

LIFE AND TIMES OF MAHARANI JIND KAUR (1817–1863)

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SUPERVISOR'S CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this thesis entitled "Life and Times of Maharani Jind Kaur (1817-1863)" embodied the work carried out by Sandeep Kaur herself under my supervision and that is worthy of consideration for the award of the Ph.D. degree.



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CHAPTER – I

INTRODUCTION: EARLY LIFE AND HER ROLE AT LAHORE DURBAR (1817-1839)

All people in this world are born in different places with different identities. Whereas, some people create history some people are subjects of history. Maharani Jind Kaur was a lady who created history and made herself an indelible part of history. One of the most remarkable women who had ever adorned the pages of Indian history was Maharani Jind Kaur.

Maharani Jind Kaur is remembered as the wife of the “Lion of the Punjab.” Maharaja Ranjit Singh married about two dozen women as was the custom among the kings of those times. A detailed account of these women would be quite unprofitable and out of place in the present research. However, Maharani Jind Kaur the mother of Maharaja Duleep Singh is incontrovertibly his most well remembered wife. At the very outset it is theoretically important to give a detailed account of Maharani Jind Kaur as she was destined to play an important role in the Sikh history. The official Lahore Diarist, Sohan Lal Suri, and the British records contain highly detailed and comprehensive accounts dealing with her life.

The Sikh kingdom, built up by forty years of resolute ability, did not long survive its founder.¹ The Lion of the Punjab, Maharaja Ranjit Singh was dead and had left no competent successor behind. He was the architect of his own future and had augmented his power by the valour of his arms. His sons lacked talent and it was an onerous difficult task to keep together the disintegrating elements of a military State. On one occasion looking at the map of India, Maharaja Ranjit Singh had foretold that, time will come when all this will become red. The Sikh kingdom was faced with the worst crisis in the history of the Sikh power. There was no one who could prevent the disruption of relations between the Sikh *Durbar* and the British Power. Inauspicious times grimly stared at the Khalsa and the Court of Maharaja

¹ J.H. Gorden, *The Sikhs*, William Blackwood and Sons, London, 1904, p.119

Ranjit Singh, and threatened to destroy the efforts and the achievements of two generations. Maharaja Ranjit Singh had hoped that his power would last long but at this time it did not appear that his hopes would bear fruit.²

In June 1839, there was a great commotion in the Fort of Lahore. The bearded chiefs, whose had fought in many a field of battle, were briskly moving to and fro, whispering into one another's ears the future destiny of the Sikh kingdom of the Punjab. There were cries in the *Zenana*. The maid-servants and the numerous attendants of the Maharaja were grief stricken and mournful at the sudden blow that had fallen on them.

In a move to deal with any exigency arising from the contests for succession and fearing the possibility of clash between the heir-apparent and Maharaja Ranjit Singh grandson, had, a few months before his death, posted Nau Nihal Singh at Peshawar to tackle the difficult situation created by the over demanding British Agent C.M. Wade. At this time Wade was camping at Peshawar to supervise the free flow of supplies and dispatch of a contingent of 5000 Musalman soldiers, which the *Durbar* had pledged for the military operations against Amir Dost Mohammad Khan of Kabul as per terms of the Tripartite treaty. The Tripartite treaty was signed by three powers British, Shah Suja and Maharaja Ranjit Singh in the year 26 June 1838.³

As the impending clash between the two rival factions became certain, politics at Lahore became uncertain. "The whole machine", observed the Governor-General sarcastically, would soon fall to pieces if we give it time, but at the present, it seems possible, that we shall not be able to give it time.⁴

Maharaja Ranjit Singh while nominating Kharak Singh his successor he had appointed Raja Dhian Singh his *Wazir* and giving the Prince's hand

² *Maharani Jind Kaur*, by Ganda Singh, The Illustrated weekly of India, January 22, 1939, File no. 52, Ganda Singh Collection, Punjabi University, Patiala

³ Foreign Department Secret Consultation, No.18. Date 11, September 1839, NAI, New Delhi; Henry T Princep, *History of the Punjab* (reprint), Language Department, Punjab, Patiala, 2000, pp. 96-97; Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, Orient Longman Publication, Delhi, 1967, p.21

⁴ Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *Anglo-Sikh Relations 1799-1849*, V.V. Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1968, p.196

in the hand of Raja had enjoined them to work together as team.⁵ To this effect both had given solemn pledges. They again pledge themselves when the pyre of the great Maharaja was lit.⁶ It is said that at the time Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh was not favorably disposed towards the ministership of the Raja, but the Raja had the capacity to win over and given time would have done so. Still if Kharak Singh did not like to have the Raja as his minister for one reason or another, the next best course for him would have been to have his own son Nau Nihal Singh as his principal counselor.⁷

However Nau Nihal Singh entering into a conspiracy with the three *Dogra* brothers conducted a successful coup by entering the bedchamber of his father, Maharaja Kharak Singh, on the night of 8 November 1839.⁸

The dispute over succession took a more serious and threatening turn sixteen months later when Kharak Singh and his only son Nau Nihal Singh expired early in November 1840. These two deaths had abruptly brought the direct line of Maharaja Ranjit Singh to an end.⁹ As a consequence of the accident, both Nau Nihal Singh and Mian Udham Singh succumbed to their injuries. However for some reasons, the death of Nau Nihal Singh was not confirmed for a week during which period Kanwar Sher Singh was called from Batala.¹⁰

Ventura, who had great attachment for Sher Singh, got at once ready to avenge the Maharaja and the Ministers's death. Calling upon his battalions and making them understand the whole situation, he drew them in lines.¹¹

Initially, Sher Singh agreed to the arrangement and returned to Batala. However, soon he secretly sent his agents to Ludhiana to seek British help. He promised a share of revenue to the British in exchange for help. His agents also negotiated with the *Panches* of the Khalsa army and sought

⁵ Ganda Singh (ed.), *Punjab in 1839-40*, Sikh History Society, Amritsar, 1952, p.54; Ganesh Dass Vadera, *Char Bagh-i-Punjab*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1965, p.327

⁶ Mufti-Ali-ud-din, *Ibrat Nama*, vol-I, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1969, p.506

⁷ Fauja Singh, *After Ranjit Singh*, Master Publisher, Delhi, 1981, p.28

⁸ M.L.Ahluwalia, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2001, p.17

⁹ Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *Anglo- Sikh Relations 1799-1849*, preface, p.viii

¹⁰ Fauja Singh, *After Ranjit Singh*, pp. 28-30; M.L. Ahluwalia, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, p.18

¹¹ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, vol-IV, Part-III, English translated by V.S. Suri, S.Chand & Co, New Delhi, 1970, p.31

active participation of the army in the *Durbar's* fight for succession. Cash rewards and ornaments of gold were promised to each of the soldiers who would help him. The deal was struck and Sher Singh launched an attack on *Budhu-ka-Ava*, a brick kiln near Lahore, with sizeable Sikh forces of the *Durbar* joining him.¹²

Sher Singh became Maharaja in 1841.A.D. but intrigue being rampant in the army, his Government lost all control over it. The military administration was now conducted by *Panchayats*, or Council of five delegates from each company in each regiment elected by their comrades a democratic mode of self-government in India.¹³ Sher Singh came to Lahore on the last day of the official mourning and some balance of harmony came to exist between members of the royal family.¹⁴

Following this the pro Sher Singh forces laid a siege on the palace fort. The siege met with stiff resistance from inside the fort by small number of *Dogra* soldiers of Gulab Singh. The *Dogra* soldiers of Gulab Singh also raided the *toshakhana* while leaving the palace. In order to assuage the feelings of Sandhanwalias and Maharani Chand Kaur, it was agreed that Maharani Chand Kaur would become the ward of Maharaja Sher Singh even though she refused to marry him as per the custom amongst the Sikh *jats*. Under such circumstances, it was not surprising that Maharaja Sher Singh had his full revenge on Maharani Chand Kaur while Lehna Singh and Ajit Singh Sandhanwalias in turn killed the Maharaja and his son, Kanwar Partap Singh, a year and a half year.¹⁵

In a stormy scene in the *Durbar* Dhian Singh warned Maharani Chand Kaur of the danger of lending an ear to mischief-mongers. He told her that the government of the Punjab did not depend either on her or on Sher Singh or any of the claimants in the royal family, because it was the government of

¹² Vishva Bandhu (ed.), *Vishveshvaranand An Ideological Series-43*, V.V. Research Institute Hoshiarpur, 1981, p.252

¹³ J.H. Gordon, *The Sikhs*, p.124

¹⁴ Foreign Department Secret Consultation, Proceeding 'A', No. 24, dated, 6th November 1839, NAI, New Delhi

¹⁵ M.L. Ahluwalia, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, p.19

the entire Khalsa.¹⁶

Meanwhile further intrigues had been place in Lahore. The leading Sardars formed factions.¹⁷ Khark Singh's widow, Maharani Chand Kaur, had put forward a claim to the throne on behalf of a hypothetical unborn of Nau Nihal Singh, while Maharaja Ranjit Singh's young widow, the attractive Maharani Jind Kaur pressed the claims of her small son, Duleep Singh, as the legitimate heir of his father.¹⁸

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

J.D. Cunningham's famous book, *'The History of the Sikhs*, first published in 1849, is an exceptional work. It is a contemporary work of Maharani Jind Kaur. The last chapter of the book contains a detailed and critical study of the Punjab policy of the British till the end of the First Anglo-Sikh war. However, the role and contribution of Maharani Jind Kaur in Sikh history is not highlighted.

Major Hugh Pearse's work, *Soldier and Traveller*, first published in 1898 throws some light on Maharani Jind Kaur's early life, her political activities, like her role as a regent, her role in Anglo-Sikh wars. It is an excellent work as far as information about early life and career of Maharani Jind Kaur is concerned. But he has missed some important events like her marriage with Maharaja, her role in Lahore *Durbar* between the periods of 1839-1841. However, the writer provides very scanty information about important events that happened after the first Anglo-Sikh War.

Jagmohan Mahajan, *'Circumstances leading to the annexation of the Punjab, 1846-1849'* was published in 1949. This work suffers from the limitations natural to those that fail to make extensive use of the available material. Moreover Jagmohan Mahajan's book has completely overlooked the period prior to the treaty of Lahore except by way of background to the main body of their work. The British policy towards the Punjab is not the

¹⁶ Foreign Department Secret Consultation, Proceeding 'B', No.116, dated 7th December 1840, NAI, New Delhi

¹⁷ Diwan Ajudhia Parshad, *Waqai-Jang-i-Sikhan*, English translated by V.S. Suri, Sikh Itihas Parkshan, Chandighar, 1975, p.6

¹⁸ Hugh Cook, *The Sikh Wars, 1845-1849*, (reprint), Thompson Press, Delhi, 1975, pp.19-20

chief subject of enquiry. In this work the writer has not discussed Maharani Jind Kaur's role at the time of annexation of Punjab.

Ganda Singh's book, '*British Occupation of the Punjab*' was published in 1956. Besides the insufficient material on which it is based, the book is defective for another reason. It is essentially an explanation of how the British conquered the Punjab rather than study of their policy towards the state lying between the frontiers of their Indian empire and Afghanistan. The nature of the British policy which the author believes they were pursuing is more a presumption than subject of enquiry.

Bikrama Jit Hasrat's, '*British Policy towards the State of Lahore 1842-1849*', published in 1963. This work is an account of the Anglo Sikh relations rather than a critical study of the British policy towards the Punjab between 1842-1849.

Another work of **Bikrama Jit Hasrat** in his book '*Anglo-Sikh Relations, 1799-1849*', published in 1968 describes and interprets the British policies towards Punjab. In this book the author gives the details of the diplomatic relations between both the powers. The focus of this work is mainly on the period after the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. This work is beneficial to correlate the events which happened in Punjab from 1839-49 and provides information relating to the British design to annex Punjab. However, the prominent role of Maharani Jind Kaur during this crucial period is more or less ignored.

Bakshish Singh Nijjar's book '*Maharani Jind Kaur*', published in 1975 throws some light on Maharani Jind Kaur's life, her political and religious activities. It is an excellent work as far as information about life and career of Maharani Jind Kaur is concerned. However, the writer provides very scanty information about important events that happened after the first Anglo-Sikh War. This work is also silent about the circumstances which encouraged Maharani Jind Kaur to raise her voice against the nefarious designs of the British.

The well-known historian **Fauja Singh's** book, '*After Ranjit Singh*', published in 1982 describes the events after the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and also gives comprehensive information about the Anglo-Sikh wars.

The focus of this work is on the age of patriotic and national resistance offered to save the Punjab state from the clutches of the British dominance. However, this work also fails to place adequate emphasis on Maharani Jind Kaur's role in the anti British struggle.

Avtar Singh Gill's book '*Lahore Darbar and Rani Jindan*', published in 1983, describes the historical events immediately after the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. This book gives very vivid account of the battles fought during the Anglo-Sikh wars, and throws light on the personalities involved in wars from both sides involving the British and the Sikhs. He also describes the annexation of the Sikh Raj to the British Empire. However, his emphasis is more on Anglo-Sikh wars than Maharani Jind Kaur but little about her role at Lahore *Durbar* which holds great importance.

M.L. Ahluwalia's book '*Maharani Jind Kaur*' published in January 2001, throws considerable light on Maharani Jind Kaur's life and also on her political and religious activities. It is an excellent work as far as information about the career of Maharani Jind Kaur is concerned, but her early life has been ignored. The writer has given very scanty information about the role of Maharani Jind Kaur in Lahore *Durbar* and made no mention of the secret letters of Maharani Jind Kaur which she wrote to Henry Lawrence. These letters are very important for a comprehensive understanding of Maharani's role in the politics of Punjab from 1846 to 1849.

Christy Campbell says Maharani Jinda was "one of the most remarkable characters of the 19th century history, let alone Indian and Sikh history."¹⁹ She was one of the most striking personalities of the Punjab. She was remarkable for her determination, character and an important figure in the post Ranjit Singh era of the history of Punjab.

Kennel Officer Manna Singh Aulakh's daughter,²⁰ Maharani Jind Kaur had exceptionally good looks. Her exceptional beauty attracted the attention of the lion of the Punjab. The Maharaja always savored his passion for beauty. She was the daughter of his friend-officer who hailed from a nearby

¹⁹ Christy Campbell, *The Maharaja's Box*, HarperCollins Publisher, London, 2000, pp.118-119

²⁰ Lepel Griffin, *Ranjit Singh*, Manu Publishing, New Delhi, 1967, p.109

village Chichrianwali.²¹ Maharani Jind Kaur was born in 1817.²² She was married in 1835 with Maharaja Ranjit Singh. According to usual custom Raja Suchet Singh was appointed manager of the young Rani's household.²³ Maharani Jind Kaur could be inducted into the royal *zanana (harem)* only after the marriage ceremonies had been solemnized. Maharani Jind Kaur was a woman of singular courage. She was known for her intelligence and indomitable spirit, which made her a symbol of national dignity.²⁴ Maharani Jind Kaur was one of the few persons who was intensely disliked and also feared by the British. Maharani Jind Kaur raised her voice against the British after the demise of her husband Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1839.

She was fierce a ruler and leader. In the words of Henry Lawrence, (first European resident at Lahore) "Maharani was, the only effective enemy of the British policy in the whole of India."²⁵

Maharani Jind Kaur had played a rather obscure and insignificant role in the court of Lahore until her son Duleep Singh came to the throne of the Punjab as Maharaja in 1843.²⁶ The political position of Maharani Jind Kaur gains significance from 1843 when she assumed the role of de jure regent to the minor Maharaja Duleep Singh.²⁷ It is significant to note that it was the time when the Sikh kingdom was the only sovereign power on Indian subcontinent. Thus it held massive importance for the British and formulating policy regarding the Sikh Kingdom was their top priority.²⁸ Maharani Jind Kaur wanted that Maharaja Duleep Singh should be free from the clutches of

²¹ M.L. Ahluwalia, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, p.13; But Hari Ram Gupta says, Ulak of village Chahar in Gujranwala district, *Punjab on the Eve of First Sikh War 1844*, Punjab University, Chandigarh, 1956, preface p, xxviii

²² Avtar Singh Gill, *Lahore Darbar and Rani Jindan*, Central Publication, Ludhiana, 1983, p.30

²³ Barkat Rai Chopra, *Kingdom of Punjab, 1839-1845*, Vishveshvarnand Institute Hoshiarpur, 1969, p.332

²⁴ C.H. Payne, *A Short History of the Sikhs*, Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970, p.71; Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, V.V. Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1977, pp.27,32

²⁵ K.K.Khullar, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, Hem Publishers, New Delhi, 1980, p.151

²⁶ Ganda Singh, (ed) *Maharaja Duleep Singh Correspondence*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1977, p.30

²⁷ Foreign Department Secret Consultation, Governor General's Despatch to Secret Committee Proceeding 'A' No. 5, dated 5th September, 1845

²⁸ M.L. Ahluwalia, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, p.39

the British power and influence.²⁹ Thus, it can be said that as a regent of the state of Lahore, Maharani Jind Kaur did not have an easy time.

History reveals that Maharani Jind Kaur, in her capacity as the regent was confronted with numerous problems during this period.³⁰ The English policy of containment of the Sikh Kingdom found expression in several ways. English force was accompanying Peshura Singh to Lahore. They enjoyed tacit support of Gulab Singh. During the same time the troops protested for a raise in their pay. The feudatory chiefs also raised demand for the restoration of their *Jagirs*, remission of fines and reduction of enhanced taxes and burdens imposed upon them by Hira Singh. Finally, it appeared that reducing revenues of the state could not balance the increasing cost of the civil and military administration.³¹

As has been noted the British made repeated and concerted efforts to wrest the Sikh kingdom from her infant son Maharaja Duleep Singh.³² During her role as regent Maharani Jind Kaur defended the Khalsa Army in two wars launched by the British that culminated in the annexation of the Punjab in 1849.³³ It can be said that Maharani Jind Kaur may have made strategic errors due to her military inexperience and young age.³⁴ However, it has to be conceded that she was a fierce regent and fought valiantly for the Khalsa Raj. Thus, she passed through various tribulations after she became a public figure after the birth of her son (Duleep Singh) on 6 September 1838.³⁵

Sohan Lal Suri, a court historian records: “the glorious *Sahibzada* (Prince Duleep Singh) was born of Mai Jindan.” He further writes: “On hearing the tidings, the *Sarkar* exhibited unlimited pleasure ... the Raja

²⁹ Ganda Singh, (ed) *The Punjab Past and Present*, April, 1976, vol. X-I, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1976, p.62

³⁰ John J.H. Gordon, *The Sikhs*, p.128

³¹ Harabans Singh, *The Encyclopedia of Sikhism*, vol.II, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2001, p.382

³² W.L. McGregor, *History of the Sikhs*, vol II, Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970, pp.115,125; Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, p.34

³³ Henry T. Princep, *The Origin of the Sikh Power in Punjab*, p.215; C.H. Payne, *A Short History of the Sikhs*, p.71

³⁴ Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, p.186, Syad Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, Civil and Military Gazette Press, Calcutta, 1891, p.529; Bakhsish Singh Nijjar, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, National Book Shop, Delhi, 1975, p.9

³⁵ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, Daftar III, Part-V, p.525; Avtar Singh Gill, *Lahore Darbar and Rani Jindan*, p.31

Kalan Bahadur (Dhian Singh), according to the custom prevalent among the people of the hills, placed a basket full of fruits and fresh vegetables over the head of the *Munshi*. A few days later gold ornaments such as *hasli* and bangles as well as a large amount in cash were given to the *Munshi* for the well being and good health of child as well as his mother³⁶ It is a fact of recorded history that this youngest son of Ranjit Singh was soon after called upon to play a very crucial and conspicuous role amidst of the falling fortunes of the *Sarkar-i-Khalsa*. Faced with a crisis of unprecedented magnitude Maharani Jind Kaur demonstrated great ability tried to make the best use of not only her wit, wisdom and unusual courage. In 1843, Lord Ellenborough, the then Governor-General of British Indian Government and the main actor in Sindh episode, cautioned the Duke of Wellington in London “that it would not be so easy to deal with Maharani Jind Kaur as he could with the *amirs* of Sindh because she was a woman of determined courage.”³⁷ The same was confirmed by Lord Dalhousie when the Maharani escaped to Nepal from the well-guarded and formidable fort of Chunar.³⁸ The Governor-General wrote to the Secretary of State in London, “that having watched the defiant Maharani’s conduct during the last few years, he was firmly of the opinion that she was the only person of manly understanding in the Punjab.”³⁹ The evidence of her extraordinary abilities could be found in the deft management of the rebellious soldiery of the time of her husband, who in the name of the defence of the Khalsa *Sarkar* were fast digging its grave.⁴⁰

This young lady who was barely twenty-seven years of age at that time confronted the soldiers courageously, without showing any signs of feminine timidity.⁴¹ She did some plain-speaking as a consequence of which all her chiefs had succumbed out of sheer fear.⁴² Such was the impact of her

³⁶ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, Daftar, III, Part-V, p.525

³⁷ M.L. Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, Orient Longman Publication, New Delhi, 1963, p.79

³⁸ Christy Campbell, *The Maharaja's Box*, p.120

³⁹ M.L. Ahluwalia, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, p.14

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Charles Gough, *The Sikh and the Sikh Wars*, Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970, pp.60-61

⁴² M.L. Ahluwalia, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, p.14

bold maneuvers that even when the British hierarchy in India began to malign her by defaming her as profligate woman their efforts did not succeed. It is well known Henry Lawrence, a moderate British officer, began spreading rumors about her relations with Raja Lal Singh in his official reports. On the other hand Lord Hardinge, the Governor-General, felt helpless that no amount of character assassination was producing any adverse effect on the minds of the common *Punjabis* or even the Sikh Chiefs. Another instance of similar efforts at undermine the Maharani is Lady Login's statement on meeting the downcast Maharani on her arrival in London in 1859. She writes, "with health broken and eye-sight dimmed, her once famed beauty vanished in an air of lassitude, it was hard to believe in her former charms of person and of conversation".⁴³ However, the fact of the matter was that in spite of formidable misfortunes, the lioness in the Maharani Jind Kaur refused to be tame. Her indomitable spirit can be seen in the fact that before her death she told her son Duleep Singh that her dead body should not be cremated in the land of the deceitful and avaricious imperialists but should be taken to Punjab for cremation. This desire of hers was allowed by the British, but only partially.⁴⁴

It is a well-known fact that a person's character and intelligence can be easily judged by his/her speech and writing. The Maharani was actually a very gifted person in respect of her ability to write and was an effective speaker. Some of her personal letters, which remain extant, and are to be found in the National Archives of India, New Delhi, bear testimony to this fact.

⁴³ E. Dalhousie Login, *Lady Login's Recollections*, (Reprint) Language Department, Punjab, Patiala, 1970, p.81

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.224

ਸਿੱਖ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਦਾ ਲਹੂ ਭਿੱਜਿਆ ਪੰਨਾ :-

ਚਿੱਠੀਆਂ ਲਿਖ ਜਿੰਦਾਂ ਨੇ ਪਾਈਆਂ

-ਸ: ਮਨੋਹਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੀ (ਮਾਰਕੋ)

ਹੇਠ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਜਾ ਰਹੀ ਚਿੱਠੀ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਜਿੰਦਾਂ ਦੀ ਹੱਥ ਲਿਖਤ ਯਾਦਗਾਰ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਸ਼ੇਖੂਪੁਰੇ ਦੇ ਕਿਲ੍ਹੇ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਲਾਰਡ ਲਾਰੈਂਸ ਨੂੰ ਲਿਖੀ ਗਈ ਹੈ। ਇਹ ਕੇਵਲ ਚਿੱਠੀ ਹੀ ਨਹੀਂ, ਜਿੰਦਾਂ ਦੇ ਕੀਰਨੇ ਹਨ, ਪੁੱਤਰ ਲਈ ਰੋ ਰੋ ਕੀਤੇ ਵਿਰਲਾਪ ਹਨ :

ਚਿੱਠੀ ਦਾ ਉਤਾਰਾ

ਲਿਖਤਮੁ ਬੀਬੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਅਲਾਹਾਬਾਦ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੰਗ ਰੋਬਕਾਰੀ।

ਅਸੀਂ ਆਪਣਾ ਸਿਰ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਹਵਾਲੇ ਕੀਤਾ ਸੀ, ਤੁਸੀਂ ਨਿਮਕ-ਹਰਾਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਦੇ ਵਿਚ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਸੁ। ਤੁਸੀਂ ਮੁਨਸਬੀ ਨਾ ਪਾਈ। ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਜੋ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਸੀ ਜੋ ਦਰਯਾਵਤੀ ਕਰਕੇ ਸਾਡੇ ਜੁਮੇ ਲਗਦਾ ਸੀ ਲਾਏ। ਨਿਮਕਹਰਾਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਕਰੇ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ ਲਗਣਾ। ਤੁਸੀਂ ਵੱਡੇ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਦੀ ਦੋਸਤੀ ਵੱਲ ਭੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਡਿੱਠਾ। ਤੁਸੀਂ ਮੇਰੀ ਆਬਰੋ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਲੁਹਾਈ ਏ। ਤੁਸੀਂ ਕਰਾਰਨਾਵੇਂ ਤੇ ਅਹਿਦਨਾਮਿਆਂ ਉਪਰ ਭੀ ਕੁਝ ਅਮਲ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੀਤਾ। ਰਾਜਾ ਲਾਲ ਸਿੰਘ ਮੇਰਾ ਮੁਹਤਬਰ ਸੀ ਤੇ ਪੈਰਖਾਹ ਤੇ ਨਿਮਕਹਲਾਲ ਸੀ, ਜੋ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਤਕਸੀਰੀ ਕਰ ਕੇ ਭੇਜ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਤਾਂ ਅਸੀਂ ਕੁਝ ਨਹੀਂ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਨੂੰ ਆਖਿਆ। ਸਾਡੇ ਦਿਲ ਵਿਚ ਇਹ ਗੱਲ ਸੀ ਜੋ ਆਪ ਸਾਹਬ ਸਾਡੇ ਪਾਸ ਪਾਸ ਨੇ, ਸਾਨੂੰ ਡਰ ਕਿਸ ਦਾ ਏ। ਸਾਨੂੰ ਇਸ ਗੱਲ ਦੀ ਖਬਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ, ਬੂਠੀਆਂ ਗੱਲਾਂ ਸਾਡੇ ਜੁਮੇ ਲਾ ਕੇ ਕੇਦ ਚਾ ਕੀਤਾ। ਕੋਈ ਸਾਡੀ ਲਿਖਤ ਦਸੇ ਵਾ ਕਝ ਸਾਡੇ ਜੁਮੇ ਲਾਉ ਆ, ਫੇਰ ਜੋ ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਮਰਜ਼ੀ ਹੁੰਦੀ ਸੋ ਕਰਦੇ। ਇਕ ਮੈਂ ਤੇ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਤੇ ਬਾਈ ਟਹਿਲਣੀ ਅਸੀਂ ਸੋਮਨ ਵਿਚ ਕੈਦ ਵਾਂ। ਹੋਰ ਨੌਕਰ ਸਭ ਕੱਢ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਨੇ। ਅਸੀਂ ਬਹੁਤ ਲਾਚਾਰ ਹੋਏ ਆ। ਪਾਣੀ ਤੇ ਰੋਟੀ ਭੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਆਉਣ ਦੇਂਦੇ। ਇਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਜੁ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਤੰਗ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋ। ਇਸ ਗੱਲ ਕੋਲੋਂ ਫਾਂਸੀ ਲਗਾ ਦਿਓ। ਜੇ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਸਾਡੀ ਅਦਾਲਤ ਕੀਤੀ ਤਾਂ ਹੱਛੀ ਗੱਲ, ਨਹੀਂ ਤਾਂ ਲੰਦਨ ਵਿਚ ਫਰਿਆਦ ਕਰਾਂਗੇ। ਹੋਰ ਜਿਹੜਾ ਝੂਢ ਲੱਖ ਲਾਇਆ ਸੀ, ਉਹ ਭੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਦਿਤਾ, ਹੋਰ ਜਿਹੜਾ ਚਾਰ ਮਹੀਨਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਵਿਚ ਖਰਚ ਕੀਤਾ ਸੀ, ਇਕਵੇਜਾ ਹਜ਼ਾਰ ਸੌ ਭੀ ਗਹਿਣੇ ਵੇਚ ਕੇ ਮਿਸਰ ਮੇਘ ਰਾਜ ਨੂੰ ਦੇ ਦਿੱਤਾ। ਕਿਸੇ ਕੋਲੋਂ ਕੁਝ ਮੰਗਦੇ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ। ਆਪਣੇ ਗਹਿਣੇ ਵੇਚਕੇ ਗੁਜਰਾਨ ਕਰਦੇ ਸੀ, ਬੇਨਿਹੱਕਸਾਡੀ ਅਬਰੋ ਕਿਉਂ ਲਾਹੀ? ਮੰਗਲਾ ਕੀ ਤਕਸੀਰਤ ਕੀਤਾ ਉਹਨੂੰ ਭੀ ਕਦ ਦਿੱਤਾ। ਅੱਜ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਸਾਡੇ ਪਾਸ ਆ ਕੇ ਤੇ ਬਹੁਤ ਰੋਂਦੇ ਰਹੇ ਨੇ, ਆਖਣ ਲੱਗੇ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਬਿਸਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਤੇ ਗੁਲਾਬ ਸਿੰਘ ਭਰਾਂਦੇ ਨੇ। ਜੇ ਤਾਂ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਨੂੰ ਡਰ ਨਾਲ ਕੁਝ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਤਾਂ ਫਿਰ ਮੈਂ ਕੀ ਕਰਾਂਗੀ। ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਆਖਿਆ ਨੇ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦਾ ਹੁਕਮ ਹੈ, ਜੋ ਸ਼ਾਲਾਥਾਗ ਜਾ ਕੇ ਉਤਰੇ। ਉਹ ਸੁਣ ਕੇ ਤੇ ਬਹੁਤ ਰੋਂਦੇ ਰਹੇ। ਇਹ ਜਿਹੜੀਆਂ ਗੱਲਾਂ ਸਾਡੇ ਨਾਲ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋ, ਕਿਸੇ ਰਜਵਾੜੇ ਵਿਚ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋਈਆਂ। ਤੁਸੀਂ ਗੁੱਝ ਰਾਜ ਕਿਉਂ ਸਾਡੇ ਹੋ? ਜਾਹਰਾ ਹੋ ਕੇ ਕਿਉਂ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰਦੇ? ਨਾਲ ਵਿਚ ਦੋਸਤੀ ਦਾ ਹਰਫ ਰਖਦੇ ਓ, ਨਾਲ ਕੈਦ ਕਰਦੇ ਓ। ਮੇਰੀ ਅਦਾਲਤ ਕਰੋ ਨਹੀਂ ਤਾਂ ਲੰਦਨ ਫਰਿਆਦ ਕਰਾਂਗੀ। ਤਿੰਨਾਂ ਚਹੂੰ ਨਿਮਕਹਰਾਮਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਰਖ ਲਉ, ਹੋਰ ਸਾਰੀ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਨੂੰ ਕਤਲ ਕਰਾ ਦਿਉ, ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਆਖ ਲੱਗ ਕੇ ਤੇ। (ਮੋਹਰ) ਅਕਾਲ ਸਹਾਏ, ਬੀਬੀ ਜਿੰਦ ਕੌਰ"

ਇਹੋ ਜਹੀ ਪਰਵੱਸ ਸਥਿਤੀ ਵਿਚ ਜੇ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਕਿਸੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਫੌਜੀ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਤੋਂ ਅਗਵਾਈ ਲੈਣ ਲਈ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਮਿਲ ਲਵੇ ਤਾਂ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਨੂੰ ਵਰਜਣ ਦੀ ਥਾਂ ਉਸ ਦੇ ਚਰਿੱਤਰ ਨੂੰ ਭੰਡਿਆ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਸੀ, ਤਾਂ ਜੋ ਕਿਸੇ ਨੂੰ ਨਾ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਦੇ ਖੁੱਖ ਦੱਸ ਸਕੇ, ਨਾ ਕਿਸੇ ਨਾਲ ਆਪਣੇ ਖੁੱਖੇ ਰਾਜ ਭਾਗ ਲਈ ਕੋਈ ਸਲਾਹ ਲੈ ਸਕੇ।

45 Bhai Kahan Nabha Library, Ganda Singh Collection, File no. 655, Punjabi University,

Translated into English, it reads as under:

“Robkar

From Bibi (Jind Kaur) Sahib to (Colonel Lawrence. I had entrusted my head to your care. You have thrust it under the feet of traitors. You have not done justice to me. You ought to have instituted an enquiry, and then charged me with what you found against me. You ought not to have acted upon what the traitors told you.

“You have kept no regard of the friendship of the great Maharaja. You have caused me to be disgraced by other people. You have not even remained true to treaties and agreements. Raja Lal Singh was true and faithful to me. He was loyal. Having leveled charges against him, you sent him away. Then we never said anything to you. We thought that as the *Shib* himself was with us, we had no fear from anyone. We could never imagine that we will be put in prison with baseless charges concocted against us. Produce any writings of ours. Prove any charges against me. Then you could do anything you liked.

“Myself, the Maharajah and twenty-two maid-servants are imprisoned in the Samman (Burj). All other servants have been dismissed. We are in a very helpless condition. Even water and food are not allowed to come in. Now that you persecute us in this way, it is better that you hang us instead of it.

“If you administer justice to us, well and good; otherwise I shall appeal to London headquarters. Even the allowance of one lakh and fifty thousand that had been fixed has not been paid by anybody. The amount of fifty-one thousand that I had spent in four months, I have paid to Missar Meghraj after having sold my ornaments. I never begged for anything from anyone. Having sold my ornaments, I was managing to live on. Why should you have caused me to be disgraced without any fault? What was the fault of Manglan that she too has been turned out?

“The Maharaja came to me today and wept bitterly for a long time. He said that Bishan Singh and Gulab Singh had been frightening him. If something happened to the maharaja through fright, then what shall I do?

He was told that order of the Sahib for him were to reside in the Shalimar. He wept very bitterly when he heard this. The treatment that is thus meted out to us has not been given to any ruling house.

“Why do you take possession of the kingdom by under-hand means? Why don’t you do it openly? On the one hand you make a show of friendship and on the other your have put us in prison. Do justice to me or I shall appeal to the London headquarters. Preserve three or four traitors, and put the whole of the Panjab to the sword at their bidding.

(SEAL)

“*Akal Sahai*

Bibi Jind Kaur”

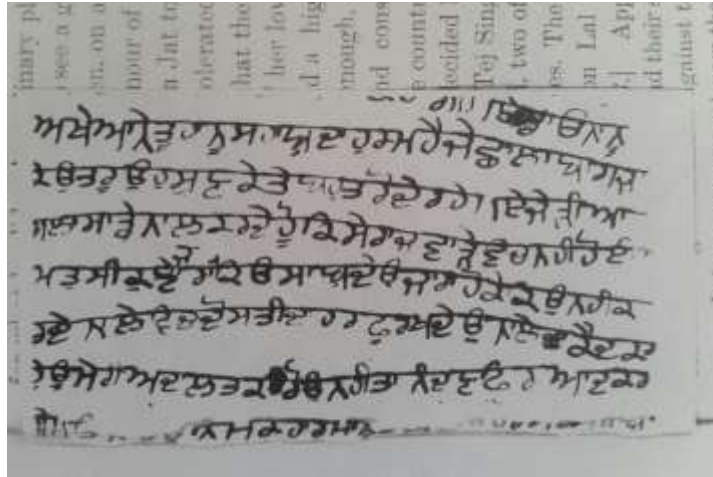
These letters exhibit the clarity of her mind and her discerning nature. Another very distinct feature of her personality was her ringing voice which had an air of royalty in it. It could be compared to the voice of queen Elizabeth-I of England. She was undoubtedly the most indomitable and determined person (woman) in the post Ranjit Singh period.⁴⁶ If she had not been a woman of character and temperance, she would have yielded the pleasures of the flesh. Major Broadfoot, the British political agent at Ludhiana, himself confirmed in one of his statements that she was adept in the art of State-craft and used one chief as part of her strategic manipulations. She was the youngest queen of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and also the queen mother of Maharaja Duleep Singh- the last Sikh sovereign. It was owing to her extraordinary and resplendent beauty that her parents called Maharani Jind Kaur -Chanda.⁴⁷

Her face bore a disarming innocence. In the words of her father, “she was the most beautiful creature in the world”.⁴⁸ As Maharani Jind Kaur belonged to a very ordinary family she could not be educated by her parents. She could read and write *Gurmukhi*.

⁴⁶ M.L. Ahluwalia, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, p.15

⁴⁷ M.L. Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, p.79

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*



ਡਰ ਨਾਲ ਕੁਝ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਤਾਂ ਫਿਰ ਮੈਂ ਕੀ ਕਰਾਂਗੀ। ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਆਖਿਆ
 ਨੇ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦਾ ਹੁਕਮ ਹੈ, ਜੋ ਸ਼ਾਲਾਬਾਗ ਜਾ ਕੇ ਉਤਰੋ। ਉਹ
 ਸੁਣ ਕੇ ਤੇ ਬਹੁਤ ਰੋਂਦੇ ਰਹੇ। ਇਹ ਜਿਹੜੀਆਂ ਗੱਲਾਂ ਸਾਡੇ ਨਾਲ ਕਰਦੇ
 ਹੋ, ਕਿਸੇ ਰਜਵਾੜੇ ਵਿਚ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋਈਆਂ। ਤੁਸੀਂ ਗੁੱਝੇ ਰਾਜ ਕਿਉਂ
 ਸਾਂਭਦੇ ਹੋ? ਜ਼ਾਹਰਾ ਹੋ ਕੇ ਕਿਉਂ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰਦੇ? ਨਾਲ ਵਿਚ ਦੱਸਤੀ
 ਦਾ ਹਰਫ ਰਖਦੇ ਓ, ਨਾਲ ਕੈਦ ਕਰਦੇ ਓ। ਮੇਰੀ ਅਦਾਲਤ ਕਰੋ
 ਨਹੀਂ ਤਾਂ ਲੰਦਨ ਫਰਿਆਦ ਕਰਾਂਗੀ। ਤਿੰਨਾਂ ਚਹੁੰ ਨਿਮਕਹਰਾਮਾਂ ਨੂੰ
 ਰਖ ਲਉ, ਹੋਰ ਸਾਰੀ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਨੂੰ ਕਤਲ ਕਰਾ ਦਿਉ, ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਆਖ
 ਲੱਗ ਕੇ ਤੇ।

It is clear from the letters written by her in *Gurmukhi* manuscripts, preserved in the old India office Library, and Sikh research library Khalsa College Amritsar.⁵⁰ She was of a discerning disposition and could easily construe the plans of the British. Her intelligence was obvious in her decision to allow the British troops to stay at Lahore *Durbar*. However, as soon as she understood the nefarious plans of the British she at once refused to allow the British troops to stay at Lahore *Durbar*. She was a very far-sighted lady. She was able to win over the Army and Chiefs of Lahore *Durbar* on the basis of her leadership qualities. It was because of her immense popularity the British were jealous of her. As she was opposed to the British from the very start, they began to level false and fabricated allegations on her character.⁵¹ It can be said that she was a very bold lady who took very effective steps to deal

⁴⁹ Bhai Kahan Nabha Library, Ganda Singh Collection, File no. 52, Punjabi University, Patiala.

⁵⁰ M.L. Ahluwalia, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, p.15

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

with the British.⁵²

She entered the domain of statecraft and politics with the explicit purpose of protecting the rights of her minor son, Maharaja Duleep Singh. She played a very significant role in her efforts to safeguard his interests.⁵³ As a regent she safeguarded the rights and interests of Maharaja Duleep Singh. She also managed the *Durbar* affairs with immense competence and ability. She also looked through the bloody plans of the *Dogra* party. It was clear that she would not brook the *Dogra* domination.⁵⁴ There were three parties at Lahore *Durbar*; the *Dogras*, the Sikh nobility and the Khalsa Army. She was able to win over the two parties- the Sikh nobility and the Khalsa Army. She was very ambitious lady. She could not accept the real power getting vested in the *Dogras*. It was a challenge for her to save the grand Lahore *Durbar* from the seasoned and clever nobility.⁵⁵ Although an extensive range of intrigues were launched against her in the Lahore *Durbar* under the supervision of *Dogras*, yet she was strong enough to withstand them. She wanted to keep the Khalsa Army under her control as a result of which she increased the salary of the army on a couple of occasions. The monthly pay of the solders rose from Rs.9.9 only to Rs.14 per month in 1843-44.⁵⁶ It was known to her that none in the *Durbar* was strong enough to oppose the Khalsa Army.⁵⁷

During the first Anglo-Sikh war she demonstrated great resilience and patience. Many allegations were leveled and many apprehensions cast about her ability to lead the Sikhs in the first Anglo-Sikh War. However, none of these proved to baseless and unfounded. As part of their diplomatic designs the British wanted to win over the sentiments of the Khalsa army and the common people of Lahore. As part of this policy they made several allegations on her character. They wanted to malign and undermine her in the eyes of the Khalsa Army as well as other noble of the *Durbar*. Maharani

⁵² Ganda Singh, (ed.), *The Punjab Past and Present*, April, 1976, Vol. X-I, p.62

⁵³ Ganda Singh, *Maharaja Duleep Singh's Correspondence*, p.30

⁵⁴ Fauja Singh, *After Ranjit Singh*, p.23

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.23-24

⁵⁶ Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, pp.85-87

⁵⁷ Dewan Ajudhia Parshad, *Waqai-Jang-i-Sikhan*, p.14; Charles Gough, *The Sikh and the Sikh Wars*, p.7

Jind Kaur acted as the main inspiration for the soldiers. Although, she was not in good terms with the Khalsa Army because of the murder of her brother, Jawahar Singh,⁵⁸ yet there was no rancor in her mind. She could never even imagine that her country should go into the hands of foreigners, the British in particular. She never liked the defeat of the Lahore *Durbar* against the British. She was extraordinarily bold and courageous. Before starting the first Anglo-Sikh War there was no alternative for her, thus she took a very bold step. She urged the Khalsa army to save their precious kingdom and do whatever they thought proper. She was totally helpless and without any alternatives. After the Khalsa army lost in the first Anglo-Sikh War, treaties were concluded in which she was deprived of all her powers and position in the administration of Lahore *Durbar*.⁵⁹

As per the terms of the proposed treaty of Bhaironwal the British Government undertook maintenance of administration and the protection of the Maharaja during his minority. Till that time the British army was to stay in Lahore and its expenses were to be paid by the Lahore *Durbar*.⁶⁰ These terms of the British Government were not acceptable to the Maharani. As the British Resident, appointed at the Lahore *Durbar*, was made all powerful, Maharani Jind Kaur had an understanding of the designs of the British. She could make out that the British would snatch their kingdom and would annex it with British territory. That was why Maharani Jind Kaur strongly and stoutly opposed the treaty of Bhaironwal. She refused to sign the application.⁶¹

Up to this time the relations between the Maharani Jind Kaur and the British Government were not cordial. However, soon estrangement took the form of unconcealed acrimony and open clash. There was disagreement on the question of the new arrangements. In appearance, there was a King, a Prime Minister and an army, but they were dependent upon and subject to

⁵⁸ Charles Gough, *The Sikh and the Sikh Wars*, p.6

⁵⁹ Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, p.184; M.A. Rahim (Thesis) *Lord Dalhousie's Administration of the Conquered and Annexed States*, University of Nagpur, New Delhi, 1963, pp.32-33

⁶⁰ S.S. Thorburn, *The Punjab Peace and War*, Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970, p.76; Nazir Ahmed Choudhry (ed.), Surjit Singh Jeet, *Maharaja Duleep Singh and the Government: A Narrative for Private Circulation*, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 1999, pp.66-69

⁶¹ Foreign Department Secret Consultation, Proceeding 'A', No.1278, dated 26th December 1846, NAI, New Delhi; M.L.Ahluwalia, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, pp.58-59

the will of the British power. The capital of the country was not garrisoned by the Sikhs. It was under the authority of the imperial power. As a subterfuge and mere stratagem there soldiers were lent to the administration to preserve the semblance of a Government. However, it was an open secret that this was far from reality. The actual objective was to keep possession of the advantages already gained, until the time when the Governor-General annex the whole of the kingdom to the British possessions.⁶²

Even a subsequent letter dated 23rd October, 1847, from Lord Hardinge to the Resident throws a lot of light on relative position of the British. "In all our measures taken during the minority, we must bear in mind that by the treaty of Lahore the Punjab was never intended to be an independent state. By the clause one it was added that the Chief of the State could neither make war nor peace, nor exchange nor sell an *acre* of territory; nor admit an European officer, nor refuse us a thoroughfare through his territories of the Lahore *Durbar* nor, in fact, perform any act (except its own internal administration) without our permission. In fact, the native Prince is in fetters and under our protection, and must do our bidding..."⁶³

The letter of lord Hardinge made the intentions of the British clear. Maharani strongly resisted the terms of the treaty of Bhaironwal. Only a bold and courageous lady like Maharani Jind Kaur offers such resistance. An attempt was made to curtail her powers and contain her sway. Through the treaty of Bhaironwal there was an effort to wean her away from Lahore politics with certain pension.⁶⁴ Her protests and petitions had a great impact on the Khalsa Army and common people of the Sikh Kingdom. Her protests filled the minds of soldiers and nobles with a spirit of patriotism. Her inspiration led to the struggle for independence.⁶⁵ British government mercilessly separated her from her son and imprisoned her in the fort of Sheikhpura and later on she was transferred to Banaras and then in fort of

⁶² Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, p.121

⁶³ Foreign Department Secret Consultation, Proceeding 'A', Nos.81-85, dated 30th October 1847, NAI, New Delhi; Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, p.185

⁶⁴ Nazir Ahmed Choudhry (ed.), Surjit Singh Jeet, *Maharaja Duleep Singh, The Government: A Narrative for Private Circulation*, pp.66-69; G.C. Smyth, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970, pp.96-97

⁶⁵ Ganda Singh, *Private Correspondence Relating to the Anglo Sikh Wars*, pp.95-96

Chunar. But she never lost her courage and heart.

From Sheikhpura she wrote letters to the resident of Lahore *Durbar*. In these letters she openly denounced the British politics. She demanded a fair trial. She raised her voice against the perceived injustice and threatened to appeal to the concerned authorities at headquarter in London. She also demanded her confiscated property as well as an increase in her pension. As a consequence of her demands she was more strictly guarded by the British authorities. However, confinement could not stop the working of her mind. From Banaras prison she helped the Punjabi rebels to fight against the British. She wrote letters to Sher Singh Attariwala. She wrote, "All your arrangements have been excellent. The first thing to be done is to root out the stem and must continue to affect this by punishing the *Feringees*."⁶⁶ She also wrote to other rebel Sardars, "to continue their struggle for the liberation." In order to help the rebels she even sold her ornaments and other precious jewels. It was her prime objective that British should be expelled from the kingdom of the Sikhs. In spite of a highly repressive regime she acted with boldness and intrepidity. Her escape from Chunar to Nepal was also an act of unparalleled valour. The escape proves that she had a brilliant mind as she was able to beguile the British guards.⁶⁷

However, her escape did not end her woes. The authorities at Nepal meted out very bad treatment to her. However, the adversities did not deter her. Nor did they reduce the spirit of patriotism and her intense desire to meet her son before her death. From Nepal she sent letters to many native nobles and also to Maharaja Gulab Singh, for help. All her letters were seized, and she was proclaimed an offender. Her mind was full of hatred for the British. She was the first lady who could understand the British policies. In Nepal her health broke down and she became almost blind.⁶⁸ Moreover she was tired of living in isolation at Nepal. On the other hand, Maharaja Duleep Singh was also very anxious to meet his mother. At last Lord Canning allowed her to meet her son when Maharaja Duleep Singh had

⁶⁶ M.L. Ahluwalia, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, p.94

⁶⁷ Bakhsish Singh. Nijjar, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, pp.51-53

⁶⁸ E. Dalhousie Login, *Lady Login's Recollection*, p.211

come to India. Later she was permitted to go to England.⁶⁹

Once in England she could only live for two years. At first she was living with Maharaja Duleep Singh. During her stay she narrated to Maharaja Duleep Singh all the excesses perpetrated by the British. She even prompted Maharaja Duleep Singh mind to follow the religion of his ancestors. The influence of Maharani acted as the main inducement for Maharaja Duleep Singh to reconvert into Sikh faith. She told her son the whole tragic story of her life and annexation of the beloved kingdom of his father Maharaja Ranjit Singh.⁷⁰ Her counseling of Maharaja Duleep Singh was the main reason that his attitude towards the British underwent a change. British authorities were highly apprehensive of her and looked at her as a big threat. She was once again, separated from her son for whom she had struggled up to the last. The separation from her only son was unbearable to her as she was in feeble health. Maharani Jind Kaur Died on August, 1863.⁷¹ She died a pre-mature death at the age of 44 years at Kensington in London. Her last words to her son were, "Don't let my bones rot in this inhospitable country. Take me back to India".⁷² This last wish demonstrated her hatred for the British. She did not like that her ashes should remain in the foreign soil.⁷³ Thus according to her desire Maharaja Duleep Singh with great difficulty came to India but he was not allowed to enter Punjab.⁷⁴ Left with no alternative he scattered the remains of his mother in the water of river Narbada at Nasik. Till now her *Samadh* at Nasik (Maharashtra) remind us of her great love for the country in general and Punjab in particular.⁷⁵

Her love for her roots, country and religion can be judged from the fact that all through her stay with her son she reminded him of his duty to his country, his region, Punjabi culture and the soil of his ancestors. The later

⁶⁹ Foreign Department Secret Consultation, Proceeding 'A', No.27, dated 5th June 1861, NAI, New Delhi

⁷⁰ M.L. Ahluwalia, *Maharaja Duleep Singh's Mission in Russia; 1887-88*, Proceedings of Punjab History Conference, Patiala, 1965, p.166

⁷¹ V. Narayana Pillai, *Journal of Indian History*, Vol.XXXVII, Part-I, 1949, Trivandrum, Kerala, 1949, p.18

⁷² Christy Campbell, *The Maharaja's Box*, pp.121-122

⁷³ Prithipal Singh Kapur, (ed.), *Maharaja Duleep Singh: The last Sovereign of the Punjab*, Gurudawara Parbandk Committee, Amritsar, 1995, p.168

⁷⁴ Michael Alexander and Sushila Anand, *Queen Victoria's Maharaja Duleep Singh 1838-93*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1979, p.97

⁷⁵ V. Narayana Pillai, *Journal of Indian History*, p.18

life of Maharaja Duleep Singh was sufficient to prove his commitment to the soil of Punjab, the land/soil of his forefather. The realization of love for his country and his people was brought by Maharani Jind Kaur. During the period between the death of Ranjit Singh and the regency of Maharani Jind Kaur, the Sikh kingdom experienced factionalism in its ugliest form. Many historians have described this as the beginning of the end of the mighty empire that was built by Maharaja Ranjit Singh almost brick by brick.⁷⁶

Within three years of the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the various aspirants and competitors for political power and authority converted the entire kingdom into a mess of political greed. At that time, Maharani Jand Kaur was kept a watchful eye on all the happenings. She was biding her time to make the right moves.⁷⁷

The political machinations and controversies began immediately after the Maharaja's demise. While his dead body was being given the last bath with the *Gangajal* the designate Maharaja, Kharak Singh, and his Prime Minister to be, Raja Dhian Singh, started making efforts to wrest political power. Dhian Singh having come to know of the secret design of Bhai Ram Singh, the mentor of Kharak Singh, to ease out the *Dogra* Raja from the *Wazarat* (Prime Ministership) played the ruse by announcing his resolve "to make himself *sati* with the noble *Sarkar*." Everyone in the assembly knew that in the absence of Raja Dhian Singh's strong hold over administration of the Government,⁷⁸ no one else was competent enough to handle the situation, particularly when the British were emerging as a major challenge. They were pressing new and novel conditions for the execution of their military operations against Afghanistan.⁷⁹

At that stage the situation was no doubt saved by Fakir Aziz-ud-din, on whose advice that late Maharaja had pronounced an arrangement by a general proclamation just a week before he expired. He made both Dhian Singh and the Maharaja designate to re-pledge full compliance of the decisions of the late Maharaja. A temporary resolution was arrived at as both

⁷⁶ M.L. Ahluwalia, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, p.16

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

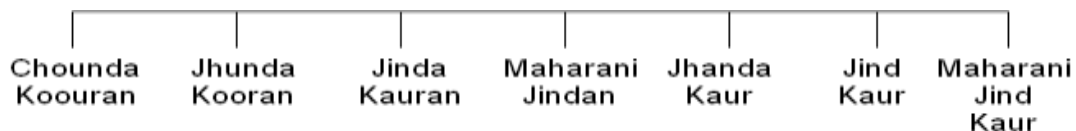
⁷⁸ Visha Bandhu, *Vishveshvaranand An Ideological Series-43*, pp.249-251

⁷⁹ M.L. Ahluwalia, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, pp.16-17

Kharak Singh and Dhian Singh repledged to administer the state in unison.⁸⁰ However, soon after his formal coronation, Kharak Singh, under the influence of his mentor Bhai Ram Singh, made Sardar Chet Singh Bajwa, his brother-in-law, act as the undeclared chief of the *Deohri* over and above Raja Dhian Singh. At that stage, Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh, son of Maharaja Kharak Singh, came rushing to Lahore even without formal orders from his father.⁸¹

II

Before describing the early life of Maharani Jind Kaur, we should clear the point that what was the actual name of this great historical figure. No doubt she was famously known by her name Maharani Jind Kaur. However many official records of government and contemporary historians have mentioned her name in their reports, letters and books in different ways:



Major Macgregor, Governor General Agent at Banaras, in his letters, Foreign Department Political Consultations 15 September 1849 A.D., No. 104 wrote her name as Maharanee Chunda Koouran and Jhunda Koouran.⁸²

Sir Henry Elliot K.C.V, Secretary to Government of India, in his letters, Foreign Department Political Consultations 15 September 1849.A.D. No. 105 wrote her name Maharanee Chunda Kouran.⁸³

Lieutenant Colonel Sir H.M Lawrence, President of the Board of Administration, in his letters, Foreign Department Political Consultations 14 April 1849, No. 97 wrote her name Maharanee Jhunda.⁸⁴

Alexander Gardner, Colonel of artillery in the services of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, wrote in his book, *Soldier and Traveller Memories of Alexander*

⁸⁰ J.H.Gordon, *The Sikhs*, p.122

⁸¹ Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, p.69

⁸² Foreign Department Political Consultations Proceeding, 'B', 15th September 1849, No. 104, NAI, New Delhi

⁸³ Foreign Department Political Consultations Proceeding, 'B', 15th September 1849, No. 105, NAI, New Delhi

⁸⁴ Foreign Department Political Consultations Proceeding, 'A', 14th April 1849, No. 97, NAI, New Delhi

Gardner edited by Major Hugh Pearse, her name Maharani Jind Kaur.⁸⁵

Major Henry Court, Lieutenant Colonel of 15 Bengal Cavellry at Mussorie, in his book, *History of the Sikhs*, wrote her name Queen Jinda Kor.⁸⁶

In Lahore political Dairies, Vol. III, Records of the Punjab Government, wrote her name Maharani Jinda or Jhanda Kaur.⁸⁷

Jind Kaur was the daughter of Sardar Manna Singh, an Aulakh *Jat*.⁸⁸ He belonged to a small village Chacher,⁸⁹ district Gujranwala (at present in West Pakistan). Aulakh *Jat* or Aurak *Jat* tribe, whose headquarters were mainly situated in district Amritsar, owned twelve villages. They were also found in the Northern *Malwa*; territory in the South of Sutlej. In traditional discourse they were said to be of the solar descent which means that they claimed a totemic association with the sun. Their ancestor Aulakh from the clan takes its name is believed to have lived somewhere in the *Majha* territory viz. territory between the rivers Beas and Ravi. Along with the northern *Malwa* the *Aulakhs* were also found in *Majha*. According to another story their ancestor one Raja was Lui Lak, a Lunar Rajput. They were related to the Skhu and Deo tribes with whom they did not inter-marry. In Amritsar district *Aulakhs* retrace their lineage as follows:



⁸⁵ Hugh Pearse, *Soldier and Traveller, Memories of Alexander Gardner*, London, 1898, (reprint), Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970, pp.227-228

⁸⁶ Henry Court, *History of the Sikhs*, Civil and Military Gazette Press, Calcutta, 1959, pp.85-87

⁸⁷ Records of the Punjab Government, *Lahore Political Dairies*, 1847-48, Vol. III, pp.181-182

⁸⁸ Ganda Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh, A Life Sketch*, Sikh Research Society, Amritsar, 1939, p.46

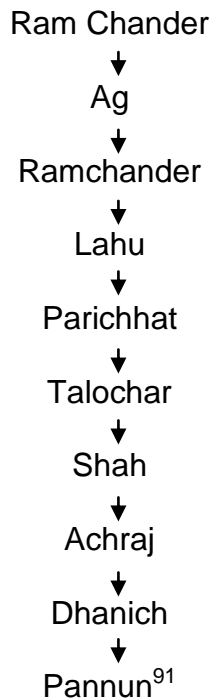
⁸⁹ Bakhsish Singh Nijjar, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, p.8.; Lapel Griffin gives the name of village *Char* in his work *The Punjab Chiefs*, Lahore, 1865, p.7

Pure

Aulakh⁹⁰

This Pedigree makes *Aulakhs* kin to the Pannu Jats. It is held that the ancestors of Pannus were also *Rajputs*. It is also believed that Pannu Jats are also of the solar descent like the Aulakhs. They are chiefly found in Amrtisar and Gurdaspur districts but they owned some villages in Sialkot district as well.

According to the lineage reproduced below Pannus are descendants of Raghu, an ancestor of the *Aulakhs*.



In course of time the *Aulakhs* were converted to Islam. The Muslim *Aulakhs* have a curious tale of their conversion. According to H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Castes and tribes of Punjab and North West Frontier Province*, it is said that a complaint was made to Emperor Humayun that Pir Muhammad Raja drank '*bhang*' in defiance of the *Quranic* prohibition. So the Emperor punished the saint. The saint had to walk along a narrow path covered with poisoned swords. A ferocious elephant also pursued him on the same path. However one of his disciples killed the elephant with his staff and it is said that as he walked the steel of swords turned to water. Raja Aulakh,

⁹⁰ H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North West Frontier Province*, vol. II, Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970, p.25

⁹¹ Bakhshish Singh Nijjar, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, p.9

a Punwar Rajput, was one of the courtiers. He was so impressed by this feat of Pir Muhammad Raja that he at once embraced Islam. After this the converted Aulakh conquered the country from the Balun tribe and gave it to the Pirs. The emperor was also pleased and conferred it in the *Jagir*, though the Aulakhs continued to administer it until about 175 years when their power declined.⁹² Similarly some of the *Aulakhs* came under the impact of Sikh religion during sixteen and seventeen centuries. Aulakh *Jats* of Amritsar district played a prominent part during Maharaja Ranjit Singh's time. In brief, the important fact that emerges from this narrative is that the father of Maharani Jind Kaur was an *Aulakh Jat*.⁹³

As stated earlier Maharani Jind Kaur's father S. Mann Singh was Aulakh *Jat*. At an early age he entered the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh as a dog-keeper. He was a *Kumedan* in the *Durbar* of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. In fact, he served and worked for the establishment which was responsible for looking after the hunting dogs. Thus owing to his job he remained in direct contact with Maharaja Ranjit Singh.⁹⁴

Maharani Jind Kaur was born, in 1817 A.D. in the native village of her father at Checher, three miles from the district of Gujranwala, now in West Pakistan.⁹⁵ She was the third daughter of her parents. She grew to be a very beautiful as well as charming girl. Since she was very beautiful, she was called *Chand*⁹⁶, which in *Punjabi* means someone who possesses ethereal beauty.⁹⁷ It can be assumed that her dazzling beauty must have attracted Maharaja Ranjit Singh. It is generally held that in the year 1828, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, while in the neighborhood of Gujranwala was told about her beauty. The Maharaja sent for Jawalla Singh Puddania, son-in-law of Manna Singh. He was married to the eldest daughter of Manna Singh. The initial interest culminated in a proposal of marriage send to Manna Singh for his daughter Chanda. The old chief arrived at Amritsar. G.C. Smyth writes, "the

⁹² H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North West Frontier Province*, Vol. II, Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970, p.25

⁹³ Ganda Singh, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh, A Life Sketch*, p.46

⁹⁴ Bakhsish Singh Nijjar, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, p.9

⁹⁵ Hari Ram Gupta, *Punjab on the Eve of the First Sikh War 1844*, preface p, xxviii

⁹⁶ G.C. Smyth, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, p.92

⁹⁷ *The Sunday Tribune*, November 30th, 1975. Rani Jindan Kaur "The perilous beauty of the 19th Century Punjab" by Niranjana M. Khilnani, Chandigarh, 1975

girl Chanda was for the first time ushered into his presence, and he seemed much disappointed and not a little angry on finding, that instead of being sixteen or seventeen years of age, as represented by Dil Kurmoo who was a servant of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and others who had first spoken of her to him, she was only between nine and ten years old. As, however, she had some beauty and a promising look, he ordered that she should be retained in the *Zenana* on a stipend of two rupees her Diem.”⁹⁸

However, the statement and version given above is neither plausible nor correct. Firstly it is not corroborated by any Indian source. Secondly there is a contradiction at the heart of this version. On one side G.C. Smyth wrote that Maharaja had not known Manna Singh father of Maharani Jind Kaur. On the other hand, he tries to display that Manna Singh, father of Maharani Jind Kaur, entered the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh as a dog-keeper at an early age.⁹⁹ If the latter version is taken to be correct then Maharaja Ranjit Singh would have known Manna Singh. Thus, it can be asserted that these versions are conflicting. It can be said that most probably the first version is more rational and acceptable according to which because Manna Singh was a house servant of Maharaja Ranjit Singh he must be known to him.

