Misc. I, pp. 302-3) - ff 170a to 240a - Shri Raghbir Library, Sitamau M.F. copy used, which Dr. Raghbir Singh Ji specially secured from London on my request. It records historical notes on some princely families of the important Sikh States in its 2nd Tabakh or part and also contains their photographs.
9. 'Sikhzan-ul-Fatihat' by Bhagwan Das Pandit. British Museum M.S. Shri Raghbir Library, Sitamau M.F. Photo print copy used. It gives an account of the operations of Lord Lake against the Marathas during 1803-1805 No. Or 1699. (Misc III. PP. 943a-b).
10. 'Mufatah-ul-Biyasat' by Sayyed Mohd Reza Tabatabai. British Museum M.S. Shri Raghbir Library, Sitamau, M.F. Photo print copy used. Several chapters of this work dealing with various a variety of historical events at Delhi, Lucknow, Bharatpore etc. contain much useful information specially on Anglo Maratha conflicts in N. India from 1803 to 1805.

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(National Archives of India)  
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Year 1800 : 24th April, Nos. 43, 44, 65 and 67; 22nd May No. 54; 16th October, Nos. 4, 12, 19, 26, 36, 38 and 46; 30th December, Nos. 50, 57, 66, 74, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

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1. Punjab Administration Report including Cis-Sutlaj States for  
1849-50. No. 356-359.

2. Russian Invasion: Maj. Genl. Sir John Malcolm, note on the possibility of an invasion of India by Russia in 1830. No. 209
3. India and Russia by Lt. A. Burns. No. 230-33.

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1. Asiatic Annual Registers. 1800-1811.
2. Tour through the Upper Provinces of Hindustan comprising a period between the years 1804-14 by A. Dean.
3. Brief History of the Malerkotla State, compiled under the orders of H.H. the Nawab Sahib Bahadur of Malerkotla State by Mirza Ijaz Hussain.
4. Bashir Ahmad Farooqi - British relations with the Cis-Sutlaj Sikh States, 1809-23. Punjab Government Record Office Publications Monograph No. 19.
5. East India Affairs, June 1806, No. 23 and 25. Papers put up in the House of Commons (on East India Company Affairs).
6. Ellenborough's (Lord) Political Diary 1828-30.
7. Fraser J. Baillie - Military Memories of Lt. Col. James Skinner. 2 Volumes.
8. George Thomas - Military Memories of George Thomas. Compiled and arranged from the Thomas's original document by W. Franklin. Published in 1803.
9. Hamilton Walter - Geographical, statistical and Historical Description of Hindustan and adjacent countries. 2 Volumes.
10. Hugh Pearce, Col: Life and Military Services of Viscount Lake.
11. Kaye, John William : Life of Lord Metcalfe. 2 Volumes.
12. Lord Minto in India by Lady Minto.
13. Ludhiana Agency Correspondence 1808-15. Punjab Government Record Office Publication, Volume, 2.
14. Private papers in possession of the Raja of <sup>Jind</sup> ~~Wanpuri~~.
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