We do not get any account of the early life of Maharani Jind Kaur. Most of the accounts of the British scholars are extrapolated from hearsay, scandals and rumours. They are contradictory in detail. This becomes clear from yet another example. It has been stated:

“Capitalizing on Maharaja’s weakness for women, Manna Singh used to praise the beauty of his daughter Jind Kaur. She was endowed with extraordinary beauty and great talent. Her father was a man of much humour and fun, and used to take great liberties with the old lion of Punjab, often rallying him jocularly on the state of his harem, and asking him to make a queen of his little daughter. He used to perch the pretty child on his shoulder, and run with her alongside of the Maharaja’s *Palki* when he made his entrances into Lahore, declaring the girl was getting burdensome and heavy.

⁹⁸ G.C. Smyth, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, p.95

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, p.95

Manna Singh was constantly telling Maharaja that he had a daughter, the most beautiful creature in the world, whom he would give to the Maharaja as his wife, and she would make the old monarch young again. But the Maharaja had no desire for a young spouse in his old age and particularly when he was much run down due to his protracted illness." At last however, the Maharaja was persuaded by Manna Singh who said, "Very well, bring her". Ranjit Singh did this as Manna Singh used to banter him about his age and he was very sensitive as to his personal decay."¹⁰⁰

Various controversies have surrounded the subject of Maharani Jind Kaur's marriage with Maharaja Ranjit Singh leading to a lot of ambiguity. Some English historians have refused to accept her marriage with Maharaja. However, there are some details about the marriage ceremony which have been given by our native contemporary historians. There is another theory that with the intension of dealing with the importunate and continuous persuasions of Manna Singh, Maharaja Ranjit Singh sent an arrow and sword to his village to which Maharani Jind Kaur was symbolically married in 1835 A.D.¹⁰¹ As per G.C. Smyth's account when Maharani Jind Kaur was first brought before the Maharaja, she was hardly of nine or ten. So she was sent to Amritsar because she was too young. Ranjit Singh ordered that she should be retained in *Zenana* on a stipend of two rupees per day.¹⁰² Further, it is believed that Ranjit Singh never took any notice of the girl. However, this may not be true because if she was brought in the *Zenana* on Maharaja's orders she could not have remained unnoticed by the Maharaja. It is quite evident that in his account G.C. Smyth has introduced nuances that are aimed at compromising and degrading the image of Chanda. He has taken pains to record all types of scandals and rumours. One such accounts recounts that, "Manna Singh was an object of buffoonery. Just to put an end of the buffoonery Ranjit Singh one day eased the shoulders of his would be father-in-law by committing the girl to the care of one Jawahar Mal, a rich Hindu Merchant of Amritsar district. Once he was a Governor of Kashmir

¹⁰⁰ Hugh Pearse, *Soldier and Traveller-Memories of Alexander Gardner*, p.253; Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, p.93

¹⁰¹ Bakhsish Singh Nijjar, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, p.10

¹⁰² G.C. Smyth, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, p.95

province, and then in attendance at the Maharaja's court. This man received orders to take the young Chanda home with him, and rear her up at his house in Amritsar. Manna Singh was overjoyed at this happy result of his labour, and in his exultation ventured to tell the Maharaja that the world had recognized him, Manna Singh, as his father-in-law".¹⁰³

In his account of the valiant Queen, G.C Smyth found no virtue but all vices. She has been painted in the darkest colours. He writes, "The young *Chanda* was sent to Amritsar, where she remained four or five years in the house of Jawahar Mal. There she might have remained in quiet much longer, her guardian receiving for her maintenance forty-five rupees a month-but that she had even at so early an age won for herself a character for pertness, forwardness, and something even worse. So loose and immodest was her conduct that Jawahar Mal, fearing perhaps that the contagion of her vices might spread to the members of his own virtuous family, so he informed the Maharaja that he could not allow the young *Chanda* to remain in his house any longer."¹⁰⁴ This is cited as the reason for that Jawahar Mal pleaded with the king that he should be released from the responsibility of his charge. Smyth further contends that that though the girl was then only thirteen or fourteen years of age, she was capable of highly scandalous conduct. It is further suggested in the account of Smyth that the old monarch was well pleased to have such disclosures made in the presence of the girl's father. Manna Singh was close to the king and enjoyed his confidence. On the subject of Jawahar Mal being relieved of the responsibility of Chanda Smyth remarks that the King expected considerable amusement from that pertness and forwardness which the girl was said to exhibit. Ranjit Singh readily consented to relieve Jawahar Mal of his charge, and the young lady was brought to Lahore to enliven the night scenes in the palace. Smyth goes on to say that in the court demonstrated a character almost similar to that of her father. Her father had acted as a licensed buffoon. Similarly, Chanda acted in a manner which put to shame all, both men and women. She indulged in numerous acts of clandestine nature with or without the knowledge and

¹⁰³ G.C. Smyth, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, p.93

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, p.93

consent of the Maharaja.¹⁰⁵ Smyth makes his account highly risqué by alluding to the possibility that affairs and scenes of highly appropriate nature were acted in the presence of the old chief himself and at his instigation. A detailed description of such things would be an outrage on common decency. Smyth actually means that Ranjit Singh actually encouraged and forwarded the affairs and amorous acts of this woman.

This description makes G.C. Smyth as a highly biased writer. He seems to have abandoned logic and decency in undermining the queen of the Maharaja. The charges and accusations made by him are of a highly improbable nature. Actually, the Maharaja Ranjit Singh was known for his stern administration. Moreover all British writers concur in the opinion that all these stories are facetious and untrue and are an attempt to conceal the Maharaja's, the great administrative qualities.

Bikrama Jit Hasrat has rightly stated that Major G.C. Smyth's account may be considered as a scandalous document. This is an account by the confirmed scandal monger and a scalawag. He thrives on profuse exercises of vilification.¹⁰⁶ To quote another example of vilification he writes, "In the year 1834 the Maharaja had a favourite in one the *behishite* (Water Carriers) attached to his person named Gulu, a young and forward Mohammedan, who had been placed by the Maharaja in charge of Hira Singh. Gulu was main favorite of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and allowed to mount his favorite saddle horses and to ride close to and in front of him (Maharaja)".¹⁰⁷ He had also free access to the royal *Zenana*, and having become acquainted with Chanda, he established a criminal familiarity with her. The alleged intimacy had become notorious not only in the Palace but even in the *Durbar*. Maharaja Ranjit Singh himself was quite aware of this state of affairs, but Gulu was a hot favorite of his. No step was taken to put a stop that at that time. Moreover, the Maharaja Ranjit Singh never visited the lady or allowed her to appear in his presence.¹⁰⁸ When in the winter of 1836 he was told that

¹⁰⁵ G.C. Smyth, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, p.94

¹⁰⁶ Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, pp.226-227

¹⁰⁷ Foreign Department Secret Consultation, Proceeding, 'A', Nos. 23-23, dated 4th April, 1845, NAI, New Delhi

¹⁰⁸ Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, pp.226-227

she was in an interesting condition, he merely replied with a grim look. Gulu *behishti* (Water Carrier) continued to be a favorite of the Maharaja. On 6th September 1838, when the birth of a son was announced to him, his equanimity gave way, but soon afterwards Gulu fell ill of a disease which carried him off within a few week of the birth of the child”.¹⁰⁹ The whole account shows the Maharaja as complicit in adultery involving his wife. As there is no official or historical evidence to prove such charges they are just proof of the biased historiography.

Apart from this, this is in contradiction with other contemporary British writers. E. Dalhousie Login in the book *Lady Logins' Recollection* wrote, “He (Duleep Singh) and his elder brother, Kharrack Singh, were the only two sons of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who were born on his wives and “acknowledged” by their father”.¹¹⁰ It is further stated that “Duleep Singh’s mother was beautiful but notorious Maharani Jinda or (“*Chunda*”) sometimes known as the Messalins of Punjab”.¹¹¹ From E. Dalhousie Login’s writing it is evident that Maharaja Duleep Singh was the youngest son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh from his youngest Maharani Jind Kaur. Thus Smyth’s views about the birth of young Prince are absolutely wrong. Evidently this account is based on rumours and hearsay and do not have even an iota of truth in them.

It is a figment of imagination that the Maharaja should have not known what was happening in his Palace. There are accounts which suggest that no person even of the highest rank could take liberty with the ladies of the *harem*. Maharaja Ranjit Singh was a great and able Sikh monarch whose word was law and who was answerable to no one for what he did.

Historical evidence suggests that Maharani Jind Kaur could be inducted into the royal *Zanan* (harem) only after the nuptial ceremonies. But Morgan’s statement that she was never formally or informally married to Maharaja Ranjit Singh stands in opposition to such a view. A few lines from

¹⁰⁹ Foreign Department Secret Consultation, Proceeding, ‘A’, Nos. 23-23, dated 4th April 1845, NAI, New Delhi ; G.C. Smyth, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, p.95

¹¹⁰ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, Daftar-III, pp.34-35; Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, pp.88-89

¹¹¹ E. Dalhousie Login, *Lady Login's Recollections*, p.81

the Khalsa, dated October 5, 1930, from the pen of Bhagat Lakshman Singh, can be cited here to place things in the right perspective. In the against of Morgan's statement that Ganda Singh gives the reference of Faqir Qamr-ud-Din, who was at that time 18 years old, and writes,

"Rai Bahadur K.B. Thapar, a distinguished citizen of Lahore, tells me that then he asked Khan Bahadur Faqir Qamr-ud-Din, son of Faqir Nur-ud-Din, who was in charge of Maharani Jind Kaur's Palace, what truth there was in the report given credence to by Sir Lepel Griffin that Maharaja Duleep Singh was not a legitimate son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and that Maharani Jind Kaur was not a wedded wife of the Maharaja, he cried. "*Astaghffar-Allah*, such a lie! Can calumny go further? I attended the Maharaja's marriage myself. Maharani Jind Kaur was the daughter of a highly respectable Zamindar and a duly wedded wife. My father was present at the time of Prince Duleep Singh's birth and I was my father's attendant at the time. Evidently some evil gossip must have told the base lie to the *Sahib*."¹¹²

Maharaja Ranjit Singh was an uxorious personage. He is said to have married about eighteen wives, some according to the orthodox usage and others by the simpler and more expeditious method of throwing the sheet. He never ill-treated them but he was not particularly attached to anyone. His amorous habits rendered his romantic loyalties essentially inconsistent.¹¹³

According to another account in the *harem* the little beauty used to gamble and frolic and tease Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and managed to captivate him in a way that smote the real wives, like Rani Mehtab Kaur, Rani Daya Kaur, Rani Rattan Kaur. All of them envied her. Her captivating eyes and ever ready wit made her the Maharaja's life and strength in the literal sense. So that Ranjit Singh sent her when she was thirteen years of age to Amritsar, and gave her an allowance of 5000 rupees per month. Raja Dhian Singh had charge of her and this contributed to that able courtier's

¹¹² *Maharani Jind Kaur*, by Ganda Singh in, *The Illustrated weekly of India*, January 22, 1939, File no. 52, Bhai Khan Nabha Library, Ganda Singh collection, Punjabi University, Patiala.

¹¹³ *Rani Jhingan, The Heroic Queen of the Sikh*, by Ishwari Parshad, *The Orient Illustrated Weekly*, October 8 1939, File no. 52, Bhai Khan Nabha Library, Ganda Singh collection, Punjabi University, Patiala

influence. He took her back to Lahore, treated her with great dignity, and ultimately effected the celebration of the *Karewa*, tantamount to the *Chadar dalna*, marriage ceremony, between her and Maharaja Ranjit Singh.¹¹⁴

This writer here appears to be ignorant about the custom of *Karewa* or *Chadar dalna* which was always done in the case of widows. It is written by one and all that Maharani Jind Kaur was not a widow when she was married to Maharaja Ranjit Singh. As in the case of Smyth these accounts have been written undermine Maharani Jind Kaur as she opposed the British domination from the very beginning and also in the later phase of her life.

Maharani Jind Kaur could not be educated by her parents. In that time it was not common to impart education to all the children. The sources of education were mostly religious places like, Maqtab, Madarasa, Gurudwaras and Mandir. It was owing to her own efforts and interest that Maharani Jind Kaur was able to gain some knowledge of education. She could read and write Gurumukhi because she lived in Lahore *Durbar* with her father.

It is clear from the letters which were written by her in Gurmukhi manuscripts, preserved in the India office Library,(London) and Dr. Ganda Singh collection, Punjabi University Patiala. Some of her personal letters which have survived and preserved are to be found in the National Archives of India, New Delhi bear testimony to this fact.

The death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh was a turning point in the history of Punjab and in the history of Maharani Jind Kaur. In June 1839, there was a great commotion in the Fort of Lahore. The bearded chiefs, who had fought in many battles, were rushing in different directions speaking in hushed tones things about the future destiny of the Sikh kingdom of the Punjab. There were cries in the *Zenana*, the maid-servants and the numerous attendants of the Maharaja, with grief in their countenances, were speechless at the sudden blow that had fallen on them.¹¹⁵ Maharaja Ranjit

¹¹⁴ Hugh Pearse, *Soldier and Traveller, Memories of Alexander Gardner*, p.253; M.L. Ahulwalia, *Bhai Maharaj Singh*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1972, p.10

¹¹⁵ *Rani Jhinda, The Heroic Queen Of the Sikh*, by Ishwari Parshad, The Orient Illustrated weekly, October 8 1939, File no. 52, Bhai Khan Nabha Library, Ganda Singh collection, Punjabi University, Patiala

Singh's death left the Punjab in a state of utter confusion. As has been discussed above, the Rani's melodramatic appeals to the Khalsa met with an enthusiastic response and her son was recognized as the ruler of the Punjab with herself as regent.

Even in her enforced seclusion Maharani Jind Kaur did not desist from planning stratagems against her adversaries. It was intolerable to her that the British Resident should hold the Sikh ruler in leading strings and that she should be treated as a prisoner. Henry Lawrence once wrote, "I do not deceive myself nor do I wish the Governor General to be ignorant of the fact that the Maharani is the only effective enemy to our policy that I know of in the country."¹¹⁶

Maharani Jind Kaur was a charming woman, her manner was attractive and her features were exquisitely formed. She impressed all those who came in contact with her and won them over completely to her side. She dressed herself, writes Major Broadfoot, in gorgeous clothes and made a pleasing impression upon the old and young. Her position was greatly strengthened by the birth of Duleep Singh.¹¹⁷

Sohan Lal Suri, the court historian of Lahore *Durbar* and the author of *Umda-Ut-Twarikh*, gives a graphic account of the birth of the Prince. "The news of the birth of Duleep Singh was given to Maharaja when he was in Amritsar, holding the *Durbar* with his courtiers. Maharaja expressed great joy and ordered that the child should be called Duleep Singh."¹¹⁸

On learning of the birth of the child the Maharaja ordered that the child should be called Maharaja Duleep Singh, a name famous at the time after having been prophesied by a holy man of Thanesar that a person of such a name would come to rule.¹¹⁹ Maharaja Duleep Singh's early years were carefully tended by his devoted mother Maharani Jind Kaur, who

¹¹⁶ Henry Lawrence, *An Adventure of the Punjab*, London, 1845, reprint by Language Department Punjab, Patiala 1970, p.45

¹¹⁷ *Maharani Jind Kaur*, by Ganda Singh in, *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, January 22, 1939, File no. 52, Bhai Khan Nabha Library, Ganda Singh collection, Punjabi University, Patiala

¹¹⁸ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-Ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar -III, p.525

¹¹⁹ Bakhsish Singh Nijjar, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, pp.10-11; J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Civil and Military Affairs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1977, pp.77- 87

watched over him with jealous vigilance and also indulged him as a characteristic Indian mother. From that time, however, Maharani Jind Kaur and her son lived un-noticed by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, under the care of Raja Dhian Singh. During the reigns of Kharak Singh and Sher Singh the young Prince continued to reside in the palace under his mother's care, receiving but little notice from either of his elder brothers, the reigning princes or their ministers. According to usual custom Raja Suchet Singh was appointed manager of the young *Rani's* household.¹²⁰ Besides, the British put many allegations on the character of Maharani Jind Kaur. Actually this was unjust. All their versions which were used by them were based on rumors and scandals. These versions do not get any confirmation from any Indian source. Moreover, it is unbelievable that inferior people or the other servants of the Maharaja could dare to touch the wife of the great Maharaja. There is no such account among the Indian sources, such as the contemporary Persian source etc. Almost all the British have written against her because she was the first lady who understood the policies and intentions of the British in Punjab. She try to made relations with other countries i.e. Nepal and Russia against the British. Robert Hutchison wrote in his book, *The Raja of Harsil*, Rani Jindan and Baron Von Orenberg agreed on the outline for a Russo-Sikh friendship treaty. Further he writes, "Harding Shib has heard that, Maharani Jind Kaur have invited a Russian envoy to Lahore to sign a treaty inimical to British interest to the region."¹²¹ No doubt she was a Queen of the great Maharaja who was proclaimed as a regent of her minor son Maharaja Duleep Singh.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh's death on June 27, 1839.A.D. created consternation throughout the kingdom. The state of the grand monarch set in Lahore was plunged in bloodbath. Ruler after ruler ascended the precarious throne only to be murdered in cold blood by the rival claimant. There is very little account about the time period of 1835 to 1839, Maharani Jind Kaur's role at Lahore *Durbar*. She was a principal lady of Lahore *Durbar* at that

¹²⁰ Bakhsish Singh Nijjar, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, p.11

¹²¹ Robert Hutchison, *The Raja of Harsil*, Lotus Roli Books, New Delhi, 2015, pp.129-131

time.¹²² Many contemporary pieces of evidence and historical records make it clear that Maharani Jind Kaur was not one of the principal wives of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Her own existence as well as that of her son Duleep Singh, was unknown till 1843.A.D. when the Khalsa army *Panchyats* proclaimed him as the sovereign of the Sikh kingdom. Her political position gained eminence when she assumed the role of the regent of minor Maharaja Duleep Singh.

In the aftermath of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's death his widows, reputed sons, ambitious and designing ministers and chieftains, struggled for supremacy. Each claimant in turn offered donations and more liberal salaries to any troops aiding his cause. The army, regardless of their nominal leaders, appointed committees of five (*Panchayets*). Each brigade, regiment, company, had its own *Panch*, and took orders from them alone. The army became dictators, a cross between Roman Praetorians and Fifth Monarchy men. The successive Maharajas, regents and Prime Ministers were all in turn killed in action, assassinated or executed by orders of *Panch*.¹²³

Apart from the courtiers and chiefs, several members of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's own family were significant actors in the drama of strife and anarchy which followed his death.

As the rise of the Sikh sovereignty was rapid and dazzling, so was its fall sudden and inglorious. Osborne was prophetic when, in 1838, he wrote: "It is a melancholy thing to contemplate the future probable state of this beautiful country."¹²⁴ The three-fold factors which had already become manifest, namely, the ever-tightening circles of English power and influence round this kingdom, the contending parties at the *Durbar* and, the worst of all, the well-known incapacities of heir-all these were unmistakably indicated as likely to hasten the end of the Sikh independence.¹²⁵

Maharani Jind Kaur was a remarkable woman. Beautiful and amorous Maharani Jind Kaur was a talented woman like Nur Jahan, and took keen

¹²² Huge Pearse, *Soldier and Traveller, Memories of Alexander Gardner*, p.253

¹²³ George Batley Scott, *Religion and Short History of the Sikhs, 1469-1930*, The Mitre Press, London, 1930, p.43

¹²⁴ W.G. Osborne, *The Court and Camp of Runjeet Singh*, London, 1840, reprint, Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970, p.52

¹²⁵ Barkat Rai Chopra, *Kingdom of the Punjab 1839-45*, p.7

interest in politics. She was intelligent devout and her patriotism and resourcefulness impressed all who came in contact with her. She was spirited and ambitious. She has sense of dignity.

All the events of Maharani Jind Kaur's life are discussed in this chapter. Her birth and her various names which were given to her by different historians have also been elaborate. The chapter attempts to throw light on her beauty, her education, her entry to Lahore *Durbar* and her relation with Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Besides, her role in the political affairs after the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh is also part of the study in this chapter.

CHAPTER – II

HER ROLE IN POST RANJIT SINGH PERIOD: (1839-43)

The Lahore *Durbar* of the later years of the Khalsa Raj, was very different in appearance and character from the time during the early years of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's rule. Most of the Sardars who surrounded Maharaja Ranjit Singh and were part of the court in the earlier phase of Sikh rule were comrades-in-arms and of mature age.¹

After Ranjit Singh's death Maharani Jind Kaur, taking stock of the evident signs of ensuing trouble at court, had taken her son Maharaja Duleep Singh to stay with Gulab Singh at Jammu. However, she was conscious of the fact that she had to be present at Lahore if she wanted her son to accede to the throne. So, despite the ruthless struggle for power in the wake of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's death, it was not long before Maharani Jind Kaur returned with her son. Her remarkable self-confidence and tenacity helped her to deal with and overcome the highly malicious plots and subplots that were being hatched by the aspirants to power. It was not only personal ambition that fired her. She was equally zealous preserving the glorious heritage of the Khalsa. Thus, the Maharani's melodramatic appeals to the Khalsa met with an enthusiastic response.²

It can be said that during these troubled times, her main purpose were firstly, to save the life of Maharaja Duleep Singh from the army of Lahore *Durbar*. The army was in control of the affairs of the state and nobody in the state was safe. Secondly, she had a sharp and pragmatic mind. She bided her time reading and seeing the dishonest designs of the army of the Lahore *Durbar*. For some time she was passive as she wanted to use this time in assessing the political state of the Lahore *Durbar*. Thirdly she wanted to identify her enemies and friends. Some chiefs were against her and some of

¹ Sita Ram Kholi, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1967, p.12

² Newspaper, *The Orient Illustrated Weekly*, October 8, 1939, Bhai Khan Singh Nabha Library, Ganda Singh Collection, File no. 52, Punjabi University, Patiala

them supported her but she need careful observation and time to recognize the people she could trust. Fourthly, she need time to understand the dynamics of the relations between the Lahore *Durbar* and the British.

In spite of certain negative traits which have been labeled as his sins, vices and crooked ways, it can be argued that Maharaja Ranjit Singh was the greatest Indian of the nineteenth century. His greatest contribution lies in his ability to successfully unite his people together into a powerful nation. He strove for political power and carved out an empire as an expression of political self assertion of the people he represented. His empire was a strong and stable one which lasted for almost thirty years. His legacy included a strong army which was raised mainly through voluntary enlistment. This army was strong enough to resist the whole might of the British empire and engaged them in series of pitched battles.³

The death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in June 27, 1839 ushered in a period of great political instability for the state.⁴ The high level of instability during the years after Maharaja Ranjit Singh's death can be judged from the fact that in less than seven years time from 1839 to 1845 there were seven changes of government, six of which were accompanied by violence and bloodshed. Both internal and external factors were responsible for this sorry state of affairs. Internally, the state was rocked by feuds arising from the conflicting ambitions of rival groups in the governing class and the inability of the rulers to control their intrigues and counter intrigues. Externally, the threats came from the British who felt tempted to fish in the troubled waters to advance their imperial interests. The state was plunged into a most critical situation when towards the end of this period the contenders for power within the country agreed to join hands with the external imperialists to the detriment of the interests of their own state. It was then left for the Khalsa army to make a patriotic bid in defence of the imperiled independence and integrity of the state.⁵

However, the death of the lion of Punjab, resulted in a situation in

³ S.S. Thorburn, *The Punjab in Peace and War*, Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970, p.23

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.24

⁵ Fauja Singh, *After Ranjit Singh*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1981, p.20

which the uniting force and leadership that had acted as the single most important cohesive factor in the emergence of the Sikh empire was lost. Thus it did not take long for Punjab to lapse into a state of near anarchy.⁶

Maharani Jind Kaur was a relatively less known and junior wife Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and was a largely unknown figure till 1841, till the official historians began taking note of her. Succession of her son, elevated her position. Now she was regarded as the mother of the minor sovereign. She began to be addressed as the *Mai* or mother, and as the surviving widow of the great Maharaja.⁷

This period between the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and advent of Maharani Jind Kaur witnessed on the political horizon witnessed large scale factionalism. It was interpreted as a crisis for the empire by major historians. After the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh the contenders to the throne demonstrated inordinate lust for wealth and power. However, these aspirants of power were eliminated one by one in the process of machinations and counter-machinations. Maharani Jind Kaur kept a close eye on the swiftly changing political scene from within the four walls of the Lahore *Durbar*.⁸

This parlous state of affairs lasted for some months. During this time there was in fact no government. It was more or less a state of anarchy and the soldiers were left loose to do what they thought proper.⁹

With the weakening of central authority it was becoming apparent that the real power was passing into the hands of the army. The men of Khalsa observed the developments in Lahore and grew restless. They were certainly not oblivious to the declining fortunes of the empire that had been assiduously built by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Besides this, the *Panchayats* were becoming more and more influential and discipline suffered.¹⁰

The council of ministers and the nobility at the court were as divided as the princes. Two major factions emerged soon after the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The more influential was that of the *Dogras*,

⁶ Hugh Cook, *The Sikh Wars 1845-49*, Thompson Press, Delhi, 1975, p.18

⁷ Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *Anglo-Sikh Relations 1799-1849*, V.V. Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1968, p.241

⁸ M.L. Ahluwalia, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2001, p.16

⁹ Colonel Steinbach, *The Punjab*, Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970, p.24

¹⁰ Hugh Cook, *The Sikh Wars 1845-49*, p.19; Colonel Steinbach, *The Punjab*, p.23

consisting of the three brothers, Gulab Singh and Suchet Singh, and Dhian Singh's son, Hira Singh, who had enjoyed the confidence of the late Maharaja. Although the brothers were not always united in their purpose, one or the other member of the family managed to be in power at Lahore. Through a gradual assertion of autonomy, Gulab Singh converted his fiefdom in Jammu into an almost independent *Dogra* Kingdom.¹¹ Maharani Jind Kaur assessed the dynamics of the political situation and was in dire need of reliable people who would help her and stand by her.

The second faction consisted of the Sikh aristocracy who were antagonistic to the *Dogras*. The Sandhwalias, Attariwalas, and the Majithias were the most prominent. Since the *Dogras* were Hindus and the Sikhs aristocrats were members of the Khalsa, difference between them often assumed a communal aspect of *Dogra* versus Sikh. Everyone was conscious of the fact that with loss of Raja Dhian Singh's strong hold over administration of the government, there was no one who could handle the situation. It was a time when the threat of the British was becoming more and more impending in nature. They were imposing new conditions for the execution of their military operations against Afghanistan.¹² It is a well known historical fact Dhian Singh and his brothers had been elevated to the status of Rajas by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. They had become nearly independent in the latter years of his reign. Moreover, Dhian Singh enjoyed additional power through his office of *Wazir*. These things bound him by fealty to the service of the King.¹³

However, it can be contended that neither Maharaja Ranjit Singh's wisdom nor his masterly was conspicuously missing in his successors. After his demise the state was plagued by dissensions between rival princes, ministers, queens and sardars. The situation deteriorated until ten years later the great kingdom fell in conquest to the British with whom the Sikhs imprudently entered into a war. The Khalsa, the one united power left, selling

¹¹ Khuswant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs 1839-1964*, vol.II, Oxford Printing Press, London, 1966, pp.5-6

¹² M.L. Ahluwalia, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, p.17

¹³ Hugh Pearse, *Solider and Traveller, Memories of Alexander Gardner*, Language, Department Punjab, Patiala, 1972, p.214

their services to the highest bidder.¹⁴ Relentless struggles for power were witnessed at an unprecedented scale during this period of Sikh history. The level of instability and political crisis can be fathomed from the fact it was a time during which three maharajas, three *Wazirs*, and other aspirants to power met violent death in quick succession.¹⁵

Ruthless struggle for power had unleashed a reign of terror. In a climate of fierce political stratagems and malicious conspiracies no person of any importance was safe. It was at this time that a venerable Sikh of sagacious reputation, S. Lehna Singh Majithia, abandoned Punjab in horror and disgust and went away on pilgrimage to Haridwar and other sacred places. This is seen by many as an act of desertion. Some historians accuse him of lack of patriotism. Being the most putative Sikh of his times he was expected the Sikhs in their future course and without seeking an escape.¹⁶

After Maharaja Ranjit Singh's death his only legitimate son, Shahzada Kharak Singh ascended the throne with Raja Dhian Singh as his minister.¹⁷ Kharak Singh was a good man, no doubt, but was seriously deficient in the qualities which were required in the face of formidable political challenges.¹⁸

Unfortunately Kharak Singh was also a very weak character. He did not have a sharp mind and was addicted to opium. It is said that during the entire period of his accession to the throne of Lahore he passed his whole time in a state of intoxication.¹⁹ His son, Nao Nihal Singh, was a promising youth, but the main authority really rested with Dhian Singh, Maharaja Ranjit Singh's *Wazir* or prime minister. Dhian Singh was not a Sikh, but a *Dogra* Rajput, who ruled the province of Jammu jointly with his brother Gulab Singh. They were known as the Jammu brothers and their influence was resented by many of the Sikhs. Before long the Maharaja's favorite was assassinated and the young heir apparent became the virtual head of state.²⁰

After Nao Nihal Singh, there were several sons of the old Maharaja

¹⁴ Colonel Steinbach, *The Punjab*, p.24

¹⁵ J.H. Gordon, *The Sikhs*, William Blackwood and Sons, London, 1904, pp.119-120

¹⁶ Gokul Chand Narang, *Transformation of Sikhism*, New Book Society, Lahore, 1945, p.325

¹⁷ Hugh Pearse, *Soldier and Traveller, Memories of Alexander Gardner*, p.214

¹⁸ Fauja Singh, *After Ranjit Singh*, pp.20-21

¹⁹ Hugh Pearse, *Soldier and Traveller, Memories of Alexander Gardner*, p.214

²⁰ Hugh Cook, *The Sikh Wars, 1845-49*, p.19

who had recognition in the masses. Besides, even the adopted sons of Maharaja Ranjit Singh were not considered to be ineligible. They were also important figures and were looked upon by many as entitled to his throne.²¹

As intrigues and counter intrigues continued unabated Kharak Singh's widow, Maharani Chand Kaur, put forward her claim to the throne on behalf of the hypothetical unborn son of Nao Nihal Singh. On the other hand, Maharaja Ranjit Singh's young widow, Maharani Jind Kaur, pressed the claim of her small son, Maharaja Duleep Singh as the legitimate heir of his father.

The virtual collapse of the civil authority and threat from foreign interference had, therefore, allowed the Army to assume the role of a new Khalsa, or a representative body of the Sikh people and the state. Its successful campaigns in the north and the south during 1841-44, had made it conscious of its strength. The Khalsa had no leader, neither the sovereign nor the civil government was capable of taming its latent energies.²²

The state of affairs made the British apprehensive. At this juncture the British were in a dilemma. On the one hand they were conscious of the challenge posed by uncontrolled Khalsa. It was a potent force and posed a constant threat to neighboring British territory. On the other hand the apparent disintegration of the Sikh Kingdom offered itself as an opportunity of expansion of the British rule in the Sikh stronghold. On the demise of Nao Nihal Singh, (November 1840) Sir William Macnaughton from Kabul had proposed to his government that they should wrest control of the district of Peshawar from the Sikh dominion and make it a part of the Durrani Kingdom of Kabul. Mr. Clerk, the political agent at Ludhiana proposed an armed insurrection by the British in Punjab. At the same time military aid was offered to Sher Singh to restore law and order in his kingdom.²³

As a result of these developments the relations between the *Durbar* and the British acquired frigidity. As a political expedient, Sher Singh

²¹ W.L. Mc'Gregor, *The History of the Sikhs*, James Madden, London, 1846 (reprint), Language Department, Punjab, Patiala, 1970, vol.11, pp.33-34

²² Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *Anglo-Sikh Relations, 1799-1849*, p.232

²³ Hari Ram Gupta, *Punjab on the Eve of First Sikh War*, Punjab University, Chandigarh 1956, Preface p.X

continued to keep up appearances of friendship with the British without acting subservient to them. In a strategic move, he gave Dost Mohammad, who had had several skirmishes with the Punjabi forces in the past, a great reception when he passed through Lahore on his way to Kabul. The *Durbar* signed a separate treaty recognizing him as the Amir of Afghanistan.²⁴ The British had a feeling that they no longer enjoyed the confidence of Sher Singh. They also felt that as long as Dhian Singh *Dogra* remained the Chief Minister there was little chance of the *Durbar* changing its attitude towards them. Thus persisting in their pretensions of friendship, they asked Sher Singh to allow the Sandhawalias, known to be inimical towards Dhian Singh *Dogra*, to return to the Punjab and have their estates restored to them.²⁵ The Maharaja, who was suffering from apparent discomfiture under Dhian Singh's domination, accepted the British suggestion. In November 1842, Ajit Singh Sandhawalias arrived at Lahore and was received with open arms by the simple-minded Sher Singh. Other members of the family were also reinstated in their possessions. As was anticipated, the Sandhawalias assumed a pro-British stance. They also adopted an anti *Dogra* position in the Lahore *Durbar*. However, Dhian Singh *Dogra* was secure and deeply entrenched in the political landscape. It was not easy to remove or eliminate them. Thus, the Sandhawalias were left with no option but to take recourse to violent means. This led to an alternation in the circumstances of the Lahore *Durbar*. There are some opinions according to which they acted under the influence of the British. The violent episode witnessed during this period had a lasting effect on the future of the Lahore *Durbar*.

The Lahore *Durbar* after the return of the Sandhawalias was caught between two equally formidable and strong forces. In an effort to set the situation right some steps were taken which ended up making the political situation in the country still worse. Representatives from the army- two from each unit-were invited for parleys by the government (the regimental officers were banned from election). The situation was ameliorated for some time

²⁴ Khuswant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs, 1839-1964*, vol.II, pp.25-26

²⁵ Foreign Department Secret Consultation, Proceeding, 'A', No.134, dated 29th June, 1842, NAI, New Delhi

as a result of this.²⁶

However, as part of a gradual process there was a realignment of courtiers behind the claimants to the throne and post of chief minister. Maharaja Duleep Singh had two step brothers, Peshowra Singh and Kashmira Singh. Both of them were older than him and anxious to press their claims to the throne. Both had private armies of their own. And although Hira Singh *Dogra* had been named as the chief *Wazir*, his appointment had not remained unopposed. Since at this time Maharaja Duleep Singh was only five years old, his mother, Maharani Jind Kaur, assumed the role of queen mother and introduced her brother, Jawahar Singh, into the council as a sort of guardian-cum-adviser.²⁷

It was a period of crisis and Maharani Jind Kaur and her son remained in security at Jammu till 1841. As time lapsed, differences between Maharaja Sher Singh and Dhian Singh and their prime minister surfaced. As a consequence of this, the Jammu brothers in order to strengthen their position and power at Lahore brought to the notice of the army *Panchayats* the existence of Maharaja Duleep Singh. As a result of this, the young prince was brought to Lahore in August 1843 on the plea that his mother was ill. Both the *Dogra* and Sandhanwalia chiefs conspired to find out means to replace Maharaja Sher Singh with Maharaja Duleep Singh.²⁸

Attar Singh Sandhanwalia, next to General Hari Singh Nalwa, was the strongest Sikh Chief in the Punjab. However, in the bloody events of the revolution of September 1843 Maharaja Sher Singh, his son, Kanwar Partap Singh, Raja Dhian Singh *Dogra* and the Sandhawalias, Ajit Singh and Lehna Singh lost their lives. Hira Singh *Dogra* emerged victorious while Attar Singh Sandhawalia fled across the Sutlej to the British territory.²⁹

In the beginning when Maharani Jind Kaur entered the *Durbar* politics her main objective was to protect the rights of her minor son, Maharaja Duleep Singh from internal and external forces She played a very significant

²⁶ Hari Ram Gupta, *Punjab on the eve of First Sikh War*, Preface XI

²⁷ Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs, 1839-1964*, vol. II, pp.28-29

²⁸ Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *Life and times of Ranjit Singh*, V.V. Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1968, p.228

²⁹ Avtar Singh Gill, *Lahore Darbar and Rani Jindan*, Central Publishers, Ludhiana, 1983, p.51

role in that situation. She was made the regent of her minor son Maharaja Duleep Singh. As a regent she safeguarded the rights of Maharaja Duleep Singh. She tackled the *Durbar* affairs with great care. She possessed the understanding and wisdom to understand the bloody plans of the *Dogra* party. She could not tolerate the *Dogra* domination. During this period, there were three parties at Lahore *Durbar*, *Dogra*, the Sikh nobility and Khalsa army. She was able to win over the two parties, Sikh nobility and Khalsa army. She was a very ambitious lady. Everyone was afraid of her. She could not bear that the real power should be taken from the Lahore *Durbar* by the *Dogras*. With great difficulty and care she saved the grand Lahore *Durbar* from the cruel and shrewd *Dogras*. Although a network of intrigues were being continuously hatched against her in the Lahore *Durbar* under the influence of *Dogras*, yet she was bold enough to resist them. She wanted to keep the Khalsa army under control. It was for this reason that she increased the remuneration of the army on one or two occasions. She was aware that no one in the *Durbar* was stronger than the Khalsa army.³⁰ Hardinge wrote that "The Sikh Government lacked power to control the Army, which stood in dangerous proximity to the British frontier. No master mind or a man of superior capacity appeared in the Punjab to control the mutinous army and reconstruct the Government."³¹

It was thus a war of the *Panches* and the army in which the leaders played a dubious role. The war ended with the defeat of the Sikh army but by itself did not completely annihilate it and wreck the hold of the *Panches*.

This ends the first phase of the history of the post Maharaja Ranjit Singh period. It was marked by rapid shifting of the scene at Lahore and the chief actors in it. One by one Maharaja Ranjit Singh's sons and ministers came to the front, but only to lose, after a brief interval both power and life. The chief feature of the period was the rapidly increasing power of the army and the *Panches*. The *Panches* had come into the picture when Sher Singh and Maharani Chand Kaur contended for the throne. They were at the height

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.40-42

³¹ Foreign Department Secret Consultation, Governor-General Despatch to Secret Committee No, 2, Proceeding 'A', 5th July 1845, NAI, New Delhi; Bikrama Jit Hasarat, *Anglo-Sikh Relations, 1799-1849*, p.245

of their power just before the first Sikh war when the Maharani and the chiefs dreaded and feared them and looked for some means of escape from it.³²

For Hardinge the essential problem arose from the fact that the Sikh army in the Punjab was the chiefs who were mostly the creation of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and did not represent one single homogeneous entity. Moreover the army also did not have a single leader of sufficient ability to give the state a settled and peaceful government. The chiefs were divided into factions and the army under the *Panches* was volatile and excitable. This made matters worse and the state passed from crises to crises.³³

On September 4, 1843, Sher Singh learnt privately that Dhian Singh, Suchet Singh, Hira Singh, Lehna Singh and Ajit Singh had held consultations for three hours at the house of Maharani Jind Kaur.³⁴

Shortly after Hira Singh's capture of the fort on September 16, 1843, Maharaja Duleep Singh was proclaimed Maharaja. The next day September 17, Raja Hira Singh and Raja Suchet Singh went into the fort where Jamadar Khushhal Singh, Faqir Azizuddin, Lehna Singh Majithia, Ventura and other commandants of the battalions presented themselves. On the advice of all the principal dignitaries Maharaja Duleep Singh ascended on the throne of Lahore. He was presented with gifts by those present on the occasion.³⁵

Maharani Jind Kaur was made Regent of her son; she was a woman of great capacity and strong will. Besides, she had considerable influence with the Panchayats, being a skillful intriguer and endowed with redoubtable character and courage.³⁶

Thus, Maharaja Duleep Singh came to occupy the throne but he was a child of five years only. For the next three years the chief actors and protagonists who controlled the affairs were the *Wazirs* who succeeded one another in quick succession. Maharani Jind Kaur, the mother of the Maharaja Duleep Singh played a pivotal role as regent. However, it was a

³² Surjit Singh Bal, *British Policy Towards the Punjab, 1844-49*, New Age Publishers, Calcutta, 1971, p.7

³³ *Ibid.*, p.10

³⁴ Henry T Princep, *History of the Punjab*, vol. II,; H. Allen & co, London, 1846, pp.273-274

³⁵ Bakhsish Singh Nijjar, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, p.11

³⁶ Baldev Singh Baddan, *Fighter for Freedom Maharaja Duleep Singh*, National Book Shop, Delhi, 1998, p.25

time during which a lot of factional fighting among the chiefs took place. The *Wazirs* contended with one another for the Wazarat, power, position and influence in the state. The Sikh army retained its importance and centrality as the recurrent fights between the *Wazirs* were resolved through appeal to them. This further strengthened the army and the panchayat system. The allegiance of the Sikh army could not be taken for granted by either the Maharani or the *Wazirs*, unless the *panchas* so wished it.³⁷

As has been discussed Maharaja Duleep Singh entered the political scene in an atmosphere of bloodshed.³⁸ Maharaja Duleep Singh was the youngest surviving son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The succession of Maharaja Duleep Singh raised Maharani Jind Kaur to the position of regent and enabled her to play a prominent role in the Sikh history. Being the mother of the minor Sikh sovereign, she came to be addressed as Mai or the Queen mother as she was the only surviving widow of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.³⁹ Owing to her exceptional intelligence that she understood the policy of the British. Her chief objective was to save her son and Lahore kingdom from the British. Maharani Jind Kaur was very shrewd and wanted that Maharaja Duleep Singh should be free from the trammels of the British power and influence.

It will not be out of place if it is stated here that her life and political activities revolved round Maharaja Duleep Singh till her death. This assertion can be made on the basis of the fact that Maharani Jind Kaur had a very unimportant and negligible role in the court of Lahore until her son Duleep Singh came to throne of Punjab as Maharaja in 1843.⁴⁰

Generally speaking it went against the interest of the Khalsa Raj that within sixteen months of the demise of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the senior line of successors of the ruling house of Sardar Chatar Singh Sukerchakiya came to a sudden stop. Both Maharaja Kharak Singh and his only son, Prince Nau Nihal Singh, expired on the same day. This unfortunate event which happened on 5th November, 1840, may also be said to mark the

³⁷ Surjit Singh Bal, *British Policy Toward the Punjab 1844-49*, p.3

³⁸ Lepel Griffin, *Maharaja Duleep Singh*, p.5

³⁹ Bakhsish Singh Nijjar, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, p.11

⁴⁰ Ganda Singh, *Maharaja Duleep Singh Correspondence*, p.30

beginning of the end of the Sikh empire. The remaining part of the story of the Lahore *Durbar* comprises of the death of Kahrak Singh to the day when the members of the council of regency were made to sign the document surrendering the sovereignty of the state to the British (March 29th 1849).⁴¹ Both the *Dogra* and Sandhanwalia chiefs conspired to find out means to replace Maharaja Sher Singh with Maharaja Duleep Singh.⁴²

In September 1843, however, both Prince Sher Singh, prime minister Dhian Singh were assassinated and Hira Singh son of Dhian Singh with the help of the Army and Chiefs wiped out Sandhanwala faction. Shortly afterwards Hira Singh captured the fort on 16th September 1843. The three days between the 15th and 17th of September, nearly a thousand men including Maharaja Sher Singh and his son Partap Singh, the Prime Minister and nine other leading dignitaries of the court lost their lives.⁴³

Army proclaimed minor Prince Duleep Singh as the new sovereign of the state of Punjab and Hira Singh *Dogra* was appointed the *Wazir* on 23rd March, 1843.⁴⁴ Two other Princes, Peshaura Singh and Kashmira Singh, had also had a claim on the throne as the young boy, Maharaja Duleep Singh. However, neither of the two was suitable for Hira Singh's purpose. Both these princes had received training in the army and the government. Both were of the same age as Hira Singh, who could not be expected to enjoy the level of authority he would have with Maharaja Duleep Singh on the throne. It is quite apparent that the claim of these two princes was deliberately ignored.⁴⁵

In the given situation and in the consequence of the elimination of Raja Dhian Singh and the Sandhanwalias unable to decide about succession quickly; Hira Singh son of Raja Dhian Singh came to occupy the centre stage. Colonel Alexander Gardner in his memoirs thus tells the tale,

⁴¹ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-Ut-Twarikh, Daftar-IV*, p.xxi

⁴² Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, p.228; Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, p.69

⁴³ Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, p.69-70; M.L. Ahulwalia, *Bhai Maharaj Singh*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1972, p.10

⁴⁴ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh, Daftar-IV*, pp.524-525; Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, pp.88-89; Khushwant Singh, *The fall of the Kingdom of the Punjab*, Orient Longman, Delhi, 1971, p.54;

⁴⁵ Foreign Department Secret Consultation, Proceeding 'A', No. 22, dated 4th April 1845, NAI, New Delhi; Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, pp.69-70

“in the old age of the Maharaja there was a person whom he specially took in to favour, and whom he loved like a son from his birth”. The person referred to in this statement was Hira Singh, the son of Raja Dhian Singh. It is said that Maharaja Ranjit Singh was very possessive about Hira Singh. He did not allow the boy to be out of his sight. It is significant that right from infancy the child was taught to address the monarch as his father. As Hira Singh approached manhood he became an influential figure. The army also regarded him with great respect. It was a complex state of affairs as the love of the old Maharaja, aided by the sympathies of the powerful army, made his uncles the *Dogra* brothers nurture a dream of greatness. In the wake of Maharaja Ranjit Singh’s death there was a spurt of violence aimed at fulfilling the ambitious designs of the *Dogra* brothers. This whole story was that Hira Singh, the heir of their family, or at least the most promising of its rising generation, might eventually succeed to the throne of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.⁴⁶

General council of the army with Hira Singh as its head was called at Hazuribagh. It was attended by all the Sikh officers with two men from each company as *panches* or deputies. This time again, the youthful Hira Singh, managed to be successful with his magical eloquence. He made an announcement that he had summoned the congregation in order for them to decide the best means of tranquillizing and governing the country. It was his desire that they should appoint a *Wazir* of their own choice to conduct the affairs of the state. In this gathering he expressed unwillingness to undertake the office himself for several reasons.⁴⁷ Although he made a show of unwillingness to assume power the speech had the effect which he may have inwardly desired. The *panches* unanimously declared him as *Wazir* and promised to obey him. With apparent reluctance, he accepted the position.⁴⁸

The minor Maharaja Duleep Singh barely five years of age, thus, came to have a minister no more than twenty five years old. The personal credentials and accomplishments were in no way unworthy of the position he occupied. He had been the special favourite of the great Maharaja who had

⁴⁶ Hugh Pearse, *Soldier and Traveller, Memories of Alexander Gardner*, p.212

⁴⁷ G.C. Smyth, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, pp.88-89

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.89-90

allowed him to be seated in his presence. It was an honour which even Hira Singh's father had not been given.⁴⁹ He was strikingly handsome, shrewd, good-tempered, urbane and entertaining.⁵⁰ However, it is believed that he looked effeminate, and lacked his father's fine, tall and powerful build.⁵¹ Apart from having a fine bearing, Hira Singh was fairly educated, being able to read and write well. He was endowed with wit. He had learnt from his father the art of treating the troops.⁵² Osborne is quite justified in observing that "he is certainly one of the most amiable and popular persons at the court of Lahore."⁵³

The special favours, which Maharaja Ranjit Singh had bestowed upon Hira Singh, had given him a strong hold upon the Sikh nation. His family connections and hereditary power had placed him in the highest rank of the Punjabi nobility. The commands in the army, which he had held for quite some time, had established his relations with that all-powerful body in the state. Moreover, the universal feeling of sympathy for the fate of his father secured for him the attachment of all high and low.⁵⁴

Hira Singh in his new official capacity now called on the army to support Duleep Singh's claims. He couched his appeal in nationalist sentiment and justified it on the grounds that the Sindnwalias were complicit with the British. He marched on Lahore, eliminated the Sindnwalias and set up a government in Maharaja Duleep Singh's name with himself as *Wazir*. However, Hira Singh found himself in a dicey position. He had aroused the anti-British sentiments of the army to achieve power. Moreover the Maharani Jind Kaur was ambitious for power and would obviously have liked to rule the country⁵⁵ and wanted to save the Punjab from the British. She stood against the British might till her last breath. Moreover, it was she who had a strategic consciousness of the fact that the British did not possess enough

⁴⁹ W.L. Mc'Gregor, *The History of the Sikhs*, vol. II, p.25

⁵⁰ W.G. Osborne, *The Court and Camp of Ranjeet Singh*, Henry Colburn, London, 1840, (reprint) Language Department Punjab, Patiala, pp.77-78

⁵¹ W.L. Mc'Gregor, *The History of the Sikh*, vol. II, p.25

⁵² J.M. Honigberger, *Thirty Five Years in the East*, vol. I.; H. Allen & co., London, 1852, (reprint) Language Department Punjab, Patiala, p.109

⁵³ W.G. Osborne, *The Court and Camp of Ranjeet Singh*, p.78

⁵⁴ Henry T Princep, *History of the Punjab*, vol. II, pp.286-287

⁵⁵ Hugh Cook, *The Sikh Wars 1845-49*, p.20

European forces in India to stand on their own. In 1843, Lord Ellenborough, the Governor-General of British Indian government and the main actor in Sindh episode, counselled the Duke of Wellington in London "that it would not be so easy to deal with Maharani Jind Kaur as he could with the Amirs of Sindh because she was a woman of determined courage"⁵⁶ According to him, she was undoubtedly the most indomitable and determined person he had come across in post Maharaja Ranjit Singh period.

In these politically tumultuous times, it was important to decide whether the Sandhanwalias or the *Dogras* were to be the centre of power at the Khalsa *Durbar*. Hira Singh and his uncle Suchet Singh (younger brother of Raja Dhian Singh) made efforts to garner the support of the Khalsa army. Hira Singh went to the barracks and was able to get promises of help from the troops under the command of two European generals named Court and Eitable. It did not take long for him to get assurance of support from Ventura's *Fauj-i-Khas*. Hira Singh displayed his qualities of leadership when he addressed the Sikh soldiers and sought the protection of Khalsa (after the death of his father) in emotionally charged words besides warning the patriotic Khalsa soldiers about the British intrigues and Sandhanwalias close connections with the British political agent at Ludhiana. Hira Singh's appeal had a dramatic effect and soldiers prepared to march towards the Lahore fort. The garrison under Lehna Singh Sandhanwalia defended their positions gallantly but they could not withstand the large numbers of attacking forces. Both Ajit Singh and Lehna Singh lost their lives and Hira Singh's writ came to hold the sway.⁵⁷ He arranged the cremations of Maharaja Sher Singh, Prince Partap Singh and Raja Dhian Singh's dead bodies in a manner, befitting their status and rank, cleansed the court with reprisals; followed by sundry dismissals. In the matter of succession, Hira Singh preferred to install, Duleep Singh, as Maharaja in the preference of the other two contenders, Prince Pashaura Singh and Kashmira Singh, who were almost of the same age as that of Hira Singh himself. As for the reorganization of the affairs of

⁵⁶ M.L. Ahluwalia, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, p.14

⁵⁷ Colonel Steinbach, *The Punjab*, p.27

the state were concerned, Hira Singh put himself as Prime Minister⁵⁸ (a position occupied by his deceased father, Raja Dhian Singh); continued to hold the charge of Khalsa army, named Maharani Jind Kaur the regent and asked her brother Jawahar Singh to supervise the education of the child Maharaja. Pandit Jallah was appointed as *Mashir-i-Khas*. Thus it can be seen that Hira Singh acted as a catalyst and the chief architect in the transitory phase in the period of rapid political flux. It can be said that Hira Singh had expected that under these arrangements he become the centre of all authority. However, the complexities of the situation were too great and complicated. The ambitious designs of the Queen Mother and her brother, Jawahar Singh were instrumental in changing the dynamics of the situation in a direction contrary to the one foreseen by Hira Singh.⁵⁹

At this stage, it is necessary and theoretically important to have a close look at the state of affairs of the governance machinery. During this period of political transition, the civil, military and revenue administration had virtually come to stand still. The system of revenue collection had virtually collapsed and the various wings of revenue collection had become dysfunctional. The collection of revenues except in a few well-administered pockets had fallen in arrears. The *Kardars* or district officials had lost their hold on the local civil administration on account of the king-killing and then followed by anarchy. Besides, the big fief holders and *ijaredars* who were mostly responsible for revenue collections were tampering with the records in connivance with the state officials because most of them owed lacs of rupees to the central exchequer.⁶⁰

The name of Raja Gulab Singh, Sheikh Ghulam Mohiud-din, Diwan Mul Raj, Sultan Mohammad Khan, the *Bhais* and the *Misr* families and most of the Muslim *Ijaredars* of the Hazara and trans-Indus territories, the Chiefs of the Kulu-Mandi Hills occur amongst the list of defaulters. The situation in Central Punjab and the Jalandhar Doab, where revenue and customs collection was negligible and was mostly done by the *Kardar*, was not so bad. The army of the *Durbar*, particularly the regiments under the

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p.27

⁵⁹ Colonel Steinbach, *The Punjab*, pp.29-30

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p.29

command of General Court and those of the king's own called the *Kampo-i-Mualla* where Sikh soldiers were in majority in the infantry and artillery, had almost taken upon themselves the role of the king-makers, in face of their repeated demands of increase in their pay and allowances, in addition to cash awards in advance. In this way, they had succeeded in almost discarding the strict code of conduct and discipline as had been prescribed by Maharaja Ranjit Singh.⁶¹

The increase in the strength of the *Durbar* forces and the high cost of their pay and allowances during 1839-1845, reflect how the defenders of the Khalsa *Raj* were eating into the dwindling resources of the state. The strength of the army, infantry, cavalry and artillery which was roughly 35,000 at the time of the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh besides over 10,000 *Jagirdari* force, had risen to over 51,000 and 14,000 respectively during 1834-35. The monthly pay of a soldier rose from Rs. 9.9 only to Rs. 14 per month in 1833-34. The total salary bill was very large enough to consume the recovery of arrears of revenue. Moreover, disciplining of the soldiery as well as of the courtiers became central points of the new state-policy. As a first step towards this direction, Maharani Jind Kaur considered it appropriate to allow Raja Hira Singh to give priority to the collection of revenue. In order to replenish the depleted treasury, Raja Hira Singh gave free hand to *Mashir-i-Khas* Pandit Jallah. Pandit Jallah was a Kashmiri Brahmin and was notorious for his intemperate ways.⁶² The ruthless methods of revenue extraction adopted by Pandit Jallah's attracted opposition and hatred from courtiers as well as soldiery. Besides this the courtiers and the *Jagirdars* resented an order supposed to have been issued by Pandit Jallah at the behest of Raja Hira Singh to produce original *Patanamas* or land grant deeds and service *Jagirs* issued in their favour specifying their service conditions during the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Among those who created great hue and cry against these orders, the names of Bhai Ram

⁶¹ J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Civil and Military Affairs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, Guru Nank Dev University, Amritsar, 1977, pp.77-87; Bakhsish Singh Nijjar, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, p.8

⁶² Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, pp.85-87; H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North West Frontier Province*, vol. II, (reprint), Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970, p.25

Singh, Gobind Ram, Diwan Basakha Singh, Jawahar Singh Nalwa and Rattan Singh Gharjakhia find special mention in the *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*.⁶³

These *jagirdars* openly charged Raja Hira Singh and Pandit Jallah with vindictiveness. However Jallah did not relent and went to the extent of imposing huge fines on several of them not even sparing Sobha Singh Kalsia, Jamadar Khushal Singh, the *Sahibzadas* of Dera Baba Nanak and even the widow of Maharaja Sher Singh.⁶⁴

In order to escape harassment, some of the above mentioned *Jagirdars* took shelter in the monastery (*Dera*) of Baba Bir Singh of Narangabad. The act of taking sanctuary in the monastery led to the involvement of a respected religious figure in the conflict. In a well-considered move, Sardar Ajit Singh Sandhanwalia again entered the territories of the Khalsa *Raj* from Thanesar with a number of retainers and took shelter in the camp of Baba Bir Singh and persuaded him to issue a dictate to Raja Hira Singh to stop such proceedings against courtiers and *Jagirdars*. Raja Hira Singh sensing trouble sent a *Dogra* contingent to lay a siege on the monastery of Baba Bir Singh and asked the disaffected chiefs to vacate the premises. This action of Hira Singh further antagonized the rebellious courtiers. These developments culminated in an exchange of fire. In this situation Baba Bir Singh tried to intervene and restrain both sides but was caught in the cross firing. A bullet struck his thigh which proved fatal. The people who had gathered there in large numbers got infuriated and branded Hira Singh as *guru-mar* or the killer of the saint. This stigma proved his undoing. Hira Singh's repeated pleadings had no effect. They could not pacify the enraged people even after he declared that he would build a marble mausoleum of Baba Bir Singh to atone or revenge for the sin.⁶⁵

Notably just a few days before this episode Raja Hira Singh had displeased of the soldiers by discharging five hundred of them as 'surplus'. The author of *Umdat-ut-Twarikh* in his rather conservative style hints at

⁶³ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, Daftar-IV, preface page. xxii

⁶⁴ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, Daftar-IV, preface p. xxii; Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, pp.85-87

⁶⁵ M.L. Ahulwalia, *Bhai Maharaj Singh*, p.10; H.A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North West Frontier Province*, p.25

several places about the looming crisis. There were rumours that *Pandit Jallah* was showed a contumacious attitude towards the Maharani. It was held that he disapproved of her lavish expenditure on the *Poh Sankranti* which fell on 12 December 1844. This led to the Maharani appealing to the army against Raja Hira Singh and Jallah. The matters came to such a pass that the prime minister attempted to flee the capital along with Pandit Jallah along with their personal belongings and servants. But the irate soldier's ruler had the better of them. This cut short the prospective fortunes of a young minister who might have had a long political career before him.⁶⁶

This episode of instability and violence at Lahore, led the British Agent on the Sutlej to assume that Maharaja Ranjit Singh's dynasty would soon cease to exist. However, he had failed to observe the bewildering transformation of the Sikh Army.

Some members of the British Parliament were apprehensive that in the wake of political instability, the British forces will adopt a policy of uninhibited interference in the internal affairs of Khalsa *Durbar*. As such Lord Ellenborough was cautioned against adopting an unconcealed and blatant policy of blackmail in the Punjab as he did with the Amirs of Sind.. Accordingly, the secret committee in London in their communication addressed to the Earl of Ellenborough on 25 November 1843 advised caution, stating that the development at Lahore did in no way "call for a departure from the policy already laid down, although the circumstances of the present case, as far as we are acquainted with them, are different from those about which those instructions were issued."⁶⁷ Actually Ellenborough had to be warned because he has shown a tendency of willingness to take advantage in the unrest of the princes. He had hinted at the revolt of princes Kashmira Singh and Pashaura Singh in asserting their claims to the Lahore *Durbar*.

It was well known Peshaura Singh and Kashmira Singh had a legitimate claim to the throne. However accommodating their claim did not

⁶⁶ M.L. Ahluwalia, *Mai Chand Kaur's Rule: An Estimate*, Published in the Proceedings, vol. XXX of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Calcutta, 1985, p.125; Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, pp.87-88

⁶⁷ Bakhsish Singh Nijjar, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, p.21

suit Hira Singh's purpose. Both these princes had received training in the army as well as in the government's functioning. Further, they being of about the same age as Hira Singh would not brook the supremacy and authority of Hira Singh. Having Maharaja Duleep Singh on the throne was more tactically suitable for Hira Singh. Their claims, therefore, appeared to have been deliberately ignored.

In the emerging scenario Maharani Jind Kaur came to preside over the affairs of the state. A Sikh Sardar, Peshawra Singh rebelled against the regency of the queen mother. She dealt with the situation like an astute person. She made a pretence of making peace with the rebellious general and invited him to Lahore for a settlement of disputes. He came, but on the way he was treacherously murdered perhaps at the instigation of Jawahar Singh.⁶⁸

The Governor-General confirms the same in his secret report to London dated 6 November 1839, saying that he had learnt from Major Broadfoot's private letter "that Maharani continues to carry on the Government in her own name as regent for her son, she consults alternately Diwan Dina Nath and Bhai Ram Singh with Raja Lal Singh and endeavors to play off the one against the other. While she with the concurrence of the Army, governs in person, as the army pleases. She was shown much spirit and energy no more than one occasion lately and that the maharani was now leading a more regular life"⁶⁹

Maharani Jind Kaur played important and prominent administrative role in Sikh History. She was a woman of great ability, capacity and strong will. Moreover, she had considerable influence with panchayats as well as the army of Lahore *Durbar*.⁷⁰

Some of the old Khalsa chiefs, although hostile to the *Dogra* party, came out in support of the claimants. They hoped by such means to get one

⁶⁸ Newspaper, *The Orient Illustrated Weekly*, October 8, 1939. File no 52, Bhai Khan Singh Nabha Library, Ganda Singh collection, Punjabi University Patiala

⁶⁹ Foreign Department Political Consultation, Proceeding 'B', Nos. 47-48, dated 19th, September 1846, NAI. New Delhi ; Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, p.228

⁷⁰ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, Daftar-III, Part-V, English translation by V.S. Suri, p.525

of themselves made *Wazir*. Maharani Jind Kaur, temporized and prevaricated and gradually got rid of all rivals. She feared and distrusted her rival. She framed a strategy in which the minister who had placed her son on the throne and whose influence made aroused her discomfiture was killed and her brother, Sardar Jawahir Singh appointed in his place.⁷¹

Hira Singh, as a Prime Minister arranged that Maharani Jind Kaur should continue to look after her son. For the running of administration, rules of procedure were laid down. Secretaries were instructed to submit their papers through Pandit Jallah (a *Brahmin* of the Jammu Hills and brother of the spiritual leader of the *Dogra* family). He was appointed *Mashi-i-Khas* and his recommendation regarding civil and revenue were to be regarded as final. Hira Singh retained for himself charge of the army also. He immediately sanctioned the promised enhancement of Rs. 20/- per month in salary of a common soldier. Besides, general rise in the salary of all those, who had actually taken part in the siege of 16-17 September, they too received a gratuity amounting equal to one month's salary. Hira Singh appointed Jawahar Singh, who was the maternal uncle of Duleep Singh, as the guardian of new appointed Maharaja. This appointment had raised him to the position of one of the most responsible dignitaries of the states, a man who apart from his humble origin was described as 'ill-clad and loitering in the streets of Lahore with a hawk perched on his hand, and also drunken and debauched.'⁷²

Suchet Singh readily accepted the offer of help from the Maharani and her brother and prepared himself to make a bid for the Prime-Ministership. As has been discussed above Rani was against Hira Singh who became more assertive in his demands with every passing day.⁷³ She complained that her son was secluded by Hira Singh and that she was no regent during his minority, and that the minister had rejected a proposal of marriage made to Maharaja Duleep Singh by the *Sardar* of Ropar for his

⁷¹ J.H. Gordon, *The Sikhs*, p.128

⁷² M.L. Ahluwalia, *Sher Singh and the War of Succession of the Lahore Throne*, Indian Historical Record Commission Proceedings, Vol. XXXV, pp.112-115; Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, p.71

⁷³ Foreign Department Political Consultation, Proceeding 'C', No. 68, dated 18 January, 1843. NAI, New Delhi ; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar -V, pp.4-6

daughter. Gulab Singh the other *Dogra* brother strove in-vain to pacify Maharani, who threatened to remove her son from *Gaddi*.⁷⁴

It is believed that Maharani Jind Kaur was so irritated by the attitude of *Dogra* family that she had asked Bhai Bir Singh who was a famous saint to come to Lahore and get her released her and her son from imprisonment.⁷⁵ In the meantime, Suchet Singh became impatient for the honors promised him by Maharani Jind Kaur, and intrigued with Jawahar Singh, the maternal uncle of Maharaja Duleep Singh, to inflict a sudden blow on the power of his nephew.⁷⁶ About this, during late Maharaja Sher Singh's time, a conspiracy was hatched to poison the young Maharaja Duleep Singh and place the widow's (Jind Kaur) son on the throne. Maharani Jind Kaur, however, being informed of this in time, thus impending disaster was nipped in the bud.

There is no denying the fact that Maharani Jind Kaur's chief aim and driving ambition was to secure the throne of Lahore permanently for her son and his successor, yet a careful study of the records of the period would convince anyone that she was never a willing party to any of the schemes of collaboration with the British, to the extent, as other members of the Royal family of Lahore were. Dr. Ganda Singh in his work, *Private correspondence relating to the Anglo-Sikh War*, wrote, On November 20, 1843 Lord Ellenbrough said: "The mother of the boy Maharaja Duleep Sigh seems to be a woman of determined course, and she is the only person apparently at Lahore, who has courage."⁷⁷

The Khalsa army allowed her to take over the reins of the government as regent. The army Panchayats having destroyed one minister, began to search for another. The ill-omened Wazarat, therefore, remained vacant and the Maharani began showing energy and spirit by laying aside her veil and

⁷⁴ Foreign Department Political Consultation, Proceedings 'A', Nos. 1280-1313, dated 26th December 1846. NAI, New Delhi ; Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, p.71

⁷⁵ J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Civil and Military Affairs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, pp.77-87

⁷⁶ Foreign Department Secret Consultation, Proceeding 'A', No. 792, dated 26th December 1846, NAI, New Delhi ; Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, pp.71-72

⁷⁷ Foreign Department Secret Consultation, Proceedings 'A', No. 88, dated 4th April 1845, NAI, New Delhi

devoting herself to state affairs.⁷⁸

Maharani Jind Kaur proclaimed herself as regent, cast off her veil and assumed all powers of the government in the name of Maharaja Duleep Singh. The regimental committees acquiesced, for she could represent a symbol of the sovereignty of the Khalsa. She would often address the common soldiers and hold court and transact in public the business of the State. She reconstituted the supreme council by giving representation to the chief *Sardars*, besides the elected leaders of the army (*Panchayats*) thus, affecting a temporary compromise between the republican army and the civil government.⁷⁹

This chapter contains a discussion on her role in post Maharaja Ranjit Singh period 1839-43, condition of the Lahore *Durbar* after the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and how the army assumed for themselves the most important position. Army delegates decided in council the fate of the King and the country, making and unmaking their rulers and officers. The chapter also tries to throw light on how Maharani Jind Kaur was keeping watchful eye on all the happenings from the Lahore *Durbar* and the process through which she entered the Lahore politics. The chapter traces the process of her rise to the position of the regent of minor Maharaja Duleep Singh the way in which she tackled the *Durbar* affairs and safe guarded the rights of Maharaja Duleep Singh. British interference in Lahore *Durbar* and their policy towards Punjab also forms the subject and one of the vital issues.

⁷⁸ Foreign Department Secret Consultation, Proceedings 'B', Governor-General to Secret Committee, 6th November 1845. NAI, New Delhi

⁷⁹ Foreign Department Secret Consultation, Proceedings 'B', No. 33, dated 20 June, 1845. NAI. New Delhi; M.L. Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, p.23

CHAPTER – III

MAHARANI JIND KAUR AS REGENT: (1843-46)

Maharani Jind Kaur played a minor and insignificant role in the court of Lahore until her son Maharaja Duleep Singh came to the throne of the Punjab as Maharaja in 1843.¹ The political life as well as career of Maharani Jind Kaur has its beginning in 1843 when she assumed the role of de jure regent to the minor Maharaja Duleep Singh.² However, it is theoretically important to form an understanding of the general components and character of the British policy in relation of the Sikh kingdom before dealing with the role of Maharani Jind Kaur as regent of Maharaja Duleep Singh. It is significant to note that Sikh kingdom was the only sovereign power on Indian subcontinent that had remained independent of British dominance.³ In her political orientation Maharani Jind Kaur also desired that Duleep Singh should remain free of the British power and influence. Yet, this was not an easy goal and it can be said that as a regent of the state of Lahore, Maharani Jind Kaur did not have an easy life.

Maharani Jind Kaur lived through an eventful and tumultuous phase during this period.⁴ The first challenge was the advance of English force to Lahore. Not only was Peshaura Singh (An adopted son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh) accompanying the English force to Lahore, but he had the tacit support of secretly Gulab Singh. It was during this early period of Maharani Jind Kaur's regency that the troops of the Sikh army protested and demanded raise in their pay. Besides this as part of the early challenges, the feudatory Chiefs demanded the restoration of their resumed jagirs, remission of fines and reduction of enhanced taxes and burdens imposed upon them by Prime minister Hira Singh. The state was faced with a fiscal crisis and it seemed that the dwindling revenues would not be able to meet with the

¹ Ganda Singh, *Maharaja Duleep Singh Correspondence*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1977, p.30

² Gaesar Caine, (ed.) *Barracks and Battle field in India*, Languages Department Punjab, Patiala, 1971, p.7

³ M.L. Ahluwalia, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2001, p.39

⁴ J.H. Gordon, *The Sikhs*, William Blackwood and Sons, London, 1904, p.128

increasing cost of the civil and military administration.⁵

As stated at length in the preceding chapter the succession of Maharaja Duleep Singh raised Maharani Jind Kaur to the position of a de jure regent, thus enabling her (Maharani Jind Kaur) to play an important and prominent administrative role especially during the immediate period of five years. She was a woman of great ability, capacity and strong will. Moreover, she had a considerable influence with the *Panchayats* as well as the army of Lahore *Durbar*.⁶

The army proclaimed minor Maharaja Duleep Singh as the new sovereign of the Punjab State in September 1843. Hira Singh *Dogra*, who was the son of Dhian Singh *Dogra* (the Prime Minister of Ranjit Singh) was appointed the *Wazir* on 23rd March, 1844.⁷ As is well known and as has been discussed in the previous chapter, Hira Singh was brought up under the care of great Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Thus, Hira Singh was a capable man and possessed talent and capabilities that were commensurate with the political requirements of these times. As Hira Singh had been close to the monarch and as he used to be in constant attendance on him he had acquired the old king's habits of reflection and thoughtfulness.⁸ However, in hypocrisy and shrewdness he resembled his father Dhian Singh. He had a good sense of statecraft and knew how to treat the *Sardars* and behave with the troops. It can be said that with he was very popular with the troops. In his personal traits he was excessively fond of wearing jewelers. He was in the prime of youth, when he was raised to the rank of *Wazir*. The young ruler had, therefore, a promising minister who might have had a long political career before him.⁹

Maharani Jind Kaur was interested in appointing Jawahar Singh as the Prime Minister. So she was not happy with Raja Hira Singh, who had

⁵ Harbans Singh, *Encyclopedia of Sikhism*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2000, p.382

⁶ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, Daftar-III, Part-V, English translation by V.S. Suri, S. Chand & CO., New Delhi, 1961, p.525

⁷ G.C.Smyth, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970, p.8

⁸ M.L.Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, Orient Longman Publication, Patiala, 1963, p.21

⁹ M.L. Ahluwalia, *Mai Chand Kaur's Rule: An Estimate*, Published in the Proceedings, vol. XXX of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Calcutta, 1996, p.102

himself assumed the position of the Prime Minister. As the events unfolded Jawahar Singh soon conceived the idea of ousting Hira Singh *Dogra* from power and replacing him by Suchet Singh, who was the younger brother of Dhian Singh *Dogra*. In this design he had the approval of his sister Maharani Jind Kaur, who was said to have been intimate with Suchet Singh, because for six years, he had been manager of her household. So Maharani Jind Kaur induced him to aspire to the *wazarat*, to the exclusion of his nephew. In their opinion Hira Singh, was considered as a stripling and inexperienced in the administrative business as well as incapable of discharging the duties of the office entrusted to him.¹⁰

The relations between Maharani Jind Kaur, the mother of Maharaja Duleep Singh and Raja Hira Singh *Dogra*, the minister, had been gradually but definitely deteriorating for a considerable time.¹¹ From about the first or second week of November, 1844, the Maharani apparently influenced by her brother Jawahar Singh and other chiefs, had raised an open issue with the minister regarding the money allowed/sanctioned to her at the *Diwali* festival. She had also demanded a big *jagir* for her brother. She even threatened to appeal publicly and seek clarification on whether her son was the real or nominal sovereign. Hira Singh and Pandit Jalla, however, remained firm in not allowing the regent and her son too much self assertion and political sway. Finally, the Maharani consented to accept yearly allowance of Rs. 1,25,000 for herself. This temporary settlement was a means of preventing Maharani Jind Kaur from making any further claims on account of her brother. The Sikh troops suspected that Jawahar Singh had plans to deliver his nephew to the English. In addition to this Raja Hira Singh also suspected that he had entered into a secret understanding with Raja Gulab Singh during the earlier dispute. The compromise between the Maharani and Hira Singh was struck approximately around the middle of November, 1844.¹² However, the intrigues crafted by vested interests did not cease. A relationship of competitive rivalry between the Maharaja's mother and Hira

¹⁰ Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, Orient Longmans, Delhi, 1967, p.71; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar, V, pp.19-20

¹¹ Henry T Prinsep, *History of the Punjab*, vol.II, H.Allen & co., London, 1846, p.291

¹² M.L. Ahulwalia, *Bhai Maharaj Singh*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1972, p.10

Singh was a clear symptom of political tensions in the existing state of things.¹³

In the month of May, 1844, Maharaja Duleep Singh contracted small pox. As a remedy for the disease offerings of 500 rupees were to be daily made to the *Brahmins*. As a propitiatory measure slaughter of goats and sheep was temporarily stopped and there was a prohibition on sale and consumption of wine. After almost a month on the 4th June, 1844, it was declared that the Maharaja was free of disease and restored to health. Maharaja Duleep Singh, went for an inspection of the troops 21st June, 1844 along with Raja Hira Singh, Pandit Jalla, Mian Labh Singh and Mian Lal Singh. The king and his nobles were pleased and satisfied with the show of strength and capacity of the troops. They expressed their admiration for the skills of troops. During this visit the troops were specifically instructed to remain prepared for prompt response. The *Raja* presented the troops 10,000 rupees and returned. During the same period there was an accident as a result of which the Maharaja was advised against riding a horse and to use a palanquin for coming to the *Durbar*. In the month of September, 1844, Maharaja Duleep Singh who generally rode to the *Durbar*, was startled by the drums of the party saluting him and was nearly thrown down from his horse. Somehow his orderlies saved him from being hurt in any way. It was said that thereafter, the Maharaja was advised to come in a palanquin to the *Durbar*.¹⁴

From some of facts given above it is apparent that Raja Hira Singh had quite a good influence on the state affairs. Things went well for some time under the new regime but the Maharani's brother, Jawahar Singh, the maternal uncle of the Maharaja started betraying intimations of ambition and a lust for power. It was quite clear that he wanted to obtain the control of the army and to neutralize the influence of the *Panchayats*.¹⁵

Jawahar Singh made an attempt to take away the Prime-Ministership

¹³ Barkat Rai Chopra, *Kingdom of Punjab, 1839-45*, Vishveshvaranand Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1969, p.335

¹⁴ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, Daftar-IV, pp.22-23

¹⁵ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding 'B', No.22 dated 4th April 1845, NAI, New Delhi; Diwan Ajudhia Parshad, *Waqai-Jang-I-Sikhan*, English translated by V.S.Suri, Punjab Itihas Parkashan, Chandigarh, 1975, p.6

from Raja Hira Singh. In one of the important developments, he took the infant Maharaja on an elephant to the cantonment outside the city and told the soldiers who had assembled on parade, that as the Maharaja was not safe with Hira Singh, it was up to them either to remove the *Dogra* Minister or to enable the Prince and himself to escape across the Sutlej and seek asylum with the British at Ferozepur. However, the troopers did not believe Jawahar Singh. They took away the Maharaja from Jawahar Singh's lap and reported the whole matter to Hira Singh.¹⁶ In the wake of this development, Hira Singh showed both firmness and diplomacy. He rewarded the soldiers for their loyalty and ordered Jawahar Singh to be taken into custody. Thus Jawahar Singh was taken into custody and imprisoned in the *haveli* of the late Maharaja Kharak Singh. He was replaced by Lal Singh, a clerk of the *Toshakhana*. However, the troops favoured a sympathetic treatment for Jawahar Singh. The army was aware that the motivation to act against Hira Singh came mainly from Raja Suchet Singh, brother of Dhian Singh *Dogra*.¹⁷ The favourable approach of the army was instrumental in saving the life of Jawahar Singh. Though his life was spared he was consigned to prison and put behind bars.¹⁸ Due to the imprisonment of Jawahar Singh, Maharani's relations with Hira Singh became strained. Apparently, Maharani Jind Kaur was not happy with him. Although after some time Jawahar Singh was released through the intervention of the army.¹⁹

It can be said that Hira Singh's authority was derived from and dependent on the favors of the army. The officers were clearly in his favour. Besides, the allegiance of the army could be procured only through monetary gratification of the officers. It was a time when revenue collection had considerably declined. Thus, Hira Singh had no option but to drain the hoarded treasure for the gratification of the army on monthly basis. Thus,

¹⁶ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, 'A', Nos. 22-23, dated 4th April 1845, NAI, New Delhi

¹⁷ Foreign Department Political Consultations, Proceeding, 'A', Nos. 47-48, dated 19th September 1845, NAI, New Delhi; Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, 'A', No. 58, dated 4th April, 1845, NAI, New Delhi

¹⁸ Henry T Princep, *History of the Punjab*, vol.II, pp.291-292; Barkat Rai Chopra, *Kingdom of Punjab, 1839-45*, p.277

¹⁹ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, 'B', Nos. 61-62, dated 4th April 1845, NAI, New Delhi; M.L. Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, p.23

Hira Singh was not in an easy situation at this point of time.²⁰

The process of stratagems and counter-stratagems continued in the successive years as well. At the beginning of 1844, Kashmira Singh and Peshaura Singh, reputed sons of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, were instigated by Suchet Singh to raise the standard of revolt at Sialkot, proclaiming them the rivals of Maharaja Duleep Singh. Joining cause with them, several of the many discontented Sikh regiments joined them and for nearly two months they succeeded in holding out against Gulab Singh. Gulab Singh along with his own troops and a large detachment from Lahore, was sent to dismantle and conquer their stronghold. However, after lay a siege for two months at the end of the month of March, Kashmira Singh and Peshaura Singh finally capitulated. They were however allowed to depart with all their troops and personal possessions.²¹ This offensive campaign against the princes was disapproved of by the Khalsa. On March 22nd, 1844, the officers of the troops at Lahore sent a message “that if the Maharaja and *Raja* (Hira Singh) want comfort, care and safety for their life and properties and also want to see the ministry of Raja Sahib in perfect firmness, they should comply with their wishes, otherwise all sepoys of the battalions were ready to plunge into warfare and fighting.”²² The impending crisis was averted by the reassurance given by Hira Singh to the army that no violence should be done to Princes. Although this revolt was prevented, yet, it exposed the precarious position in which Hira Singh was placed after the Khalsa army had turned against him.

In the situation that arose Raja Hira Singh and Pandit Jalla could foresee that their rule would not last long. It was not without peril for them to remain in the capital. Mainly on account of actions of Pandit Jalla, the Khalsa army and all the Sikh Chiefs had become hostile towards him, as well as Hira Singh. Raja Gulab Singh misappropriated a large proportion of the revenues of the Lahore *Durbar* and seriously embarrassed the Sikh

²⁰ Barkat Rai Chopra, *Kingdom of Punjab, 1839-45*, p.284

²¹ Henry T Princep, *History of the Punjab*, vol.II, pp.291-292; Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, pp.88-89; Diwan Ajudhia Parshad, *Waqai-Jang-I-Sikhan*, p.6

²² Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, Daftar-IV, p.25; Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, pp.88-89

Government through the misuse of power and influence.²³ “It was primarily requisite to keep the army well and regularly paid, and hence the *Pandit* proceeded without scruple to sequester several of fiefs and *jagirs* of the *sardars*, and gradually to inspire the soldiery with the necessity of a march against Jammu.” Pandit Jalla made the additional mistake of ignoring the fact that the Sikhs were not jealous of Gulab Singh only. He had become oblivious to the fact that they were Sikhs, and Khalsa had the power to unite the high and low. In his arrogance and pride he showed no respect even to putative *sardars*. Moreover, he *Pandit* acting in conceit, had used some expressions of impatience and disrespect towards the mother of the Maharaja Duleep Singh and he had habitually treated Jawahar Singh, her brother, with neglect and contempt.²⁴

Hira Singh began to confiscate the *jagirs* of the nobles as well as other Sikh chiefs. There was financial crisis in the State. Monthly military expenditure had risen. Hira Singh had to fulfill the promises with military. For this purpose, money was needed when the treasury was already empty. So he turned towards the *jagirs* of the courtiers and other chiefs who turned against him. As he could not fulfill the promise which he had made with the army, so army also turned against him.²⁵

The relation between the Maharani Jind Kaur and Hira Singh deteriorated further during the celebration of the day of *Sankrant* on 13th December, 1844. Maharani Jind Kaur collected a number of articles including pieces of gold and silver to be given away in charity, as was customary with her on several occasions. Pandit Jalla who was tutor and a great favorite of Hira Singh prohibited Maharani from doing so.²⁶ He asked for a clarification about the person at whose bidding she was doing his act of charity. He also questioned her right to give away so much wealth from the

²³ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, ‘A’, No. 34, dated 15th August 1845, NAI, New Delhi

²⁴ Foreign Department Political Consultations, Proceeding, ‘A’, Nos. 47-48, dated 19th September 1846, NAI, New Delhi ; Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, pp.85-87; Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, ‘A’, No. 22, dated 4th April 1845, NAI, New Delhi

²⁵ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, ‘A’, Nos. 88-89, dated 4th April 1845, NAI, New Delhi; Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, pp.85-88

²⁶ Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, p.88

treasury. He further remarked that if she needed safety and welfare she must prevent herself from taking that step, otherwise she would be put in prison. He is also said to have used abusive language. The queen mother did not accept the insolence of the courier passively. The dispute led to an open rupture. The Maharani had her contacts with the Khalsa army. So through her brother, she appealed to *Khasla* soldiers for protection. By this time Khalsa army had appointed *punches* who guided them in their activities.²⁷ According to Cunningham, those *Punches* kept the army in discipline. Appeals were made by the army *Panchayats*.²⁸ As army was already fed up with the behavior of Pandit Jalla because of the confiscation of *Jagirs* of the courtiers, they demanded the surrender of Pandit Jalla. However, but this was refused by Hira Singh.

Sohan Lal Suri, the Court historian gives the following description how Hira Singh and Pandit Jalla were killed. "In the early hours of the morning of 9th Feb (21st, December) Hira Singh and a party loaded with cash and jewelry on elephants stealthily left their residence. Their intention was to run to Jammu, but the troops of Khalsa were in hot pursuit. They had hardly cleared the *Texali* Gate, when they were noticed by a company of Sikh soldiers. The news was flamed to the military lines, and a body of 6000 troopers led by Sham Singh Attariwala went in pursuit of them. They overtook the fugitives at a distance of thirteen miles.²⁹ Sham Singh and Lal Singh being ahead attacked them. Hira Singh, Pandit Jalla and some other party members entered a village. Sham Singh reached there and set the village on fire. Hira Singh, Pandit Jalla and their party came out after a desperate resistance for an hour. They were over powered and slain on December 21, 1844 A.D. Their heads were carried into Lahore and shown."³⁰

²⁷ M.L. Ahulwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighter*, p.23; J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Civil and Military Affairs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1977, pp.77-87

²⁸ Joseph Davey, Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*, S.Chand & Co., Delhi, 1966, p.55

²⁹ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, Daftar-IV, pp.25-27; Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, p.88

³⁰ Foreign Department Political Consultations, Proceeding, 'A', Nos. 47-48, dated 19th September 1846, NAI, New Delhi; Kahan Singh Nabha, *Gurshabad Ratnakar Mahankosh*, Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1974, p.523

The accountability for the killing of Pandit Jalla's death rested with the Khalsa army but Raja Hira Singh's death can be attributed to his misguided loyalty to his tutor.³¹ The young minister occupied his post for a long time, but he was excessively influenced by his guardian whom he regarded as a deity.³² This was the way in which the army and some resentful chiefs led by the Maharani and her brother succeeded in bringing the period of *Dogras* hegemony in the Lahore *Durbar* to an end.³³ However after doing away with the *Dogra* political sway they had no pragmatic plan for replacing it with a workable administration. The interests of the army, the chiefs and the Maharani did not converge. Maharani Jind Kaur naturally looked after the interests of her son and brother. The chiefs wanted to have their *jagirs* secured so that these should not be confiscated. The army wanted salary at the increased rates. Above all the treasury was empty and revenue was not forthcoming due to chaotic condition. The result was that instead of an improved situation, there was virtually no government in the Punjab. There was a vacuum in the absence of an organization or institution that could guide the State in the right direction. For some time after murders of Hira Singh *Dogra* and Pandit Jalla there was no one to conduct the administration of the *Durbar* and the State was in disarray.³⁴

After the death of Hira Singh a grand *Durbar* was held at Lahore in which, the *Sardars* congratulated one another on obtaining freedom from the oppressive *Dogra* rule. Jawahar Singh saw it as the appropriate time for laying claim to Prime Ministership. However, neither the army nor the chiefs were willing to accept him.³⁵ The proposal of Attar Singh Kalianwala was similarly rejected on the ground that he was inferior/low by caste. Maharani Jind Kaur, in any case was in no hurry to fill the post as she was in favor of appointing her brother. "The Maharani Jind Kaur with her son and Jawahar

³¹ Huge Pearse, *Soldier and Traveller, Memories of Alexander Gardner*, William Blackwood and Sons, London, 1898, p.275

³² J.M. Honigberger, *Thirty Five in the East*, vol.I. H.Allen & Co., London, 1852, p.109

³³ Foreign Department Political Consultations, Proceeding, 'A', Nos. 47-48, dated 19th September 1846, NAI, New Delhi; Prithipal Singh Kapur, (ed.), *Maharaja Duleep Singh: The Last Sovereign of the Punjab*, Sikh Gurdwara Parbandak Committee, Amritsar, 1995, p.168

³⁴ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, 'A', No. 58, dated 4th April 1845, NAI, New Delhi; Barkat Rai Chopra, *Kingdom of Punjab, 1839-45*, p.348

³⁵ Barkat Rai Chopra, *Kingdom of Punjab, 1839-45*, p.350

Singh were alone in the fort. The Maharani sent for the Bhai Ram Singh, but he did not obey the summons. She sent then the Sardars of the Council who had but recently left the *Durbar* but not one would go near her. They declared the kingdom is now in the hands of the troops and they must wait to see what they decree”³⁶.

Maharani Jind Kaur took the affairs of the *Durbar* in her hands. She was assisted by her brother Jawahar Singh as *Wazir*, Raja Lal Singh, and her maidservant. Mangla, her maidservant acted as an intermediary for her mistress. Maharani Jind Kaur’s first task was to win over the army. In this she had to contend with Prince Peshaura Singh. Maharani Jind Kaur outclassed Peshaura Singh in ensuring control of the army and for sometime was assured of military support for her son, Maharaja Duleep Singh.³⁷

After the overthrow of Raja Hira Singh, the ministerial office was not immediately filled. For sometime all powers of the Sikh Kingdom remained in the hands of the “Army *Panchayats*.” On December 28, 1844, it was agreed in the *Durbar* a council of the under-mentioned chiefs should be formed to run the administration. The chiefs in the council were: S. Jawahar Singh; Raja Lal Singh; Bhai Ram Singh; Bakshi Bhagat Ram; Diwan Dina Nath; Sardar Attar Singh Kalianwala; S. Shem Singh Attariwala; and General Lal Singh Moranwla. However, the attempt governing through a council failed at once, “except as showing, who are at the head of affairs”. The Maharani and her brother transacted all business, whether the Council was sitting or not.³⁸

The new government certainly lacked stability. Troops told Maharani that they were the rulers, but would offer her son to reign, provided she paid regularly and if she did not, they would find a substitute. The immediate demands of the troops were immediately met by the issue of three months pay. The Maharani and her brother promised the army a further increase of pay to the extent of Rs. 14 instead of Rs. 11½ per month. On 27th and 28th December, 1844, the troops demanded the fulfillment of the promises made

³⁶ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, ‘A’, Nos. 88-89, dated 4th April 1845, NAI, New Delhi; Kahan Singh Nabha, *Gurshabad Ratnakar Mahankosh*, p.523.

³⁷ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, ‘A’, Nos. 68 dated 4th April 1845, NAI, New Delhi

³⁸ Barkat Rai Chopra, *Kingdom of Punjab, 1839-45*, p.350

by Maharani. Several conferences with military officers took place and at one of these, the army chiefs categorically made it clear that army would not allow the government to work. The increase of pay was, however, not conceded, nor was it definitely refused. The army made it clear that the Maharani and her brother were unworthy to reign; so they must be imprisoned or put to death.³⁹ While the *Durbar* troops were engaged in Jammu, Prince Peshaura Singh returned to the Punjab and set up a rival court at Sialkot. This was not only a sign of open challenge but a symptom of diffusion and crisis of official authority.⁴⁰

In a move to gain advantage Maharani Jind Kaur tried to win over the families of powerful chieftains to her son's side against the pretensions of Peshaura Singh and to help restore law and order in the state. She broke off Maharaja Duleep Singh's engagement with the comparatively poor Nakkais and got him engaged to the daughter of Chattar Singh Attariwala. This, however, did not deter Peshaura Singh in his aspirations to political power.⁴¹

As a consequence, the atmosphere of uncertainty encouraged Peshaura Singh to usurp political power. The elimination of the *Dogras* had left the situation very fluid and any descendant of Maharaja Ranjit Singh seemed likely to succeed. Peshaura Singh left Ludhiana with the cognizance of the British Agent. On arrival at Lahore on 1st January, 1845, he was advised by Maharani Jind Kaur to accept a *jagir* worth Rs. 40,000/- and live in peaceful retirement. It was a strategic victory for Maharani Jind Kaur when he finally distanced himself from the hazards of Lahore.⁴² She also won over the army with the promise of an addition of half-a-rupee in the monthly salary. Meanwhile the Government remained at a standstill. For routine administration a sort of working council was set up with Maharani Jind Kaur as its President, her brother Jawahar Singh and Bhai Ram Singh as

³⁹ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, 'A', No. 89, dated 4th April 1845, NAI, New Delhi; Kahan Singh Nabha, *Gurshabad Ratnakar Mahankosh*, p.523; Diwan Ajudhia Parshad, *Waqai-Jang-I-Sikhan*, p.6

⁴⁰ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, 'A', Nos. 88-89, dated 4th April 1845, NAI, New Delhi ; Henry T Prinsep, *History of the Punjab*, vol.II, pp.307-310

⁴¹ Khushwant Singh, *History of the Sikhs 1839-1864*, vol. II, Oxford University Press. London, 1966, p.30

⁴² Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, p.91; M.L. Ahluwalia, *Landmarks in Sikh History*, Ashoka International Publisher, New Delhi, 1996, p.236; Gopal Singh, *A History of the Sikh People*, World book Centre, New Delhi, 1899, p.577

members, assisted by Bakshi Bhagat Ram, Diwan Dina Nath and Fakir Nur-ud-din as senior secretaries. All military dispositions were, however, made under the sole authority of the army *Panchayats*.

On her part Maharani Jind Kaur was finding a proper person for *wazarat*. Some chiefs favoured the name of Raja Gulab Singh because Jawahar Singh was not liked by anyone. Gulab Singh's account with the *Durbar* was in arrears. His accumulated wealth had long been an object of envy to the army. He had appropriated the properties of his brother, Suchet Singh and his nephew Hira Singh. His unpaid dues were estimated as amounting to approximately a crore of rupees. The Khalsa Army therefore, planned an expedition to the hills early in 1845. Their programme suited the Maharani who was convinced that peace and quiet in the capital could only be achieved, if the major portion of army were employed elsewhere.

The Maharani dispatched a small number of her own trusted *sardars* and secretaries to negotiate with Raja Gulab Singh; among them were Sardar Fateh Singh Mann, Diwan Rattan Chand Duggal, Sardar Sher Singh Attariwala and Baba Maan Singh Bedi. The Raja received them with great cordiality and entertained them with greatest hospitality for over a week and lavished gifts upon them. As a result both the parties began to perceive the error of Maharani and her brother in the management of the state revenue. They lost sight of the mission on which they had been sent by Maharani.⁴³

Few days after negotiation were concluded on 28th February, Gulab Singh agreed to pay four *lakhs* of rupees as earnest amount of the full discharge of his obligations to the State. Raja Gulab Singh was a very shrewd man. The money which he had handed over to S. Fateh Singh was brought back to Jammu by killing Sardar Fateh Singh and his own *Wazir* Bachna.⁴⁴ No doubt, the plans of killing were the secret instructions of Raja Gulab Singh but his tact and gifts enabled to accompany them to Lahore personally to settle his accounts. He arrived at Shahdara on 4th April, 1845.⁴⁵

Gulab Singh's arrival at Lahore was not liked by Jawahar Singh. He

⁴³ Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, p.92; Bikrma Jit Hasrat, *Anglo-Sikh Relations, 1799-1849*, V.V. Research Institute Press, Hoshiarpur, 1968, pp.241-242

⁴⁴ Lepel Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs*, Chronicle Press, Lahore, 1965, p.81

⁴⁵ Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, pp.92-93

dispatched some soldiers across the Ravi to overawe the Raja. But his supporters were ready for war. This was averted by Bhai Ram Singh and other dignitaries of the court sent by the Maharani. During the night of 4th April, Maharani sent a special message to Raja Gulab Singh. She sent her good wishes and a guarantee of safety. Gulab Singh agreed to proceed to the city. On the 8th of April Raja Gulab Singh was invited to the palace. Maharani, like many other members of Sikh nobility, believed that Raja Gulab Singh was among the few who could restore stability to the kingdom and control the army. They went as far as to offer him the position of *wazir*. However, he refused politely. He gave Rs.2,700,000 to Government by way of arrears. Thus early in July he obtained leave to return to Jammu.⁴⁶

Till the time of formation of the council Jawahar Singh was only nominal *wazir*. Moreover, about this time there was a severe outbreak of *cholera* in Lahore. Pre-occupied with the epidemic fear, neither the *sardars* nor the soldiers were in a mood to question the decision of the Maharani.⁴⁷ The formal ceremony of installation of Jawahar Singh as Prime Minister was performed for the conferment of ministry. The courtiers assembled to present *nazrana* and *sawarana* to Jawahar Singh. The entire ceremony was performed with abnormal haste and many of the usual ceremonies were excluded. The troops only knew of it on hearing the salute fired, when Jawahar Singh became Prime Minister. Nar Singh was treated with great favor as an aunt of Maharani Jind Kaur was married to him as his second wife.⁴⁸

Although Jawahar Singh had ultimately succeeded in his goal, the intrigues of Peshaura Singh had not ceased. Jawahar Singh's elevation to the highest office in the State did not in any way deter him from pursuing political machinations against his adversary. He had nefarious associations with the lowly attendants and indulged himself more than ever with undesirable and of low origin people. He also had scandalous associations

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p.94

⁴⁷ M.L.Ahluwalia, *Landmarks in Sikh History*, p.236. Gopal Singh, *A History of the Sikh People*, p.577

⁴⁸ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding 'A', No. 6, dated 18 March 1846, NAI, New Delhi; Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, p.94; Prithipal Singh Kapur, (ed.), *Maharaja Duleep Singh: The Last Sovereign of the Punjab*, p.168

with with palace maid servants. He had illicit relations with Mangla,⁴⁹ the attendant of his sister. Although the Maharani tried her best to appease Gulab Singh, yet continued to instigate Prince Peshaura Singh assert his claim against Maharaja Duleep Singh. She instructed General Mehtab Singh to go to Sialkot and seize or capture the estate of the prince. The prince put up a strong resistance. But his followers were incapable of standing up to the powerful artillery of Lahore army. Again Jawahar Singh sent Chattar Singh Attariwala (whose daughter had recently been betrothed to Maharaja Duleep Singh) and Fateh Singh Tiwana from Dera Ismail Khan to eliminate the Prince. On 31st August the Prince was thrown into a dungeon and strangled to death.⁵⁰

As has been discussed above, Jawahar Singh had never been popular with the army. The army had always been suspicious of him right from the time he had shown tendencies to assume the protection of the British. When the news of the murder of Prince Peshaura Singh became public there was wind of public outrage. A conglomeration of of army *Panchayats* had by this time effectively assumed the power of the government. The army resolved on 19th September that Jawahar Singh must die as a traitor and communicated the decision to him and to the Maharani. The queen-mother was told that she must handover her brother, or else, she and the Maharaja might have to share the same fate. A message of Khalsa army was sent by Fakir Nur-ud-din that Jawahar Singh must present himself to the new government on 21st, September. Maharani begged mercy for her brother from the *Punches*. She even offered to increase their pay to fifteen rupees. But their promises and humble entreaties were not heeded.⁵¹

On 21st September, Jawahar Singh understood that it was useless to keep himself confined any longer. He, therefore, invited his sister to accompany him and mounting on elephant with the young Maharaja Duleep

⁴⁹ Mangla was the daughter of a water-carrier of Kangra who was employed by Jind Kaur in 1835. After the death of Ranjit Singh she became the *Maharani's* confidant. She herself became the mistress of Jind Kaur's brother, Jawahar Singh.

⁵⁰ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding 'A', No. 7, dated 4th March 1846, NAI, New Delhi

⁵¹ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding 'A', No. 435, dated 26th December 1846, NAI, New Delhi; Barkat Rai Chopra, *Kingdom of Punjab, 1839-45*, p.410

Singh, in his arms, he left the fort escorted by about a thousand men. When he reached before the *punches*, his *mahout* was compelled to make the elephant kneel, little Maharaja was snatched from the arms of Jawahar Singh and Jawahar Singh was stabbed to death in the *kowdah* of his elephant.⁵² Thus Jawahar Singh was put to death by army on 21st, September 1845. Maharaja Duleep Singh was handed over to his mother who was forced to stay in the nearby tent.⁵³

The Maharani Jind Kaur was inconsolable for many weeks after this catastrophic episode. She remained bereaved for several days and roamed around with her long disheveled hair, accompanied by her slave-girls. She walked through the streets of Lahore and exposed herself to public gaze. Day after day she paid visit to the *samadh* of her brother, in a garden outside the *Masti* gate, across the parade ground where she cried in grief.⁵⁴

After Jawahar Singh's death on September 21, 1845, there was no recognized head of government except the *Panchayats* of the army. They did not even use the name of the Maharaja at all. Maharani decided to keep herself aloof from state affairs. However, the troops tried to broker peace with the Maharani. After a few days Maharani Jind Kaur called a meeting of the *punches* and *Sardars* at the *Summon Burj*. When all the parties had assembled, she declared that she would be satisfied only after her enemies were seized and delivered to her. Jawahar Mal, formerly the *diwan* of Suchet Singh who had been involved in the plot and who was present at that time, was accordingly seized and handed over to the Maharani.⁵⁵ As for Prithi Singh and others of the *Dogra* party, it was agreed that they too should be seized and delivered up to her.⁵⁶

The Army Panchayat took over the affairs of state and became the

⁵² Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding 'A', No. 792, dated 26th December 1846, NAI, New Delhi; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, Daftar-II, p. 21; Henry T Princep, *History of the Punjab*, vol.II, pp.323

⁵³ Henry T Princep, *History of the Punjab*, vol.II, pp.323-324; Diwan Ajudhia Parshad, *Waqai-Jang-I-Sikhan*, p.6

⁵⁴ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, 'A', Nos. 9-10, dated 27th September 1850; NAI, New Delhi

⁵⁵ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, 'A', Nos. 1280-1313, dated 26th December 1846, NAI, New Delhi

⁵⁶ Foreign Department Political Consultations, Proceeding, 'A', No. 408, dated 22nd March 1850, NAI, New Delhi; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, Daftar-V, pp.4-6

sovereign political power of the Punjab. It selected Diwan Dinanath to act as its mouthpiece and issued instructions that no letter was to be issued to the English till the *Panches* had deliberated on its contents. The Panchayat acted in the name of the Khalsa. Its orders were issued under the seal Akal Sahai- the lord is our helper.⁵⁷

The murder of Jawahar Singh left the administration once again in the hands of the army and the *Panches*. They met in daily council to dictate the policy of the State. The Maharani and the officers of her government were now subservient to their will. Then there was again a problem for *wazirship*. It was decided to leave the directions of the affairs in the hand of the Maharani assisted by a council of secretaries, such as *Diwan* Dina Nath, Fakir-Nur-ud-din and Bakshi Bhagat Ram. However, the ultimate authority in the matters of importance rested with the Khalsa Army.⁵⁸

The Maharani now assumed charge of the administration and held daily *Durbars*, at which orders were passed.⁵⁹ In the month of November 1845 a grand *Durbar* was held at Shalimar Gardens. At the *Durbar* Diwan Dina Nath proposed the proposal moved by the Maharani's that Lal Singh be appointed *wazir*⁶⁰ and Tej Singh commander-in-Chief of the armies, with unlimited power/authority in the event of hostilities. The troops accepted her nominees. Although, they did not like the latter's appointment and raised their voice in favour of Raja Gulab Singh when they wanted should lead them. However, the Sikh forces assembled and agreed to fight under one command.⁶¹ After the murder of *Wazir* Jawahir Singh, his sister the Maharani Jind Kaur, was declared regent. Her principal advisers were Diwan Dina Nath. Bhai Ram Singh and Misar Lal Singh.⁶²

There is very little consensus in historical opinion about the relations of Lal Singh and Maharani Jind Kaur. The subject is full of controversies. Lal

⁵⁷ Foreign Department Political Consultations, Proceeding, 'A', No. 89, dated, 4 April, 1845, NAI, New Delhi. Bikrma Jit Hasrat, *Anglo Sikh Relations, 1799-1849*, p.258

⁵⁸ Henry T Princep, *History of the Punjab*, Vol.II, pp.327; Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, p.91

⁵⁹ Syad Muhammad Latif, *History of the Punjab*, Central Press Co., Calcutta 1891, (reprint) Delhi, 1960, p.537

⁶⁰ V.S. Suri, *Waqai-Jang-i-Sikhan*, pp.6-7

⁶¹ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, 'A', Nos. 107-109, Dated 30 June, 1849. NAI, New Delhi; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh* Daftar-V, pp.4-6

⁶² Huge Pearse, *Soldier and Traveller, Memoirs of Alaxander Gardner*, p.263

Singh, who had been raised by Raja Hira Singh to the status of courtier, was a great favorite of Maharani Jind Kaur. According to G.C. Smyth, "During the times of Kharak Singh and Nau Nihal Singh an intimacy grew up between the Maharani Chanda and Lal Singh and during the short reign of Sher Singh it had ripened into the closest connection. This intrigue was favored and forwarded by Mangla, a slave girl and personal attendant of Maharani Jind Kaur with all her power Lal Singh then having charge of one of the *Toshakhanas* or treasuries.⁶³" But all these versions of Major G.C. Smyth are mere allegations on the character of Maharani Jind Kaur. According to B.J. Hasrat, "This account of the early life of Jind Kaur may be considered as a *scandalum magnatum* by "The confirmed scandal-monger and scalawag Carmical Smyth, in his 'infamous book' thrived on profuse exercises of vilification."⁶⁴ It is quite evident that through the use of such allusions and aspersion he had tried to malign the reputation of the Maharani. The general opinion is that Smyth's versions were based on rumors and scandals.⁶⁵ No doubt that Lal Singh was a great favorite of Maharani Jind Kaur but there was no illicit relation between the two. She was a great Maharani of the Lion Monarch of Punjab Maharaja Ranjit Singh. She (Maharani Jind Kaur) was bold and of high character as well as strong willed woman.⁶⁶ If Lal Singh was the favorite of Maharani Jind Kaur and also her lover then Lal Singh would have supported her in every situation. But Lal Singh had not extended any support to the Maharani or Khalsa army. It would be wrong to say that Maharani appointed Lal Singh as prime minister because of her love for him. He was a friend of her brother Jawahir Singh and a high official in the all powerful army. She, therefore, naturally enough, after the death of her brother, looked to him for assistance and consulted him in most state matters as the queen mother of the country. But his appointment was not the

⁶³ G.C. Smyth, *A Reigning Family of Lahore*, p.135; See Also, Statement of Herbert Edwards, quoted by Ganda Singh in *Maharaja Duleep Singh Correspondence*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1977, p.50

⁶⁴ Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *Anglo Sikh Relations, 1799-1849*, p.260; Punjab Government Records, *Lahore Political Diaries, 1847-48*, pp.46-47-61

⁶⁵ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, 'A', No. 166, dated 16th January 1847, NAI, New Delhi; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, Daftar-V, p.166

⁶⁶ Ganda Singh, *Maharaja Duleep Singh Correspondence*, pp.52-53; Newspaper, *The Orient Illustrated Weekly*, October, 8, 1939, File no. 52, Bhai Khan Singh Nabha Library, Ganda Singh collection, Punjabi University, Patiala

Maharani's gift, but was decided by through draw of lots. There were three candidates, Gulab Singh, Tej Singh, and Lal Singh. Five slips of paper were accordingly prepared, two of them blank and the other bearing the names of the candidates. The lot was drawn by the young Maharaja Duleep Singh. It fell upon Lal Singh who became prime minister. Apparently it was the jealousy of the disappointed candidates and their supporters that was mainly responsible for the allegation made against the Maharani.⁶⁷

In the month of November Lal Singh was openly declared *wazir* by Maharani. He openly took upon himself the duties of a *wazir* under the authority of queen-mother. After this Lal Singh and Tej Singh two leaders were at the helm of affairs as well as the Sikh armies were concerned.⁶⁸ However, history of the later period reveals that Lal Singh and Tej Singh did not prove themselves to be competent and able leaders and were the chief cause of the problems that were to be witnessed. It was a time when Lal Singh and Tej Singh were making endeavours to consolidate their own power and position against the *Panchayats*. They wanted to a release from the bondage of the Khalsa. They were also apprehensive of the power of the army, they wished to remove it from Lahore.⁶⁹

Although Lal Singh was made the Prime Minister and Tej Singh, Commander-in-Chief; Maharani and other officers were completely at the mercy of the army because army was all powerful.⁷⁰ There was no leader who was strong enough to check and challenge the power of army and to establish a government under which they could once more enjoy some security. There were three distinct and mutually antagonistic parties– the

⁶⁷ Newspaper, *The Orient Illustrated Weekly*, October, 8, 1939, File no. 52, Bhai Khan Singh Nabha Library, Ganda Singh collection, Punjabi University, Patiala; Henry T Princep, *History of the Punjab*, Vol.II, pp.326

⁶⁸ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, 'A', Nos. 70-74, dated 27th November 1847, NAI, New Delhi; Henry T Princep, *History of the Punjab*, Vol.II, pp.326-327

⁶⁹ Punjab Government Records, *Lahore Political Diaries 1847-48*, vol. III, Pioneer Press, Allahabad, 1909, pp.180, 186; Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, 'A', Nos. 148-155, dated 31st July, 1847, NAI, New Delhi; J.H.Gordon, *The Sikhs*, pp.131-132

⁷⁰ Huge Pears, *Soldier and Traveller, Memoirs of Alexander Gardner* p.264; W.L.M' Gregor, *The History of the Sikh*, Vol.II, Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970, pp.41-43

court, the *sardars* and the army.⁷¹ However, the omnipotence of the army of the Khalsa was the cause which led to its destruction. During this period, the main problem for Maharani Jind Kaur and Raja Lal Singh was dealing with the Khalsa army. The same Khalsa army which had conquered the whole of the Punjab under Maharaja Ranjit Singh began to eliminate all those who posed a threat to it.⁷²

At the same time, the British Government was very keen to annex the Punjab at the earliest, but owing to lack of preparations Lord Elenborough had requested the authorities to bide their time at least till November, 1845. This is evident from his letter dated 11th February, 1844, and again his letter to Duke of Wallington on April 20th, 1844. He wrote, "I earnestly hope nothing may compel us to cross the *Sutlej*, and that we have no attack to repel till November, 1845. In the meantime we do all we can in a quiet way to strengthen ourselves."⁷³

Modern research has proved beyond doubt that the responsibility and onus of the break out of the war was much more on the British than on the Khalsa army, because it was the British who actually provoked the war. It is true that internal anarchy and lack of political stability and factionalism had been weakening the State. Moreover, the attitude of the British had grown more and more hostile. It is said that by the year 1845, the British invasion of Punjab was a burning topic and the most important issue at the assemblies of *Panchayats*. The hostility of the British was not the outcome of racial antipathy. It was the belief of the Sikhs that policy of the British had its basis in territorial aggrandizement, and later on this belief proved right. It was also believed that the British were awaiting a favorable opportunity to annex Punjab to their dominions. During the previous year's various circumstances had contributed to strengthen this belief. The annexation of Sind in 1843 was evidence of the desire of the British to extend their power, and the troops sent to occupy the Province were regarded as a direct menace to the district

⁷¹ J.H.Gordon, *The Sikhs*, pp.131-132

⁷² Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, 'A', No. 157, dated 25th November 1848, NAI, New Delhi; J.H.Gordon, *The Sikhs*, pp.131-132

⁷³ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, 'A', No. 65, dated 7th October 1848, NAI, New Delhi

of Multan.⁷⁴ The establishment of a garrison at Ferozepur and the military post on Sutlej frontiers further confirmed the apprehensions. It was the desire of the British Government that the boundary line of British territory should be extended up to the river Indus.

Moreover, the British had for long been following an aggressive policy towards the Sikh kingdom and ultimately they were first to violate the treaty of friendship of 1809, signed between Maharaja Ranjit Singh and the East India Company. The British had started preparations for war against the Sikhs long ago. The British had been preparing in advance. Immediately on hearing that the Sikhs had crossed the river, the Governor-General issued his historic proclamation on December 13, 1845, declaring war on the Sikhs.⁷⁵

Besides, the Sikhs also declared war on the English on the night of November 18, 1845. The *Durbar* openly adopted and ordered in writing a fixed plan of operations against the British. A *Durbar* was held on November 23, in which the important generals and colonels asked Maharani Jind Kaur to order the march of troops to the ferries of the Sutlej. The Maharani told them that they might do whatever they thought proper. This can be taken as the official proclamation of mutual hostilities which led to the First Sikh War. To enter the details of war is beyond the purpose and scope of this narrative here. However one of the important aspects of the war throws light on the conduct of the Sikh *sardars*, who participated in the peace settlement that followed. The Sikh chiefs who commanded the magnificent army betrayed their men on the field.⁷⁶ This campaign of Sutlej was terminated in February, 1846, by the decisive battle of Sabraon, in which the British troops were victorious. When the news of Sabraon arrived at Lahore, the Maharaja set out for Amritsar, and his mother accompanied him to that sacred place.⁷⁷ Next day he proceeded alone to Kasur to meet the British Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief. The interview took place in the solemn *Durbar* at

⁷⁴ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, 'A', No.65, dated 7th October 1848, NAI, New Delhi

⁷⁵ Henry T Princep, *History of the Punjab*, vol.II, p.266

⁷⁶ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, 'A', No.65, dated 7th October 1848, NAI, New Delhi; Henry T Princep, *History of the Punjab*, vol.II, pp.281-282

⁷⁷ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh, Daftar-V*, p.99

Kasur on 15th February, 1846. He was graciously received by Henry Hardinge at the entrance of the reception tent.⁷⁸

Henry Hardinge delivered a speech and fastened a diamond aigrette on Maharaja's turban at parting. After the meeting, the Maharaja returned to Amritsar; he and the Queen Regent returned to Lahore to receive the Governor General and other British officers.⁷⁹

On the arrival of the Governor-General at Lahore, the Maharaja went out to meet him. On the following day, the Governor-General came to the palace, where a large *Durbar* was held. The usual civilities were exchanged and *khilluts* were presented. The Governor-General desired to see the *Kohinoor*, which was brought forward and inspected by him; then it was passed round to the other Europeans. The Governor-General then fastened it on the right arm of the Maharaja with a kindly smile, and patted him on the back.⁸⁰

The Maharaja did not have any awareness of important political developments that were to take place in the wake of the war. However, he quietly notices Sikh *sardars* busy transacting some business and running between his mother, the Queen Regent and the Governor-General. Henry Hardinge with the British army remained at Lahore for about a fortnight, and during this span the first treaty of Lahore was negotiated and signed. The shrewd and farsighted Governor-General realized that though the Army of the Khalsa had been routed in the open field, the British were not in a position to effect the extension of their empire up to Indus. Therefore, despite the professed loyalty of the chiefs and the Maharani, the policy of annexation was thought to be unfeasible.⁸¹

Maharani Jind Kaur wished to save the Punjab from the clutches of the British government. In the words of the Henry Lawrence to the government, "During the last day or two, her whole energies have been devoted to an endeavour to win over the Sardars of high and low order and

⁷⁸ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, 'A', No.65, dated 7th October 1848, NAI, New Delhi; Henry T Princep, *History of the Punjab*, vol.II, pp.282-284

⁷⁹ Henry T Princep, *History of the Punjab*, Vol.II, pp.286-287

⁸⁰ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, 'A', No.143, dated 27th January 1849, NAI, New Delhi

⁸¹ Henry T Princep, *History of the Punjab*, vol.II, p.287

to unite them all together in a scheme of independent government of which she herself was to be the head".⁸² However, this move was successfully foiled by Frederick Currie with the help of the councilors like Tej Singh and Lal Singh, who were complicit with the British in 1845-1846 war and brought about the defeat of the Lahore army.⁸³

On the 9th March, 1846 the treaty of Lahore was imposed by the British upon the young Maharaja Duleep Singh, aged seven years and half. Thus the treaty was concluded and Lal Singh was rewarded for his treachery by being made a *wazir* whereas Tej Singh was made the nominal head of the army was given to Tej Singh. But these chiefs were still afraid of their demoralized but once distinguished army.⁸⁴ Acting for self serving interests and completely ignoring the interests of the country or the child Maharaja, these members of the nobility convinced the British Government that a British force should remain at Lahore till the last day of December, 1846. This led to an amendment in the original Treaty in two days time. On the third day i.e. March 11, 1846, another agreement was dictated to the Lahore *Durbar*, ostensibly at their own solicitation that the British should lay a stronger hold on the country. In addition to the terms of the treaty of 9th March, 1846, an adequate British force had been stationed at Lahore.⁸⁵

In addition to the Maharaja who was only a helpless child, both these treaties were signed by seven chiefs. The first of these chiefs was Bhai Ram Singh. Lal Singh and Tej Singh who were also signatories to the treaty were notorious for their clandestine complicity with the British. The remaining four were included to keep up the appearance of the representative character of the signatories. There was no regular *Durbar* and the negotiations were conducted in private conference with Regent Maharani Jind Kaur. Maharaja

⁸² Prem Bati Ghai, *The Partition of the Punjab, 1849-1947*, Munshiram Manohar Lal, New Delhi, 1986, pp.9-10; Ganda Singh, *Private Correspondence Relating to Anglo-Sikh Wars*, p.106

⁸³ Ganda Singh, *The Punjab Past and Present*, April 1976, vol.X-I, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1976, p.63

⁸⁴ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, 'A', No. 65, dated 7th October, 1848. NAI, New Delhi; Henry T Princep, *History of the Punjab*, vol.II, p.289

⁸⁵ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, 'C', No. 157, dated 25th November, 1848, NAI, New Delhi; Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, p.119; Henry T Princep, *History of the Punjab*, vol.II, pp.296-297

Duleep Singh was allowed to retain the title of Maharaja of Punjab.⁸⁶

It is important to note that the treaty did not bring any tangible change in the daily/routine life of the young Maharaja. He went out as usual for hawking or other amusements, just as if nothing were taking place. General Litter took up his residence. In regard to these arrangements, Sita Ram Kohli writes in *Sunset of Sikh Empire*; also quoted by Macgregor in the *History of the Sikh State*:

“In appearance, there is a king, a Prime Minister and an army, but one and all are dependent upon the British power. The capital of the country is not garrisoned by the Sikhs. It was entirely in the hands of the paramount power, whose soldiers were lent for a time to preserve the semblance of a government, but in reality to keep possession of the advantages already gained, until the season of the year shall enable the Governor-General to annex the whole of Punjab to the British possessions, if such a step he deemed necessary.”⁸⁷

Since the British Government had decided upon pulling down the structure of the independent kingdom of the Punjab, Sardar Chattar Singh, whose daughter had been engaged to Maharaja Duleep Singh, could not be allowed by them to gather greater strength by the proposed matrimonial alliances of the house of *Attari* with the royal family. The changed attitude of Abbot (the Assistant Resident) was a clear indication to the *sardars* of the intention of the British and his mind was filled with anxiety for the future of the State and his own family. He, therefore, asked the British Resident to fix a date for the wedding of his daughter to the Maharaja. This was what the resident least desired. He delayed and evaded the matter.⁸⁸

The year was then drawing to its close, and the time was fast approaching for the departure of the British troops from Lahore as per the

⁸⁶ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, 'A' No. 954, dated 26th December 1846; NAI, New Delhi; Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, p.121; Henry T Princep, *History of the Punjab*, vol.II, p.295

⁸⁷ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, 'B', No. 157, dated 25th November 1848; NAI, New Delhi, Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, p.121

⁸⁸ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, Daftar-V, pp.4-6

terms of the existing treaty. Lord Harding however, had sometime been contemplating the revision of this treaty in such a direction as would make possible the retention of British troops beyond the stipulated period, together with tightening of the British grip over the country and would thus bring the Punjab virtually under the British control supremacy.⁸⁹

The Sikh chiefs too saw the necessity of asking the British Government for an extension of the period. They found it impossible to carry on work of the Government on their own. They accordingly solicited the government to continue the British protection until the Maharaja should attain maturity. The Maharani who acted as Regent for her minor son also strongly favored the retention of the British troops in the Punjab.⁹⁰ She had, in fact, in the presence and with the concurrence of many leading chiefs as Bhai Ram Singh told Lawrence in an interview as early as September 10, 1846, that the existence of the Government as well as the existence of her life as well as that of the young Maharaja, entirely depended upon the continued presence of the British troop and the British representative at Lahore. It can however be contended these repeated requests of the Maharani for the retention of the British force were rooted in the assumption that the British Government would not interfere in the internal affairs of the Lahore *Durbar*. She was, thus greatly disillusioned when she found out that Lord Hardinge wanted the British resident to be given unlimited authority or power in all matters of the internal administration and internal relations. As a result of this knowledge the political perspective of the Maharani underwent notable change.⁹¹

Lord Hardinge made all possible efforts to realize his ambition. However, it would have been politically incorrect to make his intentions explicit by himself asking the Lahore *Durbar* to agree to the retention of the British troops in the Punjab. He made tacit attempts to give, the impression

⁸⁹ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, 'A', No. 142, dated 31st July 1847, NAI, New Delhi; Statement of Herbert Edwardes, quoted by Ganda Singh in *Maharaja Duleep Singh Correspondence*, p.50

⁹⁰ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, 'A', No. 87, dated 27th March 1847, NAI, New Delhi; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, Daftar-V, p.80

⁹¹ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, 'A', No. 26, dated 30th June, 1847. NAI, New Delhi; Punjab Government Records, *Lahore Political Diaries*, 1847-48, vol-III, pp.46- 61

that he was reluctantly agreeing to the 'request' of the Lahore *Durbar* that the British forces should continue their stay in the Punjab. In order to achieve success in this design, the Sikh *sardars* were won over to the side of the chiefs. British were successful in persuading most of the Sikh *sardars* to agree to the modified arrangements for the administration of Punjab as proposed by Lord Hardinge.⁹²

On 16th December, 1846, a new treaty was concluded and signed by fifty two principal chiefs of the Punjab.⁹³ On December 26, 1846, Maharaja Duleep Singh paid a visit to Lord Hardinge at his camp, at Bhaironwal, when the ratification of this new treaty was announced by a grand salute of the British guns.⁹⁴ To anyone endowed with prophetic foresight, "that solute must have sounded like the boom of minute guns over the grave of, once a powerful nation. The British force was to remain at Lahore for the protection of the Maharaja and preservation of the peace and also law and order of the country."⁹⁵ The Governor-General was empowered to post British troops in any fort, the occupation of which he might consider necessary. The Sikh Government on their part agreed to pay twenty-two troops in the Punjab. The arrangement was to last till 4th September, 1854. On this date the minority of Maharaja Duleep Singh would end and Government would be handed over to him. Colonel Lawrence was appointed British Resident at Lahore. On this occasion, Lord Hardinge, seated on a throne, delivered an address explaining the object of the British Government to be the welfare of the people of Lahore.⁹⁶

The terms of the treaty were in the form of a justification of the extension of the British suzerainty. References were made to the helpless state of politically disadvantaged Maharaja and the Sikh *sardars*. The terms

⁹² Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, 'A', No. 26 dated 30th June 1847; NAI, New Delhi; Statement of Herbert Edwardes, quoted by Ganda Singh in *Maharaja Duleep Singh Correspondence*, p.50

⁹³ V. Narayana, Pillai, *Journal of Indian History*, Serial No. 79, vol. XXVII, Part-I, April, University of Travancore, Trivandram, Kerala, 1949, p.2

⁹⁴ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding 'B', No.166, dated 30th January 1847, NAI; New Delhi, Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, Daftar-V, pp.4-6, 80

⁹⁵ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding 'A', No. 142, dated 31 July 1847, NAI, New Delhi; Prem Bati Ghai, *The Partition of the Punjab, 1849-1947*, p.10

⁹⁶ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding 'B', No. 1278, dated 26th December 1846, NAI, New Delhi; Ganda Singh, *Maharaja Duleep Singh Correspondence*, pp.52-53

also emphasized the British benevolence in receding from the position of annexation. Nevertheless, the Lahore kingdom was weakened to such an extent that its absorption in the British Empire was only a matter of time. Thus the treaty of Bhairawal gave boundless powers to the British Resident at Lahore. It also authorized them to deal with the Maharaja and her mother as they thought fit. Further the British resident was given, "full authority to direct and control all matters in every department of the State, which he was to exercise through an efficient establishment of the British essential."⁹⁷ The Council of Regency was nominated by the British Government and comprised men selected by the British Resident himself with their own man Sardar Tej Singh at its head. These member was nothing but a dumb followers of the will and whims of the Resident.⁹⁸ No change could be made in the personnel of the Council without the consent of the British Resident.⁹⁹

Thus the British Resident for all practical purposes became the real ruler. It was not merely the unlimited political power that was conferred upon the British by the treaty, it also made him the sole guardian of the person and property of the infant Maharaja Duleep Singh.¹⁰⁰ The reconstituted Sikh Kingdom was to be governed by Maharani Jind Kaur as regent with Lal Singh as *wazir* "propped by British bayonets and tutored by the Resident Henry Lawrence."¹⁰¹ The kingdom of Punjab which was then left to Maharaja Duleep Singh was a shadow of its former self. Its size had considerably shrunk on the East of the Sutlej was no longer the dividing line between the company's possessions and the Sikh kingdom. The condition of Punjab after the treaty was could be compared to a destitute and helpless person. The Treaty of Bhairawal was so humiliating to the *Durbar* and the people of the country; this was forced on them in such a way that it gave an impression of

⁹⁷ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding 'A', Nos. 148-155, dated 31st July 1847, NAI, New Delhi; V; Punjab Government Records, *Lahore Political Diaries*, Vol. III, pp,180-186; Narayana, Pillai, *Journal of Indian History*, Serial No. 79, vol.XXVII, Part-I, p.2

⁹⁸ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding 'A', No. 157, dated 25th November 1848, NAI, New Delhi

⁹⁹ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding 'A', No. 65, dated 7th October 1848, NAI, New Delhi; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, Daftar-V, pp.4-6.

¹⁰⁰ Prem Bati Ghai, *The Partition of the Punjab, 1849-1947*, p.10; William Wilson Hunter, *The Marquess, of Dalhousie*, Ludhiana, 1972, pp.66-67

¹⁰¹ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, Daftar-V, p.99; V. Narayana, Pillai, *Journal of Indian History*, Serial No. 79, Vol.XXVII, Part-I, p.2

imperious high-handedness calculated to irritate and provoke them to hostilities.¹⁰²

Henry Lawrence started suspecting every action of the Maharani adversely, whether it was his mental abrasion or a carefully settled plot. We have seen that not only, had Maharani Jind Kaur been steadily excluded from participating in the negotiations which led to the signing of the treaty of Bhairawal, but she had, by that treaty, also been deprived of all shares in the government of the State in which she had till then reigned supreme. It was but natural therefore, that she would hate the British Resident as a source of all her ills, and the members of the Council of Regency as the creatures of the British. She was, however, unable to do any harm to the British as all power in the State was exercised by their representative at Lahore.¹⁰³ The Maharani had been comprehensively outwitted by the British statesmanship remained. There was, however, a few months interlude between the British occupation of Lahore and their open clash with the queen-mother, though even during this period it was more than evident that they would not tolerate the overbearing Regent for long. On December 7, 1846 from his camp, Lord Hardinge categorically negotiating the new treaty at Lahore said in the following words: "In any agreement made for continuing the occupation of Lahore, her deprivation of power is an indispensable condition" preparatory to this step Henry Lawrence had long been indulging in the usual game of slandering the Maharani in Dispatches to his Government.¹⁰⁴

The question which arises in the mind of historians is why Lord Hardinge was hostile to Maharani Jind Kaur. After a consideration of the facts given above, it becomes amply clear that the reasons for the hostilities against Maharaja Jind Kaur were that she was seen as a hindrance in the political aspirations of the British. Moreover, she enjoyed immense respect of the common people. She was looked upon as the queen- mother and the hostilities of the imperial rulers also added to her sympathizers. It was for

¹⁰² Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding 'A', No. 65, dated 7th October 1848, NAI, New Delhi

¹⁰³ William Wilson Hunter, *The Marquess of Dalhousie*, p.67

¹⁰⁴ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding 'A', No. 143 dated 27th January 1849, NAI, New Delhi. Most of the Letters mentioned are undated.

these reasons Lord Harding wanted to remove her, but was in search of an appropriate time and also rightful cause.¹⁰⁵

In terms of conclusion to the chapter it can be said that the present chapter is a discussion of the political developments during the period between 1843 and 1846. An attempt has been made to study the various dimensions of the role of Maharani Jind Kaur in her position as the regent during the minor years of Maharaja Duleep Singh. It has been clearly shown that for a considerable part of the period under consideration she was in control of the political situation. She was able to tackle all the political issues pertaining to the Lahore *Durbar*. Behind the cast of her veil she held the court and acted as the head. Besides, she had considerable influence with the *Panchayats* as well as the army of Lahore *Durbar* and played an important role in administration especially during the three years under consideration. . The chapter also covers important political events related with her in Lahore *Durbar* during the period under study. Her relation with *Panches* and *Panchyat* members has also been comprehensively discussed to show her understanding of strategic affairs and diplomacy. The last part of the chapter deals with her equation with Jawahar Singh and contains an analysis of her relations with Lal Singh which has been a subject of much historical interest particularly in connection with Lal Singh's appointment as *Wazir*. The concluding part of the chapter is a study of the British policy toward Punjab and Maharani Jind Kaur's unsuccessful but valiant efforts to save the Punjab from the clutches of the British.

¹⁰⁵ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding 'A', Nos.1280-1313, dated 26th December 1846, NAI, New Delhi; Punjab Government Records, *Lahore Political Diaries 1847-48*, Vol. III, pp.260-261; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, p.99

CHAPTER – IV

ROLE AND POSITION IN 1st AND 2nd ANGLO SIKH WARS (1846-49)

The period from 1846 to 49 was a tumultuous time. Maharani Jind Kaur and Minister Lal Singh decided to divert the attention of the fierce soldiery to the enemy at the gate. They made a conscious effort to fan the anti-British sentiment in the mind of the magnificent Sikh soldiery.¹

The administration of the state during this period was deteriorating on day to day basis. The Sardars and higher officers began to struggle among themselves for power. The army assumed itself to be paramount in the whole kingdom. The Sikhs soldiers had become completely self-willed.²

Taking stock of the gravity of the situation, Maharani Jind Kaur ordered the commander Sardar Tej Singh to restore discipline in the Fauji-i-Ain (Regular standing army). The Sardars tried their best to convince the Sikh army that order could be maintained only if they would return to the same obedience and fealty that they had demonstrated during the time of the great Maharaja Ranjit Singh.³

As has been discussed and shown in the previous chapters, Maharani Jind Kaur cast of her feminine veil and assumed all power of the government in the name of her son. The regimental committees gave her power so that she could represent herself as the symbol of the sovereignty of the Khalsa. She now often addressed the common soldiers and held a court.⁴

Maharani Jind Kaur declared that since Maharaja Duleep Singh was a minor, the protection of the live and property of the people as well as their

¹ N.M. Khilnani, *British Power in the Punjab (1839-1858)*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1972, p.11

² Charles Gough, *The Sikh and the Sikh Wars*, Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970, p.60; Dewan Ajudhia Parshad, (ed.), V.S. Suri, *Waqai-Jang-i-Sikhan*, Punjab Itihas Parkashan, Chandigarh, 1975, pp.6-8

³ Hari Ram Gupta, *Punjab on the Eve of the First Sikh War*, Punjab University, Chandigarh, 1956, pp.45-46; Dewan Ajudhia Parshad (ed.), V.S. Suri, *Waqai-Jang-i-Sikhan*, pp.14-15

⁴ Dewan Ajudhia Parshad (ed.), V.S. Suri, *Waqai-Jang-i-Sikhan*, pp.14-15; Charles Gough, *The Sikh and the Sikhs Wars*, pp.60-61

livelihood should be entrusted to the army. They were proclaimed both subjects and guardians.⁵

The actual movement of British troops also took place a week before the Sikhs crossed the Sutlej. However, the movement was within their own territory and not into the British. As such the Sikhs could neither be said to have violated the British frontier and to have invaded the British territory, nor to have violated the treaty or rules of friendship.⁶

Col. Gardner describes the atmosphere in Lahore. He says that it was a general perception that the intentions of the British were aggressive. These things incited the soldiers who were filled with their devotion to their mystic faith, and determination filled the bosom of each one of them. The word went around they would go and make sacrifices.⁷

Major Broadfoot felt that Sikh Kingdom was not in the position to directly attack the British Empire. They followed a policy of ring and fence and prepared British army for the war. They also sent telegrams to the British army for future and impending war with the Sikhs.⁸

The British army had been collecting men and war materials on the Punjab frontiers for quite long. The stage was set for war. Lal Singh was appointed as *Wazir* and Tej Singh as the commander of the Sikh army.⁹

On December 11, 1845, the Sikh army began to cross the Sutlej near Hari Ki Pattan to its own territory on the other side of the river. On December 13, Lord Hardings declared war. He accused the Sikhs of invading British territories "without a shadow of provocation." The *Durbar's* possessions on the left bank of the Sutlej were confiscated and Cis-Sutlej chiefs were called upon to cooperate in punishing a "common enemy."¹⁰

Historical evidence shows that the queen-mother Maharani Jind Kaur

⁵ Major Evans Bell, *Annexation of the Punjab and the Maharaja Duleep Singh*, (reprint) Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970, p.42

⁶ Ganda Singh, *Private Correspondence Relating to the Anglo-Sikh Wars*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1977, pp.68-69

⁷ Major Hugh Pearse, *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner Soldier and Traveller*, (reprint) Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1972, pp.265-266

⁸ *Ibid.*, p.263

⁹ Ganda Singh, *Private Correspondence Relating to the Anglo-Sikh Wars*, p.81

¹⁰ Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs, 1839-1964*, Vol. II, Oxford University Press, London, 1966, p.46

was not in favour of war as there was peace on the Lahore side and the Sikhs were not making any hostile movements against the British.¹¹ However flames of war could not be averted, how so ever hard the Maharani tried. The cunning enemy was waiting at her door step with the blue print for war ready in hand. The Governor General proceeded to Ludhiana on 6 December 1845 where on 13 December he issued a proclamation breaking all diplomatic relations with the Khalsa *Durbar*.¹²

Maharani Jind Kaur delivered a war speech to the army and asked them to fight for the sake of late Maharaja Ranjit Singh and to save the Sikh empire. Maharani Jind Kaur once again showed them the way. She called for the regimental Panchayat, whose moral was sagging and told them tauntingly “you were the people taking so loudly about the conquest who told me that the revenues of the territories between the Sutlej and Jamuna would be sufficient to meet your demands for more salaries and allowance, now you either move towards the front and redeem your pledge or retire to the barracks at Lahore and remain satisfied with Rs. Six per soldier per month as was fixed by Maharaja Ranjit Singh.”¹³ In the ensuing months, many battles were fought between the Sikhs and British army. The first engagement at Mudki was won by the British. According to Hugh Pearson the loss at the hands of the British happened mainly “because of Lal Singh, according to plan, took no interest in the battle after issuing the order to attack”¹⁴ At Firoz Shahar again Lal Singh commanded the Sikh force. The Sikhs were again defeated in Firoz Shahar and opened negotiations for peace. However, the first demand to the British government was that the Sikh army should be disbanded immediately. The Maharani however was getting desperate on account of the consecutive losses and on account of the aggravating situation. She was also apprehensive about the Khalsa. She

¹¹ Gaesar Caine, F.R.G.S. (ed.), *Barracks and Battlefield in India*, (reprint) Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1971, p.5; Dewan Ajudhia Parshad, (ed.), V.S. Suri, *Waqai-Jang-i-Sikhan*, p.53

¹² M.L. Ahluwalia, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 2001, pp.43-45

¹³ Ganda Singh, *Private Correspondence Relating to the Anglo-Sikh Wars*, pp.91-92

¹⁴ Charles Gough, *The Sikhs and the Sikh Wars*, p.86

was clearly afraid of their returning.¹⁵

Not only did the Maharani remain very much in a proper command during the course of the war, but it was she who decided to invite Sardar Sham Singh Attariwala from his village to take the command of the Sikh Army at the time of the fateful battle of Sobroan in the Ferozepur sector soon after the battle of Ferozshah. It is recorded that as soon as the news of the debacle of Ferozshah reached Maharani Jind Kaur, she at once dispatched ten horse men to Attari to request Sardar Sham Singh to reach Lahore.¹⁶

Sabraon was the last battle of the first Anglo-Sikh war. 10 February 1846 was the day fixed by the British for the battle of Sabraon. Tej Singh and Lal Singh knew it. Historical opinion holds that they were taken into confidence and the date was fixed with their consultation. As has been stated above the Maharani was in command during the course of the war and she also decided to invite Sardar Sham Singh Attariwala, who commanded the Sikh army at the momentous battle of Sabraon and lost his life in the battlefield.¹⁷

At Lahore, the Maharani and courtiers received the news of the crushing defeat of the Sikhs. They then decided to send the Maharaja Duleep Singh, accompanied by Raja Gulab Singh, Bhai Ram Singh, Diwan Dina Nath and other notables to present himself before the Governor General.¹⁸ Two treaties were signed between the Sikhs and the British on 9 and 11 March 1846 A.D. known as treaties of Lahore.¹⁹ The political importance of the Punjab was immense and it had become a common topic of discussion in British circles.

It can be instructive to consider a comment on the merits of the two armies by an old Sikh Soldier, who had fought in those battles:

“Sahib, our infantry was more numerous than yours, nearly as good

¹⁵ Major Hugh Pearse, *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner Soldier and Traveller*, pp.272-273; Ganda Singh, *Private Correspondence Relating to the Anglo-Sikh Wars*, pp.95-96

¹⁶ M.L. Ahluwalia, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, p.43

¹⁷ Ganda Singh, *Private Correspondence Relating to the Anglo-Sikh Wars*, pp.95-96

¹⁸ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Dafter*, Vol.V, English translated by V.S. Suri, S.Chand & co, New Delhi, 1961, pp.369-371

¹⁹ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, “A”, No.6, dated 18th March 1846, NAI, New Delhi; John J.H. Gordon, *The Sikhs*, London, 1904, p.162

as the British soldiers, better than your sepays, our cavalry was more mobile, our guns heavier and well served. There was just one difference, and that give you the victory. Whereas our sirdars kept well behind the line and called out 'chalo bhai chalo' (Go on, brother), your little boy officers rushed ahead and called 'chale ao, chale ao' (come on)"²⁰

In another important comment of a similar nature a letter dated January 23, 1845 A.D. written by Lord Hardinge apprised Ellenborough of the situation. He wrote: "Even if we had a case for devouring our ally in his adversity, we are not ready... moderation will do us no harm, if in the interval the hills and the plains weaken each other, but on what plea could we attack the Punjab if this were the month of October, and we had our army in readiness"? The letter continues, "self preservation may require the dispersion of this Khalsa army, the baneful influence of such an example is the evil most to be dreaded, but exclusive of this case, how are we to justify the seizure of our friends territory who in adversity assisted us to retrieve our affairs?"²¹

"We shall now begin to move up the additional regiments to Ferozpur, Ludhiana and Ambala, the barracks etc. being nearly ready. As the fords deepen and the heat increases, these movements will cause no alarm but quietly we will get the troops in their proper place."²²

Historical records suggest that during the first Anglo-Sikh war Maharani Jind Kaur worked with great patience. Several allegations were leveled against the Maharani regarding her responsibility for the first Anglo-Sikh War. However, as has been discussed in the previous chapter as well most of it is incorrect. As the British were great diplomats they wanted to win over the sentiments of the Khalsa army and common people of Lahore. It is notable that some prominent British historians like G.C. Smyth, Major Hugh Pearse, Cunningham, Charles Gough wrote about Maharani Jind Kaur and tried to hold her responsible for first Anglo Sikh War. They tried to project a

²⁰ George Batley Scott, *Religion and Short History of the Sikhs, 1469 to 1930*, The Mitre Press, London, 1965, p.45

²¹ Ganda Singh, *Private Correspondence Relating to the Anglo-Sikh Wars*, p.72

²² *Ibid.*

case that it was she who instigated the Sikhs to the war. However it is difficult to find any native primary or contemporary sources that hold Maharani Jind Kaur responsible for the first Anglo Sikh War. On the other side many historians like G.Carmichael Smyth, W.W. Humblay and Sir Gorge Campbell who voiced contrary opinion by writing e in their works that Maharani Jind Kaur was not responsible for First Anglo-Sikh war. It is clear that due to their vested interests the British writer have particularly made attempts to malign and degrade the mother of the Lahore *Durbar* who had offered a very tough resistance to the British army. They recorded all types of scandals and rumors. This is the main reason that they levelled different allegations on the character of Maharani. Their objective was to degrade her in the eyes of Khalsa army as well as other nobles of the *Durbar*. The British had a clear idea that she was the main inspiration for the soldiers. Although she was not on good terms with the Khalsa army because of the murder of her brother, Jawahar Singh, yet there were no ill-feelings in her mind.²³ She could never even imagine that her country should go into the hands of foreigners. She could never accept the defeat of the Lahore *Durbar* at the hands of the British. As has been shown in the previous chapters she was extraordinarily bold. It is reasonably beyond doubt that in the given situation she was left with no alternative but to start the first Anglo-Sikh war. She ordered the Khalsa army to save their precious Kingdom and do whatever they thought proper. Maharani Jind Kaur's principal advisers were Diwan Dina Nath, Bhai Ram Singh and Raja Lal Singh.²⁴ It was in a critical position that she took this bold step. After the loss of the Khalsa army in First Anglo-Sikh war treaties were concluded in which she was deprived of all her power and a part in the administration of Lahore *Durbar*.

Commenting on Maharani Jind Kaur J.H. Gordon wrote in his book, "*The Sikhs*" that after she became regent and managed her own ministerial duties, but she was determined to be revenged. The judicial murder of her brother became the direct factor in bringing about war with the British and

²³ Dewan Ajudhia Parshad (ed.), V.S. Suri, *Waqai-Jang-i-Sikhan*, p.14

²⁴ Major Hugh Pearse, *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner Soilder and Traveller*, p.263

even the power of Army was now at its height. The highest officers of the state dreaded it. There were no means of reining in the rapacity of the army, as the treasury was empty. Anarchy reigned everywhere, and no revenue was forthcoming from the distant provinces. According to Gordon the Maharani felt stimulated by these internal dangers, to find some relief in external adventure. According to him war with the British was the only remedy in a precarious political situation. Anti-British feeling ever since the death of the wise Ranjit Singh was the most expedient weapon used in political intrigues. Gordon tries to insinuate that the Maharani in her spirit of revenge felt that, "Whether British killed Sikh, or Sikh killed British, or each do kill one another, either way makes my gain".²⁵ In Gordon's opinion, she feared the Sikhs far more than the British. If victorious the Khalsa would be engaged in plundering India, and she would gain the credit, if not, she could depend upon the British for life and generosity.²⁶

Writing on the same issue G.C. Smyth contended that "It was rumoured about this time, that while at Amritsar, the Maharani and her favorite Lal Singh had formed resolutions and plans for the punishment of the army".²⁷

J.D.Cunningham citing the reasons for the war wrote that, "The initiative was thus taken by the Sikhs, who by an overt violation broke a solemn treaty and invaded the territories of their allies. It is further certain that the English people had all along been sincerely desirous of living at peace with the Punjab, and to a casual observer the aggression of the Sikhs may thus appear as unaccountable as if was fatal".²⁸

European writer Major Huge Pears has stated that Maharani Jind Kaur made herself the regent and Lal Singh was appointed as her adviser. "The army was to be flung upon the British and so destroyed. Thus did the Maharani Jind Kaur in her turn plan to avenge on the murder of her brother

²⁵ John J.H. Gordon, *The Sikhs*, pp.131-132

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.131-132

²⁷ G.C. Smyth, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, (reprint) Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970, p.168

²⁸ J.D. Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*, S.Chand & co, New Delhi, 1981, p.258

Jawaher Singh.”²⁹

However, it is quite clear that the Maharani Jind Kaur was never in the dark about the ultimate intentions of the British, and being a woman who had never learnt to submit easily, she accepted the challenge without hesitation. For some time the Maharani and the British authorities were openly pitted against one another. By means of a well-planned strategy she, on one hand, bequiled the British authorities into a false feeling of security, by making occasional complaints about her allowances, *Jagirs*, and the restrictions imposed upon her, while on the other hand she made full use of this unique opportunity to rouse the chiefs and the army to make a bold attempt at remove the British from her Kingdom.

It is noteworthy the Maharani wrote several letters of remonstrance to the British authorities. In one of her letters the Maharani Jind Kaur had very boldly criticized the British authorities with the following concluding remarks, “Why do you take possession of Kingdom by under-hand means? Why do not you do it openly? On the one hand you make a show of friendship and on the other hand you have put us in prison. Do justice to me or I shall appeal to the London head quarters.”³⁰

The second letter of protest on which the scholars focused heavily was the one written by her after her arrival at Shaikpura in August 1847, where she was deported from Lahore and kept as a prisoner in the fort.³¹ In this letter she had again complained to John Lawrence against snatching away from her the infant Duleep Singh. She begged in the name of god that her son may be restored to her. The original text of the letter is produced below:

²⁹ Major Hugh Pearse, *Memoirs of Alexander Gardner Soilder and Traveller*, pp.261-262

³⁰ Ganda Singh (ed.), *Maharaja Duleep Singh Correspondence*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1972, pp.12-13

³¹ Punjab Government Record, *Lahore Political Dairies*, 1846-1847, Vol-III, Pioneer Press, Allahabad ,1909, p.261

ਦੂਜੀ ਚਿੱਠੀ

ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ

ਲਿਖਤੁਮ ਥੀਥੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਲਾਰਨ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੱਗ !

ਅਸੀਂ ਰਾਜੀ ਬਾਜੀ ਸ਼ੇਖੂਪੁਰੇ ਆਨ ਪਹੁੰਚੇ। ਤੁਸਾਂ ਸਾਡਾ ਅਸਬਾਬ ਸਾਡੇ ਕੇ ਭੇਜਣਾ। ਹੋਰ, ਜੈਸੇ ਸੰਮਣ ਵਿਚ ਬੈਠੇ ਸੇ ਤੈਸੇ ਸ਼ੇਖੂਪੁਰੇ ਬੈਠੇ ਹਾਂ। ਦੋਵੇਂ ਥਾਂ ਇਕੋਜਿਹੇ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਹਨ। ਪਰ ਤੁਸਾਂ ਮੇਰੇ ਨਾਲ ਬਹੁਤ ਜੁਲਮ ਕੀਤਾ ਏ। ਮੇਰਾ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਖੋਹ ਲਿਆ। ਦਸ ਮਹੀਨੇ ਮੈਂ ਵਿਡ ਵਿਚ ਰਖਿਆ ਏ ਤੇ..... ਮੈਨੂੰ ਮੰਨ ਪਾਲਿਆ ਏ। ਅਯਾਣਾ ਬਿਨਾਂ ਕੱਲ ਮੇਰਾ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਮੇਰੇ ਨਾਲੋਂ ਵਿਛੋੜਿਆ। ਮੈਨੂੰ ਤੇ ਕੈਦ ਰਖਦੇ, ਮੇਰੇ ਆਦਮੀ ਕਥ ਦਿੰਦੇ, ਮੇਰੀਆਂ ਟਹਿਲਣਾਂ ਕੱਢ ਦਿੰਦੇ, ਜਿਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਵੀ ਤੁਸਾਂਡੀ ਮਰਬੀ ਚਾਹੁੰਦੀ ਉਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਮੇਰੇ ਨਾਲ ਕਰਦੇ, ਪਰ ਇਕ ਮੇਰੇ ਨਾਲ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ-ਵਿਛੋੜੀ ਨਾਂ ਕਰਦੇ। ਵਾਸਤਾ ਏ ਅਪਣੇ ਰਬ ਦਾ, ਵਾਸਤਾ ਏ ਅਪਣੇ ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹ ਦਾ, ਜਿਸ ਦਾ ਨਮਕ ਖਾਂਦੇ ਓ, ਮੇਰਾ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਮਿਲੇ। ਇਹ ਦੁਖ ਮੈਥੋਂ ਸਹਿਆ ਨਹੀਂ ਜਾਂਦਾ, ਨਹੀਂ ਤਾਂ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਮਰਵਾ ਦਿੰਦੇ।

ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਮੇਰਾ ਬਹੁਤ ਅਯਾਣਾ ਏ, ਕੁਝ ਕਰਨ ਜੋਗਾਨਹੀਂ, ਮੈਂ ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹੀ ਫੌਜੀ, ਮੈਨੂੰ ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹੀ ਦੀ ਕੋਈ ਲੋੜ ਨਹੀਂ, ਵਾਸਤੇ ਰਬ ਦੇ ਮੇਰੀ ਅਰਜ਼ ਮੰਨ, ਐਸ ਵੇਲੇ ਮੇਰਾ ਕੋਈ ਨਹੀਂ, ਮੈਂ ਅਗੇ ਵੀ ਕੋਈ ਉਬਰ ਨਹੀਂ, ਜੇ ਆਖੇਗੇ ਸੇ ਮੈਂ ਮੰਨਾਂਗੀ। ਮੇਰੇ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਕੋਲ ਕੋਈ ਨਹੀਂ, ਭੈਣ ਭਾਈ ਨਹੀਂ, ਕੋਈ ਚਾਚਾ ਤਾਯਾ ਨਹੀਂ, ਬਾਪ ਉਸ ਦਾ ਨਹੀਂ। ਇਸ ਨੂੰ ਕੀਹਦੇ ਹਵਾਲੇ ਕੀਤਾ ਜੇ ? ਮੇਰੇ ਨਾਲ ਅੰਡੇ ਜੁਲਮ ਹੋਏ ਨੇ, ਹੋਰ, ਮੈਂ ਸ਼ੇਖੂਪੁਰੇ ਰਹਾਂਗੀ, ਮੈਂ ਲਾਹੌਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਜਾਵਾਂਗੀ, ਮੇਰੇ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਨੂੰ ਮੇਰੇ ਕੋਲ ਭੇਜ ਦਿਓ। ਮੈਂ ਓਨੀ ਦਿਨਾਂ ਤੁਸਾਂ ਪਾਸ ਆਉਂਗੀ ਜਿਸ ਦਿਨ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਲਾਉਣੇ ਹੋਣਗੇ, ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਉਸ ਦਿਨ ਮੈਂ ਭੇਜ ਦਿਆਂਗੀ। ਹੋਰ ਮੇਰੇ ਨਾਲ ਬਹੁਤ ਸੀ ਹੋਈ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਨਾਲ ਵੀ ਬਹੁਤ ਸੀ ਹੋਈ ਹੈ, ਤੇ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਦਾ ਕਿਹਾ ਵੀ ਮੰਨ ਲਿਆ, ਦੁਣ ਖੋਹ ਕੇਰੇ ਬਹੁਤ ਹੋਈ ਹੋਗੀ।

ਬਰਤਾਨਵੀ ਪਾਲੀਟੀਸ਼ਨਾਂ ਤੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂਦੇ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਸਾਥੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਹੀਲਿਆਂ ਤੋਂ ਬਣਾਉਣੀ ਨਾਲ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਦਲੀਪ ਸਿੰਘ ਦੀ 'ਮਾਂ-ਵਿਛੋੜੇ' ਤੋਂ ਹੋਦਾ ਹੋਈ ਉਦਾਸੀ ਪੂਰੇ ਤੌਰ ਤੇ ਫੂਪ ਨਾ ਸਕੀ। ਉਸ ਦੇ ਮਾਂ-ਵਿਛੋੜੇ ਤੋਂ ਤੀਜੇ ਦਿਨ ਦੇਖੀ ਉਦਾਸੀ ਨੂੰ ਕਾਇਮ ਮੁਕਾਮ ਰੈਜ਼ੀਡੈਂਟ ਜਾਨ ਲਾਰੀਸ ਨੇ ਆਪਣੀ ੨੩-੮-੪੭ ਦੀ ਚਿੱਠੀ, ਜੋ ਉਸਨੇ ਗਵਰਨਰ ਜੈਨਰਲ ਦੇ ਸਕੱਟਰੀ ਲਿਖੀ ਸੀ, ਵਿਚ ਮੰਨਿਆ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਦੇ ਚਿਹਰੇ ਤੇ ਉਦਾਸੀ ਦੇ ਚਿੰਨ੍ਹ ਮੌਜੂਦ ਹਨ। ਜਦੋਂ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਵਾਪਸ ਕਿਲ੍ਹੇ ਵਿਚ ਆਏ ਤਾਂ ਉਹ ਆਪਣਾ ਪੁਰਾਣਾ ਕਮਰਾ, ਜਿਥੇ ਆਪਣੀ ਮਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਰਹਿੰਦੇ ਹੁੰਦੇ ਸਨ, ਛੱਡ ਦਿਤਾ ਤੇ ਤਖਤ-ਰਾਹ ਵਿਚ ਜਾ ਡੇਰਾ ਲਾਇਆ।

ਆਪਣੇ ਕਾਰੇ ਨੂੰ ਜਾਇਜ਼ ਦੱਸਣ ਲਈ ਬਰਤਾਨਵੀ ਰੈਜ਼ੀਡੈਂਟ ਨੇ ੨੦ ਅਗਸਤ ੧੮੪੭ ਨੂੰ ਲਾਹੌਰ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਦੇ ਸਰਦਾਰਾਂ, ਅਹਿਲਕਾਰਾਂ, ਧਾਰਮਕ ਮੁਖੀਆਂ, ਬਜ਼ੁਰਗਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਦਲੀਪ ਸਿੰਘ ਦੇ ਵੇਸ਼ ਵਾਸੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਜਾਣੂ ਕਰਨ ਹਿਤ ਇਕ ਐਲਾਨ ਜਾਰੀ ਕੀਤਾ। ਜਿਸ ਦਾ ਜ਼ਾਵ ਇਹ ਸੀ:—

੧. ਗਵਰਨਰ ਜੈਨਰਲ (ਹੈਨਰੀ ਹਾਰਡਿੰਗ) ਪਿਛਲੇ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਦੀ ਦੋਸਤੀ ਤੇ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਦਲੀਪ ਸਿੰਘ ਦੀ ਬਾਲ ਉਮਰ ਨੂੰ ਤੱਕਕੇ ਉਸ ਦੀ ਵਿਦਾ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧ ਹਿਤ ਸ਼ਾਹਜ਼ਾਦੇ ਦੇ ਗਾਰਡ'ਅਨ ਬਣਦੇ ਹਨ।

੨. ਇਸ ਮੌਤਵ ਲਈ ਗਵਰਨਰ ਜੈਨਰਲ ਤੇ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਨੇ, ਜੋ ੧੮-੮-੧੮੪੭ ਨੂੰ ਹੋਇਆ, ਫੈਸਲਾ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਨੂੰ ਸ਼ਾਹਜ਼ਾਦੇ ਤੋਂ ਵਖ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਏ ਤੇ ਵਿਰ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਸ਼ੇਖੂਪੁਰੇ ਭੇਜ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਗਈ।

੩. ਇਸ ਕਦਮ ਉਠਾਉਣ ਦੇ ਸੰਖੇਪ ਕਾਰਨ ਇਹ ਹਨ ਕਿ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਦਾ ਅਹਿਦਨਾਮਾ ਲਿਖਣ ਵੇਲੇ ਇਹ ਜ਼ਰੂਰੀ ਖਿਆਲ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਸੀ ਕਿ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਨੂੰ ਪੁਜਾ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧਕ ਹਿੱਸੇ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਬਾਹਰ ਰਖਕੇ

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The English translation of the letter reads as under:

With the Grace of the Great Guru

“From Bibi Sahib to Lawrence Sahib.

We have arrived safely at Sheikhpura. You should send our luggage with care. As I was sitting in the Samman, in the same way I am in Sheikhpura. Both the places are same to me. You have been very cruel to me. You have snatched my son from me. For ten months I kept him in my womb. Then I brought him up with great difficulty. Without any fault you have separated my son from me. You could have kept me in prison. You could have dismissed my men. You could have turned out my maid-servants. You could have treated me in any other way you liked. But you should not have separated my son from me.

In the name of God you worship and in the name of the king whose salt you eat, restore my son to me. I cannot bear the pain of this separation. Instead of this you put me to death.

“My son is very young. He is incapable of doing anything. You want his kingdom. I have no need of kingdom. For God’s sake, pay attention to my appeals. At this time I have no one to look to. I raise no objections. I will accept what you say. There no one with my son. He has no sister, no brother. He has no uncle, senior or junior. His father he has lost. To whose care has he been entrusted? Without any fault why is so much cruelty being done to me?

I shall reside in Sheikhpura. I shall not go to Lahore. Send my son to me. I will come to you at Lahore only during the days when you hold *Durbar*. On that day I will send him. A great deal (of injustice) has been done to me. A great deal (of injustice) has been done to my son also. You have accepted what other people have said. Put an end to it now. Too much has been done.”

In spite of all the efforts and camouflage of the British political leaders and their native associates, the dismay of the Maharaja on account of his

separation from his mother could not be concealed. The officiating resident, Mr. John Lawrence, had to admit in his letter dated August 23, 1847 to the Secretary with the Governor-General that even on the evening of the third day (August 21, 1847) of his mother's removal from Lahore a 'slight shade of sadness was visible on the face of the Maharaja. On his return to the palace in the fort, he gave up the old apartments where he had lived with his mother and shifted to the *Takhat-gali*.

In justification of his action, the British Resident issued on August 20, 1847, a General Proclamation for the Information of the Chiefs of the Lahore *Durbar*, Priests, Elders and the People of the Countries belonging to Maharaja Duleep Singh³³

In those days there used to be a popular street gossip in the Punjab that Maharani Jind Kaur after having instigated her forces on the borders at Ludhiana and Ferozpur, had contrived to make them perish in the war by supplying to them spurious gun powder made up of powdered seeds.

However, it can be said there is as no direct evidence on this issue has so far come to light from the records of the British authorities which can prove that Maharani Jind Kaur had any direct or indirect role in inciting her troops to go to war against the British. On the other hand the foreign office records of the Lahore *Durbar* seemed to have been either secretly dispensed with or destroyed by the British officers soon after their occupation of Lahore. It is also possible that the functionaries of the *Durbar* had done so in order to wipe out any evidence of the involvement of the Maharani in any conspiracy to invite the British.

Diwan Ajudhia Parshad also writes about some common suspicions in the minds of common people in the *Waqai-Jang-I-Sikhan* (Events of the Anglo-Sikh War of 1845-46). He comments that soon after the battle of Sabraon on the basis of his personal observation and the reports given to him by various officers of the Lahore *Durbar*, who had taken part in the war, there is an oblique reference to the feeling of suspicion in the mind of the soldiers of the *Durbar* that those at the helm of affairs at Lahore were in

³³ Ganda Singh, *Private Correspondence Relating to Anglo-Sikh Wars*, pp.49-90

league with the British and that the Maharani nursed a grudge against the Sikh army on account of the murder of her brother, Sardar Jawahar Singh.³⁴ On the other side Ajudhia Parasad also wrote in his work that, one day in the presence of the courtiers and officers Maharani declared to the men of every brigade that she had reconciled her mind to the murder of her brother Jawahar Singh. She wished the soldiers to obey her as sons. She harboured no ill will towards them. She said that Jawahar Singh had been indeed, foolish and incompetent in the discharge of state duties.³⁵

To take another important view on the provocations for the war the British political agent on the Sikh frontier, Major G. Carmichael Smyth wrote in 1847. "Regarding the Punjab War, I am neither of opinion that the Sikhs made an unprovoked attack, nor that we acted towards them with great forbearance. If the Sikhs were to be considered entirely an independent state, in no way answerable to us, we should not have provoked them. And I only ask, had we not departed from the rules of friendship first... then the simple question is who first departed from the rules of friendship. I am decidedly of opinion that we did"³⁶

In an even more emphatic statement on the subject W.W.Humbley quotes Sir George Campbell, who was then posted at Kaithal (a Sikh state escheated by the British), wrote: "It is recorded in the annals of history, or what is called history, which will go down to posterity, that the Sikh army invaded British territory in pursuance of a determination to attack us. And most people will be very much surprised to hear that they did nothing of the kind. They made no attack on our outlying cantonments nor set foot in our territory. What they did do was to cross the river and to entrench themselves in their own territory".³⁷ From all these statements of different historians it becomes amply clear that Maharani Jind Kaur did not instigate the Sikh for first Anglo-Sikh war. The assertions of her role in instigating the war are mostly concocted accounts of British vested interests and partisan historians.

³⁴ Dewan Ajudhia Parshad, (ed) V.S. Suri, *Waqai-Jang-i-Sikhan*, pp.7-10

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.14

³⁶ G.C. Smyth, *History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, preface p. xxxi-xxxiii

³⁷ W.W. Humbley, *Journal of a Cavalry Officer*, Longman Press, London, 1854, p.37

It needs to be noted that there are several versions about Maharani Jind Kaur's role in the Anglo-Sikh wars. One of the versions is that for a long time Maharani was waiting for the time when she could appoint Lal Singh *wazir* because he was a great favorite and loyal subject of the Maharani. When the time for which she had been anxiously waiting came the Maharani openly showed her preference and favour for Lal Singh. In the month of November Lal Singh was openly declared *wazir* by the Maharani. He openly took upon himself the duties of a *wazir* under the authority of Queen-mother.³⁸ In the given situation, Tej Singh was still commander-in-chief. The Maharani and the officers were completely at the mercy of the army because army was the all powerful. There was no strong ruler to break the power of army and to establish a government under which they could once more enjoy some security. There were three distinct and mutual antagonistic parties: the court, the *Sardars* and the Army. However, omnipotence of the army of the Khalsa was the cause which led to its destruction. At this time the problem for the Maharani Jind Kaur and Raja Lal Singh was how to face the Khalsa army. The same Khalsa army which had conquered the whole of the Punjab, under the "Lion of the Punjab" began to kill all those who came its way.³⁹ Under the circumstances there was no way out for the Maharani and Raja Lal Singh to deal with the Khalsa Army except to make them fight against the British.

As has been mentioned there are several versions regarding Maharani Jind Kaur's responsibility in the First Sikh War. One was that Maharani wanted to reduce the power of the Khalsa army by making them fight against the British. For this purpose she was sending messages to various *Sardars* to fight against the British. According to Shah Muhammad she was alleged to have sent a confidential letter to the British Resident that

³⁸ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, "A", No.70-74, Dated 27 November March 1846, NAI, New Delhi; G.C. Smyth, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, p.168

³⁹ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, "A", No.148-155, Dated 31 July 1847, NAI, New Delhi; C.H. Payne, *A Short History of the Sikhs*, (reprint) Language Department Punjab, p.167; Punjab Government Records, *Lahore Political Diaries*, Vol. III, pp.180-186

she would dispatch the Sikh army towards them, as is clear from his stanzas.

*“Arji likhi farangi kuni goshi pehle
Apni such anand vare
Tere val main faur nu ghalni aan
Khatē karne tusan dand vare
Jihad jor tusan napna sab lana
Pichho kharcha karangi main band
Shah Muhmmada fern a aan mudke
Mainu itni baat pasand vare”.*⁴⁰

(Kissa, Jang Nammaa, Sikhan ate Farangian daa By Shah Mohammad)

It is significant to note that the poet Shah Mohammad’s point of view about the Maharani and the Khalsa army was the same as that of the common men of that time. However, in reality there is no concrete proof to indicate that she wrote in advance to the British. There is no evidence to support Shah Mohammad on this point.⁴¹

According to one view, it is possible that she intended to divert the army’s attention to a different channel in order to be free from their unnecessary interference in the administration.⁴² Perhaps her object in instigating the army as that in case the Khalsa Army won a victory over the English it would augment the territories of the Sikh Kingdom and if it was defeated it would mean considerable weakening of their power.

However, to take a balanced view on the basis of the available evidence and opinion it does not appear to be an accurate analysis. The British policy towards the Lahore *Durbar* had made the war inevitable as appears to be the case in M’Gregor statement, “The Queen-mother Jind Kaur was not in favour of war but the advice of the Maharani was

⁴⁰ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, “A”, No. 157, Dated 25 November, 1848; Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, “A”, No. 88-89, Dated 4 April, 1845. NAI, New Delhi; Bakhsish Singh Nijjar, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, National Book Shop, Delhi, 1975, p.27

⁴¹ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, “A”, No. 65, Dated 7 October, 1848, NAI, New Delhi; Sita Ram Kohli, Sewa Singh Giani, *Var Shah Muhammad*, Lahore Book Depot, Ludhiana, 1957, pp.96-101

⁴² Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, “A”, No. 65, Dated 7 October, 1848. NAI, New Delhi; Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, Orient Longmans, New Delhi, 1967, p.99

disapproved by many of the *Sardars* who objected, says General McLeod Innes in his work *Sir Henry Lawrence*”, but they were patriotic and joined the Khalsa”.⁴³ It is clear from the M’Gregor’s point of view that Maharani Jind Kaur was not much in favor of the war. She was helpless in this matter. Shah Mohammad’s charge that Maharani Jind Kaur did not send gunpowder to the army also appears to be incorrect. Although she was against the Khalsa army on certain issues; because of the murder of her brother and wanted to control the powerful army, yet she never wanted that Khalsa army should be defeated at the hands of the British. As she hated British intensely she became susceptible to such allegations which were actually fabricated by the British because they wanted to undermine her in the eyes of Khalsa army and the Sikhs.

Prominent researchers and historians like Ganda Singh, Khushwant Singh, Bikrama Jit Hasrat and Sita Ram Kohli have proved beyond doubt that responsibility of war lay much more with the British than with the Khalsa army because it was the British who actually provoked the war. While the internal anarchy had been sapping the vitality of the state, the attitude of the troops towards British neighbors had grown more and more hostile.

It is said that by the year 1845, the British invasion of Punjab was a constant theme of discussion at the assemblies of the *Panchayats*. The hostility was not the outcome of racial antipathy. It was the belief of the Sikhs that the policy of the British was territorial aggrandizement.⁴⁴ And later on this belief proved to be right. It was also believed that the British were awaiting a favorable opportunity to add Punjab to their dominions. During the previous five (1840-45) years various circumstances had contributed to strengthen this belief. The annexation of Sind in 1843 was taken as evidence of the desire of the British to extend their power, and the troops sent to occupy the province were regarded as a direct menace to the *Suba*

⁴³ J.J. Innes, McLeod, *Sir Henry Lawrence, the Pacificator*, Oxford, London, 1898, pp.95-99; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh, Daftar-V*, p.99; Ganda Singh, *Private Correspondence relating to the Anglo-Sikh Wars*, p.81; M.L. Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab’s Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, Orient Longman Publication, New Delhi, 1963, p.23

⁴⁴ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, “A”, No. 65, Dated 7 October, 1848, NAI, New Delhi; C.H. Payne, *A Short History of the Sikhs*, p.167; M.L. Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab’s Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, p.23

of Multan. The establishment of a garrison at Ferozepur and the military posts on Sutlej frontier also strengthened this belief.⁴⁵

According to C.H Payne various circumstances combined to precipitate the storm. The British for a long time past had been casting their covetous (greedy) eyes on the province of Punjab. They had given a solid proof of their ulterior motives against the Punjab even during the days of Ranjit Singh when they had forced the Maharaja to withdraw forces from Shikarpur in 1836 and had themselves occupied it.⁴⁶ Lastly they had stopped the advancement of Ranjit Singh towards Sindh and had themselves forced the Amirs of Sindh to accept a British Resident at Hyderabad in their territory.⁴⁷ Besides this, Mr. Osborne, the Military Secretary of Governor-General wrote to Governor-General in June, 1838 that the first task that they would have to do immediately after the death of Ranjit Singh was to occupy the entire Punjab. Based on these facts it can be said it was the desire of British Government that the boundary line of British territory should be extended up to river Indus.⁴⁸ It is, therefore, clear that British provoked war. They had started preparations for war against the Sikhs long ago. That the British had been preparing in advance for such an eventuality is proved from the following:

“Till 1838, Ludhiana was the only cantonment of the British near the Lahore frontier with only 3,000 men and 12 cannon. By the end of 1838 Ferozepur had been converted into a British Cantonment with 5,000 men and 12 cannons. Cantonments were also established by the British at Ambala, Kasauli and Shimla as well as 14,000 European troops and 48 cannons were stationed there. After his arrival in India Lord Hardinge further increased the strength of his forces in these cantonments by 22,000 men and 28 cannons, while just before

⁴⁵ M.L.Ahluwalia, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, p.21

⁴⁶ C.H.Payne, *A Short History of the Sikhs*, p.35

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p.35-36

⁴⁸ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, “A”, No. 143-145 Dated 27 January, 1849; W.G. Osborn, *The Court and Camp of Ranjit Singh*, (reprint) Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970, p.115; Sita Ram Kohli and Sewa Singh Giani, *Var Shah Muhammad*, p.64

the First Sikh War, their total strength was increased to 44,000 men and 100 cannons.”⁴⁹

The Sikhs never denied the right of the British to make military arrangements as they pleased for the security of their own territories, but this concentration of British posed a great threat to the Lahore *Durbar*.⁵⁰

Again during 1844-1845, the news was in the air that the English were preparing boats at Bombay to make bridges across the Sutlej; that troops in Sind were being equipped for a march on Multan and that the various garrisons of the North-West provinces were being gradually reinforced. None of these things were communicated to the Sikh Government, but they were nevertheless believed by all parties, and they strongly signaled a campaign not of defence but of aggression. J.D Cunningham rightly concluded by saying that ‘further inquiry will show that the policy pursued by the English themselves for several years was not in reality well calculated to ensure a continuance of pacific relations and they cannot, therefore, be held wholly blameless for a war which they expected and deprecated and which they knew could only end in their own aggrandizement.’⁵¹

Lord Hardinge’s letters to Lord Ellenborough indicates that Maharani had proposed an alliance on the basis of accepting a subsidiary position. Moreover, Hardinge indicated that the ruling chiefs were willing to undertake the responsibility of promoting the Khalsa troops to commit a number of acts, direct or indirect, which would give British an excuse for interference. These chiefs and influential persons wanted the British to allow them to retain their *jagirs*, their powers and their nationality in return for their help.⁵² On 23rd November, in the afternoon, Raja Lal Singh, Sardar Tej Singh as well as the Generals and Colonels etc. of the army regular and irregular, attended Maharani Jind Kaur’s *Durbar* and asked her to order the march of the troops to the ferries of the river Sutlej. The Maharani told them that they might do

⁴⁹ Sita Ram Kohli., *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, p.68

⁵⁰ M.L. Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab’s Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, p.20

⁵¹ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, “A”, No. 6, Dated 18th March, 1846, NAI, New Delhi; J.D.Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs* (Reprint), Orient Longman, New Delhi, 2000, pp.278-79

⁵² Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, p.98

whatever they thought proper.⁵³ The English were already bent upon war against the Sikhs but they did not take the initiative. However, as soon as the Sikh army crossed the river Sutlej, British also declared war.

In the period after the first Anglo Sikh war the estrangement between Maharani Jind Kaur and the British got aggravated. Perhaps it was outcome of the circumstances in which she had been placed. She never liked the progressive loss of independence of Lahore *Durbar* and perpetual domination of the British. The British followed the policy of divide and rule. They tried to isolate Maharani Jind Kaur and that was one of the major causes of the ultimate estrangement between the two. The various stages from Treaty of Lahore to Treaty of Bhairawal clearly indicate the consistent deterioration of their relations.⁵⁴

It was on the 13th of the February, 1846 that the British Army crossed the river Sutlej into the Sikh territory and occupied Lahore on the 20th February, 1846. About the First Anglo-Sikh war Joseph Thackwell writes, "If an employee of the Lahore, Raja Gulab Singh *Dogra*, the ruler of Jammu, had desired to help the Sikhs by his men, the story would have been written in different words. However, he kept himself aloof from the war in order safeguard his vested interest. On getting an opportunity he acted as a mediator to get a peace treaty signed by the Sikhs and the British".⁵⁵

Thus the first Anglo-Sikh war came to an end with the signing of the Treaty of Lahore. Gulab Singh was appointed the *wazir* and got a statement written by the court officials that they would abide by his decisions in all cases.⁵⁶

A war indemnity of one and a half crore of rupees was imposed. Army was reduced to 20,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry. The Maharaja also

⁵³ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, "A", No. 141-42, Dated 27 January, 1849; Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, "A", No. 435, Dated 26 December, 1846. NAI, New Delhi; B.R. Chopra, *Kingdom of the Punjab*, V.V. Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1969, p.420

⁵⁴ Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *Anglo- Sikh Relations (1799-1849)*, pp.385-386

⁵⁵ Joseph.E.Thackwell, *Narrative of the Second Sikh War*, London, 1851, (reprint), Language Department, Punjab, Patiala, 1970, pp.57-62

⁵⁶ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, "A", No. 134-139, Dated 26 May, 1849; Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, "A", No. 792, Dated 26 December, 1846, NAI, New Delhi; Jagmohan Mahajan, *Circumstances leading to the annexation of Punjab (1846-49)*, Kitamstan Press, Allahabad, 1849, p.35

agreed to recognize the independent sovereignty of Raja Gulab Singh by a separate treaty. The Maharaja was precluded from employing any British, European or American subject without the consent of the British, nor was he to change the limits of Lahore territories without the concurrence of the British Government.

Though Maharani Jind Kaur continued to act as a regent and Raja Lal Singh as *wazir*, effective power was vested in the British resident, Henry Lawrence. The young Maharaja Duleep Singh and his *Durbar* were merely the decorative façade of a kingdom that had ceased to exist in name.⁵⁷ By the Treaty of Lahore 1846 the British Government had undertaken to withdraw their forces from Lahore by the end of 1846. But keeping in view the growing unpopularity of British they thought it undesirable to withdraw the forces. In order to retain their military in Lahore it was essential to have another treaty with the Lahore *Durbar*. For this purpose, Henry Lawrence the resident was asked to take the courtiers into confidence. For the first time Maharani Jind Kaur openly opposed the British designs. She refused to sign the petition asking for the continuance of British Army in Lahore. This was a very bold step for which she had to pay very high cost. In the *Durbar* on 9th December she made a counter-proposal, that she be formally recognized as head of the Government. She was eager to assert her own rights as Queen-mother.⁵⁸ This was not acceptable to the British, nor did they encourage the *Sardars* support it.

By the terms of this treaty which came to be known as Treaty of Bhairowal the British Government undertook the maintenance of the administration and the protection of the Maharaja during his minority. Till the Maharaja attained maturity the British army was to stay in Lahore and its expenses were to be paid by the Lahore *Durbar*. Maharani Jind Kaur was deprived of all the powers. She was entitled to a pension of one and a half

⁵⁷ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, "A", No. 107-109, Dated 25 August, 1849; Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, "A", No. 1280-1313, Dated 26 December, 1846, NAI, New Delhi; Khuswant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs 1839-1973*, Vol. II, pp.57-58

⁵⁸ Foreign Department Political Secret Consultations, Proceeding, "A", No. 408, Dated 22 March, 1850, NAI, New Delhi; Khushwant Singh, *The fall of the Kingdom of the Punjab*, Oxford University, Press, Delhi, 1971, p.114

lakh of rupees per annum. Maharani Jind Kaur had strongly opposed the treaty and tried to persuade the *Sardars* that they could govern the country without the British assistance. The *Durbar* chiefs had looked to the British to protect their persons and properties from the rapacity of the Khalsa army. The British had saved them from the army but had exacted a heavy price for doing so. Maharani Jind Kaur was most perturbed with the progress of the situation.⁵⁹

The open clash between the Maharani and the British made it evident that they would not tolerate the overbearing Regent for long. Her removal from the power was therefore the first condition laid down by the British for concluding the Treaty of Bhairawal. Lord Hastings categorically instructed Fredrick Currie, who was then negotiating, that, "In any agreement made for continuing the occupation of Lahore, her deprivation of power was of an indispensable condition."⁶⁰ The resident forbade the *Sardars* (notably Sher Singh Attariwala) to visit Maharani's private apartments.

The Maharani, the regent for the minor Maharaja Dulip Singh, whose opinion on the subject should have counted more than that of another person, was deliberately excluded from all participation in the negotiations which were to determine the destiny of her son, because she made an attempt to prevent the British from extending their sway in the Punjab. It was in this way that she threatened to check the designs of the Governor-General.⁶¹ The Maharani not only had been deliberately excluded from participating in the negotiations which led to the signing of the treaty of Bhairawal, but she had, by that treaty, also been deprived of all share in the Government of the State in which she had till then been supreme.

The treaty of Bhairawal acted as a setback for the Maharani. During the year ending with the signing of Bhairawal treaty the people of the Punjab

⁵⁹ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, "A", No. 41-42, Dated 25 October, 1850; NAI, New Delhi, Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar-V, pp.4-6; Khushwant Singh, *The fall of the Kingdom of the Punjab*, Vol. II, p.63

⁶⁰ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, "A", No. 7, Dated 9th September, 1850; Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, "A", No. 952, Dated 26th December, 1846, NAI, New Delhi; Bakhsish Singh. Nijjar, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, p.84

⁶¹ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, "A", No. 7, Dated 9 September, 1850, NAI, New Delhi; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar-V, pp.4-6; Jagmohan Mahajan, *Circumstances Leading to the Annexation of Punjab (1846-49)*, p.72

had already experienced several adverse effects of the British hegemony. One of these was the cow-row incident of 21st April, 1846.⁶² Although the treaty of Bhairawal had had undermined her position, the Maharani was still considered powerful for attaining her past glory. Taking this into consideration Lord Hardinge wrote in March, 1847 A.D “If a good opportunity must occurs, She must be sent away from Lahore”. A few months later, it was considered necessary to keep her baneful influence away from the young Maharaja. It is a measure, “Hardinge said (in a Machiavellian way) for the welfare of the boy under British guardianship”.⁶³

The Maharani, having been outwitted by the British Statemanship, remained in embarrassment. Sir Fredrick Currie the resident in his personal correspondence with the Governor-General recommended that she should be removed from Lahore; but the latter replied, “there is an objection to separate her from her son on the ground of her political intrigues counter-acting the measures of the new government, as it may be said that she is punished in anticipation of any political offence she had committed”. From then the Resident began to look for a pretext which would lend some justification for her removal from Lahore.⁶⁴

Couple of months later Sir Henry Lawrence found a good excuse for the removal of the Maharani in the Prema plot.⁶⁵ Maharani Jind Kaur first attempt to wreak vengeance on the British resident and the arch intriguer Tej Singh, who then headed the subservient *Durbar*, was not only crude but also highly unsuccessful.⁶⁶

Henry Lawrence could no longer tolerate the presence of Maharani

⁶² Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, “A”. No. 9-10, Dated 27 September, 1850, NAI, New Delhi; M.L. Ahluwalia, *Bhai Maharaj Singh*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1972, p.15

⁶³ Bakhsish Singh. Nijjar, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, p.30; Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Dispatch from Secretary of State, Proceeding, “A”. No. 1258, Dated 6 March, 1847 NAI, New Delhi

⁶⁴ Foreign Department Political Consultations, Proceeding, “A”, No. 3, Dated 16 May, 1851, NAI, New Delhi; Jagmohan Mahajan, *Circumstances leading to the annexation of Punjab (1846-49)*, p.73

⁶⁵ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, “A”, No. 134, Dated 25 June, 1852, NAI, New Delhi ; Punjab Government Records, *Lahore Political Diaries*, p.26; Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, p.132

⁶⁶ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, “B”, No. 139, Dated 25 June, 1852; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar-V, pp.19-20; M.L. Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab’s Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, p.85

Jind Kaur in Lahore. Her influence with the people, her shrewd understanding of local politics and secret British plans, her skillfulness in the use of her pen, her amazing 'ability' to act with 'energy as well as spirit' and above all, her intense patriotism were such qualities which in the eyes of the British constituted grave menace to their authority in the province of Punjab.⁶⁷ In order to justify her removal and to malign her name before removing her from Lahore, she was accused, merely on presumption of cognizance in a conspiracy for the murder of Tej Singh. The Governor-General of India, in his letter dated 16th August, 1847 stated the following fears:

"The council apprehended not only great difficulty in carrying on the Government at the present time if the mother of the Prince is to be left in the full exercise of influence over her son, but they are frightened as to the future consequences which may personally be the result to themselves if she is to be permitted daily to inculcate in the boy's mind sentiments of aversion and hatred against all the chiefs who are entrusted with the Government of the Punjab."⁶⁸

Governor-General again wrote and argued in the following way:

"There is, however, the Governor General's opinion, a sufficient justification on the political grounds for separating the Prince from his mother at the present moment. The docility of his disposition would render him helpless to resist the systematic efforts of a clever woman in molding his mind and infusing bad sentiments based on her personal enmities against the chiefs or the British Government. The interests of the Prince and the fulfillment of the treaty require that he should be protected from the effect of this influence, which can only be achieved by separating him from his mother (Maharani

⁶⁷ Henry T Princep, *History of the Punjab*, Vol.II, (reprint) Language Department, Punjab, Patiala, 1970, p.311; Ganda Singh, *Private Correspondence Relating to Anglo-Sikh War*, p.113

⁶⁸ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, "A", No. 28, Dated 16th August, 1847, NAI, New Delhi; Ganda Singh, *Papers relating to the Punjab: 1847-1849* (1970), p.47

Jind Kaur).”⁶⁹

The Governor-General himself gave the following reasons for separating the mother from his son. The reasons for this step are shortly stated here: “First, that at the time of concluding the treaty of Bhairawal it was considered necessary to exclude Her-Highness, the mother, from all share in the administration of public affairs and that she should have a separate maintenance, to enable her to pass the rest of her life in graceful retirement. Notwithstanding this, Her Highness has been, ever since intriguing to disturb the Government, and carry her opposition to the ministers so far as quite to embarrass and impede the public business.”⁷⁰

Secondly, “the Maharaja is now a child, and he will grow up in the way he is trained. It was only too probable, therefore, that his mother would instill into him, her own bitter feelings of hostility to the chiefs, and that he would have thus grown up at variance with the *Sardars* and ministers of his kingdom. This could not be allowed. The young Prince should be reared up in the cultivation of every natural and acquired excellence of mind and disposition, so that at the expiration of the present treaty, peace should be preserved by the kindly understanding existing between the Maharaja and all classes of his subjects a blessing which could not be hoped for if the young boy (Duleep Singh) remained with his mother.”⁷¹

Henry Lawrence by virtue of his appointment as resident became the actual and despotic ruler of the country (Punjab). He issued all his orders in the name of the Maharaja. He did not tolerate any interference with his plans, and put down all opposition by the force of will.

Besides the presence of Henry Lawrence and the British troops nothing much occurred to alter the daily routine of the Maharaja’s life until in the month of July 1847. Lord Hardinge reminded the resident in the following words:

⁶⁹ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, “A”, No. 28, Dated 16 August, 1847, NAI, New Delhi; Ganda Singh, *Papers relating to the Punjab: 1847-1849*, p.47

⁷⁰ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, “A”, No. 28, Dated 16 August, 1847, NAI, New Delhi; Nazir Ahmad Choudhry, (ed.) Surjit Singh Jeet, *Maharaja Duleep Singh and the Government*, Amritsar, 1999, p.101

⁷¹ Nazir Ahmad Choudhry, (ed.), Surjit Singh Jeet, *Maharaja Duleep Singh and the Government*. p.102

“... give to the Government of India, represented at Lahore by its resident, full power to direct and control all matters in every department of the state.”⁷²

Governor-General advised the resident to carry the native council with him, the members of which were, however, entirely under his control and guidance. In military affairs his powers were as unlimited as in the civil administration. He could withdraw Sikh garrisons replacing them by the British troops, in any and every part of the Punjab.⁷³

The Resident thus described the practical working of the Council of Regency in August 1847: “On the whole, the *Durbar* gives me as much support as I can reasonably expect, there has been a quiet struggle for mastery, but as, though I am polite to all, I allow nothing that appears to me wrong to pass unnoticed, the members of the council are gradually falling into the proper train, and refer most questions to me, and, in words at least allow, more fully even than I wish that they are only executive officers to do as they are bid.”⁷⁴ Although the Maharaja was too young to share the counsel of those who ruled in his name, he was always present at the *Durbar* in the state, and all dignities as well as honors were conferred upon under his hand.

a) Prema Conspiracy February, 1847:

In February, 1847, a conspiracy to murder the Lahore Resident and Tej Singh was unearthed. Prema, an old military retainer of Raja Gulab Singh, had been a recipient of a charitable allowance from the *Durbar*. The allowance ceased when Gulab Singh became the independent ruler of Jammu and Kashmir. With several other discontented men and officers of the army, Prema secretly plotted to murder the British resident and Tej Singh

⁷² Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, “A”, No. 28, Dated 16 August, 1847, NAI, New Delhi; Lady Login, *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, London, 1890, (reprint) Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1972, p.112

⁷³ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, “A”, No. 28, Dated 16 August, 1847, NAI, New Delhi

⁷⁴ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, “A”, No. 28, Dated 16 August, 1847, NAI, New Delhi; H.B. Edwardes, Merivale, Herman, *Life of Sir Henry Lawrence*, K.C.B. Vol. II, p.100

when they were to attend a fete at the Shalimar garden.⁷⁵ This was discovered and a number of persons were arrested and brought to trial before a court consisting of senior members of the Council of Regency and three British officers. The evidence was largely based on hearsay. No serious incriminating documents of any importance were produced by the prosecutors, and the Maharani only appeared in the picture because her *munshi* Buta Singh was alleged to have met Prema once or twice.⁷⁶

The conspiracy was, however, leaked out three days ahead and Prema and his other active associates were apprehended in Jammu in May, 1847 and brought to Lahore. Reporting to the Governor-General on 1st June, 1847, Henry Lawrence wrote: "The man Prema has now been four time before me; he says that Bhai Maharaj Singh an influential Sikh priest at Amritsar regarding whose suspicious conduct I have had many reports, gave him to do whatever Maharani ordered him and in the first instance to kill Dewan Deena Nath, Sardar Tej Singh and Sardar Sher Singh. There was entire connection between Prema's statement and those of parties examined during the last two months."⁷⁷ The resident also wrote that for further investigations he had ordered Maharaj Singh to present himself before the council.⁷⁸ However, the Governor-General was not satisfied that evidence was sufficient to justify the expulsion of the Queen-Mother.

Throughout the process of investigation, the Maharani denied having anything to do with the plot of Prema conspiracy, yet no one could imagine that conspiracy in which her trusted Munshi Buta Singh, the noble Bhai Maharaj Singh and many small chiefs and soldiers were involved could have matured without her connivance and secret support.⁷⁹ However, failure of plot and the repercussions of the conspiracy besides vendetta which was wreaked on the public by the infuriated resident was a bitter lesson for the Maharani. The whole affair made her realise that such half-hearted attempts

⁷⁵ Punjab Government Record, *Lahore Political Diaries*, 1847-48, Vol.III, p.26

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p.164

⁷⁷ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, "A". No. 28, Dated 16 August, 1847, NAI, New Delhi; H.B. Edwardes, Merivale, Herman, *Life of Sir Henry Lawrence*, K.C.B. Vol. II, p.100

⁷⁸ M.L. Ahluwalia, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, p.20; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar, V., pp.4-6

⁷⁹ Punjab Government Record, *Lahore Political Diaries*, 1847-48, Vol.III, pp.163-164

would do more harm than good. There was clamour in the British circles that the Maharani should be deported from the Punjab.⁸⁰ Though Henry Lawrence, the Resident did not take recourse to extreme measures yet every activity of the Maharani was checked and reported directly to the resident, Lord Hardinge wrote to Currie his views about Maharani's hand in this conspiracy. "The evidence in Prema conspiracy", wrote Lord Hardinge to Currie, "is so vague and indecisive by Lawrence's account, that nothing can be done, and I doubt whether it will be satisfactorily proved that Her Highness has interfered with her loose reception of people around her and particularly *fakirs*, it is no difficult matter to compromise with her; and every vagabond when detected, in policy desires to save his own neck by plausibly pretending his or her innocence in the plot, he continues that if we would fairly get rid of her, it would give the little boy (i.e. Maharaja Duleep Singh) a better chance of being educated."⁸¹

In the aftermath of the plot Henry Lawrence imposed more and more restrictions upon her in the palace. She was kept under watch at every moment and all her movements were reported directly to the Resident. She was even refused permission to visit her estate at Duleepgarh with her son, and finally on 10th June, 1847, even the chiefs of the *Durbar* were forbidden to see her, and 'there being no necessity for anyone to go inside the *Purdah*'. From the very beginning of February restrictions were imposed on the Maharani. The Maharani had complained on 21st February 1847 about the increased restrictions imposed upon her, saying that, 'her fate resembled Maharani Chand Kaur's fate'.⁸²

It was during this period the Maharani appears to have come to the conclusion that only a state-wide uprising could, if at all, shake the British. For that what she needed was not the sympathy of a few insignificant men like Prema but the whole hearted support of the more powerful chiefs and of

⁸⁰ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, "A", No. 166, Dated 30 January, 1847, NAI, New Delhi

⁸¹ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, "A" No. 166, Dated 30 January, 1847, NAI, New Delhi; Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, pp.73-74

⁸² Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, "A" No. 124-47, Dated 17 June, 1859, NAI, New Delhi; M.L. Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, p.85

the army.

b) Contact with Diwan Mulraj:

Maharani Jind Kaur was strongly opposed to British Government because her exclusion from the Lahore *Durbar* was a heavy blow to her position. However, in order to fight with the British she needed support of chiefs. She first tried Mul Raj, the Governor of Multan. In order to assess his political position the Maharani secretly sent one of her trusted maid-servants named Jowaie to Multan under the pretext of getting a few white *Ak* plants for performing certain religious ceremonies. Fortunately it was discovered that the *Diwan* was equally frustrated with the British. The maid servant Jowaie reported that she was given cordial treatment at Multan. After a few days Diwan Mulraj made Jowaie depart with a *khillat* consisting of 5 pieces and 200 rupees along with the *Ak* plant and a secret letter in which he pleaded with the Maharani to consider him her servant to command.⁸³

However, the intimation of this alliance gave the British another excuse to dispense with the Maharani. The episode also provided Maharani Jind Kaur a useful clue that Mul Raj could be ready to support her against the British. Later, Mul Raj actually supported her cause early next year when Multan became the spearhead of the anti-British revolt. At that time Fredrick Currie the then resident at Lahore wrote to Elliot, about the hand of the Maharani in that revolt. He wrote, "You have not forgotten, I dare say her sending a slave-girl on a secret embassy to Mooltan last June or July, and her impudent excuse that she wanted a white 'Ak' tree for enchantments. The "tree" had now put forth its leaves and their 'rug' is much what have been expected".⁸⁴ After a few months of this development Tej Singh episode unfolded.

⁸³ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, "A", No. 28, Dated 16 August, 1847, NAI, New Delhi; Punjab Government Records, *Lahore Political Diaries*, Vol. III, pp.180, 186

⁸⁴ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, "A", No. 28, Dated 16 August, 1847, NAI, New Delhi; Punjab Government Record, *Lahore Political Diaries*, 1847-48, Vol.III, pp.178-180; Gopal Singh, *A History of the Sikh People*, World Book Centre, New Delhi, 1997, p.577

c) Tej Singh Episode:

The Resident desired to confer titles of honour on certain *Sardars* who had rendered services to the British during First Anglo-Sikh war, and with this view he arranged that the ceremonial award should be made by the young Maharaja on the morning of 7th August, 1847.⁸⁵ Among these who were thus to be honored was Tej Singh, who had acted as a traitor to Lahore *Durbar* and served the cause of the British during the war. On this occasion, Maharani directed her son not to apply *Tilak* on the forehead of Tej Singh. And the young Maharaja acted as he was directed by his mother.⁸⁶ When the time came to hand over the awards the young Maharaja Duleep Singh, refused to apply the *Saffran* mark on the forehead of Tej Singh.⁸⁷

About this incident Resident Henry Lawrence wrote to the government, "all went off well, except for a momentary check, occasioned by the decided refusal of the Maharaja, to make the saffron "*teeka*" or mark of *Rajaship*, on Sardar Tej Singh's forehead."⁸⁸ There cannot, therefore, be a doubt that the young Maharaja had been carefully schooled by his mother, not to take any part in the ceremonies of the day, further than as a mere looker-on, but more particularly to refuse to have any hand in making a Raja of a *Sardar* she so much disliked Raja Tej Singh".⁸⁹

Restriction Placed on Maharani:

When the matter came up before the Council the day after the incident, the Resident and the Regency agreed that the Maharaja had acted under the influence of his mother; the Council recommended that Amir Baksh, Hardayal, Jiwan Singh, Hira Singh and a maid-servant Mangla, who

⁸⁵ Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, p.133. Prithpal Singh Kapur, (ed.), *Maharaja Duleep Singh: The Last Sovereign of the Punjab*, Gurudawara Parbandk Committee, Amritsar, 1995, p.168; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar-V, pp.4-6

⁸⁶ M.L. Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, p.8; Punjab Government Record, *Lahore Political Diaries* (1847-48), Vol.III, pp.178-180

⁸⁷ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, "A", 17th June, 1859 Nos. 127-47, NAI, New Delhi; Khushwant Singh, *The fall of the Kingdom of the Punjab*, Delhi, 1971, p.117; Sita Ram Kohli, *Sun set of the Sikh Empire*, pp.132-133; Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs 1839-1973*, Vol-II, Delhi, 1977, p.70; M.L.Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, p.104

⁸⁸ Punjab Government Record, *Lahore Political Diaries*, (1847-48), Vol.III, p.245

⁸⁹ Lady Login, *John Login and Duleep Singh*, p.114; Punjab Government Records, *Lahore Political Dairies*, (1847-1848), Vol.III, p.245. Jagmohan Mahajan, *Circumstances leading to the annexation of Punjab (1846-49)*, p.75

were considered to constitute 'a mischievous little group', be removed from her service and sent away from Lahore. Thus the Maharani's personal movements were restricted within the four walls of the palace. She was stopped from giving audience freely and frequently to people of her choice.⁹⁰

The resident wanted that this should be understood more as a warning than a punishment. He told the Council that it would be in the interests of the tranquility of State, the smooth running of administration, and the satisfactory upbringing of the Maharaja if the Maharani were to leave Lahore.⁹¹ However, the Maharani soon became apprehensive about the intentions of the Governor-General whose objective was to give the British Resident at Lahore limitless powers in all the matters of internal administration and external relations. The Maharani knew that this would mean the end of the independence of the Sikhs. There was, therefore, a marked change in the attitude of the Maharani and the chiefs of the Lahore *Durbar*.⁹²

Two days after Tej Singh incident the Resident decided that Maharani should be banished from Punjab because she had posed a threat to the British Government.⁹³ It is quite apparent that the real motive in banishing the Maharani was to occlude the possibility of present and future threat rather than to safeguard the childhood of the Maharaja which was shown as the ostensible reason for the move.⁹⁴ But to the great annoyance of Resident, none of the chiefs except Tej Singh was willing to take such an extreme step.⁹⁵

The resident over-ruled the Council and obtained the sanction of his Government to send Maharani Jind Kaur to live in the fort of Sheikhpura. Sir Henry Lawrence treated the matter as 'top secret', not sharing his confidence even with the Regency Council till arrangements regarding escort

⁹⁰ Punjab Government Record, *Lahore Political Diaries*, 1847-48, Vol-III, pp.163-164

⁹¹ Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, p.134; Kahan Singh Nabha, *Gurshabad Ratnakar Mahankosh*, Patiala, 1974, p.523

⁹² Bakhsish Singh Nijjar, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, p.29

⁹³ Kahan Singh Nabha, *Gurshabad Ratnakar Mahankosh*, p.523; Jagmohan Mahajan, *Circumstances leading to the annexation of Punjab (1846-49)* p.75

⁹⁴ Punjab Government Record, *Lahore Political Diaries*, 1847-48, Vol.III, p.245

⁹⁵ M.L. Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, p.87; Prithpal Singh Kapur (ed.), *Maharaja Duleep Singh: The Last Sovereign of the Punjab*, p.168

and conveyance were complete, and the time for her departure had been fixed. He made sure that the boy Maharaja, should be out on an excursion at that time so that he would not come in the way of the execution of their plan.

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Her Removal from Lahore:

On 19th August, 1847 Maharani was removed from Lahore to the way side fort of Sheikhpura.⁹⁷ Thus within a few hours of the issuing of order, the Maharani was taken out of the capital after her son was mercilessly torn from her. As justification of his action, the Resident contended that Her Highness, had been constantly intriguing to disturb the government. He further blamed her for her becoming an obstacle in the public business. In his report to his government the resident wrote that it was the first step before the final banishment of the Maharani Jind Kaur from the country which she had so long disturbed.⁹⁸

Her Banishment from Punjab:

In March 1848 Fredrick Currie who was then Resident, received a report from Major Wheeler that certain persons were attempting to corrupt the soldiers under the command.⁹⁹ In May, 1848 a sensational plot was disclosed to British Commander Major Wheeler. The plan was to seize Lahore fort by a surprise attack from Shahdra side. The entire affair was reported by Mr. Currie to his government on 9th May in these words, 'a sensation had been created in the city by the detection of a conspiracy to corrupt the fidelity of the native soldiers of the infantry, artillery and irregular cavalry and the seizers, of the offenders. The enquiry revealed", continued the resident, "that Maharani Jind Kaur the mother of the Maharaja is the instigator and adviser of all their schemes and plots, and they have produced letters said to have been written by Her Highness and other evidence in

⁹⁶ Punjab Government Record, *Lahore Political Diaries*, 1847-48, Vol.III, p.261

⁹⁷ Punjab Government Record, *Lahore Political Diaries*, 1847-48, Vol.III, p.261; Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs, 1839-1964*, Vol.II, p.117

⁹⁸ Punjab Government Record, *Lahore Political Diaries*, 1847-48, Vol.III, p.261

⁹⁹ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, "A", No. 28, Dated 16 August, 1847, NAI, New Delhi

substantiation of their assertions”.¹⁰⁰ The resident ordered that precautions should be exercised and secret agents were set to work. With the insurrection in Multan in April, however the Resident’s suspicions were quickened and he appointed Major Lumsden to investigate the matter. Some British officers including Lumsden made a surprise raid on the residence of Commandant Khan Singh in the city and seized him along some of his associates for attempting to subvert the loyalty of the troops. On 11 May the two main offenders Ganga Ram and Ex-General Khan Singh were hanged. Tulsi Ram who had provided useful information about the plot was released. Ganga Ram had been in the services of the Maharani, and it was alleged that the bribes, he had offered to the sepoy, were given by the Maharani.¹⁰¹

Several sepoy had been seized while some others had escaped. The late Ganga Ram’s mother and sister were also seized and beaten, and one amulet containing a secret paper was obtained from them. The British were going to arrest a *Sadh* in Anarkali, but he had escaped with Umrao Singh Poorbea to Multan. Dewan Mul Raj’s troops had also retreated and fled. The Maharani had supplied large sums of money to be distributed among the native sepoy of the British regiments for their support for the insurrection.¹⁰²

The Maharani’s private papers were subsequently searched.¹⁰³ However, the proof of her guilt could not be to be found in them. The Maharani challenged her prosecutors and demanded a regular trial. However the Resident preferred to drop the matter on the grounds that formal trial of Maharaja Ranjit Singh’s widow would be unpopular and painful to the sentiments of the people. However, he still intended to give a semblance of constitutional proceeding to his decision and to somehow get

¹⁰⁰ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, “A”, No. 9, Dated 12, August, 1848, NAI, New Delhi

¹⁰¹ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, “A” No. 50, Dated 3 June, 1848, NAI, New Delhi; M.L. Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab’s Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, pp.89-90

¹⁰² Punjab Government Record, *Lahore Political Diaries*, 1847-48, Vol.III, p.377

¹⁰³ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, “A”, No. 9, Dated 12, August, 1848, NAI, New Delhi ; *Punjab under the Lawrence* (1846-49), p.91; M.L. Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab’s Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, p.23

her out of his way. He summoned the members of Regency Council to his residence-cum-office in the *Anarkali* building and obtained their approval of the Maharani's banishment from Punjab and a further reduction in her allowance from forty-eight thousand to twelve. The Councillors, according to the Court Chronicler "gave their approval and each one individually signed and sealed, without demur the order of banishment drawn up by the Resident".¹⁰⁴

Nothing could intimidate or frighten Maharani Jind Kaur. She was always trying her best to oppose the British in every possible way. When it became clear that she was to be banished, Currie did not think it advisable even to wait for orders from his government to remove the Maharani from the Punjab. A party of the four senior officials of the Court, led by Khalifa Nur-ud-din with one regiment of cavalry was dispatched to Sheikhpura to escort the Maharani. She was made to believe that she was being taken back to Lahore, therefore she gladly accompanied them, when the party reached the suburbs of Lahore instead of entering the city, it took the road to Ferozepur near Kahna-Kacha. On reaching this place Nur-ud-din transferred the charge of the Maharani to a mounted escort under Major wheelers who had been sent to receive her.¹⁰⁵ Thus on 16th May she was secretly removed to Ferozepur and on 23rd May she was sent from there to Banaras,¹⁰⁶ to be detained there under the personal supervision of Major Mc'gregor, the agent to the British Governor-General. She was strictly forbidden to communicate with anybody in the Punjab.¹⁰⁷

On this occasion her allowance was further reduced to Rs. 1,000/- per month. Although Currie took all necessary precautions to smuggle the Maharani out of the Punjab, the news was soon spread among the people.

¹⁰⁴ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, "A", No. 9, Dated 12, August, 1848, NAI, New Delhi; Punjab Government Record, *Lahore Political Diaries*, (1847-48), Vol.III, p.377; Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, p.135

¹⁰⁵ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, "A", No. 100-106, Dated 7th October, 1848, NAI, New Delhi; M.L. Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, p.91

¹⁰⁶ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, "A", No. 73, Dated 7th September, 1848, NAI, New Delhi

¹⁰⁷ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, "A", 7th October, 1848, No. 259; NAI, New Delhi

To quote Currie, the resident “It adversely affected the sentiments of the Lahore forces than advancing against Mul Raj under the command of Raja Sher Singh. The Sikh soldiers unreservedly stated, wrote the Resident, that she was the mother of all the Khalsa, and that as she was gone, and the young Duleep Singh in our (British hands), they had no longer any one to fight for and uphold, that they had no inducement to oppose Mool Raj and if he came to attack them, would seize the *Sardar* and their officers and go over to him’. The majority of the *Durbar* chiefs who did not approve of the Maharani’s banishment henceforth adopted, ‘a more unconcerned attitude towards the whole affair’.¹⁰⁸

Maharani as Main Inspiration for the Second Sikh War:

When the revolt at Multan by *Diwan* Mul Raj broke out, Maharani Jind Kaur was in the custody of the English at Sheikhupura fort as an exile. The confinement of the Maharani created a lot of resentment amongst the Sikhs against the British Government. They thought that this humiliation inflicted by the British on their respectable Sikh personality was a national disgrace. On their part the British Government accused the Maharani of a conspiracy with *Punjabis* with an objective to expel the English from the Punjab. Accordingly, a mock enquiry was instituted against the Maharani. The ersatz enquiry helped to vindicate their doubts that the said Maharani did excite the Sikhs against them. The resident believed that, although “illegal proof of the delinquency would not perhaps be obtainable”, she was deeply implicated in the conspiracy to tamper with the loyalty of native soldiers.¹⁰⁹

A wave of resentment swept over the Punjab. At the time of the Multan rebellion, there was perhaps no one who would pick up a gun on the orders of Maharani Jind Kaur’s bidding. Merely a week after she had been removed from the State, there were few who were ready to lay down their lives for her sake. The resident admitted to the Governor-General that the

¹⁰⁸ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, “A”, No. 115, Dated 24, April, 1849, NAI, New Delhi; Sohan Singh Seetal, *Dukhie Ma-Put*, Lahore Book Shop, Ludhiana, 1972, p.58

¹⁰⁹ Punjab Government Record, *Lahore Political Diaries*, (1847-48), Vol.III, pp.186-195

Khalsa soldiery on hearing of the removal of the Maharani was highly agitated. "They said that she was the mother of all the Khalsa, and that as she was gone, and the young Duleep Singh in our hands, had no longer anyone to fight for her honour." Even Dost Mohammad of Afghanistan, expressed sympathy with the people of the Punjab.¹¹⁰

The banishment of Maharani Jind Kaur shook the confidence that the *Durbar* nobles had placed in the British. Till this time they had been loyal because the British had saved them from the Khalsa army, guaranteed their possessions and privileges and given them a sense of security. However, the removal of Maharani Jind Kaur and the confiscation of the *Jagirs* of those suspected of close association with her caused them to question the policies of their benefactors. Maharani Jind Kaur was taken to Banaras under heavy armed escort;¹¹¹ her allowance was further reduced to Rs.1,000/- per month.¹¹² Seeing this fate of Maharani Jind Kaur Army became antagonized against the British and the Khalsa army joined Sardar Chattar Singh and Sher Singh Attariwala father and son who were the loyal servants of Lahore *Durbar*. Moreover Sardar Chattar Singh's daughter Tej Kaur was engaged Duleep Singh.¹¹³ The moment the Khalsa army joined the local revolt at Multan, it became a revolt of the entire Punjab. The banishment of the Maharani was perceived as illegal and unfair.¹¹⁴ This fact becomes amply clear from her letters which she wrote to the British:

¹¹⁰ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, "B", No.22; 19th May, 1849, NAI, New Delhi

¹¹¹ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, "A", No.73, 7th September, 1848, NAI, New Delhi

¹¹² Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, "A", No. 115, 24th April, 1849, NAI, New Delhi; Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, Vol. II, pp.71-72; Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Twarikh*, Daftar-V. p.251; Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, pp.88-89

¹¹³ Jagmohan Mahajan, *Circumstances leading to the Annexation of Punjab (1846-49)*, p.104; M.L. Ahluwalia, *Bhai Maharaj Singh*, p.10

¹¹⁴ Major Evans Bell, *The Annexation of the Punjab and the Maharaja Duleep Singh*, Ludhiana, 1969, pp.19-20; Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, pp.85-87

ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਇਸੇ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਸਰਕਾਰੀ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧ ਦੇ ਵਿਰੁਧ ਮਹਾਰਾਜੇ ਦੇ ਦਿਲ ਵਿਚ ਜ਼ਹਿਰ ਭਰਦੀ ਰਹੀ ਤਾਂ ਬੜੇ ਭਿਆਨਕ ਨਤੀਜੇ ਲਿਕਲਣਗੇ।"
 "ਪੰਜਾਬ ਪੋਸਟ ੧੮੮੭-੮੮ ਪੰਨਾ ੪੭"

ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਵਲੋਂ ਲਿਖੀ ਦਰਦ-ਵਿਥਿਆ ਦੀ ਦੂਜੀ ਚਿੱਠੀ

ਲਿਖਤੁਮ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਸਾਹਿਬਾ। ਸ਼ੰਖੂਪੁਰਾ ੩੦ ਅਗਸਤ, ੧੮੮੭
 ਮੁਹਾਸਲਾ ਆਪ ਫਾ ਪਹੁੰਚਾ। ਬਹੁਤ ਖੁਸ਼ੀ ਹੋਈ ਕਿ ਮੈਂ ਤੁਮ ਕੋ ਯਾਦ ਹੂੰ। ਤੁਮ ਨੇ ਜੋ ਲਿਖਾ ਹੈ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਖੁਸ਼ੀ ਹੈ, ਸੁਨ ਕਰ ਦਿਲ ਬਹੁਤ ਖੁਸ਼ੀ ਹੁਆ ਹੈ। ਜਿਸ ਦਿਨ ਸੇ ਹਮ ਲਾਹੌਰ ਸੇ ਚਲੇ ਆਏ ਹੈ ਉਸ ਦਿਨ ਸੇ ਆਜ ਹਮ ਨੇ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਕੀ ਖੁਸ਼ੀ ਕੀ ਖਬਰ ਸੁਨੀ ਹੈ। ਜੋ ਤੁਮ ਨੇ ਲਿਖਾ ਹੈ ਸੋ ਸਚ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ। ਔਰ ਮੇਰਾ ਦਿਲ ਗਵਾਹੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਦੇਤਾ ਕਿ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਰਾਜੀ ਹੋਵੇ। ਜਿਨ ਕੀ ਮਾਂ ਵਿਛੜ ਗਈ ਹੋਵੇ, ਵਹ ਕਿਉਂ ਕਰ ਰਾਜੀ ਹੋਵੇਗੇ? ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਬਨਾ ਯੇਹ ਫਲ ਚੇਤੇ ਹੋ। ਏਕੋ ਕੜੀ ਬਿਛੜੇ ਨਹੀਂ ਥੇ। ਆਪ ਸਿਆਣੇ ਹੋ, ਬੁੱਧਵਾਨ ਹੋ, ਆਪਨੇ ਦਿਲ ਮੇਂ ਸਮਝੋ ਕਿ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਕਿਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਰਾਜੀ ਹੋਂਗੇ।

ਯੇਹ ਜੋ ਤੁਮ ਨੇ ਲਿਖਾ ਹੈ, ਵਾਸਤੇ ਦੋਸਤੀ ਚੰਨੋਂ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਕੇ ਬਹੁਤ ਖਿਆਲ ਖ਼ਾਤਰ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਕਾ ਹੈ। ਜੋ ਤੁਮ ਨੇ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਕੀ ਖੁਸ਼ੀ ਖ਼ਾਤਰ ਰਖੀ ਹੈ, ਵਹ ਸਾਰੇ ਜ਼ਮਾਨੇ ਮੇਂ ਮਸ਼ਹੂਰ ਹੋਈ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਰੋਤੇ ਹੁਏ ਕੇ ਛੀਨ ਕਰ ਸ਼ਾਲਾ-ਬਾਗ ਕੇ ਲੇ ਗਏ ਔਰ ਮਾਂ ਕੋ ਬਾਲ ਪਕੜ ਕਰ ਬਾਹਰ ਨਿਕਾਲ ਦੀਆ। ਤੁਮਹਾਰੇ ਦਿਲ ਮੇਂ ਇਤਨਾ ਦਰੇਗ ਨਾ ਆਇਆ ਕਿ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਨਾਦਾਨ ਹੈ, ਕਿਉਂ ਕਰ ਰਹੇਗਾ।

ਤੁਮਹਾਰੇ ਤਈਂ ਇਸੀ ਇੱਜਤ ਆਬਰੂ ਕੋ ਤਈ ਰੱਖਾ ਥਾ, ਸੋ ਨਮਕਹਰਾਮੇ ਨੇ ਵਹ ਇੱਜਤ ਆਬਰੂ ਭੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਰਹਿਨੇ ਦੀ। ਏਕ ਅਫਸੋਸ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਤੁਮਕੋ ਹਮਾਰੇ ਜੁਨੇ ਸਮਝ ਕਰ ਤਕਸੀਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਲਗਾਈ। ਨਮਕਹਰਾਮੀਉਂ ਕੇ ਕਹਿਨੇ ਪਰ ਅਮਲ ਕਰ ਦੇਸ ਨਿਰਾਲਾ ਦੇ ਦੀਆ। ਜੋ ਕੀਆ ਸੋ ਆਪ ਕੀ ਨੇਕਨਾਮੀ ਹੁਈ ਹੈ। ਮੇਰੀ ਇੱਜਤ ਆਬਰੂ ਔਰ ਤੁਮਾਰਾ ਜ਼ਬਾਨ ਕਾ ਸੁਖਨ ਗਿਆ। ਔਰ ਜੋ ਤੁਮ ਨੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਸਾਥ ਕੀਆ ਹੈ, ਐਸਾ ਕਿਸੇ ਖੁਨੀ ਕੇ ਸਾਥ ਭੀ ਗਜ਼ਰਤਾ ਹੈ। ਮੈਂ ਸਬ ਕੁਛ ਛੱਡ ਕਰ ਫਕੀਰ ਹੁਈ ਥੀ, ਸੋ ਤੁਮ ਨੇ ਫਕੀਰ ਭੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਰਹਿਨੇ ਦੀਆ, ਔਰ ਖਰਚ ਸੇ ਹਮ ਬਹੁਤ ਬਹੁਤ ਤੰਗ ਹੈ।....."

ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਜਿੰਦਾਂ ਦੀ ਖੂਬਸੂਰਤੀ, ਸਹਿਨਸ਼ੀਲਤਾ ਅਤੇ ਦੁਰ-ਅੰਦੇਸ਼ੀ ਬਾਬਤ ਵੇਰੀ ਵੀ ਇਕ ਮੱਤ ਸਨ। ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਦਲੀਪ ਸਿੰਘ ਨੂੰ ਲੋਡੀ ਲੌਗਨ ਦੀ ਪਾਲਣਾ ਵਿੱਚ ਦੋ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਗਿਆ। ਲੋਡੀ ਲੌਗਨ ਆਪਣੀਆਂ ਯਾਦਦਾਸ਼ਤਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਜਿੰਦਾਂ ਬਾਬਤ ਆਪਣਾ ਨਿਰਣਾ ਦੇਂਦੀ ਲਿਖਦੀ ਹੈ :-

'ਮੇਰੇ ਸਾਹਮਣੇ ਉਹ ਇਸਤਰੀ ਸੀ, ਜਿਹੜੀ ਕਦੇ ਸਿੱਖ ਰਾਜ ਦੀ ਆਤਮਾ ਗਿਣੀ ਜਾਂਦੀ ਸੀ। ਉਸ ਦੇ ਹੁਸਨ, ਸਿਆਣਪ, ਰਾਜਸੀ ਵਿਉਂਤਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਆਤਮਕ ਬਲ ਦੀਆਂ ਕਹਾਣੀਆਂ ਜਗਤ-ਪ੍ਰਸਿੱਧ ਸਨ।'

(ਲੋਡੀ ਲੌਗਨਜ਼ ਰੀਕੁਲੈਕਸ਼ਨਜ਼ ਪੰਨਾ ੨੧੦) 115

From the Queen-mother to John Lawrence, dated 16th Bhadon

(August 30, 1847)

"Your letter has been received. It is matter of great pleasure that you remember me. I am very glad to learn from your letter that Maharaja is

¹¹⁵ Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha Library, Ganda Singh Collection, File no. 655, Punjabi University, Patiala.

happy. Since the day I left Lahore, it is today that I have heard of the Maharaja being happy. Whatever you write may be true. But my mind does not believe that the Maharaja is happy. How can he, whose mother has been separated from him, be happy? You call him Maharaja and then treat him like this. On the one hand he is very young; on the other he had never separated (from his mother). You are an intelligent and a wise man. Think over it in your mind how the Maharaja can be happy. You write to me that on account of friendship between the two governments you are very particular of the welfare of the Maharaja. How far you look to the welfare of the Maharaja is now well known all over the world. Weeping, he was torn away from his mother and taken to Shalimar Garden, while the mother was dragged out by her hair. Well has the friendship been repaid? You never thought in your mind how the Maharaja, who was very young, could live (happily without his mother).

“You had been kept for the protection of our honour and dignity. But the traitors have robbed us of these also. It is a matter of sorrow that you did not weight things before accusing me. You have exiled me on the instigation of traitors. Whatever you have done has earned a good name for you ! I have lost my dignity and you have lost regard for your word (Meri izzat abru aur tumhara zabad ka sukahn gaya). The treatment that you have given to me is not given even to murderers. Having renounced everything, I had become a faquir, but you have not allowed me to live even like a faquir. I am very much hard up for money.

“I have sent Bandujit to you. Keep him with you. Half of my luggage has been received by me. The other half, they do not give. Get that sent to me, and also get the allowance and have it sent to me.

As is apparent in this letter again the Maharani gives expression to her grief and indignation at being separated from her son. In another letter she categorically tells the British Resident, Mr. John Lawrence, “It is a matter of sorrow that you did not weigh things before accusing me. You have exiled me on the instigation of traitors.” She strongly resents the treatments given to her in Sheikhpura and says that such treatment “is not given even to murders.”

Finding herself helpless and seeing no prospect of either an enquiry of the allegations against her or of justice at the hands of the political powers in the Panjab, she sent an agent, Sardar Jiwan Singh, to represent her case to the Governor-General at Calcutta. He seems to have arrived at Calcutta in December, 1847, and submitted a representation to the Secretary to the Government of India on January 2, 1848, complaining of “the cruel and unworthy treatment suffered by her and to demand justice in the form of a full and impartial investigation of the charges under which she had been imprisoned by British authority. His further request the Governor General that the treatment given to her should be one that is suitable for the widow of a Sovereign Maharaja and the mother of a Prince. However the Governor-General declined to recognize her agent as her legitimate representative and directed “that all her communications must be made through the Resident.” Sardar Diwan Singh remonstrated against this as according to him it amounted to complete denial of justice to the Maharani and he appealed to the Secretary to the Government of India on February 23, 1848, for modification of the Governor-General’s resolution.

“The confinement in which the Ranee is now kept, is of the most close and rigid description. She is shut up in the fort of Sheikhoopora, formerly used as a goal for common felons, under the custody of those Sirdars from whose dangerous machinations against her own life, and that of her son, she first solicited the protection of a British force stationed at Lahore. All intercourse with her friends and advisers, or even with the ministers of her religion, is strictly prohibited, and the only attendants allowed her are a few female servants, not of her own selection, but appointed by her keepers. So penal is the nature of the treatment she undergoes, that she is not allowed even the privilege of choosing her own diet.

“The friends of the Ranee now in Lahore are so much intimidated that they dare not call the attention of the Resident to the hardships which she suffers.

“And, on the same behalf, I further request that the resident at Lahore be directed to institute an investigation into the charges under which the Ranee has been imprisoned, and to take down, and transmit to his Lordship

in Council, the evidence of all witnesses which may be produced, in support, on in rebuttal, of the accusation. His Lordship, in directing such investigation, will, no doubt, order that under all precautions which may appear to him prudent, or necessary to prevent an abuse of the privileges, the Maharani shall be allowed such intercourse with her friends and advisers as will enable her to plead her cause effectually.”

The banishment of the Maharani was evidently the deliberate intention of the British Government and it resulted in agitating a large portion of the Khalsa Army, and most of the leading chiefs both in Punjab and outside. The Khalsa soldiery on hearing of the removal of the Maharani was much disturbed. This national grievance which became the cause of universal discontent was given a prominent place in the manifesto which Sher Singh issued soon after he went over to Mul Raj. The manifesto contained the following statements. “It is well known to all the inhabitants of the Punjab, to the whole of the Sikhs (and those who have been cherished by the Khalsa) and in fact to the world at large, with what oppression, tyranny and undue violence, the faringis have treated the widow of the great Maharaja Ranjit Singh- now in bliss, and what cruelty they have shown towards the people of the country. They have broken the treaty by imprisoning and sending away to Hindustan the Maharani, the mother of the people”. The Maharani’s deportation was thus considered by everybody attached to the Kingdom founded by Ranjit Singh, as a national insult and as act preliminary to the subversion of his dynasty and dominion.¹¹⁶

Thus the great Maharani’s removal from the Punjab became one of the most important factors contributing to the second Anglo-Sikh War. When the second Anglo-Sikh War was going on the Maharani was at Banaras.¹¹⁷ She helped the rebels financially to fight against the British. But to her misfortune her plan came to be known to the Governor-General’s Agent. He

¹¹⁶ Jagmohan Mahajan, *Circumstances leading to the annexation of Punjab (1846-49)*, p.103; J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga, *Civil and Military Affairs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, Guru Nank Dev University, Amritsar, 1977, pp.77-87

¹¹⁷ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, “A”, No. 73, Dated 7, September, 1848, NAI, New Delhi

ordered to confine her in the fort of Chunar.¹¹⁸

Henry Lawrence imposed more and more restrictions upon Maharani Jind Kaur in the palace. She was watched at every moment and all her movements were reported directly to the British Resident. She was even refused permission to visit her estate at Duleepgarh with her son; finally on 10th June, 1847, even the chiefs of the *Durbar* were forbidden to see Maharani Jind Kaur. The treaty of Bhairawal signed on 16th December, 1846 thus sealed her fate. After this Jind Kaur remained temporarily un-nerved and disillusioned. However, she soon resolved to fight the lion in her own den.¹¹⁹

Second Anglo-Sikh War:

A disturbance broke out at Multan as Mul Raj revolted against the British. The Multan rebellion was suppressed but it served only as a prelude to a great national outbreak and the whole of the Punjab was seething with disaffection. Khalsa army and the Sikh population had a clearly defined object which was the total expulsion of the British from the Punjab and the restoration of Khalsa supremacy. The general belief of the *Sardars* was that as the British had abandoned Kabul, so they would give up the Punjab.¹²⁰

The British troops took the field, in the name and by the authority of the Maharaja and were supported by a large Sikh army (about 20,000 men) who fought by the side of the British troops. The war as we have already observed, had been conducted throughout in the name of Maharaja Duleep Singh. Although usually the war is known as the second Anglo-Sikh War, in real terms it could not really be termed a war between the British Government and the State of Lahore. The Maharaja and the British Resident remained together at Lahore throughout the campaign.¹²¹

The personal movements of the Maharaja were not restrained in

¹¹⁸ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, "A", No. 30, 6th April, 1849, NAI, New Delhi

¹¹⁹ M.L.Ahluwalia, Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, p.65; Punjab Government Record, *Lahore Political Diaries*, 1847-48, Vol.III, p.1

¹²⁰ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, "B", No. 104, Dated 15th September, 1849, NAI, New Delhi; Syad Muhammad Latif, *History of the Punjab*, Central Press, Calcutta, 1891, (reprint), Kalyani Publisher, New Delhi, 2000, p.559

¹²¹ Nazir Ahmed Chudhry, *Maharaja Duleep Singh and the Government*, p.43

consequence of these occurrences and he continued his usual occupation until the end of the war in 1849. The nature of the events which were passing in the western provinces of the Punjab was not explained to him, and he remained in profound ignorance of anything happening which could affect himself personally. According to the Treaty of Bhairawal, the British Resident was placed at the head of the Administration with “full authority to direct and control all matters in every department of the State”, subject to the instructions of the Governor-General. The Governor-General was the guardian of the interests of the Maharaja as well as his dominions. It then became a case of guardian, secretly declaring war against his ward, with an ulterior motive to appropriate his property.¹²²

Governor-General suggested that Currie should quietly annex the Punjab district to the British province, making a suitable provision for the State and comfort of Maharaja Duleep Singh. However the arrival of Dalhousie in 1848 on the scene, changed the situation. The new Governor-General was determined to adopt a policy which might result in the creation of “a rightful opportunity”, to annex the Sikh Kingdom.¹²³ No open declaration of war was made and the British Army under the command of Lord Gough crossed the River Ravi on the morning of the 16th November, 1848. The people of the Punjab were assured that the British Army has entered the Lahore territories, not as an enemy to the constituted Government, but to restore law and order as well as obedience.

The resident after reaching Lahore asked Maharaja Duleep Singh to pay his respect to the commander and Gough did not get off his elephant to return Duleep’s greetings. It was a deliberate act of discourtesy to signify that the British now looked upon the Maharaja (who still under their protection) as an enemy.¹²⁴ From the 16th December, 1846, the date of treaty of Bhairawal, to the 29th March, 1849 when the proclamation of the annexation of Punjab was issued, the Government of Lahore was in strict

¹²² Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, “A”, No. 115, 24th April, 1849, NAI, New Delhi; N.M. Khilnani, *British Power in the Punjab*, p.155

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p.158

¹²⁴ Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar-V, pp.4-6; Khushwant Singh, *The fall of the Kingdom of the Punjab*, p.141

subordination to the British Government, and its subordination was never interrupted, suspended, or relaxed for a single day. During this time Fredrick Currie, the resident, was he was the absolute head of that Government.¹²⁵

The Battle of Gujrat was a disaster to Punjabi army from which they could hardly hope to recover. With the British troops in complete occupation of the Punjab the members of regency had no choice but to helplessly sign the document which put an end to the independence of the Punjab.¹²⁶ On the termination of war, the *Durbar* was penalized for assisting the British. Henry Lawrence declared: “we have conquered the Punjab for the young chief of whom we are guardians.” But Lord Dalhousie said, it had been conquered for England. It is interesting to note that on 20th August, 1847, The Governor General had announced in a general proclamation that he felt the interest of a father in education and guardianship of the young prince and that he had at heart the security of this country, the firm establishment of the State, and the honor of the Maharaja and his Ministers.¹²⁷

Before the announcement of annexation, Lord Hardinge said:

“If this opportunity of recovering the Sikh nation from military anarchy and misrule be neglected and hostile opposition to the British may be renewed; the Government of India will make such other arrangements for the future of Government of the Punjab as the interests and security of the British power may render just and expedient.¹²⁸

In 1849, the second treaty of Lahore put an end to the protectorate establishment by the treaty of Bhairawal, and the new treaty contained no clause relating to the guardianship of the Maharaja. The new treaty, on the other hand, contained an agreement to pay him a pension which created a new relation-that of a debtor and a creditor between the British Government

¹²⁵ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, “A”, No. 115, 24th April, 1849, NAI, New Delhi; Major Evans Bell, *Annexation of the Punjab and the Maharaja Duleep Singh*, p.121

¹²⁶ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, “A”, No. 115, 24th April, 1849, NAI, New Delhi; Ganda Singh, *Private Correspondence Relating to Anglo-Sikh War*, p.151

¹²⁷ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Governor General Despatch to Secret Committee, No. 62, 5 September, 1847, NAI, New Delhi

¹²⁸ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Governor General Despatch to Secret Committee, No. 62, Dated, 5 September, 1847, NAI, New Delhi

and the Maharaja. The British Government did not, however, renounce its guardianship or the possession of the young Prince. On the contrary, from 1849 onwards it exercised a fuller and more direct and absolute control over his movements, expenditure, education and his associates.¹²⁹

On March 29, a grand *Durbar* was held at the palace. The resident, the leading Sardars, and the young Maharaja, who sat for the last time, on his father's throne were present. Elliot read aloud the fateful proclamation in English, Persian and Hindustani that the Governor-General of India has declared, and hereby proclaims that the kingdom of the Punjab is at an end. Diwan Dina Nath tried to get the severity of the treatment reduced. He gave several arguments from the European history.¹³⁰

If France said the *Diwan*, "after the defeat and imprisonment of Bonaparte, had been restored to its legitimate ruler, though the country yielded thirty *crores* of revenue, it would be not very extraordinary act of British Clemency, if the Punjab, which yielded less than three *crores*, should be restored to the maharaja."¹³¹ He was however told that the time for the Clemency was passed. The Young Maharaja was then required to put his signature on the deed of abdication.

The in which the chiefs were forced to sign the papers of the last treaty was really peculiar. Evens Bell has written:

"their signatures were extorted from the councilors, whose conduct throughout the rebellion had been irreproachable, by threats that if they refused to sign, their landed estates would be confiscated, and the Maharaja and themselves would be left at the Governor-General's mercy, as persons entitled to no 'allowance whatever', and to no 'consideration.'"¹³²

Following was the proclamation of the Governor-General for the annexation of Punjab on 29th March 1849". At the gate of Lahore Maharaja

¹²⁹ Punjab Government Record, *Lahore Political Diaries*, 1847-48, Vol.III, p.1

¹³⁰ Foreign Department Secret Consultations, Proceeding, "A", No. 115, Dated, 24th April, 1849, NAI, New Delhi

¹³¹ Foreign Department Secret Proceedings, "A", Nos. 41-45, Dated, 24th April 1849; Jagmohan Mahajan, *Circumstances Leading to the Annexation of the Punjab*, p.124, NAI, New Delhi

¹³² Major Even Bell, *How Fell the Sikh Kingdom*, p.318

Duleep Singh tendered to the Governor-General the submission that he himself and his chiefs had solicited the clemency of the British Government.

The Governor-General extended the clemency of the Government of the State of Lahore. He generously spared the kingdom, which he had acquired a just right to subvert; and the Maharaja having been replaced on the throne, treaties of friendship were signed between the states.¹³³

Treaty of Lahore-March 29th 1849

Following terms were granted to Maharaja Duleep Singh on the part of the East India Company by Henry Mires Elliot Sec. Foreign Secretary to the Government of India and Henry Montgomery Lawrence.¹³⁴

1. "His Highness Maharaja Duleep Singh shall resign for himself, his heirs, and his successors all rights, titles, and claim to the sovereignty of the Punjab, or to any sovereign power whatever.
2. All the property of the State, of whatever description and where so ever found shall be confiscated to the East India Company in part payment of the debt due by the State of Lahore to the British Government and the expenses of the war.
3. The Gem called the *Kohinoor*, which was taken from Shah Shuja by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, shall be surrendered by the Maharaja of Lahore to the queen of England.
4. His Highness Duleep Singh shall receive from the East India Company for the support to himself, his relatives and the servants of the state a pension not less than four and not exceeding five lacs of company's rupees per annum.
5. His highness shall be treated with respect and honor. He shall retain the title of Maharaja Duleep Singh and also shall continue to receive during his life such portion of the above named pension as may be allotted to himself personally, provided he shall remain obedient to the British Government, and shall reside at such place as the Governor

¹³³ Foreign Department Secret Proceedings "A", Nos. 41-45, Dated, 28th March, 1849, NAI, New Delhi

¹³⁴ Foreign Department Secret Proceedings "B", Nos. 31-45, Dated, 28th April, 1849, NAI, New Delhi, also see Lady Login, *John Login recollection and Duleep Singh*, p.126

General of India may select.”¹³⁵

Every article of property in the possession of the Maharaja was declared to be state property, and appropriated by the British Government under the terms which had been granted to him. His highness was merely permitted to retain, by the courtesy of the Governor General and the local authorities such articles as were considered necessary for his personal use.¹³⁶ He was made entirely independent upon the allowance assigned to him under article V, by the British government amounting during his minority to Rs. 12,000 per annum, another portion of the state pension being granted to his relatives and dependents at the discretion of the British Government and a balance retained by them for future appropriation.¹³⁷

After the proclamation of Dalhousie, the Union jack was hoisted on the fort and the thunderous salute of artillery announced the fulfillment of Ranjit Singh’s ominous prophesy that “the land of five rivers would also go red”. The Sikh kingdom built up by forty years of indefatigable exertions ceased to exist ten years after the death of its founder.¹³⁸

Lady Login in *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh* had given the effect of the treaty- “No stipulation was made for the benefit to his heirs and descendants, the pension granted to him being apparently terminable with his life. He was required to remove from the Punjab and from all his early associations and to reside wherever the Government of India might appoint.”¹³⁹

Although the young Maharaja did feel that the terms which had been imposed on him were hard and severe, especially when the loss of his throne was occasioned by no fault on his. However, the conditions for protection of the British Government were so strongly impressed on his mind that they did not cause any hesitation on his part to retire into private life,

¹³⁵ Foreign Department Political Consultations, Proceeding “B” No. 22, Dated 19th May 1849, NAI, New Delhi; Lady Login, *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, p.127

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.139

¹³⁷ Foreign Department Secret Proceeding, “B”, No. 31-45, Dated 28th April 1849, NAI, New Delhi, Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Daftar-V, pp.19-20

¹³⁸ N.M. Khilnani, *British Power in the Punjab*, p.159

¹³⁹ Foreign Department Political Consultations, Proceeding “B” No. 22, 19th May 1849, NAI, New Delhi; Lady Login, *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, p.139

and he accordingly submitted to the force of circumstances.¹⁴⁰

As is evident his chapter is related to the Maharani's Jind Kaur's role in first and second Anglo-Sikh wars. The chapter is an attempt to conduct an analysis of her command on the Sikh army and the extent and nature of her responsibility for the Anglo-Sikh wars. The chapter makes it clear that she was not in favor of war with the British. She made greater efforts to save the Punjab from the British. So helped unite and galvanize the Sikhs by inviting major and capable Sikh Sardars from outside the *Durbar* like, Sham Singh Attariwala and making them play an important role in the overall efforts to save Punjab. Apart from this the chapter focuses on the process through which the British effected the annexation of Punjab and the circumstances attending the defeat of the Sikh forces in the Anglo-Sikh wars and the reasons for the same.

¹⁴⁰ Lady Login, *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, p.142

CHAPTER – V

HER IMPRISONMENT AND SUFFERINGS

In the course of her imprisonment Henry Lawrence imposed strict restrictions upon Maharani Jind Kaur in the palace. She was under observation at all times and all her movements were reported directly to the British Resident. She was even refused permission to visit her estate at Duleepgarh with her son. Finally on 10th June, 1847, even the *Sardars* of the *Durbar* were forbidden to see Maharani Jind Kaur. The Maharani had already complained on 21st February, 1847, about the inhuman and highly draconian restrictions, saying that her fate resembled Maharani Chand Kaur's fate.¹ The treaty of Bhairawal signed on 16th December, 1846 had sealed her fate. However, even in the face of adversities Maharani Jind Kaur remained unnerved even though she was terribly disillusioned.²

Henry Lawrence could no longer tolerate the presence of Maharani Jind Kaur in Lahore. Her influence with the people, her shrewd understanding of local politics and the designs of the British, her skillfulness in the use of her pen, her amazing 'ability' to act with 'energy as well as spirit' and above all, her intense patriotism were such qualities which in the eyes of the British constituted grave menace to their authority in the province of Punjab.³ In order to malign her before removing her from Lahore, she was accused of being complicit in a conspiracy for the murder of Tej Singh. The Governor-General of India, in his letter dated 16th August, 1847 stated the following fears:

¹ Sohan Singh Sital, *Dukhie Ma-Put*, Lahore book Shop, Ludhiana, 1972, p.58; Jagmohan Mahajan, *Circumstance leading to the annexation of Punjab (1846-49)*, Kitamstan Press, Allahabad, 1849, p.35; M.L.Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, Orient Longman Publication, New Delhi, 1963, pp. 89-90

² Ganda Singh, *Private Correspondence Relating to Anglo-Sikh War*, Sikh History Society, Patiala, 1977, p.113; N.M. Khilnani, *Punjab Under the Lawrence (1846-49)*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1975, p.91

³ Ganda Singh, *Papers relating to the Punjab: 1847-49*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1970, p.47; Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs 1839-1973*, vol. II, Oxford University Press. London, 1966, pp.57-58; Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, Orient Longman Publication, Delhi, 1967, p.135

The council apprehended not only great difficulty in carrying on the government at the present time if the mother of the Prince is to be left in the full exercise of influence over her son.⁴ It is clear that the British were apprehensive that Maharani Jind Kaur would instigate Maharaja Duleep Singh against the British policy of the Punjab.

Governor-General again wrote and argued in the following way:

There is, however, the Governor General's opinion, a sufficient justification on the political grounds for separating the Prince from his mother at the present moment. The docility of his disposition would render him helpless to resist the systematic efforts of a clever woman in moulding his mind and infusing bad sentiments based on her personal enmities against the chiefs of the British Government. The interests of the prince and the fulfillment of the treaty require that he should be protected from the effect of this influence, which can only be achieved by separating him from his mother (Maharani Jind Kaur).⁵

The Governor-General himself gave the following reasons for separating the mother from her son. The reasons for this step as stated by the Governor General are the following: First, that, at the time of making the Treaty of Bhyrowal, it was considered necessary to exclude Her Highness the Maharanee from all share in the administration of public affairs; and that she should have a separate maintenance appointed her, to enable her to pass the rest of her life in honorable retirement. Notwithstanding this, her highness has, ever since, been intriguing to disturb the Government, and carried her opposition to the Ministers so far as quite to embarrass and impede the public business.

Secondly, The Maharaja is now a child, and he will grow up in the way

⁴ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "A", dated, 16th August, 1847, No. 259. NAI, New Delhi ; Nazir Ahmed Chaudhry, (ed.), Surjit Singh Jit, *Maharaja Duleep Singh and the Government, A narrative*, Singh Brothers, Amritsar, 1999, p.101; Khushwant Singh, *The fall of the Kingdom of the Punjab*, Oxford University Press, Calcutta, 1862, p.114; M.L. Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, p.91

⁵ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "A", dated, 7th October, 1847, No. 259. NAI, New Delhi; Lady Login, *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, London, 1890, (reprint) Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970, p.112; Khushwant Singh, *A Short History of the Sikhs*, vol. II, p.63

he is trained. It was only too probable, therefore, that his mother would instill into him her own bitter feelings of hostility to the chiefs, and that he would have grown up at variance with the Sirdars and Ministers, of his kingdom. This could not be allowed. The young prince should be reared up in the cultivation of every natural and acquired excellence of mind and disposition, so that, at the expiration of the present treaty, peace should be preserved, by the kindly understanding existing between the Maharaja and all classes of his subjects, a blessing which could not be hoped for, if the young Prince remained with his mother.

Thirdly, so long as her highness the Maharani Jind Kaur occupied the Lahore Palace, strangers visited her without restriction, and every seditious intriguer who was displeased with the present order of things, looked up to Queen-Mother as the head of the state; some of them even went so far so to plan the subversion of the restored Khalsa Government.⁶

In the ensuing time Henry Lawrence by virtue of his appointment as resident became the actual despotic ruler of the country (Punjab). He issued all his orders in the name of Maharaja. He did not tolerate any intervention with his plans, and put down all opposition by the force of will.⁷

During this period, in the affairs of the state, the ministers were supposed to be of secondary importance. Their duties were mainly related with financial affairs related to collection of revenue and paying the troops. Besides they had to provide for the needs and wants of the sovereign and retainers. When their services were no longer required they went back to their farming and became simple citizens once again.⁸

Apart from the presence of Henry Lawrence and the British troops nothing occurred to alter the daily routine of the Maharaja's life until July 1847. Lord Hardinge reminded the resident to give the government of India,

⁶ S.R. Bakshi, *History of the Punjab*, New Delhi, 1991, pp. 294-295

⁷ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "B", dated 26th May, 1849 No. 125-126; Bakhsish Singh Nijjar, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, National Book Shop, Delhi, 1975, p.30. Since the evening of 6th April, one old lady continued to visit the cell of the *Maharani* inside the fort posing as her Seenswallee or the tailor-Lady. Although her real Seenswallee was at Nanaras till 15th April. It is believed that she had escaped in the guise of the Seenswallee.

⁸ M.L.Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, p.87; Jagmohan Mahajan, *Circumstances leading to the Annexation of the Punjab*, p.73; M.L. Ahluwalia, *Bhai Maharaj Singh*, p.37; Bakhsish Singh Nijjar, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, p.42

full power to direct and control all matters in every department of the state.⁹ The Governor-General of India also advised the resident to carry the native counsel with him. However, the members the native counsel were entirely under his control and guidance and he could change them and appoint others. And in military affairs his powers were as unlimited as in the civil administration. He could withdraw Sikh garrisons replacing them by the British troops, in any and every part of the Punjab.¹⁰

The resident described the practical working of the council of Regency in August 1847 in the following words “ On the whole, the *Durbar* gives me as much support as I can reasonably expect; there has been a quiet struggle for mastery, but as, though I am polite to all, I allow nothing that appears to me wrong to pass unnoticed, the members of the council are gradually falling into the proper train, and refer most questions to me, and, in words at least allow, more fully even than I wish that they are only executive officers.”¹¹ Although the Maharaja was too young to share the counsel of those who ruled in his name, he was always present at the *Durbar* in the state, and all dignities as well as honors were conferred upon under his hand. The evidence of this can be seen in the fact that when the resident wished to confer titles of honor on certain Sardars who had rendered services to the British during First Anglo-Sikh War, view he arranged that the ceremonial awards should be given by the Maharaja on the morning of 7th August 1847.¹²

The *Durbar* was held on the ordained day but Maharani deliberately delayed her son's arrival at the *Durbar* for an hour; even though all the Sikh

⁹ N.M. Khilnani, *British Power in the Punjab*, p.86; Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, p.132; Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *The Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, ; Nicolette's *Narrative of Principal Events in Nepal* (1849), Nepal Residency Papers, *History of Nepal*, Sq. Hoshiarpur, 1977, p.323

¹⁰ Jagmohan Mahajan, *Circumstances Leading to the Annexation of the Punjab*, p.75; Bakhsish Singh Nijjar, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, p.42

¹¹ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, “A”, dated, 16 August, 1847, No. 259. NAI, New Delhi,; Ganda Singh, *Private Correspondence relating to Anglo-Sikh Wars*, p.114; M.L. Ahluwalia, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, p.20; Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *Anglo Sikh Relation*, 1799-1849, p.234; Bakhsish Singh Nijjar, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, pp.54-55

¹² Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, “A”, dated, 16 August, 1847, No. 259. NAI,s New Delhi; Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, “A”, dated, 17th June, 1859 Nos. 127-147, NAI, New Delhi; Khushwant Singh, *The Fall of the Kingdom of the Punjab*, p.117; Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, pp.132-133; Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs 1839-1973*, vol. II, Delhi, 1977, p.70

Sardars and the English officers had assembled and had been waiting. When the time came to give awards, the young Maharaja Duleep Singh, refused to apply the gashga tilak (saffron mark) on Tej Singh's forehead.¹³ In this way the excuse for which the Resident and the Governor-General were waiting was provided by the Maharani herself. When his Highness refused to touch Tej Singh's robe of honor; it was clear that the Maharaja was instructed by his mother to assume the attitude of non-cooperation towards the British.¹⁴ Later Resident Henry Lawrence wrote to the Government, that all went off well, except for a momentary check, occasioned by the decided refusal of the Maharaja, to make the saffron 'teeka' or mark of *Rajaship*, on *Sardar* Tej Singh's forehead.¹⁵ On the basis of this it was assumed that the young Maharaja had been carefully tutored by his mother Maharani Jind Kaur, not to take part in the ceremonies of the day. He had been explicitly asked to refuse to take part in honouring Raja Tej Singh.

This refusal of the Maharaja was considered to be a contumacious act of defiance by the British Government. For this audacity the resident at *Durbar*, held only Maharani Jind Kaur responsible. She was perceived to be a strong opponent of the British and it was believed that she was having patriotic and nationalist feelings of which the British were frightened. Two days after Tej Singh's disrespect, the resident decided that Maharani should be immediately removed from Lahore, because she had troubled the British Government.¹⁶

Maharani Jind Kaur's Removal from Lahore

Thus the real objective behind the ouster of the Maharani was

¹³ Punjab Government Records, *Lahore Political Diaries*, vol. III. page, 245

¹⁴ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "A", dated 7th August 1847, No.102, NAI, New Delhi; Jagmohan Mahajan, *Circumstances Leading to the Annexation of the Punjab*, p.75; E Dalhousie Login, *Lady Login Recollections*, (reprint) Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1970, p.206

¹⁵ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "A", dated 7th August 1847, No. 92 M.L.Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, p.85; Jagmohan Mahajan, *Circumstances Leading to the Annexation of Punjab* (1846-49), p.104

¹⁶ Punjab Government Records, *Lahore Political Diaries*; vol. III, pp.180, 186; Major Evans Bell, *The Annexation of the Punjab and the Maharaja Duleep Singh*, (reprint) Language Department Punjabi, Patiala, 1970, pp.19-20; E. Dalhousie Login, *Lady Login Recollections*, p.214

safeguard against threat rather than the stated intention to safeguard the Maharaja's interests. However to the great displeasure of the Resident, none of the chiefs except Tej Singh were willing to endorse or support such the expulsion of the Maharani. The resident over ruled the council and obtained the sanction of his government to send Maharani Jind Kaur to live in the fort of Sheikhpura.¹⁷ Henry Lawrence treated the matter as 'top secret', and did not share his confidence with the Regency Council till arrangements regarding escort and conveyance had been completed. He also made sure that at the time of the Maharani's departure the Maharaja should be out on an excursion so that any possibility of discomfiture or that of resentment among the Sikhs in particular should be foreclosed.¹⁸

Finally, Lawrence called an assembly in the afternoon of August 18, 1847. He asked the Maharaja in that meeting to ride a horse and leave for a short excursion. The Maharaja was a bit surprised by this suggestion. However he agreed to accompany Gulab Singh and some other chiefs. When they reached the Shalimar garden, young Duleep Singh was really astonished to see his own servants there apart from elaborate arrangement for his spending the night there. He was evidently perturbed by this development and he refused to take his evening meals.¹⁹

On the morning of August 19, 1847, the Maharani Jind Kaur was removed from Lahore under a strong military escort and was incarcerated in the fort of Sheikhpura. When Maharaja was back in the palace, he came to know that this mother had been taken into custody and kept in the fort of Sheikhpura. He was so disheartened at the sudden removal of his mother that he felt unwilling to return to Summun Burj, the residence where he had passed several happy years with his mother. Finally he took up his residence in rooms over the audience hall in the *Takhtgarh*. Although he received a

¹⁷ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "A", dated 24 February, 1849, Nos.46-48, NAI, New Delhi

¹⁸ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "A", dated 26 September 1847, Nos 93-98, NAI, New Delhi; Sohan Singh Seetal, *How Fell the Sikh Kingdom*, Ludhiana, 1970, p.114; M.L. Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, p.86; Jagmohan Mahajan, *Circumstances Leading to the Annexation of Punjab* (1846-49), p.103; Khan Singh, Nabha, *Gurushabad Ratnakar, Mahan Kosh*, Language Department Punjab, Patiala, 1960, p.392

¹⁹ M.L.Ahluwalia, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, pp.90-91

message from his mother, with some sweetmeats after a few days; but from this time onward no correspondence was permitted between them.²⁰

On the 20th August, 1847, Henry Lawrence issued a proclamation, for the information of the Chiefs of the Lahore *Durbar*, the priests, elders and the common people, which said that Honorable Governor-General of India... feels the interest of a father in the education, and guardianship of the young Prince.²¹ It appeared to the Governor-General to have become absolutely necessary to separate the Maharaja (Duleep Singh) from his mother, and that she had been accordingly removed to Sheikhpura.

Maharani Jind Kaur was removed from Lahore on 19th August, 1847 and sent to the fort of Sheikhpura (25 miles from Lahore). Thus, within a few hours of the issuing of order, the Maharani was hurriedly hustled out of the capital and her son torn away from her in one of the most inhuman and unsympathetic acts committed by the imperial rulers. There were some dauntless people who were unable to endure the cries and laments of the widow of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.²² Governor-General in his report wrote that it was but, the first step to the final banishment of Maharani Jind Kaur from the country which she had so tried to disturb and destabilize for long.²³

Confinement of Maharani Jind Kaur

From 20th August, 1847 to 16th May, 1848 the Maharani Jind Kaur was held in the fort at Sheikhpura under the most unpleasant and insalubrious conditions. Her allowance was arbitrarily reduced from Rs. 1,50,000 to Rs. 40,000 per annum as an additional punishment.²⁴ All the

²⁰ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "A", dated 26 September 1847, Nos 93-98; NAI, New Delhi; M.L. Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, p.87; Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "A", dated, 26th May, 1849 No. 133, NAI, New Delhi; E. Dalhousie Login, *Lady Login's Recollections*, p.210

²¹ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "A", dated 26 September 1847, Nos 93- 98; Punjab Government Records, *Lahore Political Diaries*, vol.III, p. 261, NAI, New Delhi

²² Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "A", dated 7 October 1848, Nos 190-191, NAI, New Delhi

²³ Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, p.133. In Hardinge's words, The Rani, Indignant that her enemies should be honored, tutored the boy that he should affront the chiefs in the public *Durbar* when he had to dip his finger in the Saffron paste and anoint their foreheads.

²⁴ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "A", dated 30th October 1847, Nos. 81-82, NAI, New Delhi

communications with the outside world were completely cut off. A strict guard was placed on her. However, the restrictions and dishonor of the British on Maharani Jind Kaur generated sympathy for her and made her a heroic figure. It was noted that the treatment that meted out to the Maharani was humiliating.²⁵ Even water and food was denied to her.

Dost Mohammad of Kabul sharply reacted to the report of the ill treatment being meted out to the royal queen. He remonstrated that such a treatment was reprehensible. After this the Maharani and the British authorities were openly pitted against one another. Through a cleverly planned strategy the Maharani struck a strategic balance. On the one hand gave the British authorities a false feeling of security, by making occasional complaints about her allowance and Jagirs and restrictions imposed upon her. However, beneath the pretext of these formal protests she used this period opportunity to rouse the chiefs and the army against the British by motivating them to expel them from her kingdom. She wrote letters to John Lawrence from Sheikhpura. In the letters addressed to the acting resident John Lawrence, she referred to the helpless plight of the Maharaja at Lahore and expressed her grief and indignation at having been separated from her son. In her letter to the resident she wrote, "It is a matter of sorrow, that you did not weigh things before accusing me. You have exiled me on the instigation of traitors. The treatment that you have given to me is not given even to murderers."²⁶ She even stated that "you have not done justice to me and have kept no regard of the friendship of the great Maharaja (Ranjit Singh)." She further said, we could never imagine that we could be put into prison with baseless charges concocted against us.²⁷

Another letter dated August 20, 1847, echoes the anguish of the mother. In this agonizing letter she wrote, "You have snatched my son from

²⁵ E. Dalhousie Login, *Lady Login's Recollections*, p.206; Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikh*, 1839-1974, vol. II, p.64; Jagmohan Mahajan, *Circumstances Leading to the Annexation of Punjab* (1846-49), p.75; Bakhsish Singh Nijjar, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, p.42

²⁶ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "A", dated 26 September 1847, Nos 93-98, NAI, New Delhi

²⁷ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "A", dated 26 September 1847, Nos 93-98; Ganda Singh, *Maharaja Duleep Singh Correspondence*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1977, p.15; Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, p.134; Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *The Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, Nicolette's Narrative of Principal Events in Nepal (1849), Nepal Residency papers, *History of Nepal*, Sq. Hoshiarpur, 1977, p.323

me. For nine months I kept him in my womb. Then I brought him up with great difficulty. In the name of God you worship and in the name of King whose salt you eat, restore my son to me. I cannot bear the pain of separation. He has no sister, no brother, no cousin and no uncle left. He has already lost his father. In whose cars has he been entrusted? What shall happen to me if something happens to him through fright?"²⁸

The third letter is even more poignant. It is dated August 30, 1847. It reads:²⁹

I am very glad to learn from your letter (pen) that Maharaja is happy. It is matter of great pleasure that you remember me. How can he, whose mother has been separated from him, be happy, you call him Maharaja and then treat him like this? You write to me that on account of friendship between the two governments you are very particular of the welfare of the Maharaja. How will you look after his welfare is now known all over the world? Weeping, he was torn away his mother and taken to Shalimar garden, while the mother was dragged out by her hair. How has the friendship been paid?

The Maharani wanted an open and impartial enquiry into the charges leveled against her. She appealed to London for fair play and justice.³⁰ Her advocate made an appeal the doors of the Governor-General at Calcutta but without effect. Immediately after this event, in August, 1847, Henry Lawrence was replaced at Lahore by his brother John.³¹ Henry Lawrence's state of health made it mandatory for him to return to England.

Maharani Jind Kaur's Banishment from Punjab

British Government was not satisfied with the removal of Maharani

²⁸ Ganda Singh. *Private Correspondence relating to Anglo-Sikh Wars*, p.114; Bakhsish Singh Nijjar, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, p.29; M.L. Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighter*, p.97; Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, p.121

²⁹ *From Brought on Collection of Papers, Microfilm* in the Punjab State Archives, Patiala; Jagmohan Mahajan, *Circumstances Leading to the Annexation of Punjab (1846-49)*, p.75. Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *Life and times of Ranjit Singh.*, p.234; E. Dalhousie Login, *Lady Login's Recollections*, p.210

³⁰ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "A", dated 26 September 1847, Nos 93-98, NAI, New Delhi

³¹ N.M. Khilani, *Punjab under the Lawrence*, p.58; M.L. Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, p.98; Khan Singh Nabha, *Gurushabad Ratnagar, Mahan Kosh*, p.392

Jind Kaur to Sheikhpura, as it was quite close at Lahore. Lord Dalhousie wanted that she should have been removed to some other place which must be quite away in this connection he wrote to John Hobhouse, Resident and the head of the Board of Control: "no doubt, the Resident had acted upon my wishes. However, I further suggested him, in fact, I did positively order him to waste no time in obtaining the consent of the *Durbar* for the removal of Maharani for temporary safe custody of her within the British territories; if the *Durbar* hesitated about consenting, I told him to remove her without its consent. I did so because at such a season as this of political turmoil the spirit was sure to be a tread of the storm.³² As a woman of great revolutionary ideas as well as great ability and also as widow of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, she had influenced even with the army.

Meanwhile, on the 8th May, a plot against the Resident and the British official was unearthed at Lahore, in which Maharani Jind Kaur was implicated as a conspirator. Her *Vakeel* Ganga Ram was one of the chief conspirators, and together with one Kahan Singh, later a colonel of the Sikh artillery, was convicted and hanged. The Governor-General was particularly apprehensive of her joining hands with Mool Raj (Governor of Multan) because by that time Mool Raj had risen to revolt.³³ It was feared by the British that, had she escaped, her name alone would have been the strength of Mool Raj.³⁴

So on the 15th May, the Maharani Jind Kaur was removed from the fort of Sheikhpura by the resident's order.³⁵ A letter was addressed to John Hobhouse by Dalhousie, dated June 2nd 1848 from Calcutta, in which he stated:

All her property and her Principal friends are to accompany or

³² Secret dispatch to the secret Committee of the Court of Directors, 3 June 1848 No. 50, NAI, New Delhi; Lady Login, *Sir John Login and Duleep Singh*, p.118; M.L. Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, p.87

³³ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "A", dated 24th May, 1848, No. 111, NAI, New Delhi

³⁴ N.M.Khilani, *Punjab Under the Lawrence 1846-49*, p.91; Khushwant Singh, *A Short History of the Sikh*, p.117; M.L. Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, pp.100-102; *The Tribune*, April 9, 1978, Sunday Reading Maharaja Duleep Singh Legend by K.K. Khullar

³⁵ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "A", dated 24th May, 1848, No. 111, NAI, New Delhi

follow to Banaras, where she will reside in honorable privacy under the Superintendence of Major W. Suyer with the understanding that if she is detected intriguing in State matters any more, she will be sent to the fortress of Chunar.³⁶

While at Sheikhpura, the delivery of messages was done by *Rani's* servant Naranjan. It later came to light that the Maharani had supplied a large sum of money to be distributed among the native sepoy of the British regiments for their support at the institution. The Maharani's private papers were subsequently searched. The Resident summoned the members of the Regency Council to his residence-cum-office in the *Anarkali* building and obtained their approval for the *Rani's* banishment from the Punjab and a further reduction in her allowance from Rs. 48,000 to Rs. 12,000.³⁷ The councilors, according to the court chronicler, gave their approval and each one individually signed and sealed, without any opposition or objection the order of banishment drawn up by the Resident.³⁸

Currie, the resident did not think it advisable, even to wait for orders from his government to remove the Maharani from Punjab. A party of the four senior officials of court, led by *Khalifa* Nur-ud-din, with one regiment of cavalry was dispatched to Sheikhpura to escort the Maharani. She was made to believe that she was being taken back to Lahore because of which she unsuspectingly accompanied them.³⁹ When the party reached the suburbs of Lahore, instead of entering the city, it took the road to Ferozepur. Nur-ud-din passed on the charge of the Maharani to a mounted escort of Major Wheeler's irregulars who had been sent to receive her. Thus on 16th May she was secretly removed to Ferozepur and on May 23rd she was sent

³⁶ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "B", dated 2 June 1848, No.117, NAI, New Delhi; Sita Ram Kholi, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, p.135; M.L. Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, p.102

³⁷ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "A", dated 22 March 1848, No. 25, NAI, New Delhi

³⁸ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "A", dated 22 March 1848, No. 25, NAI, New Delhi, N.M. Khilnani, *British Power in the Punjab*, p.85; M.L. Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, p.88; Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *The Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, p.234

³⁹ Khushwant Singh, *The fall of the Kingdom of the Punjab*, Delhi, 1971, p.119; Ganda Singh, *Private Correspondence relating to the Anglo-Sikh Wars*, p.114; Bakhsish Singh Nijjar, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, pp.54-55

from there to Banaras.⁴⁰ She was strictly forbidden to communicate with anybody in the Punjab with a warning that, in case she would not abstain from practices, it will be essential for the government of India to cause the Maharani to be confined in the fortress of Chunar.⁴¹

Stay at Banaras

The order for the removal of Maharani Jind Kaur was signed by three members of the Council of Regency and by Gulab Singh, on behalf of her brother Raja Sher Singh Attariwala (who was absent). The venerable *Fakeer*, Nur-ud-din, personal friend and advisor of the late Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and a person greatly respected by the Sikhs, personally saw whether the orders had been carried out.⁴²

Regarding the allowances of Maharani Jind Kaur, Lord Dalhousie wrote to John Hobhouse on June 9, 1848 the following letter "I have written to Lahore *Durbar*, respecting her allowance, the amount of which will greatly affect the attorney's views of the strength of the case. By the treaty she was allowed a lakh and half. We are under the impression that after the Prema Conspiracy that sum was reduced to Rs. 50,000 a year. I do now propose and recommend to the council of regency that she should not have more than 25,000 rupees a year in her privacy at Banaras, a sum which is enough for her wants and luxuries."⁴³

Frederick Currie wrote to Lord Dalhousie on October 12, 1848.⁴⁴

"All considerations will be paid to the interests of Maharaja Duleep Singh, who from (or due to) his tender years cannot be held responsible for the misconduct of the Lahore *Durbar*, and

⁴⁰ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "A", dated 31 May 1848, No. 5, NAI, New Delhi

⁴¹ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "A", dated 2 June 1848, No. 117, NAI, New Delhi; Jagmohan Mahajan, *Circumstances Leading to the Annexation of the Punjab*, p.76; Bakhsish Singh Nijjar, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, pp.51-53; M.L. Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, p.10. The Letter was written in English. The Maharani had therefore handed it over to Rana Jang Bahadur.

⁴² M.L.Ahluwalia, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, pp.95-96

⁴³ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "B", dated 10 June 1848, No. 75, NAI, New Delhi, Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *Punjab Papers, 1849*, p.169; M.L. Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, pp.89-90

⁴⁴ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "A", dated 12th October 1848, No.15, NAI, New Delhi M.L. Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, p.105

that the just rights and property of those who have been in no way concerned in the hostile proceedings, and who do good and faithful service at this juncture will be respected.”⁴⁵

Maharani Jind Kaur remained a state prisoner at Banaras for nearly a year. Here she was deprived of her jewels and other personal valuables. She protested to the Governor-General against this High handedness and injustice. She was deprived of her wealth and power and under the surveillance of armed guard, this fearless queen still defied British surveillance and continued to urge the freedom fighters pose resistance to British atrocities with fearing the consequences. She helped the Punjab rebels financially and morally. She wrote letters to the leaders of rebels which were highly motivating. At Banaras Maharani's trusted band of servants had always stood by her in good stead, and they kept her in touch with the rebels almost to the last.⁴⁶

At Banaras she was deprived of her jewels and other personal valuables. She protested to the Governor-General against this high handedness.⁴⁷ She even engaged a British lawyer from Calcutta, named Newmarch, under whose guidance sent on 12th October, 1848, a strongly worded petition to the Governor-General protesting against her unlawful confinement.⁴⁸ The Maharani enquired from the Governor-General the reasons upon which the British Government were induced first to sanction her close confinement in the Fort of Sheikhpura and afterwards to exile her from her native soil. She strongly complained that the British had deprived her of her property and subjected her to the inhuman confinement. The document closes with the remarks, 'I now commit my course to God, and to the vaunted justice of the nation of which you are the representative, and supporting myself with the firm hope of a happy result, I shall endeavor by

⁴⁵ Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs, 1839-1947*, vol. II, p.64; E. Dalhousie Login, *Lady Login's Recollections*, p.206

⁴⁶ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "C", dated 5 December 1851, Nos. 191-194, NAI, New Delhi

⁴⁷ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "B", dated 15 August 1848, No.10, NAI, New Delhi

⁴⁸ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "A", dated 12 October 1848, No.15, NAI, New Delhi ; Sohan Singh Sital, *Dukhi Ma-Put*, Lahore book Shop, Ludhiana, 1972, p.58; Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "B", dated 15 August 1848

meeting the rigor and indignities of my imprisonment in a calm and cheerful spirit to show that my memory of the forbearance with which the British used the advantaged of victory is stronger than my resentment at the severity which their too ready belief in the calumnies of my enemies has induced them to use towards myself'.⁴⁹

Maharani Jind Kaur also asked for an increase of Rs. 250/- in her monthly allowance of Rs. 1,000/- on the plea that even on a very modest scale, her expenses including those of her personal establishment which amounted to Rs. 2,208/- per month. A detailed list of her expenses was appended to the petition.⁵⁰ She further demanded a sum of Rs. 5,00/- per month out of her gold and jewelry that was deposited at Banaras.⁵¹

Acting in response to her demand for increased money, the Secretary to the Government wrote to Major G. A. Macgregor agent of Governor General in a letter dated 30 April 1849 that he passing the bill of the expenses increased during the month of March on account of the Maharanee of Lahore amounting to Rs 128-12.2.⁵²

On 23rd October, 1848 Major Macgregor forwarded these petitions to Calcutta with the remarks, "The only objection which I see to the compliance of the Maharani's request for increase to her present allowance of Rs. 1,000/- per month is that in my opinion she would be able to save money out of her monthly allowance which might be applied, by her to some improper purpose."⁵³ As expected, the Governor-General rejected the Maharani's request for an increased allowance and advised her to "live within the income provided for her by the Lahore *Durbar*". Her appeal for a fair trial met with the same fate on the formal pretext that her conduct was examined by

⁴⁹ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding "C" 25th November, 1848, No. 248; Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "A", dated 27 September 1850, Nos. 9-1; Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "C", dated 20 June 1845, No. 64, NAI, New Delhi M.L. Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, p.93

⁵⁰ Foreign Political Consultation Department proceeding, "B", dated, 17 September 1849, Nos. 111, 17 September 1849, NAI, New Delhi

⁵¹ Foreign Political Consultation Department proceeding, "A", dated 19 May 1849, No. 22, NAI, New Delhi

⁵² Foreign Political Consultation Department proceeding, "A", dated 19 May 1849, Nos. 23, NAI, New Delhi

⁵³ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "C", dated 31 October 1848, No.1341, NAI, New Delhi

the Government of Lahore and was found to have been such as made punishment and precaution necessary and that the Government of India saw no reason to renew investigations which have already been completed and acted upon.⁵⁴

Major Macgregor wrote a letter to H. M. Elliot Secretary of the Government of India, dated 6th April 1849, and through this letter cleared the way for her shifting from Banaras to Chunar fort. The order was passed in these words; "I have honor to report to you for the information of the honorable Governor General that I ordered the removal the Maharani Junda Kaura (Jinda) of Lahore and her male and female attendant today morning from Banaras to fort of Chunar, under escort of the company of infantry which party I accompanied to Chunar."⁵⁵

Maharani Jind Kaur at Chunar Fort

Maharani Jind Kaur's confinement even at Banaras also resulted in a sense of discomfiture among the British. They always apprehended that she was conspiring with the rebel elements in Punjab. Therefore, it was decided to remove her from Banaras to the fort of Chunar. On 4th April, 1848, it was decided that the Maharani should be confined in the fort of Chunar and early next morning a *Palki* was placed before her room and she was ordered to enter it. Her transfer from Banaras to Chunar fort was undoubtedly one of the most critical moments in her life. She protested and wept over this arbitrary treatment of the British Government.⁵⁶ However she was completely helpless and had to obey the orders. By 10 O' Clock she and her 16 lady attendants had reached Chunar and were locked in cells in the abominable fort.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "C", dated 31 October 1848, No.1341, NAI, New Delhi; Sohan Singh Sital, *Dukhe Maa Put*, p.59; Prithpal Singh Kapur, (ed.), *Maharaja Duleep Singh: The Last Sovereign of the Punjab*, Gurudawara Parbandk Committee, Amritsar, 1995, p. 168

⁵⁵ Foreign Political Consultation Department proceeding, "B", dated 6 April 1849, Nos. 108-111, NAI, New Delhi

⁵⁶ R.C. Majumdar, *British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance*, Part I, vol. IX, Macmillan ST Martins Press, Bombay, 1963, p.289; Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, p.135

⁵⁷ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "B", dated 26 May 1849, Nos.108-145, NAI, New Delhi

The fort of Chunar, situated in the district of Hiraipur, was used by the British Government as a prison for the political offenders. It was known for torture and hard labour given to the prisoners. Major Macgregor who had accompanied the party to Chunar, personally, handed over the charge of the State prisoner to Captain Rees, the fort commandant. At the time of handing over, the Governor-General's agent requested the Maharani to put out her hand to the fort commandant for identification which she refused to do in consideration of the observance of purdah. Before leaving Chunar fort, Major Macgregor again warned Captain Rees, to be vigilant and visit the Maharani frequently taking care to identify the prisoner by the voice.⁵⁸

At Chunar fort, Maharani Jind Kaur was very closely watched but she had made up her mind to escape from the British control. She escaped from this fort in disguise of a maid servant. Nobody suspected her escape till almost noon, when the news of Maharani's escape appeared like a wild fire; search was immediately started. This happened on 19th April, 1849.⁵⁹

Escape from the Chunar Fort

It was generally supposed that the fort of Chunar was so strongly guarded that no prisoner could ever escape out of it. At Chunar fort Maharani Jind Kaur was very closely watched but she was determined to escape from the British control.⁶⁰ The Maharani swapped her dress with her maid-servant. In this disguise she put a pitcher on her head, and went out of the fort on the pretext of bringing water for the Maharani. It was a routine for servants to fetch water for her every morning. Not suspecting any foul play, the guard of the gate allowed her to go out. Nobody suspected the escape of Maharani till almost noon, when the news of maharani's spread to every quarter of the fort and a frantic search was launched.⁶¹ This happened on 19th April. The commandant was completely taken by surprise. as he still

⁵⁸ E. Dalhousie Login, *Lady Login's Recollections*, p.214; Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *The Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, Narrative of Principal Events in Nepal, 1849

⁵⁹ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "A", dated 28th April 1849, Nos. 182, NAI, New Delhi

⁶⁰ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "A", dated 28th April 1849, No. 183, NAI, New Delhi

⁶¹ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "A", dated 26th May 1849, Nos. 125-34, NAI, New Delhi; Bakhsish Singh Nijjar, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, p.42

found inside the fort all 17 prisoners who had been taken over from Banaras on 5th April, 1849.⁶²

How the Maharani Jind Kaur escaped and who impersonated her could not be established by the court of enquiry which was held at Chunar the very next day under the Chairmanship of Major C. Troap. To lead to further confusion for the British authorities, a letter apparently written by the Maharani before her escape was found at the fort gate on 19th April. In this letter which made a very ambiguous claim. It was stated that she had managed to escape with the help of a magical spell. The letter concluded with the remark "You put me in the cage and locked me up. For all your locks and your sentries, I got out by my magic... I had told you plainly not to punish me too hard. Now see whether the Punjab shall not be finally settled, and you will begin to think (realize). But don't think I ran away; understand well, that I escaped by myself your sided... When I quitted the Fort of Chunar. I threw two papers on my *Guddee* (seat) and one I threw on the European *Charpay* and woke your fine European out of sleep now don't imagine, I got out like a thief."⁶³

Whether this letter was her own or written by someone else and then placed at the Fort gate on the 19th morning as part of the plan to expose her escape at the proper time could never be ascertained. The only point to the established after thorough investigation was that the Maharani had escaped as early as the 6th evening and not on the 19th morning and that the seenawallee episode was ruse cleverly employed against the fort guards and the fort commandant for several days.⁶⁴ In anticipation of her escape a Punjabi servant of her household was said to be in waiting by the river *Ghat* to guide her to a boat which was ready to help her leave.⁶⁵ Meanwhile Maharani had covered a considerable distance from Chunar and thus she

⁶² Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "A", dated 28th April 1849, Nos. 182, NAI, New Delhi

⁶³ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "C", dated 26th May 1849, No. 133, NAI, New Delhi; M.L.Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighter*, pp.96-97

⁶⁴ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "C", dated 26 May 1849, No. 125-126, NAI, New Delhi; M.L. Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, p.97

⁶⁵ Bakhsish Singh Nijjar, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, p.42

was sufficiently safe. She took refuge in the village of Ram Nagar. It was here that one maid-servant also met her and she was further informed that the police posts all over India were duly alerted. She was also announced a proclaimed offender.⁶⁶

Instead of going to the Punjab, She went in the direction of Nepal as she was apprehensive of her arrest, if she went to Punjab. She also sensed danger if she went to Nepal through the road route, so she proceeded by river route. Thus encountering thousand dangers on the way, with an irrepressible and burning desire to meet her son before she died; she reached Nepal territory on 27th April in the disguise as a *bairagan*. But according to Nepal Residency records she had escaped from Chunar disguised as a goli or Kanchi (slave girl) with the connivance of her guards. At Nepal she came under the charge of Dr. James Dryburg Login, who was acting Assistant Resident at Kathmandu.⁶⁷

In Nepal she was granted asylum mainly in consideration of the respect for the memory of late Maharaja Ranjit Singh with whom the Nepalese Government had maintained amicable relations. A small house on the bank of Bhagmati River was assigned to her with adequate allowance for her maintenance.

Reaction to Maharani's Escape to Nepal

Maharani's sensational escape generated a flutter in British circles. On the other hand the Khalsa soldiery on hearing of the removal of the Maharani, was much disturbed. This national grievance which became the cause of universal discontent was given a prominent place in the manifesto which Sher Singh issued soon after he went over to Mulraj. The Maharani's deportation was, thus, considered by everybody attached to the kingdom founded by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, as a national insult and as an act preliminary to the subversion of his dynasty and dominion.⁶⁸ Here, it is to be

⁶⁶ Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *The Life and Times of Ranjit Singh*, Nicolette's Narrative of Principal Events in Nepal (1849), Nepal Residency Papers, *History of Nepal*, Sq. Hoshiarpur, 1977, p.323

⁶⁷ *Ibid*

⁶⁸ M.L.Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, p.91; Khan Singh Nabha, *Gurushabad Ratnakar, Mahan Kosh*, p.392. She Died in London at the

remembered that the Maharani's flight changed the entire complexion of affairs and the Governor General issued the following instructions to his Agent at Banaras:⁶⁹

- i. That her jewels and other property at Banaras be confiscated.
- ii. That in case she had crossed the frontiers of British India, she was not allowed to draw her allowance; and
- iii. That she should not enter into any communication with her without previous reference to the Government. Maharani was also informed that no portion of the Maharaja's allowance shall be allowed to her as long as she was not residing beyond the limits of the British territories, nor would she be permitted to reside with her son.

Maharaja Duleep Singh after the valiant acts of defiance and resistance of his mother felt himself so much helpless and depressed that he had almost resigned to the fate. The banishment of Maharani Jinda from the Punjab, when the political situation in the country was daily becoming tense, provoked the Sikhs, and proved to be detrimental to the British interests then her incessant intrigues could possibly have been.⁷⁰

Maharani's Stay in Nepal

On reaching Nepal she sent one of her personal attendants to Rana Jung Bahadur, Nepal's Prime Minister requesting sanctuary. Nepalese court held her arrival rather unexpected and undesired, but Jung Bahadur, after some hesitation, granted her asylum mainly in consideration of the respect for memory of Late Maharaja Ranjit Singh. A small house on the bank of the Baghmati river was assigned to her. The house was equipped with basic amenities.⁷¹ On receiving this assurance she entered Kathmandu in person on Sunday 29th April, 1849. Unfortunately, on reaching Nepal capital the

age of 46 years. Her dead body was cremated in India near Bombay a place called Nasik.

⁶⁹ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "A", dated 28 April, 1849, No. 182; *The Tribune*, April 9, 1978, Sunday Reading, Maharaja Duleep Singh Legend by K.K. Khullar; M.L. Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, p.92

⁷⁰ Jagmohan Mahajan, *Circumstances leading to the Annexation of the Punjab*, p.76; Sohan Singh Sital, *Dukhie Ma-Put*, p.58; M.L.Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, p.106

⁷¹ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "C", dated, 22 March 1850, Nos. 408-409, NAI, New Delhi; Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *Life and times of Ranit Singh*, p.234

Maharani learnt that the Punjab rebellion had failed and the Lahore Kingdom had been annexed to the British Empire. This shattering intelligence naturally compelled her to change all her plans. Her primary concern and anxiety was to find out about the safety of her son, and the intentions of the British regarding his future. With this motive she expressed a desire to meet the British resident in Nepal. The resident refused to receive her, though he informed the Maharani that Duleep Singh was quite safe and a pension had been sanctioned to him.⁷² She next appealed for restoration of her property and for permission to live with her son. The resident replied that because of the disclosure of her recent correspondence with Raja Sher Singh and other rebel leaders, her property at Banaras had been confiscated as punishment. He also informed her that her flight from Chunar and beyond the British territories had deprived her of all right. She was also informed that no portion of the Maharaja's allowance shall be allowed to her as long as she was not residing beyond the limits of the British territories, nor would she be permitted to reside with her son.⁷³ In point of fact, the British authorities were now at all eager for her return as they did not fear any grave danger from her after the annexation of the Punjab. Moreover they had no desire to embroil them unnecessarily with the Nepal *Durbar* on this, now insignificant issue. The Governor-General in his Minute of 8th May, 1849 therefore noted, 'It would be unwise and impolitic to demand the delivery to us of the Maharani, what it is next to certain that the demand would be refused and the refusal would either lead to force or at least to an unfriendly feeling between the States'. The best course in his opinion was to exert diplomatic pressure on the Nepal *Durbar* to keep the Maharani in close confinement.⁷⁴ Accordingly the British resident at Kathmandu, who on the first intimation of her arrival at the Nepal capital, had already told the Prime Minister that 'her further security would be the concern of the Nepal Government', further conveyed to him the views of the Governor-General that the *Durbar* would, prevent her from all injurious intrigues against the British Government. All this did not

⁷² M.L. Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, p.98

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p.99

⁷⁴ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "B", dated, 10 May 1849, Nos. 125-127, NAI, New Delhi

deter the royal refugee from going ahead with her plan. She was refused the delivery of her personal jewellery by the British.⁷⁵ However, she had been very cleverly brought with her from Chunar jewellery estimated to be worth around one lakh of rupees.⁷⁶ In Nepal with the help of some faithful band of personal servants she reestablished contacts with the Punjab rebels who were detained in the Allahabad fort. She also began to correspond with Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu and Kashmir with the object of making another attempt at subverting British authority in the Punjab, where Bhai Maharaj Singh was still continuing the struggle. Simultaneously, she continued her efforts to win over the king of Nepal.

All these activities came to a kind of a climax when on 6th March 1850, J.E. Erskine, British resident at Kathmandu came to know that Nepal king intended to accord a royal reception to the Maharani of Lahore on the evening of 8th March. The British resident took prompt action and forbade the Nepal authorities from any such move. This warning was enough to make the king of Nepal cancel the reception. Erskine reported to his Government with an assurance that he will continue to, 'discourage in future any intention which I may observe in this court to recognize publicly, this restless and intriguing lady.' The second part of the plan came to light in September of the same year on apprehension of the Maharani Jind Kaur's letters addressed to the Punjab state prisoners in Allahabad fort. As a result of the enquiry the Governor-General warned the state prisoners at Allahabad to desist from any conspiracy, and instructed the British resident at Kathmandu to request the Nepal *Durbar* to monitor the activities of the Maharani closely.⁷⁷

When the British resident called upon the Prime Minister to convey these views of the Governor-General, Rana Jang Bahadur also confirmed the newspaper reports about the attempts made by the Punjabis from

⁷⁵ Foreign Political Consultation Department proceeding, "A", dated 15 February 1850, Nos. 323-324, NAI, New Delhi

⁷⁶ Foreign Political Consultation Department proceeding, "B", dated 25 March 1850, Nos. 66-76, NAI, New Delhi

⁷⁷ Foreign Political Consultation Department proceeding, "C", dated, 22 March 1850, Nos. 408-409, NAI, New Delhi; M.L. Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, pp.100-102

outside the country to contact the Maharani and also that during the last fortnight six or seven Sikhs had been apprehended while attempting to cross into Nepal. He also apprised the resident of the attempts made by the Maharani to pass on a hundi of Rs. 2,000/- to her fellow conspirators. As a result of British instigation, the Prime Minister met the Maharani and informed her that in accordance with her assurances to the Nepal Raj she was not expected to intrigue with the enemies of the British Government.

After this the relations between the Maharani and Rana Jung Bahadur became strained and she began to look to other quarters for help. Sometimes ago she had received a verbal message from Maharaja Gulab Singh. She therefore, began to explore the possibility of slipping into the Jammu and Kashmir. In February, 1851 she sent Badrinath, Doola Singh and Chunda Singh, to Kashmir with letters addressed to Maharaja Gulab Singh and his *Wazir* Chunu. She again sent, one Rajinder Gir in the guise of faqir to the Maharaja. In reply of these pleas, the Maharaja is said to have again conveyed his verbal approval of the scheme through Chunda Singh who returned to Nepal in 1851.⁷⁸

Before the Maharani Jind Kaur could leave Nepal her correspondence with Maharaja Gulab Singh was also discovered. The Governor-General thereupon instructed his resident in Nepal to lodge a strong protest with the *Durbar* and also to inform the Maharani that if she would try to enter the British territory she would be seized and imprisoned more severely than done earlier.⁷⁹

Maharani Jind Kaur remained in Nepal till 1860. The Nepal residency papers refer to her 12 years stay at Kathmandu within the precincts of Jung Bahadur's huge and scrawling mansion at Thapathali. Contrary to the customary Nepalese traditions of hospitality, Jung Bahadur desired her to acknowledge Nepalese generosity and stay in his palace which she contemptuously refused. As a result of this refusal humiliating restrictions were placed on her, and baseless charges of profligacy and misconduct were leveled against her. The bold and imperious Maharani of Lahore,

⁷⁸ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "B", dated 25 June 1852, No. 134; M.L.Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, p.102

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 139

however, did not tolerate these slanderous insults quietly. She dismissed her personal staff which was imposed upon her by the Nepalese *Durbar*, and told the Rana tyrant of Kathmandu in the most insulting language how low an opinion she had of him. Utterly disgusted with the indignities imposed upon her by Jang Bahadur and fed up with her for long life at Kathmandu, she readily agreed to leave Nepal and join her son Duleep Singh who was then in London.⁸⁰

Before the Maharani could leave Nepal her correspondence with Maharaja Gulab Singh was also discovered. The Governor General came to Nepal to lodge a strong protest with the *Durbar* and also to inform the Maharani that if, she would try to enter the British territories she would be seized and imprisoned more severely than was done earlier.⁸¹

The Maharani Contacts Duleep Singh in London

Every possibility of escape being thus closed to her, the Maharani ultimately thought of contacting her son who was then in London. Since she was separated from her son, she was not at ease. From her letters which she wrote to John Lawrence it is clear that how aggrieved she was and how desperately she want to meet her son. She requested him to give her son back. She begged her son in every possible way. She wrote, 'you have been very cruel to me. You have snatched my son from me. For ten months I kept him in my womb, and then I brought him up with great difficulty. Without any fault you have separated my son from me. You could have kept me in prison you could have dismissed my men. You could have greeted me in any way you liked. But you should not have separated my son from me.'⁸² She further wrote, "in the name of God you worship and in the name of the king whose salt you eat, restore my son to me. I cannot bear the pain of this separation. Instead of this you put me to death."⁸³

From the above letter it is clear that how much she fervently she requested the authorities to get her son. Since she was separated she was

⁸⁰ Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *Life and times of Ranjit Singh*, p.234

⁸¹ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "B", dated, 25th June 1852, No. 139, NAI, New Delhi

⁸² S.R. Bakshi, *History of the Punjab*, New Delhi, 1991, p.284

⁸³ Bakhshish Singh Nijjar, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, pp.54-55

looking for the time to meet her son. But the British paid no attention to her appeals. She left no stone unturned to see her son. She stayed in Nepal only with one intense desire that she was over eager to meet her son before she died. At Nepal she devoted herself to a life of religious devotion and charity. A small temple built by her close to her residence in Thapathali in Kathmandu is still there. It soon became evident, that the British residency would not leave her in peace. A murmuring intrigue started against her imaginary conspiracies. It was alleged that she was a dangerous women, engaged in organizing political disaffection in the Punjab. All this was of course baseless, but the steady pressure of British functionaries in Nepal, led to the gradual antagonism of the Nepalese *Durbar* against her. This led to the imposition of most humiliating restrictions on her. But neither the misdirected zeal of the British officials at Kathmandu nor the hostility and indifference of the Nepalese court, could suppress the spirit of the widow of Ranjit Singh. After a decade of exile and isolation, she still retained her bold and imperial disposition. She patiently protested against the indignities and restrictions placed upon her by Jung Bahadur till 1860 A.D.⁸⁴ towards the end of 1860 A.D. it was signified to Maharani that her son Maharaja Duleep Singh was about to return to India and she could visit Calcutta. The Maharani was tired to living in isolation in Nepal, and being fed up with the indignities imposed upon her by Jung Bahadur, she readily welcomed the opportunity of joining her son, who was then in London. This took her quite some time, but somehow she managed to get into touch with him through her agents at Patna and Amritsar. Correspondence between mother and son continued for sometime till it became public in 1856, when an Urdu paper Koh-i-Noor published this item in its issue of 1st April. Soon after this a letter of Maharaja Duleep Singh addressed to his mother also fell into the hands of the British resident at Kathmandu.⁸⁵

In the above letter the Maharaja regretted his inability to assist his mother to come to England through his own efforts, and advised her to try and reach that country herself with the aid of Raja Jung Bahadur Singh. He

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p.44

⁸⁵ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "A", dated, 25th June 1861, No. 19, NAI, New Delhi

also warned her that, 'Whatever you do, do very cautiously and carefully without getting me into any scruple.' As soon as this letter fell into the hands of the British resident, he instituted thorough enquiries and reported the matter to his government on 28th August, 1856, saying that the intention of Maharani Jind Kaur was to proceed to England to join her son and then to fight her case for the restoration of her personal property and Jagir. He also reported that the Nepal *Durbar* was equally anxious to get rid of her, the only hitch being the Maharani's fear of detention by the British.⁸⁶

By this time the policy at Calcutta had also changed. The new Governor-General, Lord Canning, in his Minute of 12th September 1856, thought it more advisable to permit the Maharani to contact her son openly. Her accordingly wrote to the court of directors for orders.

Before the directors could reach any decision the Mutiny broke out in India during which the Maharani tried her luck again. This sensational disclosure was made by the arrest in 1859 of the Maharani's ex-servants Chet Singh and Jawala Singh of village Singhpura in Amritsar district and of Miya of the village of Mulls in the Gurdaspur District. These persons were alleged to have frequently entered the Punjab during the Mutiny of 1857-58 carrying the Maharani's messages to the people of her erstwhile kingdom and also to the State prisoners at Allahabad urging them to rise once again against the British government. The most active figure in this plot was Chet Singh, the brother of Megh Singh, whom Mr. Temple, the Punjab Commissioner, described in his report as a known rebel. He had not only helped the Maharani in her escape to Nepal but had thereafter visited the Punjab several times, at the height of the Mutiny and evading all attempts to being arrested led to further large scale arrests and arbitrary punishment of the people in the Punjab.⁸⁷

The British authorities were now convinced that the only way to check the Maharani in her seditious plans was to divert her attention from her

⁸⁶ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "B", dated, 20th October 1856 No. 185, NAI, New Delhi; The Letter was written in English. The Maharani had therefore handed it over to Rana Jang; M.L. Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, p.102; Bahadur for translation from some English-Knowing gentlemen of the British Embassy Staff.

⁸⁷ M.L. Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, p.104

country. The secretary of state for India therefore allowed Maharaja Duleep Singh in 1856, to correspond with his mother and to bring her to England. It was also decided to allow the Maharani to take away with her the frozen assets which could not be confiscated under the Law, notwithstanding the prolonged controversy on this issue between Lord Dalhousie on the one hand, and the Attorney-General of India and the Court of Directors on the other. The Governor-General on receiving these orders, instructed Lt. Colonel Ramsay, the then British resident at Kathmandu, to permit the Maharani to proceed to Calcutta where son would arrive and receive her.⁸⁸ She was also told that on return to British India she would be sanctioned a pension of Rs. 30,000/- per year. Although for security reasons she had to agree to live under the conditions imposed upon her by the government. On 29th December 1860, the Maharani gave her written consent to these terms and conditions in the hope of at least, regaining her son if not her kingdom. Moreover she was tired of living in isolation in Nepal. Not only this but the treatment which she got from Kathmandu Prime Minister was also very irksome. Colonel Ramsey, then resident of Kathmandu wrote to Login in 1860 that he considered, that a more unprincipled (than Jung Bahadur) did not tread the earth.⁸⁹ At Kathmandu she was held practically as a prisoner by Jung Bahadur, who grudged her every penny of the pension he said he allowed to her. Moreover her health was shattered and she became almost blind.⁹⁰ Duleep Singh grew anxious to meet his mother. In 1860, Duleep Singh returned to India and was permitted to live with his mother. The Maharani met Maharaja Duleep Singh at Calcutta in April, 1861.⁹¹ While Duleep Singh was in India, several Sikh regiments which had just arrived from China, besieged his hotel to give him a warm welcome. The Governor-General Lord Canning became annoyed at this. He asked the Maharaja to leave for England immediately along with his mother. Both mother and son

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p.105

⁸⁹ E. Dalhousie Login, *Lady Login's Recollections*, p.206

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.211

⁹¹ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "A", dated ,27 July 1861, No. 92, NAI, New Delhi

sailed for England on 4th May, 1861.⁹²

Maharani's Stay in London and Death

The mother and son reached London in July 1861. Duleep Singh took his mother down to Mulgrave Castle, which he then had on a lease from Lord Norman by; and there she remained with him.⁹³ While in England, Maharani Jind Kaur insisted on residing along with her son as she afraid of being separated. Evidently Duleep Singh had learnt from his mother the full tragic story of the annexation of the Punjab. He also came to know from Maharani Jind Kaur the treatment which she met at the hands of the British. She also told him the whole story how through clever machinations they were separated from each other by the British Government. Not only this she also sensitized him about the property which was confiscated by Lord Dalhousie.⁹⁴ On listening the whole tragic story from his mother Duleep Singh's attitude towards the British began to change. She told Duleep Singh about his religion. She inspired a great spirit of Sikhism in him. She also described his father's strong faith in Sikh religion. It was due to the influence of Maharani Jind Kaur that Duleep Singh was reconverted into Sikh faith. Not only had this she reminded her son his duties towards his homeland. The English sensed this and prevailed upon Duleep Singh to arrange a separate house for Maharani Jind Kaur. The Maharani remained with her son resisting all efforts of his friends to make her arrange a separate establishment in another house on the estate, until June, 1862, when the Maharaja took a house for her in London, and placed her under the charge of an English lady.⁹⁵

The British wanted to keep Duleep Singh separate because they were afraid that under his mother's influence, he might lapse into the old habits of his faith, so Maharani Jind Kaur resided in a separate house till her death in 1863. She died in the morning of 1st August, 1863. At the time of her death

⁹² Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "A", dated, 27 July 1861, No. 92, NAI, New Delhi

⁹³ Foreign Secret Consultation Department proceeding, "A", dated, 27th July 1861, No. 92, NAI, New Delhi; E. Dalhousie Login, *Lady Login's Recollections*, p.214

⁹⁴ E. Dalhousie Login, *Lady Login's Recollections*, p.214

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.214

Duleep Singh had gone to look Kennard's Lodge in Perthshire. As soon as he heard the news of his mother's death he rushed to the place. The place where she died was Kenaington. She was cremated there by Duleep Singh. She died a premature death at the age of 44 years.⁹⁶ She stayed only two years with her son. Her last words to her son were, do not let my bones rot in this inhospitable country. Take me back to India.⁹⁷

In order to fulfill his mother's last wishes, Duleep Singh brought her ashes to India but he was not allowed to come to the Punjab. He scattered her ashes on the waters of the Narbada and returned to England. Till now her *Samadh* situated at *Nasik* near Bombay in Maharashtra reminded us her great love for the country. According to Bhai Khan Singh Nabha on 27 March, 1924, Baba Duleep Singh, Princes of Maharaja Duleep Singh's brought the ashes from Nasik to Lahore, near Maharaja Ranjit Singh's *Samadh*. *Ardas* was done by Harbans Singh *Rahees* of *Attari* and a *Samadh* was also made at Lahore.

The only thing which she could do during that period was to remind her son of his duty to his country and his religion. The later life of Duleep Singh is sufficient indication of the success of the Maharani Jind Kaur in converting her son into a true Nationalist.⁹⁸

The story of the incarceration of Maharani Jind Kaur (popularly known as Mai Jindan), the mother of Maharaja Duleep Singh, in the fort of Lahore, her removal from there to the fort of Sheikhpura as a State prisoner and her ultimate banishment from the Punjab is very tragic. But it has become all the more tragic and painful by the discovery of three of her letters. One of these letters is in the Maharani's own handwriting while the other two are transliteration of the originals, rendered into Persian characters by Herbert B. Edwardes, whose initials (H.B.S.) are inscribed thereon. One of them bears the initials of Johan Lawrence.

The first letter was written on, or a day or two after, the 14th of August,

⁹⁶ Khan Singh Nabha, *Gurshabad Ratnakar, Mahan Kosh*, 1960, p.392. She died in London at the age of 46 years. Her dead body was cremated in India near Bombay a place called Nasik.

⁹⁷ *The Tribune*, April 9, 1978, Sunday Reading, Maharaja Duleep Singh Legend by K.K.Khullar.

⁹⁸ M.L.Ahluwalia and Kirpal Singh, *The Punjab's Pioneer Freedom Fighters*, p.106

1847, when it was decided by the British Resident at Lahore, Colonel Henry Lawrence, that, the Maharani is to confine herself to the Summan (Burj), in the fort of Lahore and that some of her old servants were to be dismissed and replaced by those chosen by the Government.

Even since the arrival of the British in the Punjab after the Anglo-Sikh war of 1845-46, there had been a clash of interests. On the one side there were the political of the East India Company who wished to establish themselves permanently in the Punjab. They had got a foothold in the country and they did not want to go back. In fact they had their eyes far beyond the Sikh frontiers to the North West. On the other side was the Queen-mother, Maharani Jind Kaur, who had been in favour of the retention of the British troops, to begin with, as long as, under the terms of the treaties of the 9th and 11th March, 1846, the British Government will not exercise any interference in the internal administration of the Lahore State but in all cases or questions which may be referred to the British Government, the Governor-General will give the aid of his advise for the furtherance of the interests of the Lahore Government. But she had been disillusioned to find that in the course of their nine months' stay in the country the British had won over, by liberal grants and promises of *Jagirs*, high offices, titles and other favours, most of the leading chiefs of the State and had so lubricated them in their own favour as to make them turn their back upon the interests of the Lahore State and to petition to the British Government to tighten the British hold upon the Punjab. Maharani Jind Kaur stoutly opposed the treaty of Bharowal (December 16, 1846) which placed the administration of the Punjab entirely into the hands of the British Resident with, full authority to direct and control all matters in every department of the State.⁹⁹

The treaty of Bharowal, December 16, 1846, made the British Resident at Lahore an absolute and sole dictator in the Punjab. The Governor General, Sir Henry Hardinge, was very particular about reducing Maharani Jind Kaur to a non entity. He had, therefore, written to Currie on December 7, 1846, that, in any agreement made for continuing the occupation of Lahore, her deprivation of power is an indispensable

⁹⁹ S.R. Bakshi, *History of the Punjab*, New Delhi, 1991, p.286

condition.¹⁰⁰ And it was with this object in view that he had further suggested in the same letter, If the Sardars and influential chiefs, and especially the Attarreewala family, urge the British Government to be guardian of the Maharaja during his minority the Maharani's power will cease silently and quietly, the admission being recorded that the British Government, as guardian of the boy and administering the affairs of the State, is to *exercise all the functions and possess all the powers* of the Regent on behalf of the Prince.

But the British political entity at Lahore were not fully satisfied. "The Ranees", according to Herbert Edwardes, "... Had more wit and daring than any man of her nation." And according to the *History of the Punjab*, 1846, Vol. II, she was possessed of a wonderful ability "to act with energy and spirit" and as well known as, being skilful in the use of her pen, whereby, it is supposed, she was able to arrange and combine means of Hira Singh's overthrow.¹⁰¹

As long as she was in Lahore, the British could not feel secure in their saddle in the Punjab, thought the British Resident. He, therefore, tried to, give the dog a bad name and hand it. She was advertised as implicated in everything anti-British in the country. She was said to be at the bottom of the Prema conspiracy for the murder of Sardar Tej Singh and of the insurrection at Multan. But there was no proof, nor could any evidence be got against her. As such, no legal action could in any case be taken against her.¹⁰²

Serious and diligent attempt has been made in the present chapter to discuss at length the momentous and important events connected with Maharani Jinda's imprisonment, her suffering and the reasons for her removal from Lahore. The events were triggered by the fact that the British political master Lord Dalhousie was terribly afraid of her qualities of head and heart. He was greatly apprehensive that her presence in the Punjab would not allow the British to establish their political sway. Moreover, he knew he could not easily cheat her son out of his kingdom and deprive him of his private estates and properties. It was with such intentions that he had

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p.286

removed her from the country and put her in prison. According to Lord Dalhousie, She was the only person who understood the political position in the Punjab.

The most interesting fact to be regarded is that Maharani Jind Kaur performed most of acts of resistance against the British while in tight security in the fort of Sheikhpura about 40 miles from Lahore. Not only had the Maharani advantage of the service of Bhai Maharaj Singh, Diwan Mul Raj, Sardar Chattar Singh Attariwala, the loyal Majithia chief and the entire army of the *Durbar*. She also had the loyalty of those discharged from service at her disposal. As a good leader and brain behind the country-wide revolt, during the thick of British operations against Diwan Mul Raj, she also tried to get tacit help from the forces of the Bikaner Raj for creating diversion for the British re-enforcement. These things are testimony of her bravery and political acumen.

Maharani Jind Kaur was undoubtedly a bold and valiant lady. This is borne out by her dauntless escape from the Chunar fort. She wrote various letters to her companion which have been thoroughly discussed in this chapter and are important evidence of the situations she passed through. Her demands to increase money for expenditure and British reaction find reflection in some important Foreign Secret Departments letters and reports which have been collected from National Archive of India.

After she escaped from Chunar, her appearance in Nepal and her stay in Nepal where she lived for some time form the culminating part of this chapter which have been brought out with the help of references of British reports.

CHAPTER - VI

CONCLUSION

By way of conclusion it can be said that Maharani Jind Kaur was the most controversial yet remarkable woman character of Sikh history. She was the youngest wife of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. As Maharani Jind Kaur belonged to a very ordinary family she could not be educated by her parents. However, she could read and write *Gurmukhi*. This becomes clear from the letters written by her in *Gurmukhi* manuscripts that are preserved in the old India Library, and Sikh Research Library and Khalsa College, Amritsar. These letters have been extensively quoted and cited in the present thesis and have been used for corroboration of historical facts. The importance of these letters also lies in the fact that they exhibit the clarity of Jind Kaur's mind as well as her discerning nature. As far as her personal attributes are concerned, another very distinct feature of her personality was her loud and resonant voice which possessed a flavour of royal quality in it. It can be said with great certainty that Maharani Jind Kaur was undoubtedly the most indomitable and determined person on the political landscape of Punjab in the post Ranjit Singh period.

Maharani Jind Kaur was popularly known as 'Jindan'. She was born in 1817 and she married Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1835. She was the mother of the last sovereign of the Punjab, Maharaja Duleep Singh who was born on 6th September 1838. After the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh the political condition of the Lahore *Durbar* became complicated. The successors to the throne and their supporters converted the entire kingdom into a cesspool of their greedy political ambitions. At that time Maharani Jind Kaur maintained a discreet policy of keeping a watchful eye on all the happenings from within the four walls of the Lahore palace as well as to the British policies against the Lahore Kingdom.

A survey and analysis of the life of Jind Kaur leads to the affirmation that she was the pivotal political personage in the Punjab after the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh as all the momentous events in the post-Ranjit Singh

history emanate from her assiduous struggle against the expansionist policies of the British.

Although, there is diversity of opinion of Jind Kaur's personal character and both Indian and British historians have written about her with their own biases and prejudices, yet there have been Western writers like J.D.Cunningham who was removed from the service of the East India Company because of his bold and brave views and who was an eye witness to the Sikh battles says in his, 'History of the Sikhs'; Cunningham in one of his important observations commented that the Maharani may have attempted little concealment for her debaucheries but she never violated decency in public and the essential forms and protocols of the court were preserved to the last, especially when strangers were present.

In her early life, Maharani Jind Kaur lived in comparative obscurity as the junior wife of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. She was a largely unknown figure till 1841, when the official historians began taking note of her. After the death of her husband Maharaja Ranjit Singh Maharani Jind Kaur and her son lived in political wilderness under the care of Raja Dhian at Jammu. It can be said that the main reason from this temporary withdrawal was that need to protect herself and her son from the vicious politics of the Lahore *Durbar*. Raja Dhian Singh was a loyal and trusted figure and could be relied on for safety of the Maharaja's wife and his son Duleep Singh. After one year of political exile Maharani Jind Kaur come back from Jammu and imperceptibly entered the Lahore *Durbar*. For some time she attended the *Durbar* and observed the situation or events which took place in Lahore *Durbar* of that period. It was a very critical period of her life, because it was the time when Lahore *Durbar* was converted into butcher's room. In the course of a few months various soldiers and rulers were either hanged or murdered. However, the Maharani saved herself and her son with the help of her intelligence and some loyal friends.

The magnitude of the eliminations was such that during the seven years between the death of great Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1839 and the start of the first Anglo Sikh war in 1846, three Maharaja's Kharak Singh, Nanihal Singh and Sher Singh, One Maharani Chand Kaur, four prime

ministers, Jawala Singh, Raja Dhian Singh, Raja Hira Singh and Jwahar Singh, and twenty nine other leading figures of the state were assassinated. Of the thirty seven people mentioned above, five were killed on the orders of Raja Dhian Singh and twelve on those of a son Raja Hira Singh. As a result of these developments, virtually the entire leadership of the state built by the great Ranjit Singh ceased to exist.

Because of the atmosphere of terror, the *Durbar* was by now mortally afraid of the army. The regent Maharani Jind Kaur feared for her life and that of her son. Officers lacked total control on their troops. In one of the important political developments, Lal Singh was appointed prime minister. His intimacy with the regent was the most important reason for his appointment.

The formal succession of her son to the throne of her husband helped to elevate her position to a considerable extent. In the consequence of the succession the mother of the minor sovereign began to be addressed as the *Mai* or mother, and as the surviving widow of the great Maharaja.

The most important dimension of the role and contribution of Maharani Jind Kaur in the history of post Ranjit Singh period is that she can be upheld as one of the most astonishing women in the history of Punjab. She sacrificed her comforts, her family and even her life in her attempt to save the Lahore Kingdom from the covetous acquisitive designs of the British and continued to resist British imperial expansion till the last. In her personal character, she was a spirited and ambitious lady. She had a strong sense of dignity. She refused to be intimidated by people like Henry Lawrence who worked for her elimination and expulsion and treated her as a threat. Her frequent intrigues led to great difficulties for her and her audacious strategies against the British created many enemies which may have hastened the doom of the Sikh empire. However, this is only one side of her character. It has also to be conceded that beautiful and amorous Maharani Jind Kaur was a talented woman like Noor Jahan who preferred active involvement in politics.

She was of a discerning disposition and could easily construe the plans of the British. Her intelligence was obvious in her decision to allow the

British troops to stay at Lahore *Durbar*. However, as soon as she understood the nefarious plans of the British she at once refused to allow the British troops to stay at Lahore *Durbar*. She was a very far-sighted lady. She was able to win over the Army and Chiefs of Lahore *Durbar* on the basis of her leadership qualities. It was because of her immense popularity that the British were jealous of her. As she was opposed to the British from the very start, they began to level false and fabricated allegations on her character. It can be said that she was a very bold lady who took very effective steps to deal with the British.

As far as her appearance was concerned Maharani Jind Kaur was a charming woman. Reports reveal that her deportment was attractive and her features were very pleasant. She impressed everyone with her congenial bearing and attractive personality. According to Major Broadfoot she dressed herself in gorgeous clothes and left a pleasing impression on everyone she met. She was intelligent and devout and her patriotism and resourcefulness impressed all who came in contact with her. Maharani Jind Kaur ruled over Punjab for nearly five years from 1843 to 1848. In that period she was made elaborate efforts that Duleep Singh should be free from the clutches of the British power and influence. As a regent of the state of Lahore Maharani Jind Kaur had very difficult time because not only was the power of the army very apparent but finances of the state were in jeopardy. The British officers were rapidly becoming convinced that it would not be long before a conquest of the Punjab might become necessary. Maharani Jind Kaur was, no doubt, a clever and ambitious woman, but her power to influence *Durbar* politics particularly after the Bhyrowal incident seems to be highly exaggerated. In a significant development, in November 1846, Hardinge issued instructions that she must be deprived of all power.

Maharani Jind Kaur emerged as one of the most striking personality of the Punjab. She tackled the highly challenging political situation in the *Durbar* with very shrewdness. She came out of purdah, held *Durbar* with the chiefs of the army, daily took counsel with the nobility, and conducted the state with uncommon commonsense. With the great difficulties and political understanding she could save the grand Lahore *Durbar* from the cruel and

shrewd nobility. Although a network of intrigues against her was being hatched in the Lahore *Durbar* under the influence of *Dogras*, yet she was bold enough to take strong steps against them and curb their power. She wanted to keep the Khalsa Army under her control that was why she increased the pay of the army on one or two occasions. It was known to her that none in the *Durbar* was strong enough to oppose the Khalsa Army. She was fierce a ruler and leader. In the words of Henry Lawrence, (first European resident at Lahore) "Maharani was, the only effective enemy of the British policy in the whole of India." Maharani Jind Kaur was a woman of determined courage known for her intelligence and intrepid spirit. Soon after her arrival on the political scene, she became a symbol of national dignity. She raised her voice against the British when her husband Maharaja Ranjit Singh died in 1839 and the British tried to wrest the Sikh kingdom from his heir - her infant son, Duleep Singh. Based on the research carried out on the subject of Maharani Jind Kaur's role in the history of Punjab it can be said that in her role as regent Maharani Jind Kaur defended the Khalsa army against two disastrous wars commenced by the British that ultimately led to the annexation of the Punjab. No doubt Maharani Jind Kaur may have made strategic errors due to her military inexperience and young age, but she was a fierce regent and fought for the defence and glory of the Khalsa Raj.

When the Lahore army suffered defeat after defeat, her whole attention got diverted to the question of preventing annexation of the Kingdom. At this hour of crisis, the Maharani had to send for Raja Gulab Singh from Jammu to open negotiations with the Governor-General. Hardinge praises Maharani Jind Kaur for her handling of the situation and in one of his comments observed that the youthful regent had shown considerable energy and spirit. Although she was uneducated and uninitiated in the ways of public life, Maharani Jind Kaur conducted the business of the government with the courage and determination seldom shown by any woman in Sikh history. She commanded the obedience of the regimental committees and the sardars, both of whom were represented in the Supreme Council of the Khalsa. In an important observation Hardinge has conceded that she was an able political strategist and leader. His

admiration however, comes with the condition that she on her part was governed by the Army.

Maharani Jind Kaur possessed full understanding and awareness of the strategies adopted by the British. Besides, she was a very far-sighted lady. She knew that one day the British would succeed in the annexation of her kingdom. This was the main reason that Maharani Jind Kaur strongly opposed the treaty of Bhairawal. She refused to sign the application. Only a bold and courageous lady like Maharani Jind Kaur can be capable of such stiff resistance. It was evident that there was an attempt was made to curtail her powers and mitigate her sway. Through the treaty of Bhaironwal there was an effort to wean her away from Lahore politics with certain pension. Her protests and petitions had a profound effect on the Khalsa Army and common people of the Sikh Kingdom. Her protests instilled the spirit of patriotism in the minds of soldiers and nobles. Such motivations provided by her led to the struggle for independence. British Government in the most heartless and uncompassionate manner separated her from her son and imprisoned her in the fort of Sheikhpura and later on she was transferred to Banaras and then in fort of Chunar. However, she did not give up courage and heart. Thus, it can be said till period the relations between Maharani and the British Government remained strained.

Maharani Jind Kaur's escape from high security prison of Chunar fort is a story by women, perhaps equaled only by the Rani of Jhansi. The historical account of Maharani Jind Kaur presented here brings out her image of being the only one Sikh patriots who resisted the might of British imperialists till her health failed her due to the privations she had to suffer.

According to Henry, T. Prinsep, (*History of the Punjab*, 1846, Vol. II.), She was a person of some accomplishments ... being skilful in the use of her pen and possessed a wonderful ability "to act with energy and spirit". Lord Dalhousie was terribly afraid of her qualities of head and heart. With her presence in the Punjab, he knew he could not easily cheat her son out of his kingdom and rob him of his private estates and properties. It was mainly owing to this fear that he had removed her from the country and put her in prison.

It can be said that even though the Maharani, had been outwitted by British statesmanship and cut down to size she still remained a sore point for them. Sir Fedreick Currie in his personal correspondence with the Governor-General recommended that she be removed from Lahore. However the Governor-General turned down the proposal with the comment that punishment cannot precede offence.

The study contains a comprehensive discussion on the complicated issue of Maharani Jind Kaur's different names. Reports and historical sources are alluded to in order to form an understanding of the issue related to her real name. The scrutiny of such material was considered essential before any discussion on the early life of Maharani Jind Kaur ensued. The findings clearly bring out the fact that the actual name of this great historical figure was Maharani Jind Kaur. There is no doubt that she was famously known by her name Maharani Jind Kaur. However, it has to be conceded that many official records of government and contemporary historians have mentioned her name in their reports, letters and books in different ways. Major Macgregor, Governor General Agent at Banaras, in his letters, Foreign Department Political Consultations 15 September 1849 A.D. No. 104 wrote her name as Maharanee Chunda Koouran and Jhunda Koouran. Sir Henry Elliot K.C.V, Secretary to Government of India, in his letters, Foreign Department Political Consultations 15 September 1849 A.D. No. 105 wrote her name Maharanee Chunda Kouran. Lieutenant Colonel Sir H.M Lawrence, President of the Board of Administration, in his letters, Foreign Department Political Consultations 14 April 1849 A.D. No. 97 wrote her name Maharanee Jhunda. Major Henry Court, Lieutenant Colonel of 15 Bengal Cavellry at Mussorie, in his book, *History of the Sikhs*, wrote her name Queen Jinda Kor. In Lahore political Dairies, Vol. III, Records of the Punjab Government, wrote her name Maharani Jinda or Jhanda Kaur

It is important to clarify that her first name was Chanda (Moon). This name was given to her by her parents. As is well known the connotation of the word Chanda in Punjabi is possessor of ethereal beauty. Her captivating eyes and ever-ready with enchanted Maharaja Ranjit Singh that in her later life she became his Jind (life and strength) in the literal sense. Some

contemporary and modern historians like, Diwan Ajodiya Parshad, Pandit Devi Parshad, Syad Hadi Hussain, Maulvi Rajjab Ali Kahn, Alexander Gardner, Ganda Singh, Syad Muhammad Latif, Kahan Singh Nabha, Hari Ram Gupta, Bikrama Jit Hasrat, wrote her name as Maharani Jind Kaur, in their works.

The long standing controversy about the marriage of Maharani Jind Kaur was among one of the important research problems identified as central to forming an understanding of this important figure. Historians and writers have raised doubts about the fact whether Maharani Jind Kaur was married with Maharaja Ranjit Singh or not. Henry T Prinsep, G.C.Smyth, Alexander Gardner, Pandit Devi Parshad and J.H. Gordon among others have raised this issue in their works. Some clinching pieces of evidence in the form of eye witness accounts help to make it clear that she was married with Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Historical evidence suggests that Maharani Jind Kaur could be inducted into the royal Zanan (harem) only after the nuptial ceremonies. However, British writer Morgan's statement that she was never formally or informally married to Maharaja Ranjit Singh stands in opposition to such a view. A few lines from the Newspaper, *Illustrated weekly*, dated October 5, 1930, from the pen of Bhagat Lakshman Singh, can be cited here to place things in the right perspective. It is in clear opposition to Morgan's statement that Ganda Singh gives the reference of Faqir Qamr-ud-Din, who was at that time 18 years old, and writes that one Rai Bahadur K.B. Thapar, a distinguished citizen of Lahore, had informed him that when he asked Khan Bahadur Faqir Qamr-ud-Din, son of Faqir Nur-ud-Din, who was in charge of Maharani Jindan's Palace, about the veracity of the report that Maharaja Duleep Singh was not a legitimate son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and that Maharani Jind Kaur was not a wedded wife of the Maharaja, he cried. "*Astaghffar-Allah*, such a lie! Can calumny go further? I attended the Maharaja's marriage myself. Maharani Jind Kaur was the daughter of a highly respectable Zamindar and a duly wedded wife. My father was present at the time of Prince Duleep Singh's birth and I was my father's attendant at the time. Evidently some evil gossip must have told the base lie to the *Sahib*." Another issue linked with the marriage of Maharani Jind Kaur to

Maharaja Ranjit Singh is the controversy about their son Duleep Singh. There is lack of consensus about the parentage of Duleep Singh as some historians like Lepel Griffin have argued that he was not the legitimate son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The present research presents the eyewitness accounts like those of Baron Erich Von Schonberg, Lady Login, Sohan Lal Suri and Bhakat Lakhshman Singh about the birth of Maharaja Duleep Singh and establishes the fact that he was the real son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. According to Baron Erich Von Schonberg, he (Scheer Singh) was succeeded by Dalip Singh, Ranjeet Singh's youngest son.

The present research has placed special emphasis on Maharani Jind Kaur's role in the post Ranjit Singh period. It is clearly brought out that she maintained a discreet observation on the rapidly transforming situation of Lahore *Durbar*. As far as her strategic position was concerned, the present research clearly shows that during these troubled times, her main purpose were firstly, to save the life of Duleep Singh from the army of Lahore *Durbar*. The army was in control of the affairs of the state and nobody in the state was safe. Secondly, she had a sharp and pragmatic mind. She bided her time reading and seeing the dishonest designs of the army of the Lahore *Durbar*. For some time she was passive as she wanted to use this time in assessing the political state of the Lahore *Durbar*. Thirdly she wanted to identify her enemies and friends. She had a consciousness that some chiefs were against her and some of them supported her but she need careful observation and time to recognize the people she could trust. Fourthly, she need time to understand the dynamics of the relations between the Lahore *Durbar* and the British.

Ever fearful of the army's takeover of the state, the *Durbar* had the regent, Maharani Jind Kaur, devise means to minimize its authority. The soldiers were constantly demanding a rise in pay, the treasury was empty and the panchyats were becoming more and more belligerent. In her pleading through her attorney Mr. Newmarch, Maharani made out a full case explaining the various types of inflictions caused by the British authorities, how her annual allowance fixed under the treaty of Bhairawal was reduced from Rs.1.5 lacs to Rs. 24,000 and later to a paltry amount of only Rs.

10,000 that by an order dated 14 *Sawan* B.E. Orders were also issued by the Resident for the confiscation of Rs. 65,000 lying with a city banker named Ganga Shah.

On the basis of above description it is clear that the British Government wanted to weaken on the economic basis to Maharani Jind Kaur. It was for this reason that the Governor-General advised the authorities in London as the Maharani had been declared an absconder, the imperial government should confiscate the entire jewellery and other personal effects of Maharani Jind Kaur. The Court of Directors in London, vide their Secret despatch of 25 June 1849, approved the entire proceedings of the Governor- General against the Maharani.

Maharani Jind Kaur's effort against the British can also be judged from the letter which is a part of the Foreign Department Secret Consultation (Files no 9-10) and which she wrote to Raja Lal Singh. The Maharani urged the ex-Raja Lal Singh of the Khalsa *Durbar* to write to the Barukzai chiefs Sultan Muhammad Khan, Peer Muhammad Khan and Amir Dost Muhammad Khan urging them to rise against the English.

The present study is also devoted to a historical investigation of the endeavours made by Maharani Jind Kaur to save her son Duleep Singh from the British. The study highlights the fact that she entered the domain of statecraft and politics with the explicit purpose of protecting the rights of her minor son, Duleep Singh. As a regent she safeguarded the rights and interests of Duleep Singh. Maharani Jind Kaur had an understanding of the designs of the British. She could make out that the British would snatch their kingdom and would annex it with British territory. After Duleep Singh was taken to England and during her own stay in England she narrated to Duleep Singh all the excesses perpetrated by the British. She even prompted Duleep Singh to follow the religion of his ancestors. The influence of Maharani acted as the main inducement for Duleep Singh to reconvert into Sikh faith. She told her son the whole tragic story of her life and annexation of the beloved kingdom of his father Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Her love for her roots, country and religion can be judged from the fact that all through her stay with her son she reminded him of his duty to his country, his region,

Punjabi culture and the soil of his ancestors. The later life of Duleep Singh was sufficient to prove his commitment to the soil of Punjab, the land/soil of his forefather.

The study focuses on and makes a serious attempt to clear the ambiguity surrounding the controversy about Maharani Jind Kaur's relation with Lal Singh. There is very little consensus in historical opinion about the relations of Lal Singh and Maharani Jind Kaur. The subject is full of controversies. Lal Singh, who had been raised by Raja Hira Singh to the status of courtier, was a great favorite of Maharani Jind Kaur. G.C. Smyth wrote, "During the times of Kharak Singh and Nau Nihal Singh an intimacy grew up between the Maharani Chanda and Lal Singh and during the short reign of Sher Singh it had ripened into the closest connection. This intrigue was favored and forwarded by Mangla, a slave girl and personal attendant of Maharani Jind Kaur with all her power Lal Singh then having charge of one of the *Toshakhana*s or treasuries." On closer examination it becomes clear all these versions of G.C. Smyth are mere allegations on the character of Maharani Jind Kaur. Offering a different opinion, B.J. Hasrat writes that it is quite evident that through the use of such allusions and aspersion some historians like Smyth had tried to malign the reputation of the Maharani. The general opinion is that G.C. Smyth's versions were based on rumors and scandals. No doubt that Lal Singh was a great favorite of Maharani but there was no illicit relation between the two. She was a great Maharani of the Lion monarch of Punjab Maharaja Ranjit Singh. She (Jind Kaur) was bold and of high character as well as strong willed woman. If Lal Singh was the favorite of Maharani Jind Kaur and also her lover then Lal Singh would have supported her in First Anglo-Sikh war. But Lal Singh had not extended any support to the Maharani or Khalsa army. It would be wrong to say that Maharani appointed Lal Singh as prime minister because of her love for him. He was a friend of her brother Jawahir Singh and a high official in the all powerful army. She, therefore, naturally enough, after the death of her brother, looked to him for assistance and consulted him in most state matters as the queen mother of the country. However, it can be said with certainly that his appointment was not the Maharani's gift, but was decided

by through draw of lots. Henry T Princep, writes in his famous book, *History of the Punjab, Vol.II*, p.326 that there were three candidates, Gulab Singh, Tej Singh, and Lal Singh. Five slips of paper were accordingly prepared, two of them blank and the other bearing the names of the candidates. The lot was drawn by the young Maharaja Duleep Singh. It fell upon Lal Singh who became prime minister. Apparently it was the jealousy of the disappointed candidates and their supporters that were mainly responsible for the allegation made against the Maharani.

With the help of the contemporary sources the study throws light on Maharani Jind Kaur's role in the first and second Anglo Sikh Wars. The period from 1846 to 49 was a tumultuous time. Maharani Jind Kaur and Minister Lal Singh decided to divert the attention of the fierce soldiery to the enemy at the gate. They made a conscious effort to fan the anti-British sentiment in the mind of the magnificent Sikh soldiery. Diwan Dina Nath and Maharani Jind Kaur led the group of the few chiefs who loved the freedom of their country and could read the dangerous implications of the deep designs of their strange partners in government. As a result of this Maharani Jind Kaur felt encouraged and sent secret agents to meet the other disaffected chiefs and soldiers throughout Punjab. Her secret emissaries also moved among the sepoys of the British armed regiments posted at Lahore and other places for persuading them for help during the impending uprising. As a sequel to these events, Diwan Mul Raj suddenly resigned from Governorship and made a country-wide appeal to the chiefs and the people to rise against the British oppression. Raja Sher Singh Attariwala and his father Chattar Singh responded warmly and joined the campaign of Bhai Maharaj Singh who was already leading an insurrection against the British. Due to Maharani's efforts thousands of soldiers of the *Sarkar-i-Khalsa* declared their resolve to fight against the British to protect the honour of the Khalsa and Maharani Jind Kaur. The most interesting fact to be noted in this regard is that Maharani Jind Kaur had made all the preparations while in tight security in the fort of Sheikupura about 40 miles from Lahore. As a good leader and brain behind the country-wide revolt, during the thick of British operation against Diwan Mul Raj, she also tried to get tacit help from the

forces of the Bikaner Raj for creating diversion for the British reinforcements.

The study makes an effort to interrogate the extent to which she was responsible for the wars. The study also concentrates on the question of her instigating the Sikhs for the war and whether the war had any relation with her desire for revenge for her brother Jawahar Singh's death.

During the first Anglo Sikh war she worked with great patience. Many allegations were leveled against the Maharani mainly regarding her responsibility for the first Anglo-Sikh War. J.H. Gordon, Major Hugh Pearse and J.D. Cunningham wrote in their work that Maharani Jind Kaur was responsible for first Anglo Sikh War. They contended that the judicial murder of her brother became the direct cause for bringing about war with the British. On the other hand Major G. Carmichael Smyth, Sir George Campbell (*Memoirs of my Indian Career*, p.78) and W.W. Humbley (*Journal of a Cavalry officer*, p.37) contended in their work that Maharani Jind Kaur was not responsible for first Anglo Sikh War.

As far as the responsibility for provoking the war is concerned the British political agent on the Sikh frontier, Major G. Carmichael Smyth wrote in 1847, regarding the Punjab War, I am neither of opinion that the Sikhs made an unprovoked attack, nor that we acted towards them with great forbearance. If the Sikhs were to be considered entirely an independent state, in no way answerable to us, we should not have provoked them. And I only ask, had we not departed from the rules of friendship first ... then the simple question is who first departed from the rules of friendship. I am decidedly of opinion that we did (*Reigning Family of Lahore*, pp. xxxi-xxxiii). This view is highly significant and not only absolves the Maharani of responsibility but also offered a fresh and balanced perspective. Maharani Jind Kaur could never even imagine that her country should go into the hand of foreigners, the British in particular. She never accepted the defeat of the Lahore *Durbar* at the hands of British. She ordered the Khalsa army to save their precious kingdom and do whatever they thought proper as she was totally helpless. In such a critical position she took this decisive and bold step which not many leaders are capable of.

In the period after the first Anglo Sikh war the estrangement between Maharani Jind Kaur and the British got aggravated. Perhaps it was outcome of the circumstances in which she had been placed. She never liked the progressive loss of independence of Lahore *Durbar* and perpetual domination of the British. The British followed the policy of divide and rule. They tried to isolate Maharani Jind Kaur and that was one of the major causes of the ultimate estrangement between the two. The various stages from Treaty of Lahore to Treaty of Bhairowal clearly indicate the consistent deterioration of their relations.

Thus Maharani Jind Kaur's removal from the Punjab became one of the most important factors to the second Anglo-Sikh War. When the second Anglo-Sikh War was in progress the Maharani was at Banaras. She helped the rebels financially to fight against the British. However, to her misfortune her plan became known to the Governor-General's Agent. He ordered to confine her in the fort of Chunar.

The present work contains material which forms a part of the original documents particularly the letters of the Maharani, which bring forth her role as the one who stood against the British might till her last breath. It was she who brought about the realization that the British did not possess enough European forces in India to stand on their own. Their main strength was the native Sepoy regiments recruited from among the Indians. Therefore, she struck the idea of inciting the Sepoys of the British regiments to revolt against their oppressive white master. In this way, she germinated the idea of mutiny in the minds of *Hindustani* Sepoys.

The study has also attempted to investigate and reveal the methods Maharani Jind Kaur used to tackle the *Durbar* politics and the Khalsa army. There were three parties at Lahore *Durbar*; the *Dogras*, the Sikh nobility and the Khalsa Army. She was able to win over the two parties- the Sikh nobility and the Khalsa Army. She was a very ambitious lady. She could not accept the real power getting vested in the *Dogras*. It was a challenge for her to save the grand Lahore *Durbar* from the seasoned and clever nobility. She wanted to keep the Khalsa Army under her control as a result of which she increased the salary of the army on a couple of occasions. The monthly pay

of the soldiers rose from Rs.9.9 only to Rs.14 per month in 1843-44. According to Ajodhuia Parshad, in *Waqai-Jang-i-Sikhan*, One day the Maharani in the presence of the courtiers and officers declared to the men of every brigade and *dera* that she had reconciled her mind to the murder of her brother, Sardar Jawahar Singh. She wished them to obey her as sons; she harboured no ill-will towards them. Jawahar Singh had been, indeed, foolish and incompetent in the discharge of State duties. It was known to her that none in the *Durbar* was strong enough to oppose the Khalsa Army.

A critical review on Maharani Jind Kaur is necessary here to assess her responsibility in losing the Sikh kingdom or to see whether she was actually, “more sinned against than sinning”. Maharani Jind Kaur’s, passions overmastered her reason, coloured her vision, and made her embark on a course of action that was wanton, wayward, bereft of all political sagacity and statesmanship. Headstrong, tact, caution and an ability to maneuver political events and situations to her advantage stood against her on a few occasions. It was not in her character to win over men and use them to strengthen her position. In the delicate situation prevailing in the Punjab in those days, she behaved more like any autocrat ruler than like a shrewd and far-seeing statesman. It cannot be emphasized that had she been endowed with all the requisite qualities of a wise and mature ruler, she would have controlled and mastered the situation around her. Robert Hutchison wrote in his book, *The Raja of Harsil*, Rani Jindan and Baron Von Orenberg agreed on the outline for a Russo-Sikh friendship treaty. Further he writes, “Harding Shib has heard that, Maharani Jind Kaur have invited a Russian envoy to Lahore to sign a treaty inimical to British interest to the region.” Her army generals too were intolerant and exhibited a complete lack of political understanding of the situation prevailing vis-à-vis the advancing frontiers of the British Empire. In spite of some deficiencies, she was a unique personality. In her political career she exerted her influence and used her political power to the best of her ability in the eventful course of her life. The innumerable development that her actions gave birth to cannot even be counted.

The circumstances of her life did not favour her. Misfortune also

played a part in the tragedy of her life. Of all her faults the most grievous one was that it was not in her character to play up the political cards with tact, caution and wisdom. The result was that the British took advantage of her recklessness side and made things difficult for her.

The present study throws light on Maharani Jind Kaur's sacrifice for her country. The thesis gives ample justification for the contention that Maharani Jind Kaur can be upheld as one of the most astonishing women in the history of Punjab who sacrificed the most precious things of her life in her attempt to save the Lahore Kingdom from the British and continued to fight till her last breath. As has been clearly brought out in the thesis in the last phase of her life she was exiled from Punjab on May 23, 1848 and was detained as a prisoner at Banaras till April 1849, from where she was transferred to the fort of Chunar on the suspicion of hatching a plot to escape from Banaras. Immediately after arrival at Chunar, she escaped and proceeded towards Nepal. Her flight came to light on April 19 and she was chased by the British soldiers. However, she was safely able to cross the Indian borders into Nepal and reached its capital on April 27, 1849. The British authorities confiscated all her belongings and property at Banars and Chunar. The Governor General wrote to the Maharaja of Nepal asking him to prevent her intriguing against the British Government. However, it seems evident that the Nepal authority never imposed any restrictions on the Maharani, and she carried on the correspondence with ex-Sardars of the Lahore *Durbar*, most of whom were in jail in the Allahabad fort sometimes asking about their welfare, sometimes instigating them against the British. The Nepal authorities were pressed hard to prevent the Maharani from such intrigues. As a corollary of this the relation between Maharani Jind Kaur and Maharaja of Nepal became strained. The Maharani planned to go to some other place like Burma in search of help. However, the British government closed every avenue of escape to her.

Before the Maharani could leave Nepal, her correspondence with Maharaja Gulab Singh was also discovered by the British. The Governor-General thereupon instructed his resident in Nepal to lodge a strong protest with the *Durbar* and also to inform the Maharani that if she tried to enter the

British territories she would be seized and imprisoned and also subjected to severe punishment.

Evidence suggests that she was considering the possibility of leading the proposed rebellion at Peshawar. During the Mutiny of 1857 she tried her luck again. She sent messages to prominent Sikhs in the Punjab to rise against the British. However, her efforts proved to be futile. She remained in agony and unhappiness. She died in London 1863 prematurely old, well-nigh blind broken and subdued in spirit.

The findings of the thesis collectively lead to the overall understanding that Maharani Jind Kaur made efforts to save the Punjab from the British domination. For this purpose she wrote various letters to different notable person and British officers like Sher Singh Attariwala, Shiv Dayal, Umrao Singh, Mian Jawahar Singh, Mul Raj, Randhir Singh and John Lawrence. For example, she wrote one letter to Sher Singh Attariwala the import of which was that it had become imperative to root out the stem of British rule and to punish the *Feringees*. She also wrote to other rebel Sardars, motivating them to continue their struggle for the liberation of Punjab from the clutches of the British. Such was her tenacious commitment that in order to help the rebels she even sold her ornaments and other precious jewels. It was her prime objective that the British should be expelled from the kingdom of the Sikhs. Even from Nepal she continued to send letters to many native nobles and also to Maharaja Gulab Singh asking them for help. All her letters were seized, and she was proclaimed an offender. It is quite apparent from the given facts that her mind was full of hatred for the British. She was the first lady who could understand the British policies. In Nepal her health broke down and she became almost blind. Her inspiration led to the struggle for independence.

Maharani Jind Kaur's entire life was full of struggle and tragedy. At Nepal she was not at ease because Nepal authorities ill-treated. However, all these difficulties could not liquidate the spirit of patriotism and her intense desire to meet her son before her death. The Governor-General wrote to the Secretary of State in London, that having watched the defiant Maharani's conduct during the last few years, he was firmly of the opinion that she was

the only person of manly understanding in the Punjab. From Nepal she wrote to many native nobles and also to Maharaja Gulab Singh, for help. But before anything could be done her letters were seized, and she was proclaimed an offender. Her mind was full of hatred for the British. She was the first lady who could understand the British policies. In Nepal her health was shattered and she became almost blind. Moreover she was tired of living in isolation at Nepal. On the other hand, Duleep Singh was also very anxious to meet his mother. At last Lord Canning allowed her to meet her son when Duleep Singh had come to India and later even she was permitted to go to England.

During the final phase of her life in England she could only live for two years. At first she was living with Duleep Singh. During her stay she explained to him each and everything that British had done to them. Partly she was responsible for the change she could bring in his (Duleep Singh) mind to follow the religion of his ancestors. It was the impact of Maharani that Duleep Singh was reconverted into Sikh faith. She told her son the whole tragic story of her life and annexation of the beloved kingdom of his father i.e. Punjab. It was due to her that Duleep Singh's attitude towards the British had entirely changed while his mother was staying with him. British authorities were already afraid of her and they declared her a most dangerous lady.

This was followed by narration of the harrowing tale of humiliations and privations that Maharani Jind Kaur was made to suffer at the hands of British officials. It was indeed an agonizing experience for both the mother and son to recollect the depressing events. But Maharani Jind Kaur's escape from the British clutches and her dauntless efforts to organize an uprising against the British can be said to have had a lasting effect on Duleep Singh that inspired him crusade against the British. Maharani Jind Kaur's oft-repeated advice to her son was not to trust the *malechhas* (the British). Such was her hatred towards the *Firangzees* that she bade her son not to cremate her body after her death on the British soil or to immerse her ashes in the waters British seas or rivers. She wanted her remains to be taken to Punjab and buried in the *Samadhi* of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

As part of her tragic fate in England she was again separated from her son for whom she had struggled up to the last. The re-separation from her only son was unbearable to her as her health was already not sound. Moreover the grief of this separation took her away for always. She died a pre-mature death at the age of 44 years at Kensington in London. Her last words to her son were, "Don't let my bones rot in this inhospitable country. Take me back to India". Her desire showed her patriotism and hatred for the British. She did not like that her ashes should remain in the foreign soil. Thus, according to her desire Duleep Singh with great difficulty came to India but he was not allowed to enter Punjab. Left with no option, he scattered the remains of his mother in the waters of river Narbada at Nasik. Till now her *Samadh* at Nasik (Maharashtra) reminds us of her great love for the country in general and Punjab in particular.

In the words of Henry Lawrence, first European resident at Lahore, Maharani was the only effective enemy of the British policy in the whole of India. As has been noted the British made repeated and concerted efforts to wrest the Sikh kingdom from her infant son Duleep Singh. During her role as regent Maharani Jind Kaur defended the Khalsa Army in two wars launched by the British that culminated in the annexation of the Punjab in 1849. It can be said that Maharani Jind Kaur may have made strategic errors due to her military inexperience and young age. However, it has to be conceded that she was a fierce regent and fought valiantly for the Khalsa *Raj*. In a tribute to the Maharani, Colonel Alexander Gardner who was a close associate of Maharaja Ranjit Singh said, Maharani Jind Kaur was the bravest queen who did the kingdom of Punjab proud.

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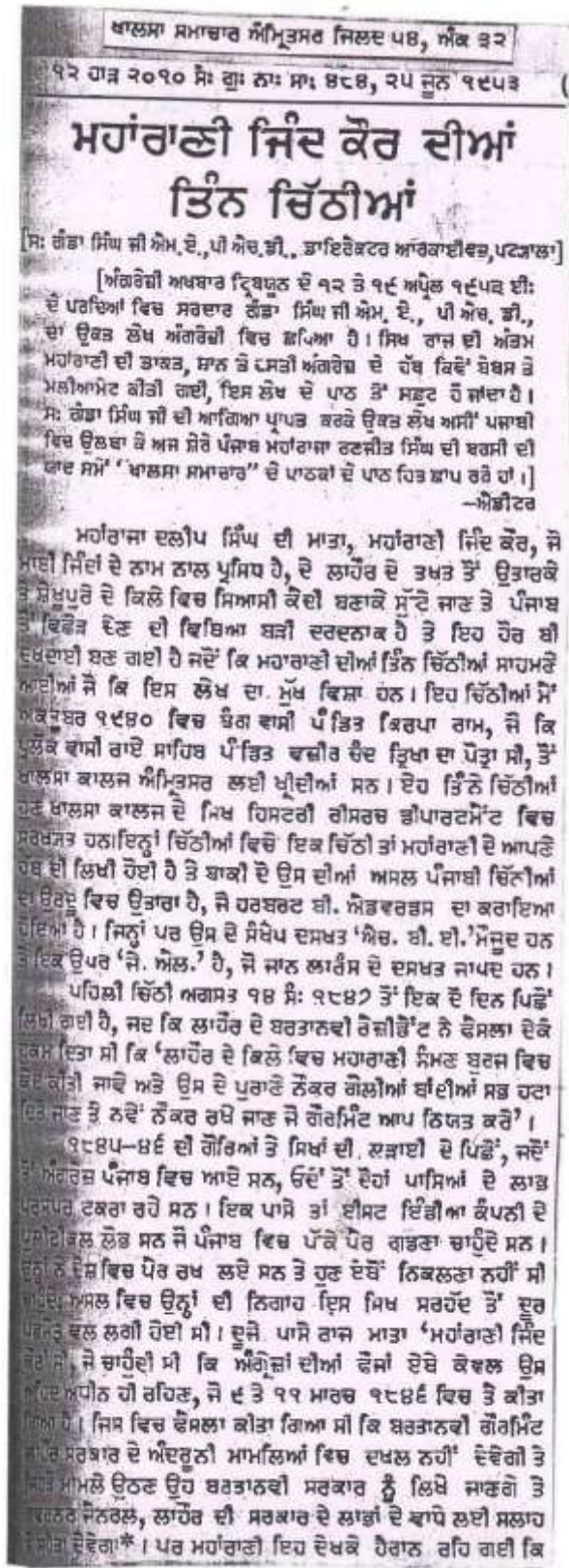
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APPENDIX-I

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ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ਾਂ ਦੇ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਵਿਚ ਨੌਂ ਮਹੀਨੇ ਠਹਿਰਨ ਨਾਲ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੇ ਖੁਲ੍ਹੀਆਂ ਗੁੱਟਾਂ, ਜਗੀਰਾਂ ਤੇ ਖਿਤਾਬਾਂ ਦੇ ਇਕਰਾਰ ਕਰਕੇ ਤੇ ਹੋਰ ਮਿਹਰਬਾਨੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਲਾਲਚ ਨਾਲ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੇ ਬਹੁਤ ਸਾਰੇ ਸਰਕਾਰਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਮਨ ਆਪਣੇ ਵਲ ਪੁਰ ਲਏ ਹਨ, ਤਾਕਿ ਉਹ ਲਾਹੌਰ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਵਲ ਪਿਠ ਕਰਕੇ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ਾਂ ਦੀ ਸਹਾਇਤਾ ਲਈ ਮਦਦਗੀਰ ਹੋ ਖਲੋਣ, ਸਗੋਂ ਬਰਤਾਨਵੀ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਦਰਖਾਸਤ ਕਰਨ ਕਿ ਉਹ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਨੂੰ ਆਪਣੇ ਹੀ ਹੱਥਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਪਕਿਆਈ ਨਾਲ ਕਾਬੂ ਕਰ ਲਵੇ। ਮਹਾਂਰਾਣੀ ਜਿੰਦ ਕੌਰ ਨੇ ਭਰੋਵਾਲ ਦੇ ਅਹਿਦਨਾਮੇ (ਦਸੰਬਰ ੧੬, ੧੮੪੬) ਦੀ ਡਟਕੇ ਵਿਰੋਧਤਾ ਕੀਤੀ, ਕਿਉਂਕਿ ਉਹ ਸਮਝੌਤਾ ਸਮੁੱਚੇ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਨੂੰ ਹੀ ਬਰਤਾਨਵੀ ਰੋਜ਼ੀਫੋਂਟ ਦੇ ਹੱਥ ਵਿਚ ਕਰ ਦਿੰਦਾ ਸੀ ਤੇ ਹਕੂਮਤ ਦੇ ਹਰ ਮਹਿਕਮੇ ਤੇ ਮਾਮਲੇ ਉਤੇ ਰੋਜ਼ੀਫੋਂਟ ਦਾ ਸਿੱਧਾ ਵਸੀਕਾਰ ਤੇ ਪੂਰਨ ਅਧਿਕਾਰ ਹੋ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਸੀ*।

ਮਹਾਂਰਾਣੀ ਜਿੰਦਕੌਰ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਨੂੰ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ਾਂ ਦੇ ਪੰਜੇ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਬਚਾਉਣਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦੀ ਸੀ। ਹੈਨਰੀ ਲਾਰੰਸ ਨੇ ਭਰੋਵਾਲ ਦੇ ਅਹਿਦਨਾਮੇ ਤੋਂ ਇਕ ਦਿਨ ਪਿਛੋਂ, ੧੭ ਦਸੰਬਰ ੧੮੪੬ ਨੂੰ, ਬਰਤਾਨਵੀ ਗੌਰਮਿੰਟ ਨੂੰ ਆਪਣੀ ਚਿੱਠੀ ਵਿਚ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਸੀ:—'ਪਿਛਲੇ ਇਕ ਦੋ ਦਿਨਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਮਹਾਂਰਾਣੀ ਨੇ ਆਪਣੀ ਸਾਰੀ ਤਾਕਤ ਛੋਟੇ ਵਡੇ ਸਰਦਾਰਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਇਕੱਠਿਆਂ ਕਰਕੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਮਨ ਜਿੱਤਣ ਪਰ ਖਰਚ ਕਰ ਦਿਤੀ, ਕਿ ਉਹ ਇਕੱਠੇ ਹੋਕੇ ਆਜ਼ਾਦ ਹਕੂਮਤ ਬਣਾਉਣ ਵਿਚ ਸਾਥ ਦੇਣ, ਜਿਸ ਹਕੂਮਤ ਦੀ ਵਾਗ ਡੋਰ ਮਹਾਂਰਾਣੀ ਦੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਹੱਥ ਵਿਚ ਹੋਵੇ।' ਪਰ ਉਸ ਦੇ ਇਹ ਯਤਨ ਫੇਰੀਕ ਕਰੀ ਨੇ, ਤੇਜਾ ਸਿੰਘ, ਜੋ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ, ਦੀ ਸਹੈਤਾ ਨਾਲ ਮਿਟੀ ਵਿਚ ਮਿਲਾ ਦਿਤੇ। ਤੇਜਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਸਿਖ ਫੌਜਾਂ ਦਾ ਕਮਾਂਡਰ ਸੀ ਤੇ ਇਸ ਨੇ ੧੮੪੫-੪੬ ਦੀਆਂ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ਾਂ ਤੇ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਲੜਾਈਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ਾਂ ਦੇ ਇਸ਼ਾਰੇ ਤੇ ਚਲਕੇ ਲਾਹੌਰ ਦੀਆਂ ਸਿਖ ਫੌਜਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਹਾਰ ਦਿਵਾਈ ਸੀ।

ਭਰੋਵਾਲ ਦੇ ਅਹਿਦਨਾਮੇ ਨੇ, ਜੋ ੧੬ ਦਸੰਬਰ ੧੮੪੬ ਨੂੰ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਗਿਆ, ਬ੍ਰਿਟਿਸ਼ ਰੋਜ਼ੀਫੋਂਟ ਨੂੰ ਲਾਹੌਰ ਤੇ ਪੂਰੇ ਡਿਕਟੇਟਰੀ ਅਧਿਕਾਰ ਦੇ ਦਿਤੇ। ਗਵਰਨਰ ਜੇਨਰਲ ਸਰ ਹੈਨਰੀ ਹਾਰਡਿੰਗ ਮਹਾਂਰਾਣੀ ਜਿੰਦ ਕੌਰ ਦੇ ਵਕਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਖਤਮ ਕਰਨ ਤੇ ਤੁਲਿਆ ਹੋਇਆ ਸੀ। ਇਸੇ ਲਈ ਜਦ ਉਸ ਨੇ ੭ ਦਸੰਬਰ ੧੮੪੬ ਨੂੰ 'ਕਰੀ' ਨੂੰ ਚਿੱਠੀ ਲਿਖੀ ਤਾਂ ਸਾਫ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਕਿ ਲਾਹੌਰ ਦੇ ਕੁਬਜ਼ੇ ਸੰਬੰਧੀ ਕੋਈ ਬੀ ਸਮਝੌਤਾ ਹਵੇ, ਮਹਾਂਰਾਣੀ ਦੇ ਹੱਥੋਂ ਅਧਿਕਾਰ ਬਹ ਲੋਣ ਦੀ ਸ਼ਰਤ ਮੂਲੋਂ ਨਹੀਂ ਹਟਾਈ ਜਾ ਸਕਦੀ; ਤੇ ਇਸੇ ਹੀ ਕਾਰਨ ਉਸ ਨੇ ਉਸੇ ਚਿੱਠੀ ਵਿਚ ਸਲਾਹ ਦਿਤੀ ਕਿ ਜੇ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਤੇ ਬਰਖੁਖ ਚੀਫ, ਖਾਸ ਕਰਕੇ ਅਟਾਰੀ ਵਾਲੇ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਦਲੀਪ ਸਿੰਘ ਦਾ, ਉਸ ਦੀ ਨਾਬਾਲਗੀ ਵਿਚ ਗਾਰਡੀਅਨ ਬਣਨ ਬਾਰੇ ਬਰਤਾਨਵੀ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਪਾਸ ਦਰਖਾਸਤ ਕਰਨ, ਤਾਂ ਰਣੀ ਦੀ ਤਾਕਤ-ਚੁਪ ਚਾਪ ਤੇ ਸੁਖੇਨ ਹੀ ਖਤਮ ਹੋ ਜਾਏਗੀ, ਪਰ ਆਗਿਆ ਦੇਣ ਨਾਲ ਇਹ ਸ਼ਰਤ ਜ਼ਰੂਰ ਲਿਖੀ ਜਾਵੇ ਕਿ ਬਰਤਾਨਵੀ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਸ਼ਾਹਜ਼ਾਦੇ ਦੀ ਗਾਰਡੀਅਨ ਹੋਣ ਦੀ ਹਾਲਤ ਵਿਚ ਰਿਆਸਤ ਦੇ ਸਾਰੇ ਕੰਮ ਕਾਜ ਰੀਜਿਟ ਦੇ ਅਧਿਕਾਰਾਂ ਸਮੇਤ ਆਪ ਸ਼ਾਹਜ਼ਾਦੇ ਵਲੋਂ ਕਰਦੀ ਰਹੇਗੀ।

ਇਹ ਵਿਉਂਤ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੇ ਭਰੋਵਾਲ ਦਾ ਅਹਿਦਨਾਮਾ ਕਰਕੇ ਸਿਰੇ ਚੜ੍ਹਾ ਲਈ ਤੇ ਮਹਾਂਰਾਣੀ ਦੀ ਵਾਰਸਤ ਪੈਨਸ਼ਨ ਡੋੜ ਲਖ ਨਿਯਤ ਕਰ ਦਿਤੀ।

* ਗੋਠਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਕ੍ਰਿਤ-ਭਰੋਵਾਲ ਅਹਿਦਨਾਮੇ ਪਰ ਕੁਝ ਨਵੀਆਂ ਚਾਨਣ ਰਿਸ਼ਮਾਂ (ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ) ਅਤੇ ਪ੍ਰੈਸੀਡਿੰਗ I.H.R.C. ੧੭ (੧੯੪੦) ਪੰਨਾ ੯੬, ਅਹਿਦਨਾਮੇ ਦੀ ਦੂਜੀ ਸ਼ਰਤ।

ਤੇਜਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਮਾਂਦਰ ਖੁਸ਼ਹਾਲ ਸਿੰਘ ਦਾ ਭਤੀਜਾ ਸੀ, ਇਹ ਗੋੜ ਹਕੂਮਤ ਸੀ ਤੇ ਮੇਰਠ ਵਿਲੋਂ ਦੇ ਸਰਧਾਨਾ ਪਰਗਣੇ ਦੇ ਏਕੜੀ ਪਿੰਡ ਦਾ ਵਾਸੀ ਸੀ।

[ਪੰਜਾਬ ਚੀਫਸ (੧੮੬੫) ਪੰਨਾ ੨੯]

ਗੋਠਾ ਸਿੰਘ-ਸਮ ਨਿਊ ਲਾਈਟ ਐਨ ਦੀ ਟ੍ਰੀਟੀ ਆਫ ਭਰੋਵਾਲ, ਅਤੇ ਪ੍ਰੈਸੀਡਿੰਗ I.H.R.C. ੧੭ (੧੯੪੦) ਪੰਨਾ ੯੨-੯੩।

ਉਪਕ੍ਰਿਤ ਪੁਸਤਕ ਦਾ ਪੰਨਾ ੯੩।

ਮਹਾਂਰਾਣੀ ਦੀ ਮਹਾਨ ਬੁਧਿਮਤਾ

ਫਿਰ ਬੀ ਬਰਤਾਨਵੀ ਸਿਆਸਤਦਾਨ ਜੋ ਲਾਹੌਰ ਵਿਚ ਸਨ ਅਜੇ ਵੀ ਤਸੱਲੀ ਵਿਚ ਨਹੀਂ ਸਨ। ਹਰਬਰਟ ਐਡਵਰਡ ਲਿਖਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ 'ਰਾਣੀ ਆਪਣੀ ਕੌਮ ਦੇ ਹੋਰਨਾਂ ਬੰਦਿਆਂ ਨਾਲੋਂ ਬੜੀ ਸੂਝਵਾਨ ਤੇ ਦਲੇਰ ਹੈ'। ਹਿਸਟਰੀ ਆਫ ਈ ਪੰਜਾਬ (੧੮੪੬) ਜਿਲਦ ਦੋ ਦੇ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ: 'ਮਹਾਂਰਾਣੀ ਹੈਰਾਨ ਕਰ ਦੇਣ ਵਾਲੀ ਅਕਲ ਦੀ ਮਾਲਕ ਸੀ ਤੇ ਕੰਮ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਸ਼ਕਤੀ ਤੇ ਬੜਾ ਦਾਈਆ ਰਖਦੀ ਸੀ। ਲਿਖਣ ਵਿਚ ਬੀ ਬੜੀ ਚਤੁਰ ਤੇ ਸੁਘੜ ਸੀ ਤੇ ਖਿਆਲ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਉਹ ਏਸੇ ਕਰਕੇ ਰਾਜਾ ਹੀਰਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਦੇ ਕਬਜ਼ੇ ਨੂੰ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਤੋਂ ਪੁੱਟਣ ਵਿਚ ਕਾਮਯਾਬ ਹੋਈ ਸੀ।' (ਪੰਨਾ ੩੧੧)। ਜਿੰਨਾ ਚਿਰ ਉਹ ਲਾਹੌਰ ਰਹਿੰਦੀ, ਬਰਤਾਨਵੀ ਰੈਜ਼ੀਡੈਂਟ ਦਾ ਖਿਆਲ ਸੀ ਕਿ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ ਆਪਣੀਆਂ ਗੱਦੀਆਂ ਉੱਤੇ ਸੁਰਖਤ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋਣਗੇ। ਇਸ ਲਈ ਉਸ ਨੇ ਓਸ ਅਖਾਣ ਕਿ 'ਜਿਸ ਨੂੰ ਮਾਰਨਾ ਹੋਵੇ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਬਦਨਾਮ ਕਰੋ' ਦੇ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਮਹਾਂਰਾਣੀ ਦੀ ਦੇਸ਼ ਵਿਚ ਨਿੰਦਿਆ ਕਰਵਾਈ ਤੇ ਮਸ਼ਹੂਰ ਕਰਵਾਇਆ ਕਿ ਰਾਣੀ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ਾਂ ਵਿਰੁੱਧ ਬੜਾ ਕੁਝ ਕਰ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਇਹ ਬੀ ਮਸ਼ਹੂਰ ਕੀਤਾ ਕਿ ਸ: ਤੇਜਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਦੇ ਕਤਲ ਦੀ ਅਖੌਤੀ ਸਾਜ਼ਸ਼ ਤੇ ਮੁਲਤਾਨ ਦੀ ਬਗ਼ਾਵਤ ਹੇਠ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਦਾ ਹਥ ਹੈ; ਪਰ ਇਸ ਦਾ ਸਬੂਤ ਕੋਈ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ ਤੇ ਨਾ ਹੀ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਕੋਈ ਸ਼ਾਹਦਤ ਮਹਾਂਰਾਣੀ ਦੇ ਵਿਰੁੱਧ ਮਿਲ ਸਕੀ; ਇਸ ਕਰਕੇ ਕੋਈ ਕਾਨੂੰਨੀ ਚਾਰਾ-ਜੋਈ ਉਸ ਦੇ ਵਿਰੁੱਧ ਨਾ ਹੋ ਸਕੀ।

ਬ੍ਰਿਟਿਸ਼ ਰੈਜ਼ੀਡੈਂਟ ਕਰਨਲ ਹੈਨਰੀ ਲਾਰੰਸ ਨੂੰ ੧੮੪੭ ਨੂੰ ਇਕ ਬਹਾਨਾ ਹੱਥ ਆਇਆ ਜਦ ਕਿ ਰੈਜ਼ੀਡੈਂਟ ਦੇ ਬੁਣੇ ਹੋਏ ਆਦਮੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਖਿਤਾਬ ਤੇ ਸਨਮਾਨ ਦੇਣ ਲਈ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਸੀ। ਉਸ ਵੇਲੇ ਮਹਾਂਰਾਜਾ ਦਲੀਪ ਸਿੰਘ ਨੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਹੱਥ ਨਾਲ ਤੇਜ ਸਿੰਘ ਦੇ ਮੱਥੇ ਤੇ ਤਿਲਕ ਲਾਉਣ ਤੋਂ ਇਨਕਾਰ ਕਰ ਦਿਤਾ ਸੀ, ਜਦ ਕਿ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ 'ਰਾਜਾ' ਦਾ ਸਨਮਾਨ ਦਿਤਾ ਜਾ ਰਿਹਾ ਸੀ। ਰੈਜ਼ੀਡੈਂਟ ਨੇ ਕਿਹਾ ਕਿ ਮਹਾਂਰਾਜਾ ਆਪਣੀ ਮਰਜ਼ੀ ਨਾਲ ਨਾਂਹ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰ ਸਕਦਾ, ਇਹ ਜ਼ਰੂਰ ਮਾਂ ਦਾ ਸਿਖਾਇਆ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ। ਉਸ ਨੇ ਇਸ ਕਰਤੋਂਵ ਨੂੰ ਬਰਤਾਨਵੀ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਦੀ ਵਿਰੋਧਤਾ ਦੱਸਿਆ। ੧੮੪੫-੪੬ ਦੀਆਂ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਤੇ ਗੋਰਿਆਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਲੜਾਈਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਤੇਜ ਸਿੰਘ, ਜਦੋਂ ਕਿ ਉਹ ਸਿਖ ਫੌਜਾਂ ਦਾ ਕਮਾਂਡਰ ਤੇ ਲਾਹੌਰ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਦਾ ਲੂਣ ਖਾਕੇ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ਾਂ ਵਿਰੁੱਧ ਲੜ ਰਿਹਾ ਸੀ, ਨੇ ਧਰਮ ਤੋਂ ਡਿਗ ਕੇ ਸਿਖ ਫੌਜਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਹਾਰ ਦੁਆਰਕੇ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਨਾਲ ਮਹਾਨ ਧੌਖਾ ਕੀਤਾ ਸੀ, ਜਿੰਨਾ ਖਿਦਮਤਾਂ ਦੇ ਬਦਲੇ ਬਰਤਾਨਵੀ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਰਾਜਾ ਬਣਾਉਣ ਦਾ ਵੇਸਲਾ ਕਰ ਚੁਕੀ ਸੀ ਤੇ ਮਹਾਂਰਾਣੀ ਇਕ ਲੂਣ ਹਰਾਮੀ ਦੇ ਮੱਥੇ ਤੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਪੁੜ ਦੇ ਹਥੋਂ, ਜਿਸ ਦੇ ਰਾਜ ਨਾਲ ਉਸ ਨੇ ਧੋਹ ਕਮਾਇਆ ਹੋਵੇ ਤਿਲਕ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ ਲਗਵਾ ਸਕਦੀ।

ਰੈਜ਼ੀਡੈਂਟ ਨੇ ਜਾਣ ਲਿਆ ਕਿ ਮਹਾਂਰਾਣੀ ਦੀ ਨਿਗਰਾਨੀ ਆਪਣੇ ਪੁੱਤ ਪਰ, ਜੋ ਅਜੇ ਬੱਚਾ ਸੀ, ਕਿਸੇ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਬੀ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ਾਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਭਵਿਖਤ ਦੀਆਂ ਤਜਵੀਜ਼ਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਫਲੀਫੂਤ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋਣ ਦੇਵੇਗੀ, ਤੇ ਉਹ ਮਹਾਰਾਜੇ ਦਾ ਸੁਭਾਉ ਤੇ ਖਿਆਲ ਆਪਣੀ ਮਰਜ਼ੀ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਢਾਲ ਸਕਣਗੇ। ਉਹ ਇਹ ਵੇਸਲਾ ਕਰ ਚੁਕੇ ਸਨ ਕਿ ਅਜ ਭਾਵੇਂ ਕੱਲ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਅਸਾਂ ਹਰ ਹੀਲੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਅਧੀਨ ਰੱਚ ਲੋਣਾ ਹੈ। ਸੋ ਗਵਰਨਰ ਜੈਨਰਲ ਬੜੀ ਉਤਸੁਕਤਾ ਨਾਲ ਇਹ ਤਜਵੀਜ਼ ਮੰਨ ਗਿਆ ਕਿ ਮਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਪੁੜ ਤੋਂ ਵਿਛੋੜਕੇ ਲਾਹੌਰੋਂ ਬਾਹਰ ਕਰ ਦਿਤਾ ਜਾਏ ਤੇ ਫਿਰ ਵੇਸ਼ ਨਿਕਾਲਾ ਦੇ ਦਿਤਾ ਜਾਏ। ਮੁਰੂ ਵਿਚ ਦੁਕਮ ਦਿਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਕਿ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਲਾਹੌਰ ਦੇ ਕਿਲੇ ਦੇ ਸੰਮਣ ਬੁਰਜ ਵਿਚ ਕਰ ਰਖਿਆ ਜਾਏ। ਇਸ ਸੰਮਣ ਬੁਰਜ ਵਿਚ ਕੇਦ ਹੋਕੇ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਨੇ ਆਪ ਇਹ ਚਿੱਠੀ ਗੁਰਮੁਖੀ ਵਿਚ ਜਾਨ ਲਾਰੰਸ ਰੈਜ਼ੀਡੈਂਟ ਨੂੰ ਲਿਖੀ:—

ਪਹਿਲੀ ਦਿੱਠੀ

ਲਿਖਤਮ ਬੀਬੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ, ਅਲਾਹਾਬਾਦ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੋਗ ਰੰਬਕਾਰੀ।

ਅਸੀਂ ਆਪਣਾ ਸਿਰ ਤੁਹਾਡੇ ਹਵਾਲੇ ਕੀਤਾ ਸੀ, ਤੁਸੀਂ ਨਿਮਕ ਹਰਾਮਾਂ ਵਿਆਂ ਪੈਰਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਦੇ ਦਿਤਾ ਸੁ। ਤੁਸੀਂ ਸਾਡੀ ਮੁਨਸਬੀ ਨਾ ਪਾਈ। ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਜੋ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਸੀ ਜੋ ਦਿਰਿਆਵਤੀ ਕਰਕੇ ਸਾਡੇ ਜੁੰਮੇ ਲਗਦਾ ਸੋ ਲਾਏ। ਨਿਮਕ ਹਰਾਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਕਹੇ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ ਲਗਣਾ। ਤੁਸੀਂ ਵਡੇ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਦੀ ਦੋਸਤੀ ਵਲ ਬੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਡਿੱਠਾ। ਤੁਸੀਂ ਮੇਰੀ ਅਥਰੋ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਲੁਹਾਈ ਏ। ਤੁਸੀਂ ਕਰਾਰਨਾਵਿਆਂ ਤੇ ਅਹਿਦਨਾਵਿਆਂ ਉਪਰ ਰੁਝ ਬੀ ਅਮਲ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੀਤਾ।

ਰਾਜਾ ਲਾਲਸਿੰਘ ਮੇਰਾ ਮੋਹਤਬਿਰ ਸੀ ਤੇ ਫੇਰਖਾਹ ਤੇ ਨਿਮਕਹਲਾਲ ਸੀ, ਸੋ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਤਕਸੀਰੀ ਕਰਕੇ ਭੇਜ ਦਿਤਾ ਤਾਂ ਅਸੀਂ ਰੁਝ ਨਹੀਂ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਨੂੰ ਆਖਿਆ। ਸਾਡੇ ਦਿਲ ਵਿਚ ਇਹ ਗਲ ਸੀ ਜੋ ਆਪ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਸਾਡੇ ਪਾਸ ਨੇ, ਸਾਨੂੰ ਡਰ ਕਿਸਦਾ ਏ। ਸਾਨੂੰ ਇਸ ਗਲ ਦੀ ਖਬਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ: ਖੁਣੀਆਂ ਗਲਾਂ ਸਾਡੇ ਜੁੰਮੇ ਲਾ ਕੇ ਤੇ ਫੇਰ ਚਹੇ ਕੀਤਾ।

ਕੋਈ ਸਾਡੀ ਲਿਖਤ ਦਸੇ ਵਾ, ਰੁਝ ਸਾਡੇ ਜੁੰਮੇ ਲਾਓ ਆ, ਫੇਰ ਜੋ ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਮਰਜ਼ੀ ਹੁੰਦੀ ਸੋ ਕਰਦੇ। ਇਕ ਮੈਂ ਤੇ ਇਕ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਤੇ ਬਾਈ ਟਹਿਲਣਾਂ ਅਸੀਂ ਸੰਮਣ ਵਿਚ ਕੈਦ ਵਾਂ। ਹੋਰ ਨੌਕਰ ਸਭ ਕਥ ਦਿਤੇ ਹੈ ਨੇ। ਅਸੀਂ ਬਹੁਤ ਲਾਚਾਰ ਹੋਏ ਆ। ਪਾਣੀ ਤੋਂ ਰੋਟੀ ਬੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਆਉਣ ਦੇਂਦੇ। ਇਸ ਤਰੇ ਜੁ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਤੰਗ ਕਰਦੇ ਓ, ਇਸ ਗਲ ਕੋਲੋਂ ਵਾਂਸੀ ਲਗਾ ਦਿਓ।

ਜੇ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਸਾਡੀ ਅਦਾਲਤ ਕੀਤੀ ਤਾਂ ਹੱਛੀ ਰਲ ਨਹੀਂ ਤਾਂ ਨੰਦਣ ਸਤਰ ਵਿਚ ਫਰਿਆਦ ਕਰਾਂਗੇ। ਹੋਰ ਜੋਹੜਾ ਫੂੜ ਲੱਖ ਲਾਇਆ ਸੀ ਉਹ ਬੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਿਸੇ ਦਿਤਾ। ਹੋਰ ਜਿਹੜਾ ਚਹੁੰ ਮਹੀਨਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਵਿਚ ਖਰਚ ਕੀਤਾ ਸੀ ਇਕਵੰਜਾ ਹਵਾਰ ਸੋ ਭੀ ਗਹਿਣੇ ਵੇਚਕੇ ਮਿਸਰ ਮੁੱਖ ਰਾਜ ਨੂੰ ਦੇ ਦਿਤਾ ਏ। ਕਿਸੇ ਕੋਲੋਂ ਕੁਝ ਮੰਗਦੇ ਨਹੀਂ ਸਾਂ। ਆਪਣੇ ਗਹਿਣੇ ਵੇਚਕੇ ਗੁਜਰਾਨ ਕਰਦੇ ਸਾਂ। ਬੇਨਿਹੱਕ ਸਾਡੀ ਅਥਰੋ ਕਿਉਂ ਲਾਹੀ? ਮੰਗਲਾਂ ਕੀ ਤਕਸੀਰ ਕੀਤੀ, ਉਨੂੰ ਬੀ ਕੱਚ ਦਿਤਾ?

ਅਜ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਸਾਡੇ ਪਾਸ ਆਕੇ ਤੇ ਬਹੁਤ ਰੋਂਦੇ ਰਹੇ ਨੇ, ਆਖਣ ਲਗੇ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਬਿਸ਼ਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਤੇ ਗੁਲਾਬ ਸਿੰਘ ਡਰਾਂਦੇ ਨੇ। ਜੇ ਤਾਂ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਨੂੰ ਡਰ ਨਾਲ ਕੁਝ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਤਾਂ ਵਿਰ ਮੈਂ ਕੀ ਕਰਾਂਗੀ। ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਆਖਿਆ ਨੇ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦਾ ਹੁਕਮ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਸਾਲਾ ਬਾਗ ਜਾ ਕੇ ਉਤਰੋ, ਓਹ ਸੁਣਕੇ ਤੇ ਬਹੁਤ ਰੋਂਦੇ ਰਹੇ।

ਇਹ ਜਿਹੜੀਆਂ ਗਲਾਂ ਸਾਡੇ ਨਾਲ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋ ਕਿਸੇ ਰਜਵਾੜੇ ਵਿਚ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋਈਆਂ। ਤੁਸੀਂ ਗੁਝ ਰਾਜ ਕਿਉਂ ਸਾਂਭਦੇ ਹੋ, ਸ਼ਾਹਰਾ ਹੋਕੇ ਕਿਉਂ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰਦੇ। ਨਾਲੇ ਵਿਚੋ ਦੋਸਤੀ ਦਾ ਹਰਫ ਰਖਦੇ ਓ ਨਾਲੇ ਫੇਦ ਕਰਦੇ ਓ। ਮੇਰੀ ਅਦਾਲਤ ਕਰੋ ਨਹੀਂ ਤਾਂ ਨੰਦਣ ਫਿਰਿਆਦ ਕਰਾਂਗੀ। ਤਿੰਨਾਂ ਚਹੁੰ ਨਿਮਕ ਹਰਾਮਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਰਖ ਲਓ ਹੋਰ ਸਾਰੀ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਨੂੰ ਕਤਲ ਕਰਾ ਦਿਓ ਦਿਨਾਂ ਦੇ ਆਖੇ ਲੰਗ ਕੇ ਤੇ।

ਮੋਹਰ

[ਅਕਾਲ ਸਹਾਇ, ਬੀਬੀ ਜਿੰਦ ਕੌਰ]

ਇਸ ਚਿੱਠੀ ਵਿਚ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਜਿੰਦ ਕੌਰ ਬਰਤਾਨਵੀ ਰੋਜ਼ੀਡੈਂਟ ਦੇ ਕਰਤੋਂ ਨੂੰ ਚੇਲੀਜ ਕਰਦੀ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਉਸ ਦੇ ਬੇਕਾਨੂੰ ਤੇ ਅਣਹੱਕੇ ਵਰਤਾਉ, ਪਰਜਾ ਵਿਚ ਬੇ ਆਬਰੂ ਕਰਨ ਅਤੇ ਬਿਨਾਂ ਕਿਸ ਕਸੂਰ ਅਤੇ ਕੋਈ ਲਿਖਤੀ ਸਬੂਤ ਦੇ ਕੇਦ ਕਰਨ ਦੇ ਕਰਤੋਂ ਨੂੰ ਪ੍ਰਿਣਤ ਨਜ਼ਰ ਨਾਲ ਵੇਖਦੀ ਹੈ। ਉਹ ਕਹਿੰਦੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਮੈਂ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਤੇ ਭਰੋਸਾ ਕੀਤਾ ਪਰ ਉਸ ਨੇ ਉਸ ਦੇ ਭਰੋਸੇ ਨੂੰ ਤੋੜ ਦਿਤਾ। ਉਹ ਨਿਆਂ ਲਈ ਅਪੀਲ ਕਰਦੀ ਤੇ ਤਵਤੀਸ਼ ਦੀ ਮੰਗ ਕਰਦੀ ਹੈ, ਪਰ ਦੋਹਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਇਨਕਾਰ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ। ਉਹ ਇਹ ਬੀ ਸ਼ਿਕਾਇਤ ਕਰਦੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਡੋੜ ਲਖ ਪੈਨਸ਼ਨ ਜੋ ਭਰੋਵਾਲ ਦੇ ਅਹਿਦਨਾਮੇ ਵਿਚ ਮੁਕਰਰ ਕੀਤੀ ਗਈ ਸੀ, ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਉਹ ਬੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਦਿਤੀ ਗਈ ਤੇ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਇਤਨਾ ਤੰਗ ਤੇ ਅੱਖਿਆਂ ਰਖਿਆ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਮਜਬੂਰਨ ਖਰਚ ਲਈ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਆਪਣੇ ਗਹਿਣੇ ਵੇਚਣੇ ਪਏ ਤੇ ਰੋਟੀ ਬੀ ਅੰਦਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਆਉਣ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਜਾਂਦੀ। ਉਹ ਬਿਸ਼ਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਤੇ ਗੁਲਾਬ ਸਿੰਘ ਦੇ ਸਲੂਕ ਵਿਰੁਧ ਸਖਤ ਰੋਸ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਕਰ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ, ਜੋ ਆਦਮੀ ਕਿ ਰੋਜ਼ੀਡੈਂਟ ਵਲੋਂ ਸ਼ਾਲਾਮਾਰ ਬਾਗ ਦੇ ਉਤਾਰੇ ਲਈ ਪੈਰਨ ਹਿਤ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਦਲੀਪ ਸਿੰਘ ਦੇ ਸਾਥੀ ਕੀਤੇ ਗਏ

ਜਿਸ ਤੋਂ ਬੜਾ ਭਰ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਤ ਕਰਦੀ ਹੈ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਨੂੰ ਡਰਾਉਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਸਲੂਕ ਤੋਂ। ਉਸ ਦੇ ਇਹ ਲਵਜ਼ ਕਿ 'ਜੇ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਨੂੰ ਕੁਝ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਤਾਂ ਮੈਂ ਕੀਹ ਕਰਾਂਗੀ' ਇਕ ਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਨਿਕੇ ਜਿਹੇ ਬੱਚੇ ਲਈ ਰਿਦੇ ਦੇ ਡਾਵਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਫੁਟ ਕਰਦੇ ਹਨ। ਜਦੋਂ ਉਹ ਇਹ ਕਹਿੰਦੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਗੁੱਬੇ ਰਾਜ ਕਿਉਂ ਸਾਂਭਦੇ ਹੋ ਜਾਹਗਾ ਹੋਕੇ ਕਿਉਂ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰਦੇ, ਤਦੋਂ ਉਹ ਸਾਫ ਸਮਝਦੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਬਰਤਾਨਵੀ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਦੀ ਨੀਯਤ ਕੀ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਵਿਚ ਸ਼ੱਕ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਿ ਕੇਵਲ ਤਿੰਨ ਚਾਰ ਲੂਣ ਹਰਾਮੀ ਹੀ ਰੋਜ਼ੀਫੰਟ ਦੇ ਨਚਾਏ ਨਚ ਰਹੇ ਤੇ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੇ ਸੁਤੰਤਰ ਰਾਜ ਨੂੰ ਤਬਾਹ ਕਰਨ ਦਾ ਕੰਮ ਕਰ ਰਹੇ ਸਨ, ਏਸੇ ਕਰਕੇ ਉਹ ਚਿੱਠੀ ਦੇ ਅਖੀਰ ਲਿਖਦੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ "ਤਿੰਨ ਚੜ੍ਹੇ ਨਿਸਕ ਹਰਾਮੀ ਨੂੰ ਰਖ ਲਓ ਤੇ ਹੋਰ ਸਾਰੀ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਨੂੰ ਕਤਲ ਕਰਾ ਦਿਓ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਆਖੇ ਲਗ ਕੇ।"

ਰੋਜ਼ੀਫੰਟ ਹੈਨਰੀ ਲਾਰੰਸ ਨੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਸਲਾਹਗੀਰਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਮਨਾ ਲਿਆ ਕਿ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਨੂੰ ਇਥੋਂ ਕੱਢ ਕੇ ਸ਼ੇਖੂਪੁਰੇ ਦੇ ਕਿਲ੍ਹੇ ਵਿਚ ਨਜ਼ਰਬੰਦ ਕਰ ਦਿਤਾ ਜਾਏ। ੯ ਅਗਸਤ ੧੮੪੭ ਈ ਚਿੱਠੀ ਵਿਚ ਹੈਨਰੀ ਲਾਰੰਸ ਨੇ ਗਵਰਨਰ ਜੈਨਰਲ ਨੂੰ ਤਜਵੀਜ਼ ਭੇਜੀ ਕਿ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਨੂੰ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਕੱਢ ਦਿਤਾ ਜਾਏ*। ਗਵਰਨਰ ਜੈਨਰਲ ਨੇ ਤਿੰਨ ਥਾਵਾਂ ਤਜਵੀਜ਼ ਕੀਤੀਆਂ: ਨੂਰਪੁਰ, ਚੰਬਾ ਤੇ ਕਾਂਗੜਾ ਜੋ ਬਰਤਾਨਵੀ ਇਲਾਕੇ ਵਿਚ ਸਨ ਤੇ ਬੜੀਆਂ ਯੋਗ ਥਾਵਾਂ ਦੱਸੀਆਂ ਗਈਆਂ ਸਨ।

੧੯ ਅਗਸਤ ੧੮੪੭ ਈ ਸਵੈਰ ਨੂੰ ਬੱਚਾ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਸ਼ਾਲਾਮਾਰ ਬਾਗ ਭੇਜ ਦਿਤਾ ਗਿਆ। ਇਹ ਬਾਗ ਲਾਹੌਰ ਕਿਲੇ ਦੇ ਸ਼ੀਸ਼ ਮਹੱਲ ਤੋਂ ਲਗ ਪਗ ਦੋ ਮੀਲ ਦੀ ਵਿੱਥ ਤੇ ਹੈ। ਫਿਰ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਨੂੰ ਲਾਹੌਰ ਤੋਂ ਕੱਢਣ ਦਾ ਕੰਮ ਹਥ ਵਿਚ ਲੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ। ਰੋਜ਼ੀਫੰਟ ਨੇ ਆਪਣੀ ਵੈਸਲਾਕੁਨ ਰਾਇ ਦਿਤੀ ਕਿ ਕਾਂਗੜੇ ਦਾ ਕਿਲ੍ਹਾ ਜੋ ਕਿ ੧੮੪੫-੪੬ ਈ ਗੋਰਿਆਂ ਤੇ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਦੀ ਲੜਾਈ ਪਿਛੋਂ ਬਰਤਾਨਵੀ ਇਲਾਕੇ ਨਾਲ ਰਲਾ ਲਿਆ ਗਿਆ ਸੀ, ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਨੂੰ ਕੇਂਦਰ ਰਖਣ ਲਈ ਸ਼ੇਖੂਪੁਰੇ ਤੋਂ ਚੰਗਾ ਰਹੇਗਾ, ਪਰ ਇਹ ਸੋਚ ਕੇ ਕਿ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੇ ਚੀਫ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਨੂੰ ਦੇਸ਼ ਨਿਕਾਲਾ ਦੇਣ ਵਿਚ ਰੋਲਾ ਰੱਪਾ ਨਾ ਪਾ ਸਕਣੀ; ਉਸ ਨੇ ਆਪਣਾ ਇਰਾਦਾ ਬਦਲ ਲਿਆ ਤੇ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਨੂੰ ਦੇਸ਼ੋਂ ਕੱਢਣ ਦੇ ਪਹਿਲੇ ਕਦਮ ਵਜੋਂ ਸ਼ੇਖੂਪੁਰੇ ਕੇਂਦਰ ਕਰਨ ਦਾ ਫੈਸਲਾ ਕਰ ਲਿਆ†।

ਇਹ ਫੈਸਲਾ ਕਰਕੇ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਨੂੰ ਓਸੇਦਿਨ ਲਾਹੌਰੋਂ ਸ਼ਾਮਾਂ ੬:੦੦, ੯ ਸਜੇ ਤਕੜੀ ਫੌਜ ਦੇ ਪਹਿਰੇ ਵਿਚ ਕਢਿਆ ਗਿਆ। ਸਰਦਾਰ ਅਰਜਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਰੰਘੜਨੰਗਲੀਆ ਤੇ ਗੁਰਮੁਖ ਸਿੰਘ ਲੰਮਾ ਨਾਲ ਗਏ। ਅਗਲੇ ਦਿਨ ੨੦ ਅਗਸਤ ੧੮੪੭ ਸ਼ੁਕਰਵਾਰ ਦੀ ਸਵੈਰ ਨੂੰ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਨੂੰ ਸ਼ੇਖੂਪੁਰੇ ਦੇ ਕਿਲੇ ਵਿਚ ਬੰਦ ਕਰ ਦਿਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਤੇ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਬੁੜ ਸਿੰਘ ਨੂੰ ਚਾਚਜ ਦੇ ਦਿਤਾ।

ਇਸ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਹੀ ਜੋ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਦੀ ਪੈਨਸ਼ਨ ਭਰੋਵਾਲ ਦੇ ਮਹਿਦਨਮੇ ਦੀ ਧਾਰਾ ੧੦ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਭੇੜ ਲਖ ਸਾਲਾਨਾ ਨਿਯਤ ਕੀਤੀ ਸੀ ਉਹ ੬੯ ਵੀ ਸਦੀਪਟਾਕੇ ਖਹਜ਼ਾਰ ਰੁਪਯਾ ਮਾਹਵਾਂਰ ਕਰਦਿਤੀ ਗਈ‡। ਅਜੇ ਸ਼ੇਖੂਪੁਰੇ ਪੁਜਿਆਂ ਬਹੁਤਾ ਚਿਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ ਹੋਇਆ ਕਿ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਨੇ ਅਗੇ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਚਿੱਠੀ ਰੋਜ਼ੀਫੰਟ ਲਾਹੌਰ ਨੂੰ ਵੇਰਲਿਖੀ, ਜਿਸ ਵਿਚ ਉਸ ਨੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਨਿਕੇ ਜਿਹੇ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਤੋਂ ਵਿਛੋੜੇ ਜਾਣ ਦੀ ਲਾਚਾਰੀ ਤੇ ਬਿਹਬਲਤਾ ਬੜੀ ਤੀਬਰਤਾ ਨਾਲ ਪ੍ਰਗਟ ਕੀਤੀ ਹੈ। ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਦਲੀਪ ਸਿੰਘ ਦੀ ਉਮਰ ਇਸ ਵੇਲੇ ਨੌ ਸਾਲ ਦੀ ਸੀ।

*ਪੰਜਾਬ ਪੇਪਰਜ਼ ੧੮੪੭-੪੯, ਪੰਨਾ ੪੭, ਸੈਕਟੀ ੮ ਗਵਰਨਰ ਜੈਨਰਲ ਦੇ ਰੋਜ਼ੀਫੰਟ ਲਾਹੌਰ, ੧੬ ਅਗਸਤ ੧੮੪੭।
 †ਪੰਜਾਬ ਪੇਪਰਜ਼ ੧੮੪੭-੪੯ ਪੰਨਾ ੫੧, ਨਾਲ ਨਬੀ ਗੀਤਾ ਨੰ: ੮ ਤੇ ੯, ਰੋਜ਼ੀਫੰਟ ਲਾਹੌਰ ਵਲੋਂ ਸੈਕਟਰੀ ਗਵਰਨਰ ਜੈਨਰਲ ਵਲੋਂ, ਮਿਤੀ ੨੦-੮-੧੮੪੭।
 ‡ਪੰਜਾਬ ਪੇਪਰਜ਼ ੧੮੪੭-੪੯ ਪੰਨਾ ੧੪੩-੪੪, ਗਵਰਨਰ ਜੈਨਰਲ ਦੀ ਸੀਕਰਿਟ ਕਮੇਟੀ।
 §ਗਵਰਨਰ ਜੈਨਰਲ ਦੇ ਸੀਕਰਿਟ ਕਮੇਟੀ (ਨੰ: ੫੦) ਜੂਨ ੩, ੧੮੪੮ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਪੇਪਰਜ਼ ੧੮੪੭-੪੯, ਨੰ: ੨੭ ਪੰਨਾ ੧੪੩।

ਦੂਜੀ ਚਿੱਠੀ

ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ

ਲਿਖਤੁਮ ਬੀਬੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਲਾਰਨ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੋਗ ।

ਅਸੀਂ ਰਾਜੀ ਬਾਜੀ ਸ਼ੇਖੂਪੁਰੇ ਆਨ ਪਹੁੰਚੇ । ਤੁਸਾਂ ਸਾਡਾ ਅਸਥਾਥ ਸਾਡ ਕੇ ਭੇਜਣਾ । ਹੋਰ, ਜੈਸੇ ਸੰਮਣ ਵਿਚ ਬੈਠੇ ਸੇ ਤੈਸੇ ਸ਼ੇਖੂਪੁਰੇ ਬੈਠੇ ਹਾਂ । ਦੋਵੇਂ ਥਾਂ ਇਕੋਜਿਹੇ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਹਨ । ਪਰ ਤੁਸਾਂ ਮੇਰੇ ਨਾਲ ਬਹੁਤ ਜ਼ੁਲਮ ਕੀਤਾ ਏ। ਮੇਰਾ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਬੰਹ ਲਿਆ । ਦਸ ਮਹੀਨੇ ਮੈਂ ਵਿਛ ਵਿਚ ਰਖਿਆ ਏ ਤੇ..... ਮੈਨ ਮੈਨ ਪਾਲਿਆ ਏ। ਅਯਾਣਾ ਬਿਨਾ ਗੱਲ ਮੇਰਾ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਮੇਰੇ ਨਾਲੋਂ ਵਿਛੋੜਿਆ । ਮੈਨੂੰ ਤੇ ਕੈਦ ਰਖਦੇ, ਮੇਰੇ ਆਦਮੀ ਕਢ ਦਿੰਦੇ, ਮੇਰੀਆਂ ਟਹਿਲਣਾਂ ਕੱਢ ਦਿੰਦੇ, ਜਿਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਵੀ ਤੁਸਾਂ ਮਰਜ਼ੀ ਚਾਹੁੰਦੀ ਉਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਮੇਰੇ ਨਾਲ ਕਰਦੇ, ਪਰ ਇਕ ਮੇਰੇ ਨਾਲ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ-ਵਿਛੋੜੀ ਨਾ ਕਰਦੇ। ਵਾਸਤਾ ਈ ਅਪਣੇ ਰਬ ਦਾ, ਵਾਸਤਾ ਈ ਅਪਣੇ ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹ ਦਾ, ਜਿਸ ਦਾ ਨਮਕ ਖਾਂਦੇ ਓ, ਮੇਰਾ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਮਿਲੇ। ਇਹ ਦੁਖ ਮੈਥੋਂ ਸਹਿਆ ਨਹੀਂ ਜਾਂਦਾ, ਨਹੀਂ ਤਾਂ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਮਰਵਾ ਦਿੰਦੇ।

ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਮੇਰਾ ਬਹੁਤ ਅਯਾਣਾ ਏ, ਕੁਝ ਕਰਨ ਜੋਗਾਨਹੀਂ, ਮੈਂ ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹੀ ਛੋੜੀ, ਮੈਨੂੰ ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹੀ ਦੀ ਕੋਈ ਲੋੜ ਨਹੀਂ, ਵਾਸਤੇ ਰਬ ਦੇ ਮੇਰੀ ਅਰਜ਼ ਮੈਨ, ਐਸ ਵੇਲੇ ਮੇਰਾ ਕੋਈ ਨਹੀਂ, ਮੈਂ ਅਗੇ ਵੀ ਕੋਈ ਉਬਰ ਨਹੀਂ, ਜੋ ਆਖਗੇ ਜੋ ਮੈਂ ਮੰਨਾਂਗੀ। ਮੇਰੇ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਕੋਲ ਕੋਈ ਨਹੀਂ, ਭੈਣ ਭਾਈ ਨਹੀਂ, ਕੋਈ ਚਾਚਾ ਤਾਯਾ ਨਹੀਂ, ਬਾਪ ਉਸ ਦਾ ਨਹੀਂ। ਇਸ ਨੂੰ ਗੌਹਦੇ ਹਵਾਲੇ ਕੀਤਾ ਜੇ ? ਮੇਰੇ ਨਾਲ ਅੰਡੇ ਜ਼ੁਲਮ ਹੋਏ ਨੇ, ਹੋਰ, ਮੈਂ ਸ਼ੇਖੂਪੁਰੇ ਰਹਾਂਗੀ, ਮੈਂ ਲਾਹੌਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਜਾਵਾਂਗੀ, ਮੇਰੇ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਨੂੰ ਮੇਰੇ ਕੋਲ ਭੇਜ ਦਿਓ। ਮੈਂ ਓਨੀ ਦਿਨੀਂ ਤੁਸਾਂ ਪਾਸ ਆਉਂਗੀ ਜਿਸ ਦਿਨ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਲਾਉਣੇ ਹੋਣਗੇ, ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਉਸ ਦਿਨ ਮੈਂ ਭੇਜ ਦਿਆਂਗੀ। ਹੋਰ ਮੇਰੇ ਨਾਲ ਬਹੁਤ ਸੀ ਹੋਈ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਨਾਲ ਬੀ ਬਹੁਤ ਸੀ ਹੋਈ ਹੈ, ਤੇ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਦਾ ਕਿਹਾ ਬੀ ਮੰਨ ਲਿਆ, ਹੁਣ ਭੇਜ ਕਰੋ ਬਹੁਤ ਹੋਈ ਹੈਗੀ।

ਬਰਤਾਨਵੀ ਪਾਲੇਟੀਸ਼ਨਾਂ ਤੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਪੰਜਾਬੀ ਸਾਬੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਹੀਲਿਆਂ ਤੇ ਸਨਾਉਣਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਦਲੀਪ ਸਿੰਘ ਦੀ 'ਮਾਂ-ਵਿਛੋੜੇ' ਤੋਂ ਪੈਦਾ ਹੋਈ ਉਦਾਸੀ ਪੂਰੇ ਤੌਰ ਤੇ ਛੁਪ ਨਾ ਸਕੀ। ਉਸ ਦੇ ਮਾਂ-ਵਿਛੋੜੇ ਤੋਂ ਤੀਜੇ ਦਿਨ ਦੇਖੀ ਉਦਾਸੀ ਨੂੰ ਕਾਇਮ ਮੁਕਾਮ ਰੋਜ਼ੀਫੰਟ ਜਾਨ ਲਾਰੰਸ ਨੇ ਆਪਣੀ ੨੩-੮-੪੭ ਦੀ ਚਿੱਠੀ, ਜੋ ਉਸਨੇ ਗਵਰਨਰ ਜੈਨਰਲ ਦੇ ਸਕੱਟਰੀ ਨੂੰ ਲਿਖੀ ਸੀ, ਵਿਚ ਮੰਨਿਆ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਦੇ ਚਿਹਰੇ ਤੇ ਉਦਾਸੀ ਦੇ ਚਿੰਨ੍ਹ ਮੌਜੂਦ ਹਨ। ਜਦੋਂ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਵਾਪਸ ਕਿਲ੍ਹੇ ਵਿਚ ਆਏ ਤਾਂ ਉਹ ਆਪਣਾ ਪੁਰਾਣਾ ਕਮਰਾ, ਜਿਥੇ ਆਪਣੀ ਮਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਰਹਿੰਦੇ ਹੁੰਦੇ ਸਨ, ਛੱਡ ਦਿਤਾ ਤੇ ਤਖਤ-ਗਾਹ ਵਿਚ ਜਾ ਡੇਰਾ ਲਾਇਆ।

ਆਪਣੇ ਕਾਰੇ ਨੂੰ ਜਾਇਜ਼ ਦੱਸਣ ਲਈ ਬਰਤਾਨਵੀ ਰੋਜ਼ੀਫੰਟ ਨੇ ੨੦ ਅਗਸਤ ੧੮੪੭ ਨੂੰ ਲਾਹੌਰ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਦੇ ਸਰਦਾਰਾਂ, ਅਹਿਲਕਾਰਾਂ, ਧਾਰਮਕ ਮੁਖੀਆਂ, ਬਜ਼ੁਰਗਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਦਲੀਪ ਸਿੰਘ ਦੇ ਦੋਸ਼ ਵਾਸੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਜਾਣੂ ਕਰਨ ਹਿਤ ਇਕ ਐਲਾਨ ਜਾਰੀ ਕੀਤਾ। ਜਿਸ ਦਾ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਇਹ ਸੀ:—

੧. ਗਵਰਨਰ ਜੈਨਰਲ (ਹੈਨਰੀ ਹਾਰਡਿੰਗ) ਪਿਛਲੇ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਦੀ ਦੇਸਤੀ ਤੇ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਦਲੀਪ ਸਿੰਘ ਦੀ ਬਾਲ ਉਮਰਾ ਨੂੰ ਤੱਕਕੇ ਉਸ ਦੀ ਵਿਦਾ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧ ਹਿਤ ਸ਼ਾਹਜ਼ਾਦੇ ਦੇ ਗਾਰਡ'ਅਨ ਬਣਦੇ ਹਨ।

੨. ਇਸ ਮੰਤਵ ਲਈ ਗਵਰਨਰ ਜੈਨਰਲ ਤੇ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਨੇ, ਜੋ ੧੮-੮-੧੮੪੭ ਨੂੰ ਹੋਇਆ, ਫੈਸਲਾ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਨੂੰ ਸ਼ਾਹਜ਼ਾਦੇ ਤੋਂ ਵਖ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਏ ਤੇ ਵਿਰ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਸ਼ੇਖੂਪੁਰੇ ਭੇਜ ਦਿਤੀ ਗਈ।

੩. ਇਸ ਕਦਮ ਉਠਾਉਣ ਦੇ ਸੰਖੇਪ ਕਾਰਨ ਇਹ ਹਨ ਕਿ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਦਾ ਅਹਿਦਨਾਮਾ ਲਿਖਣ ਵੇਲੇ ਇਹ ਜ਼ਰੂਰੀ ਖਿਆਲ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਸੀ ਕਿ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਨੂੰ ਪੂਜਾ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧਕ ਹਿੱਸੇ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਬਾਹਰ ਰਖਕੇ

ਗੁਰਗ ਵੱਖ ਦੇ ਦਿਤਾ ਜਾਏ ਤਾਂ ਕਿ ਉਹ ਰਾਜ ਕਾਜ ਤੋਂ ਪਿਛੇ ਹਟਕੇ ਆਪਣਾ ਬਾਕੀ ਜੀਵਨ ਆਰਾਮ ਨਾਲ ਕੱਟ ਲਏ, ਪਰ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਗੌਰਮਿੰਟ ਵਿਚ ਦਖਲ ਦੇਂਦੀ ਰਹੀ ਤੇ ਵਿਰੋਧਤਾ ਕਰਦੀ ਰਹੀ ਜੋ ਜਨਤਕ ਭਲਾਈ ਦੇ ਰਾਹ ਵਿਚ ਅਕਤ ਸਾਥਤ ਹੋਇਆ।

ਦੂਸਰੇ—ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਅਜੇ ਬੱਚਾ ਹੈ, ਤੇ ਉਹ ਉਹੋ ਕੁਝ ਬਣੇਗਾ ਜਿਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਉਹੋ ਸਿਖਾਇਆ ਜਾਏਗਾ। ਇਸ ਦੀ ਮਾਂ ਇਸ ਦੇ ਦਿਲ ਵਿਚ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਦੇ ਸਰਦਾਰਾਂ ਵਿਰੁਧ ਉਹੋ ਕੁਝ ਤਕ ਸਿੰਜਰਾਏਗੀ ਜੋ ਉਸ ਦੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਦਿਲ ਵਿਚ ਹੈ, ਜਿਸ ਦੀ ਕਿ ਆਗਿਆ ਨਹੀਂ ਦਿਤੀ ਜਾ ਸਕਦੀ। ਸ਼ਾਹਜ਼ਾਦੇ ਨੂੰ ਜਿਹੇ ਰਾਹਨੁਮਾਈ ਤੇ ਮਨ ਦੀ ਨਿਰਵੇਰ ਦਸ਼ਾ ਵਿਚ ਪਾਲਿਆ ਜਾਏਗਾ ਤਾਂ ਕਿ ਇਸ ਅਹਿਦਨਾਮੇ ਦੀ ਯਮਾਪਤੀ ਪਰ ਅਮਨ ਕਾਇਮ ਰਹਿ ਸਕੇ। ਜੇ ਸ਼ਾਹਜ਼ਾਦਾ ਮਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਰਹੇ ਤਾਂ ਇਹ ਆਸ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋ ਸਕਦੀ।

ਤੀਜੇ—ਸਿੰਨਾ ਚਿਰ ਤਕ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਲਾਹੌਰ ਦੇ ਕਿਲ੍ਹੇ ਵਿਚ ਰਹੇਗੀ, ਅਸਨਖੀ ਲੋਕ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਮਿਲਦੇ ਰਹਿਣਗੇ ਤੇ ਭੜਕਾਉਂਦੇ ਰਹਿਣਗੇ ਤੇ ਉਹ ਮੌਜੂਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧ ਤੇ ਹਕੂਮਤ ਨਾਲ ਕਦੀ ਖੁਸ਼ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੋਵੇਗੀ ਤੇ ਉਹ ਰਾਜ ਸਾਤਾ ਹੋਣ ਕਰਕੇ ਕਦੀ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਮਿਲਣ ਵਾਲੇ ਇਸ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਦੇ ਉਲਟਾਉਣ ਦੀ ਤਰਜ਼ਾਬ ਦਿੰਦੇ ਰਹਿਣਗੇ।

ਇਸ ਲਈ ਰਾਜ ਦੇ ਸਾਰੇ ਹਲਕਿਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਖੁਸ਼ੀ ਹੋਣੀ ਚਾਹੀਦੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਰਾਈਟ ਆਨਰੇਬਲ ਗਵਰਨਰ ਜੇਨਰਲ ਦੇ ਇਲਾ ਵਿਚ ਅਮਨ ਤੇ ਦੇਸ਼ ਦੀ ਰਖਤਾ, ਰਾਜ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧ ਦੀ ਪਕਿਆਈ, ਦਰਬਾਰ ਦੇ ਸਰਦਾਰਾਂ ਤੇ ਮਹਾਰਾਜੇ ਦੀ ਆਨ ਸ਼ਾਨ ਲਈ ਕਿੰਨਾ ਹਿਤ ਤੇ ਲਗਨ ਹੈ*।

ਤੀਜੀ ਚਿੱਠੀ

ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਦੀ ਤੀਜੀ ਚਿੱਠੀ ੧੬ ਭਾਦੋਂ ੧੯੦੪ ਬਿ: (੨੦ ਅਗਸਤ ੧੯੦੨) ਦੀ ਲਿਖੀ ਹੋਈ ਹੈ, ਜੋ ਜਾਨ ਲਾਰੰਸ ਦੇ ਉਤਰ ਦਾ ਪੁੱਤ ਉਤਰ ਹੈ। ਇਹ ਚਿੱਠੀ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਦੀ ਅਸਲ ਬੋਲੀ ਵਿਚ ਨਹੀਂ, ਪਰ ਉਸ ਵਿਚ ਉਲਥਾ ਕੀਤੀ ਹੋਈ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਇਸ ਉਪਰ ਜਾਨ ਲਾਰੰਸ ਦੀ ਸਹੀ 'ਜੇ. ਐਲ.' ਪਹਿਲੇ ਸਫੇ ਦੇ ਹੇਠ ਖਬ ਪਾਸੇ ਵਹੀ ਹੋਈ ਹੈ। ਚਿੱਠੀ ਦੇ ਅਖੀਰ ਇਹ ਬੀ ਦਸਿਆ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਇਹ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਦੀ ਹਿੰਦਵੀ (ਪੰਜਾਬੀ) ਚਿੱਠੀ ਦਾ ਤਰਜਮਾ ਹੈ ਜੋ ਉਸ ਨੇ ਗੁਰਮੁਖੀ ਵਿਚ ਲਿਖੀ ਸੀ, ਚਿੱਠੀ ਇਉਂ ਹੈ:-

ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ

ਲਿਖਤਮ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਸਾਹਿਬਾ

ਮੁਰਾਸਲਾ ਆਪ ਕਾ ਪਹੁੰਚਾ। ਬਹੁਤ ਖੁਸ਼ੀ ਹੁਈ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਮੈਂ ਤੁਮ ਕੋ ਯਾਦ ਹੂੰ। ਤੁਮ ਨੇ ਜੋ ਲਿਖਾ ਹੈ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਖੁਸ਼ੀ ਹੈਂ, ਸੁਣ ਕਰੇ ਬਹੁਤ ਦਿਲ ਖੁਸ਼ੀ ਹੁਆ ਹੈ। ਜਿਸ ਦਿਨ ਸੇ ਹਮ ਲਾਹੌਰ ਸੇ ਚਲੇ ਆਏ ਹੈਂ, ਉਸ ਦਿਨ ਸੇ ਆਜ ਹਮ ਨੇ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਕੀ ਖੁਸ਼ੀ ਕੀ ਖਬਰ ਸੁਣੀ ਹੈ। ਜੋ ਤੁਮ ਨੇ ਲਿਖਾ ਹੈ ਸੇ ਸਭ ਸਚ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ, ਮਗਰ ਮੇਰਾ ਦਿਲ ਗਵਾਹੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਦੇਤਾ ਕਿ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਖੁਸ਼ੀ ਹੋਵੇ। ਜਿਨ ਕੀ ਮਾਂ ਬਿਝੜ ਗਈ ਹੋਵੇ ਵੇਹ ਕਿਉਂ ਰਾਜੀ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ। ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਬਨਾ ਤੇ ਯਹ ਕਲ ਦੇਤੇ ਹੈ। ਏਕ ਤੋ ਨਾਦਾਨ ਔਰ ਏਕ ਕਠੀ ਬਿਝੜੇ ਨਹੀਂ ਬੇ। ਆਪ ਸੁਧਾਨੇ ਹੈ, ਬਧਿਵਾਨ ਹੈ, ਅਪਨੇ ਦਿਲ ਮੇਂ ਸਮਝੋ ਕਿ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਕਿਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਰਾਜੀ ਹੋਗੇ।

ਯਹ ਜੋ ਤੁਮ ਨੇ ਲਿਖਾ ਹੈ ਠਢਰ ਉਪਰ ਦੋਸਤੀ ਦੋਨੋ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਕੇ ਬਹੁਤ ਖਿਆਲ ਖੁਸ਼ੀ ਖਾਤਰ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਕਾ ਹੈ। ਜੋ ਤੁਮ ਨੇ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਕੀ ਖੁਸ਼ੀ ਖਾਤਰ ਰਖੀ ਹੈ ਵਹ ਸਾਰੇ ਜਮਾਨੇ ਮੇਂ ਮਸ਼ਹੂਰ ਹੁਈ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਰੋਤੇ ਹੋਏ ਕੇ ਫੀਨ ਕਰ ਸ਼ਾਲਾ ਬਾਗ ਕੋ ਲੇ ਗਏ ਔਰ ਮਾਂ ਕੋ ਬਾਲ ਪਕੜ ਕਰ ਬਾਹਰ ਨਿਕਾਲ ਦਿਯਾ। ਤੁਮਾਰੇ ਦਿਲ ਮੇਂ ਇਤਨਾ ਦਰੋਗ ਨਾ ਆਇਆ ਕਿ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਨਾਦਾਨ ਹੈ ਕਿਉਂਕਰ ਰਹੇਗਾ।

ਤੁਮਾਰੇ ਤਈਂ ਇਸੀ ਇੱਬਤ ਆਬਰੂ ਕੇ ਤਈਂ ਰਖਾ ਬਾ, ਸੇ ਠਮਕ

ਹਰਾਮਾਂ ਨੇ ਵਹ ਇਜ਼ਤ ਆਬਰੂ ਬੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਰਹਿੰਦੀ ਵੀ। ਏਕ ਅਫਸੋਸ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਤੁਮ ਨੇ ਹਮਾਰੇ ਬਿੰਮੇ ਸਮਝ ਕਰ ਤਕਸੀਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਲਗਾਈ, ਨਮਕ ਹਰਾਮਾਂ ਕੇ ਕਹਿਨੇ ਪਰ ਅਮਲ ਕਰ ਕਰ ਦੇਸ਼ ਨਿਕਾਲਾ ਦੇ ਦਿਯਾ। ਜੇ ਕੀਆ ਸੇ ਸਭ ਆਪ ਬੀ ਨੇਕਨਾਮੀ ਹੁਈ ਹੈ। ਮੇਰੀ ਇੰਜ਼ਤ ਆਬਰੂ ਔਰ ਤੁਮਹਾਰਾ ਚੁਖਾਨ ਕਾ ਸਖੁਨ ਗਿਆ। ਔਰ ਜੇ ਤੁਮ ਨੇ ਮੇਰੇ ਸਾਬ ਕੀਆ ਹੈ ਐਸਾ ਕਿਸੀ ਖੁਨੀ ਕੇ ਸਾਬ ਬੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਗੁਜ਼ਰਤਾ ਹੈ। ਮੈਂ ਸਭ ਕੁਛ ਛੋੜ ਕਰ ਫਕੀਰ ਹੁਈ ਬੀ, ਸੇ ਤੁਮ ਨੇ ਫਕੀਰ ਬੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਰਹਿਨੇ ਦੀਆ। ਔਰ ਖਰਚ ਸੇ ਹਮ ਬਹੁਤ ਤੰਗ ਹੈ।

ਔਰ ਬੰਦੂਜੀਤ ਕੇ ਤੁਮ੍ਹਾਰੇ ਪਾਸ ਭੇਜਾ ਹੈ, ਇਸ ਕੋ ਅਪਨੇ ਪਾਸ ਰਖਨਾ। ਔਰ ਆਪਾ ਅਸਬਾਬ ਹਮਾਰੇ ਪਾਸ ਪਹੁੰਚ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ, ਆਪਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਦੇਤੇ। ਹਮ ਕੇ ਦਿਲਵਾ ਦੇ ਔਰ ਖਰਚ ਲੇ ਕਰ ਵੇਜੋ।

2. ਇਸ ਚਿੱਠੀ ਵਿਚ ਫਿਰ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਆਪਣੇ ਪੁਤ੍ਰ ਵਿਛੋੜੇ ਦੇ ਦੁਖ ਦਾ ਚਿੰਤਨ ਕਰਦੀ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਬਰਤਾਨਵੀ ਰੋਜ਼ੀਡੈਂਟ ਜਾਨ ਲਾਰੰਸ ਨੂੰ ਲਿਖਦੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਬੜੇ ਅਫਸੋਸ ਦੀ ਗਲ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਤੁਸਾਂ ਮੇਰੇ ਬਿੰਮੇ ਸਮਝਕੇ ਤੇ ਤੋਲਕੇ ਤਕਸੀਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਲਾਈ। ਤੁਸਾਂ ਨਿਮਕਹਰਾਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਆਖੇ ਲਗਕੇ ਮੈਨੂੰ ਦੇਸ਼ ਨਿਕਾਲਾ ਦੇ ਦਿਤਾ। ਉਹ ਬੜੇ ਰੋਹ ਨਾਲ ਲਿਖਦੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਸ਼ੇਖੂਪੁਰੇ ਉਸ ਨਾਲ ਭੈੜਾ ਸਲੂਕ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ। ਤੇ ਉਹ ਇਹ ਬੀ ਲਿਖਦੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਐਸਾ ਸਲੂਕ ਕਿਸੇ ਖੁਨੀ ਨਾਲ ਬੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਂਦਾ।

ਆਖਰ ਆਪਣੇ ਆਪ ਨੂੰ ਬੇਬਸ ਤੇ ਲਾਚਾਫ ਵੇਖ ਕੇ ਕਿ ਨਾ ਤਾਂ ਮੇਰੇ ਪਰ ਲਾਏ ਦੋਸ਼ਾਂ ਦੀ ਪੜਤਾਲ ਕਰਵਾਈ ਜਾ ਸਕਦੀ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਨਾ ਹੀ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਪਾਲੇਟੀਸ਼ਨਾਂ ਦੇ ਹੱਥੋਂ ਕੋਈ ਨਿਆਂ ਮਿਲ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ, ਉਸ ਨੇ ਆਪਣਾ ਇਕ ਏਜੰਟ ਬਣਾ ਕੇ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਜੀਵਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਨੂੰ ਕਲਕੱਤੇ ਗਵਰਨਰ ਜੇਨਰਲ ਕੋਲ ਭੇਜਿਆ। ਜਾਪਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਉਹ ਦਸੰਬਰ ੧੮੪੭ ਦੇ ਆਨ ਮਾਨ ਉੱਥੇ ਪੁਜਾ ਹੈ। ਉਸ ਨੇ ਗਵਰਨਰ ਜੇਨਰਲ ਦੇ ਸੈਕਟਰੀ ਨੂੰ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਵਲੋਂ ੨ ਜਨਵਰੀ ੧੮੪੮ ਨੂੰ ਦਰਖਾਸਤ ਦਿਤੀ, ਜਿਸ ਵਿਚ ਉਸ ਨੇ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਕਿ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਨਾਲ ਬੜਾ ਜ਼ਾਲਮਾਨਾ ਵਰਤਾਉ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਤੇ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ। ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਤਕਸੀਰਾਂ ਵੀ, ਜੋ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਦੇ ਸਿਰ ਬੱਧ ਕੇ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਕੈਦ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਸੀ, ਨਿਰਪੱਖ ਪੜਤਾਲ ਤੇ ਨਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਮੰਗ ਕੀਤੀ। ਇਕ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਦੀ ਗਣੀ ਤੇ ਦੂਜੇ ਦੀ ਮਾਤਾ ਹੋਣ ਕਰਕੇ ਉਸ ਦੇ ਵਕਾਰ ਤੇ ਰਖਿਆ ਲਈ ਬੀ ਮੰਗ ਕੀਤੀ ਤੇ ਨਾਲ ਉਸ ਦੇ ਸਲਾਹਕਾਰਾਂ ਤੇ ਸਾਕਾਂ ਸਨੇਹੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਮਿਲਣ ਗਿਲਣ ਦੀ ਖੁਲ੍ਹ ਮੰਗੀ ਗਈ*।

ਪਰ ਗਵਰਨਰ ਨੇ ਇਹ ਮੰਨਣੋਂ ਸਾਫ ਹੀ ਇਨਕਾਰ ਕਰ ਦਿਤਾ ਕਿ ਤੁਹਾਡੀ ਦਾ ਵਕੀਲ ਬੀ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਨਹੀਂ; ਤੇ ਕਹਿ ਦਿਤਾ ਕਿ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਦੀ ਚਿੱਠੀ ਚਪੱਠੀ ਰੋਜ਼ੀਡੈਂਟ ਦੀ ਮਾਰਫਤ ਆਉਣੀ ਚਾਹੀਦੀ ਹੈ, ਸਿਧੀ ਨਹੀਂ। ਇਹ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਦੀਆਂ ਸ਼ਿਕਾਇਤਾਂ ਸੰਬੰਧੀ ਨਿਆਇ ਦੀ ਮੰਗ ਦਾ ਸਾਫ ਇਨਕਾਰ ਸੀ। ਸਰਦਾਰ ਜੀਵਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਨੇ ਫਿਰ ੨੩ ਫਰਵਰੀ ੧੮੪੮ ਨੂੰ ਸੈਕਟਰੀ ਨੂੰ ਦਰਖਾਸਤ ਦਿਤੀ ਕਿ ਗਵਰਨਰ ਜੇਨਰਲ ਦੇ ਰੋਬਰਟਸਨ ਵਿਚ ਤਰਮੀਮ ਕੀਤੀ ਜਾਏ, ਉਸਨੇ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਕਿ:-

ਜਿਸ ਨਜ਼ਰਬੰਦੀ ਵਿਚ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਹੁਣ ਹੈ, ਉਹ ਬੜੀ ਸਖਤ ਤੇ ਤੰਗ ਕਰਨ ਵਾਲੀ ਹੈ। ਉਹ ਸ਼ੇਖੂਪੁਰੇ ਦੇ ਕਿਲ੍ਹੇ ਵਿਚ ਜੇਦਰੇ ਅੰਦਰ ਕੈਦ ਕੀਤੀ ਗਈ ਹੈ, ਜੋ ਕਿਲ੍ਹਾ ਕਿ ਆਮ ਬਦਮਾਸ਼ਾਂ ਦੇ ਕੈਦ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਵਰਤਿਆ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਸੀ ਤੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਸਰਦਾਰਾਂ ਦੇ ਕਬਜ਼ੇ ਹੇਠ ਰਖੀ ਗਈ ਹੈ, ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਪਤਨਾਕ ਚਾਲਬਾਜ਼ੀ ਤੋਂ ਤੰਗ ਆਕੇ ਉਸਨੇ ਆਪ ਤੇ ਉਸਦੇ ਪੁਤ੍ਰਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਦੀ ਪਸੰਦ ਨੇ ਆਪਣੀ ਰਖਤਾ ਲਈ ਲਾਹੌਰ ਦੀ ਬਰਤਾਨਵੀ ਫੌਜਦਾਰੀ ਮਦਦ ਮੰਗੀ। ਉਸ ਦੀ ਮੁਲਾਕਾਤ ਆਪਣੇ ਸਾਕ ਸਨੇਹੀਆਂ ਤੇ ਸਲਾਹਕਾਰਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਤੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਧਰਮ ਦੇ ਮੁਖੀਆਂ ਨਾਲ ਹੈ, ਕਿਸੇ ਹੋਰ ਨਾਲ ਨਹੀਂ, ਪਰ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਮਿਲਣ ਨਹੀਂ ਦਿਤਾ ਜਾਂਦਾ। ਉਸ ਪਾਸ ਕੇਵਲ ਕੁਝ ਗੋਲੀਆਂ ਹੀ

ਆ ਜਾ ਸਕਦੀਆਂ ਹਨ, ਜੇ ਬੀ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਵੀਆਂ ਆਪਣੀਆਂ ਇਤਬਾਰੀਨਹੀਂ ਪਰ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਕੇਂਦਰ ਰਖਣ ਵਾਲਿਆਂ ਦੀਆਂ ਨਿਯਤ ਕੀਤੀਆਂ ਹੋਈਆਂ ਹਨ ਤੇ ਤੀਕ ਉਹ ਏਥੋਂ ਤਕ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਉਹ ਆਪਣਾ ਖਾਣਾ ਬੀ ਮਨਮਰਜ਼ੀ ਦਾ ਖਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਸਕਦੀ।

ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਦੇ ਹਮਦਰਦ ਜੋ ਲਾਹੌਰ ਵਿਚ ਹਨ ਉਹ ਇਤਨੇ ਸੰਬੰਧਤ ਹਨ ਕਿ ਰੋਜ਼ੀਫੋਂਟ ਦਾ ਧਿਆਨ ਇਸ ਪਾਸੇ ਵਲ ਦੁਆ ਸਕਣ ਦਾ ਹੋਸਲਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਰਖਦੇ ਕਿ ਰਾਣੀ ਕਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਔਕੜਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਦਿਨ ਕੱਟ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ।

ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਵਲੋਂ ਹੀ ਮੈਂ ਇਹ ਪ੍ਰਾਰਥਨਾ ਕਰਦਾ ਹਾਂ ਕਿ ਰੋਜ਼ੀਫੋਂਟ ਲਾਹੌਰ ਨੂੰ ਹਿਦਾਇਤ ਕੀਤੀ ਜਾਏ ਕਿ ਉਹ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਜੁਰਮਾਂ ਦੀ ਪੜਤਾਲ ਕਰਾਏ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਬਿਨਾ ਉਤੇ ਰਾਣੀ ਨੂੰ ਕੇਂਦਰ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਜੋ ਕੁਝ ਰਾਣੀ ਦੇ ਹੱਕ ਵਿਚ ਜਾ ਵਿਰੋਧਤਾ ਵਿਚ ਸਬੂਤ ਮਿਲਣ ਉਹ ਗਵਰਨਰ ਪਾਸ ਪੇਸ਼ ਕਰੇ। ਤੇ ਜਿਹੜੇ ਜੁਰਮ ਰਾਣੀ ਦੇ ਵਿਰੁੱਧ ਸਾਹਮਣੇ ਆਉਣ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਉਤਰ ਦੇਣ ਲਈ ਰਾਣੀ ਨੂੰ ਉਸ ਦੇ ਸਲਾਹਕਾਰਾਂ ਦੇ ਮਿਲਣ ਗਿਲਣ ਦੀ ਖੁਲ੍ਹ ਦਿਤੀ ਜਾਵੇ*।

ਪਰ ਇਸ ਦਾ ਕੋਈ ਲਾਭ ਨਾ ਹੋਇਆ, ਗੌਰਮਿੰਟ ਪੁਲੀਟੀਕਲ ਕਾਰਨਾਂ ਕਰਕੇ ਪੜਤਾਲ ਕਰਾਉਣੀ ਯੋਗ ਹੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ ਸਮਝਦੀ। ਕਿਉਂਕਿ ਕਿਸੇ ਸਬੂਤ ਦੇ ਨਾਂ ਮਿਲਣ ਤੇ ਹੋ ਸਕਦਾ ਸੀ ਕਿ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਕੋਏਂ ਛੱਡ ਦਿਤੀ ਜਾਵੇ ਤੇ ਇਹ ਕਰਤੱਵ ਬਰਤਾਨੀਆਂ ਦੀ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਤੇ ਕਬਜ਼ਾ ਕਰਨ ਦੀ ਨੀਯਤ ਨੂੰ ਉਜਾਗਰ ਕਰ ਦਿੰਦਾ। ੯ ਅਗਸਤ ੧੮੮੬ ਨੂੰ ਜਦੋਂ ਲਾਹੌਰ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਰੋਜ਼ੀਫੋਂਟ ਨੇ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਨੂੰ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਹਰ ਕੱਢਣ ਦੀ ਸਫਾਰਸ਼ ਕੀਤੀ ਸੀ ਤਾਂ ਗਵਰਨਰ ਜੈਨਰਲ ਦੇ ਸੈਕਟਰੀ ਨੂੰ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਸੀ ਕਿ ਨਾ ਹੀ ਮੈਂ ਭੁੱਲ ਸਕਦਾ ਹਾਂ ਤੇ ਨਾ ਹੀ ਗਵਰਨਰ ਜੈਨਰਲ ਇਸ ਹਕੀਕਤ ਤੋਂ ਬੇਖਬਰ ਹਨ ਕਿ ਦੇਸ਼ ਭਰ ਵਿਚ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਹੀ ਇਕੋ ਇਕ ਸਾਡੀ ਨੀਤੀ ਦੀ ਦੁਸ਼ਮਣ ਹੈ†।

ਉਸ ਵਿਚਾਰੀ ਦੀ ਬਦਕਿਸਮਤੀ ਨੂੰ ਮੁਲਤਾਨ ਵਿਚ ਰਾਜ ਬੜ ਹੋ ਗਈ। ਜੇ ੧੯ ਅਪ੍ਰੈਲ ੧੮੮੮ ਨੂੰ ਮਿ: ਪੀ. ਏ. ਵੈਨਜ਼ ਐਗਨੀਊ ਤੇ ਲੈਫਟੀਨੈਂਟ ਵਿਲੀਅਮ ਐਂਡਰਸਨ ਉਤੇ ਹਮਲੇ ਤੋਂ ਸ਼ੁਰੂ ਹੋਈ। ਏਥੇ ਵਿਰ ਇਹ ਕਿਹਾ ਗਿਆ ਕਿ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਦਾ ਇਸ ਸ਼ੇਰਸ਼ ਵਿਚ ਹਥ ਹੈ, ਹਾਲਾਂ ਕਿ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਸ਼ੁਖਪੁਰੇ ਦੇ ਤਿਲ੍ਹੇ ਵਿਚ ਐ-ੀ ਬੰਦ ਸੀ ਕਿ ਕਿਸੇ ਨੂੰ ਮਿਲ ਹੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ ਸਕਦੀ। ਰੋਜ਼ੀਫੋਂਟ ਨੇ ੧੬ ਮਈ ੧੮੮੮ ਨੂੰ ਸੈਕਟਰੀ ਨੂੰ ਚਿੱਠੀ ਵਿਚ ਸਾਫ ਲਿਖਿਆ ਕਿ 'ਭਾਵੇਂ ਇਸ ਦਾ ਸਬੂਤ ਕੋਈ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੈ ਪਰ ਸੱਕ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾ ਸਕਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਮੁਲਤਾਨ ਦੀ ਗੜਬੜ ਪੈਦਾ ਕਰਨ ਵਾਲੀ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਹੀ ਹੈ। ਦੀਵਾਨ ਮੂਲ ਰਾਜ ਤੇ ਸਾਰੀ ਸਿਖ ਫੌਜ ਦੀ ਨਜ਼ਰ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਵਲ ਲਗੀ ਹੋਈ ਜ਼ਰੂਰ ਹੈ। ਨੀਤੀ ਤੇ ਨਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਤੌਰ ਤੇ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਦਾ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਕਢਿਆ ਜਾਣਾ ਬੜਾ ਜ਼ਰੂਰੀ ਹੈ। ਵਿਰੋਧਤਾ ਕਰਨ ਵਾਲਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਸਜ਼ਾ ਦੇਣੋਂ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਢਿੱਲ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰਨੀ ਚਾਹੀਦੀ ਭਾਵੇਂ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਦਰਜਾ, ਵਕਾਰ ਤੇ ਪੁਜ਼ੀਸ਼ਨ ਕੁਝ ਬੀ ਕਿਉਂ ਨਾ ਹੋਵੇ‡'।

ਇਤਿਹਾਸਕਾਰ ਇਹ ਮੰਨਣੇ ਸਿੱਕੋਚ ਕਰੇਗਾ ਕਿ ਸ਼ੱਕ ਦੀ ਨੀਂਹ ਤੇ ਉਸਾਰੇ ਅਫ਼ੀਬਰ ਨੂੰ ਨਿਆਂ ਦਾ ਨਾਮ ਦਿਤਾ ਜਾਏ ਤੇ ਜਦੋਂ ਕਿਸੇ ਤੇ ਲਾਏ ਗਏ ਦੇਸ਼ ਦਾ ਕੋਈ ਸਬੂਤ ਨਾ ਹੋਵੇ ਵਿਰ ਬੀ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਦੇਸ਼ ਧੋਹੀ ਜਾ ਦੇਸ਼ ਵਿਰੋਧੀ ਕਹਿ ਦਿਤਾ ਜਾਏ। ਭਾਵੇਂ ੧੫ ਮਈ ੧੮੮੮ ਨੂੰ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਸ਼ੁਖਪੁਰੇ ਦੇ ਕਿਲ੍ਹੇ ਤੋਂ ਕੱਢ ਕੇ ਆਪਣੀ ਜਨਮ ਭੂਮੀ ਤੇ ਅਪਣੇ ਪਤੀ ਤੇ ਪੁੱਤ ਦੀ ਰਾਜ ਭੂਮੀ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਤੋਂ, ਜਿਥੇ ਦਸ ਕੁ ਮਹੀਨੇ ਤੋਂ ਅੰਗ੍ਰੇਜ਼ਾਂ ਨੇ ਕਬਜ਼ਾ

* ਜੀਵਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਨੂੰ ਸੈਕਟਰੀ ਦੀ ਗੌਰਮਿੰਟ ਆਫ ਇੰਡੀਆ, ਕਲਕੱਤਾ ਤੇ ਫਰਵਰੀ ੧੮੮੮। ਪੰਜਾਬ ਪੇਪਰਜ਼ - ੧੮੮੭-੮੮, ਇਨਕਲੋਯਰ ਨੰ: ੫ ਨੰਬਰ ੨੨ ਦਾ ਪੰਨਾ ੧੦੮।

† ਪੰਜਾਬ ਪੇਪਰਜ਼ ੧੮੮੭-੮੮ ਪੰਨਾ ੩੮-੩੯, ਨਾਲ ਨੱਥੀ ੨ ਨੰ: ੯ ਦਾ।
‡ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਪੇਪਰਜ਼ ੧੮੮੭-੮੮ ਪੰਨਾ ੧੬੮, ਨਾਲ ਨੱਥੀ ਨੰ: ੨੪ ਨੰ: ੩੭ ਦਾ।

ਕਰ ਲਿਆ ਹੋਇਆ ਸੀ, ਦੂਰ ਦੂਰ ਤੋਂ ਕਿਤੇ ਭੇਜ ਦਿਤੀ ਗਈ ਤਾਂ ਕਿ ਅਪਣੀ
ਆਯੂ ਦੇ ਆਖਰੀ ਦਿਨ ਉਹ ਗੁੰਮਨਾਮੀ ਦੀ ਜ਼ਿੰਦਗੀ ਵਿਚ ਬਿਤਾ ਲਵੇ।

ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਦੇ ਦੋਸ਼ ਨਿਕਾਲੇ ਨੇ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਹਲਚਲ ਪੈਦਾ ਕਰ
ਦਿਤੀ ਤੇ ਹਰ ਥਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਅਵਾਜ਼ ਉਠੀ ਕਿ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਨੂੰ ਵਾਪਸ ਪੰਜਾਬ
ਲਿਆਂਦਾ ਜਾਏ ਪਰ ਗਵਰਨਰ ਜੈਨਰਲ ਆਪਣੀ ਪੱਕ ਪੂਰੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਪਕਾ
ਚਕਾ ਸੀ ਕਿ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਨੂੰ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ ਪੰਜੇ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਬਾਹਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਨਿਕਲਣ
ਦੇਣਾ; ਸੋ ਉਸ ਨੇ ਹਰ ਐਸੀ ਸਲਾਹ ਨੂੰ ਠੁਕਰਾ ਦਿਤਾ ਜੋ ਉਸ ਦੀ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੇ
ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ ਅਮਲਦਾਰੀ ਦੇ ਹੇਠ ਆਉਣ ਤੋਂ ਰੋਕ ਪਾਂਦੀ ਹੋਵੇ, ਜਿਸ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੀ
ਕਿ ਇਕ ਹੱਦ ਅਫਗਾਨਿਸਤਾਨ ਨੂੰ ਜਾਛੁੰਦੀ ਸੀ। ਸੋ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਨੂੰ ਵਾਪਸ
ਲਿਆਉਣ ਦਾ ਮਾਮਲਾ ਪੁਲੀਟੀਕਲ ਕਾਰਨਾਂ ਕਰਕੇ ਨਾ-ਕਾਬਲ-ਅਮਲ
ਅਮਰ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ। ਲਾਰਡ ਡਲਹੋਜ਼ੀ ਨੇ ਇਕ ਨਿਜੀ ਚਿੱਠੀ ਵਿਗ੍ਰਿਡੀਅਰ
ਮਾਉਂਟੇਨ ਨੂੰ ਲਿਖੀ ਹੈ ਜਿਸ ਦਾ ਮਜ਼ਮੂਨ ਬਿਲਕੁਲ ਸਪਸ਼ਟ ਹੈ, ਕਿਸੇ
ਖਾਸ ਟੀਕਾ ਟਿਪਣੀ ਦਾ ਮੁਥਾਜ ਨਹੀਂ, ਉਸ ਦੇ ਕੁਛ ਅਖਰ ਏਹ ਹਨ:—

ਕੈਂਪ ਵੀਰੋਜਪੁਰ,

੨੧ ਜਨਵਰੀ ੧੮੪੯

ਮੇਰੇ ਪਿਆਰੇ ਮਾਉਂਟੇਨ,

.....ਰਾਣੀ ਨੂੰ ਵਾਪਸ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਲਿਆਣ ਦੀ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਦੀ ਮੰਗ ਬੜੀ
ਵਾਹਯਾਤ ਮੰਗ ਹੈ, ਜਿੰਨੇ ਉਹ ਇਸ ਮੰਗ ਤੇ ਅੜਣ ਉੱਠੀ ਹੀ ਜ਼ਬਰਦਸਤੀ
ਨਾਲ ਇਸ ਮੰਗ ਨੂੰ ਠੁਕਰਾ ਦਿਤਾ ਜਾਣਾ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਉਕਾ ਨਹੀਂ
ਮੰਨਣੀ ਚਾਹੀਦੀ। ਪੰਜਾਬ ਵਿਚ ਕੇਵਲ ਓਹੋ (ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ) ਹੀ ਇਕੋ ਇਕ ਹੈ
ਜੋ ਮਰਦਾਂ ਵਾਲੀ ਸੂਬਾ ਬੁਝ ਦੀ ਮਾਲਕ ਹੈ ਤੇ ਉਸ ਦਾ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਵਿਚ ਵਾਪਸ
ਲਿਆਉਣਾ (ਪੰਜਾਬ ਵਿਚ ਚਲ ਰਹੀ ਰਾਣੀ ਦੀ ਮੰਗ ਦੀ ਲਹਿਰ ਦੀ) ਉਸ
ਬੁਝ ਨੂੰ ਪੁਰਾ ਕਰੇਗਾ ਜਿਸ ਦਾ (ਦੂਜੀ ਸਿਖਾਂ ਦੀ ਲੜਾਈ ਦਾ) ਡਰ ਸਾਨੂੰ
ਵਾਪਰ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ; ਓਹੋ ਉਸ ਦਾ ਕਾਰਨ ਤੇ ਓਹੋ ਉਸ ਦੀ ਕਾਰਕ ਹੋਵੇਗੀ।
ਯਕੀਨ ਕਰੋ ਕਿ ਇਸ ਵੇਲੇ ਪਿਛੇ ਮੁੜਨ, ਪਿਛੇ ਹਟਣ ਯਾ ਅੱਖ ਖੁਮਕਣ
ਦਾ ਵੇਲਾ ਨਹੀਂ।

ਆਪ ਦਾ ਸਾਦਕ ਡਲਹੋਜ਼ੀ

—ਦਿਤ—

APPENDIX-II

(M.L. Ahluwalia, *Maharani Jind Kaur*, Singh Brothers, 2001)

LETTER NO. 2

Supposed to be written by Maharani Jind Kaur to Mian Jawahar Singh, son of late Raja Dhyani Singh. He had reached Lahore with the intention of settling the dispute regarding the division of his father's property, but was supposed to have conspired with the Maharani. Maharani wrote to him, "I expect much from you, act in such a way as will prove of service to *Guddee*, Place reliance in whatever Dada Shiv Dayal may say to you."

LETTER NO. 3

Written by Kahan Singh Mann to Maharani Jind Kaur at Sheikhpura, at the time of leaving for Multan. He informed the Maharani, "All the respectable officers in the regiments have told me to write to the Mai Sahib (Maharani) not to leave Sheikhpura and come to Lahore, even if the English should go to bring her away. They say when we have killed the Europeans, we will release her. I have obtained the Government of Multan by your kindness. This will turn out well for you".... He further wrote, "Shiv Dayal has spent 10,000 rupees. He will send me reports concerning the *Talagas* (a contemptuous term for the British) and will write to me while I keep him informed of all my plans and he will reply to you. I have ordered the troops to obey the orders of Dada Shiv Dayal whether he orders during the day or during night.... Everyone says that Currie Sahib has come here for some particular purpose. I will settle his business, will take Lahore without a struggle and rescue you from Sheikhpura. What crime have you committed?"

LETTER NO. 7

Written by Shiv Dayal to the Maharani Sahiba from Lahore, informing her about the intention of the British to remove her from the Sheikhpura fort. Shiv Dayal also informed the Maharani that Ganga Ram her personal servant and Kahan Singh (General) were hanged by the British for the crime

of mixing with the sepoy. He also mentioned about another prisoner in the above case, who was not executed and on the basis of the information given by him, several sepoy had been arrested while some others had escaped. The late Ganga Ram's mother and sister were also beaten and one amulet containing a secret paper was obtained from them. He concludes the letter with the remarks, "they were going to seize the *Sadb* (recluse) in Anarkali. I received intelligence of this and procured his escape. Umrao Singh *Poorbea* ran off with him. They have gone to Multan. Tulsi Ram mentions seven names, but I know nothing further.... Diwan Mul Raj's troops have retreated and fled. You have no friends now here... All your power has been thrown into a well. Look to God and make some arrangement. Some day the Maharaja will be sent away from here."

1. LETTER NO. XII ADDRESSED TO NAHAR SINGH (ADDRESSER NOT KNOWN)

Received in the Bikaner Place Samvat 1904, 1847 A.D. Magh Sudi 7.
Shri Ramji.

(Letter). My compliments to Thakur Nahar Singh. Further I have to state that the forces, good men and good arms have gone to North, (North of Bikaner) to help the Durbar. I have received message from Misr Dadaji (Shiv Dayal) from Lahore. According to the treaty of Bhairawal (Vairowal), Maharani Jind Kaur has been debarred from interfering in the state matters. Although she has been granted a sum of Rs. 1.1/2 lakhs annually but she has also been ordered not to meet anyone in the Purdah (her palace), she has been sent to Sheikhpura village to reside there it appears that Khalsa Sardars will definitely rise in the revolt. From our side, we should be prepared to take hold of Ferozepur area. We should be prepared to take hold of Ferozepur area. We should also be careful regarding the attitude of the Company's Government. You also the news of your Government.

(Foreign Secret consultations 29 July 1848, No. 38, and 7 October 1848, No. 65)

2. LETTER NO. XIII

(Shri Laxmi Narainji)

Shri Laxmi Narain Ji's devotee Maharaja Adhiraj Raj Rajeshwar Narendra, Shiromani Shri Sirdar Singh Bahadur, 1905 V.S.

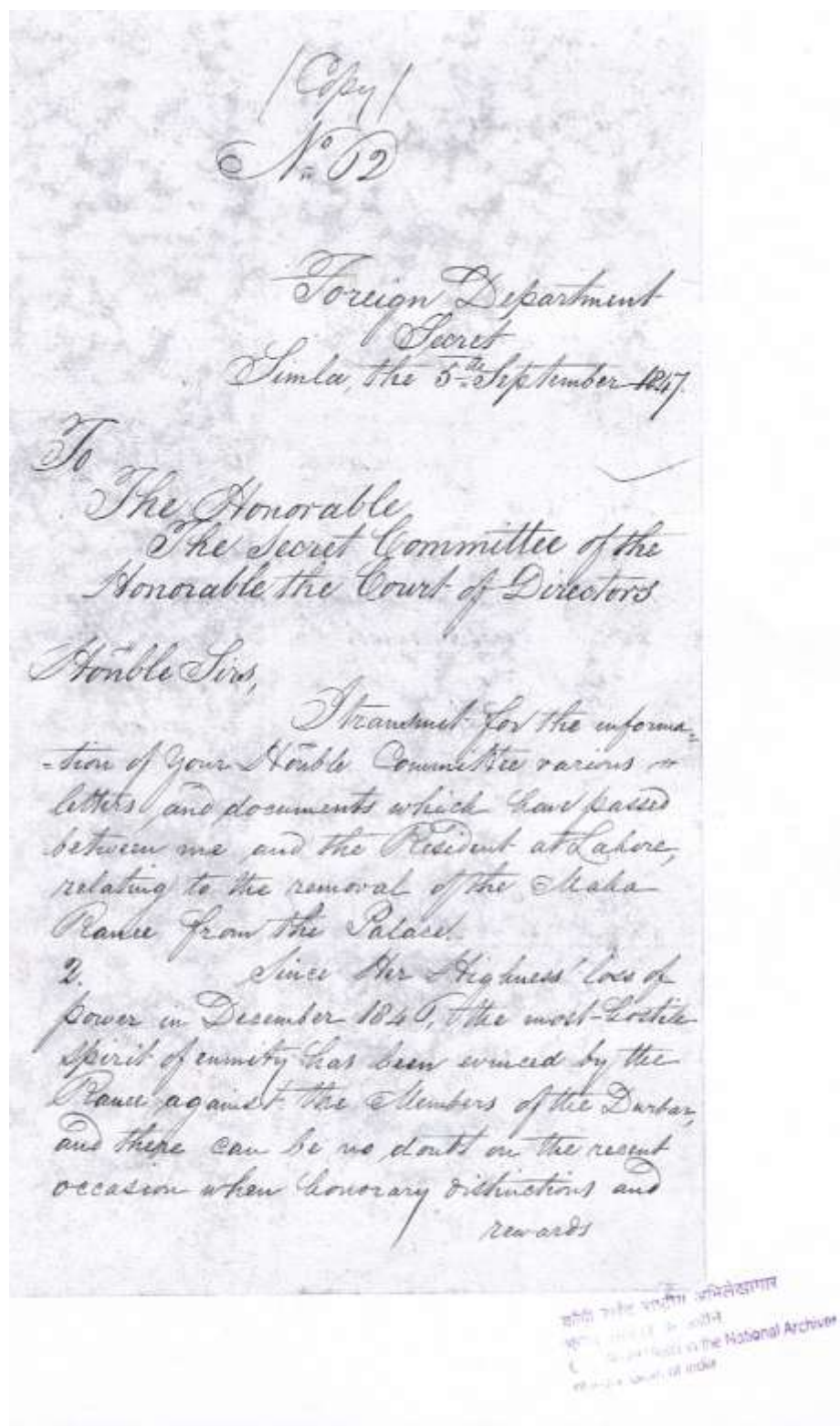
Maharaja (titles) Sirdar Singh wishes to know the welfare of Nahar Singh *Jait Singhot*. You will tell us the news of your Government. Our news is that the East India Company has hanged to death two of the trusted persons of Maharani Jind Kaur- Khawas Ganga Ram and Fauj Baxi Kahan Singh. The wife, mother, sister and daughters of Ganga Ram have been greatly insulted by calling them and presenting them in the court. The information received from Dadaji Misar Shiv Dayalji is that in suba Multan, Diwan Shri Mool Chand (sic) has revolted and fought with the forces of the Company. Diwan Mool Chand got defeated and Company's forces have stayed there. With this news it appears that the power force of the company is strong therefore it is advised that we should keep our cavalry ready at every moment.

Samvat 1905 (1948 A.D.) *Falgun Vadi*3, Bikaner, Court.

Dalip Singh from the British custody. Many of the native soldiers of the British army had promised help to the Punjabi rebels. Accordingly, Ganga Ram and Kahan Singh were hanged on 11 May 1848 while Tulsi Ram was set free on account of the useful information supplied by him about the revolt of the Diwan Mul Raj.

APPENDIX-III

(Governor-General Despatch to Secret Committee, No. 62,
5 September 1847, National Archives of India, New Delhi)



rewards were bestowed on the Chiefs, connected with the Government, on the Residents advice, that Her Highness did tutor the young Prince to make a public affront on Raja Tej Singh and the other members of the Durbar in order to gratify her imperious spirit. -

3. I do not consider that Her Highness ought to be held responsible for the acts of interference of her Confidential Secretary in communicating with Prena the Chief Conspirator in the plot to kill Raja Tej Singh. - The evidence is inconclusive and I have rejected it.

4. On political grounds a strong case of necessity exists for removing Her Highness from Ladakh and separating her from the Prince. Her Highness' whole conduct shows her determination to thwart the Government and to train up her son as the instrument of her hatred against the Durbar, and to instil into his mind sentiments of aversion to the Resident and to the Chiefs who are engaged in administering the affairs of the Punt. Her Highness has taken pains by collecting Fakirs and discontented persons around her, to let it be publicly known that she disapproves of the present system of Government, and

and desires to be regarded as the rallying point for all those who are dissatisfied with the new order of things. But if Her Highness's political conduct instead of being a determined course of hostility to the Government had been one of a friendly character, the necessity of separating her from her son, must shortly have been a duty imposed upon the Governor General on moral considerations.

5. The Princess's personal conduct since her separation from her paramour Raja Lall Singh in December 1845, has been marked by the same habitual indolence in low debauchery, as that which has been so frequently recorded in the official Papers dated in 1845, and which have been laid before Parliament.

6. It became therefore the duty of the Governor General in his capacity of guardian to the young Prince during his minority, to allow him no longer to remain in the Benara and to remove him from the danger of the debasing influence of such a Mother. The occurrence in Durbar on the 7th August may have accelerated the period, but the Boy now eight years of age, as he grew older, must in a short time have been separated from his Mother.

7. The whole of the circumstances Connected

connected with this separation are contained in the Papers now transmitted to your Honorable Committee.

8. You will not fail to observe, that upon the question of sending the Prince from the Punjab, the Durbar were unwilling, as I had anticipated, to assent to the Prince's removal into the British territories. At the same time they entirely acquiesced in the propriety of Her Highness being sent to the Country Palace at Sheikhpore about 25 Miles from Lahore. The Resident concurred in this proposal, and I have entirely approved of all his proceedings.

9. I have desired that in all public acts, relating to Her Highness' separation from her Son the measure taken, may be proclaimed to have been ordered by my authority, exercised for the benefit of the Prince and the State, under the unlimited powers which the Governor General possesses by the Treaty of Beypore.

10. My sentiments on all these points are fully conveyed in my instructions to the Resident dated the 16th and 20th August. In all probability it may eventually be necessary to remove Her Highness out of the Punjab, but on the

5
the present occasion, bearing in mind the
reluctance of the Durbar, to adopt such
a course, I am satisfied that the more
moderate line was to be preferred, and
that the President has acted judiciously in
giving it his concurrence.

Amia
The 5th Sept 1847

Dumrao

Shavey & Co
J. Hardinge

True Copy

W. Murray

Under Secy to the Govt of India
with the Gov. General

Amia
Secretary

भारतीय राष्ट्रीय आर्काइव्स
भारतीय राष्ट्रीय आर्काइव्स
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संस्कृत प्रकाशक

(Foreign Department Secret Consultation, Proceeding 'A', No. 99,
7 October 1848, NAI, New Delhi)

(Copy)

No 212 of W.S.

From
H. W. Elliot Esq^r
Secy to the Govt of India

To
The Honble Sir Thomas, W.
Resident at Lahore.

of Sir William, the 17th June 1848.

Foreign Dept
Secret

Honble Sir,
In reply to your letter dated the
26th ult. W.S. I am directed to inform you
that the Governor General in Council approves
of the terms of your reply to Muzir Khan,
requiring the payment of his Establishment
and other matters connected with the journey
of Muzir Khan from
Lahore.

I have the honor to be
of H. W. Elliot
Secy to the Govt of India

Sir William,
the 17th June 1848

8005

कौमो शोर्ट लोरीस अगिलेखमगर
भारत सरकार के लिये
Copy Right Vestry in the National Archive
of India, Govt. of India

(Foreign Department Secret Consultation, Proceeding 'A', No. 113,
7 October 1848, NAI, New Delhi)

(Copy)
No 230. -

From,
The Secretary to Govt of India
To
Major G. W. MacGregor CB.
Agent to the Governor General
Benares.
of Fort William, the 14th July 1848 -

Foreign Dept
Secret

Sir,
With reference to the letter from
the Resident at Lahore to my address under
30th Utterin, N^o 119, a copy of which has
been furnished to you. I am directed by the
Governor General in Council to instruct
you in consequence of the information con-
tained in that letter to make a correct
inventory of all the property belonging to
the Maharanee Jhanda Koon, in her
council at Benares, and place it in safe
Custody. -

2. You will have the goodness to
send an inventory to the Resident at
Lahore in order that the State may
make good the claims it has preferred. -

3. The Governor General in Council
requests that all the Maharanee's papers
may be seized; but until further conviction,
This

7 Oct
113

सर्वोच्च न्यायालय अधिलेखागार
सर्वोच्च न्यायालय का-अधिलेखा
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www.egangotri.org

His Lordship in Council does not wish that
her confinement should be made more rigid,
you will of course affectionately promise for
her safe Custody.-

Fort William
The 14th July 1840

I have the honor to be Sir
Yours affectionately
Wm. Elliot
Lieut. Gov. of Bengal

Comp
R.H.

बंगाल-राज्य-शाहीन-अभिलेखागार
भारत-संस्कृत-के-अभिलेख
Govt. High. Court in the National Archives
of India, Calcutta, 1932

(Foreign Department Political Consultation, Proceeding 'B', No. 17,
9 June, 1949, NAI, New Delhi)

[Copy]

N: 852

From
The Secretary to Govt of India
with the Governor General

To
The Agent to the Governor General
Benares.

Dated Simla, the 1st June 1949

Foreign Dept

Sir, In reply to your letter dated
the 22nd ultimo, N: 32, I am directed to
state that the Right Honble the Governor
General has been pleased to sanction the
Contingent Bill, submitted therein on
account of expenses incurred for the
Maharaja Chaudhri Hanwar of
Lahore during the month of April last
amounting to Rs. Rs. 1057.2.11-

Shave Rs
Sd/ W. M. Elliot
Secretary to Govt of India
with the Governor General

Simla
The 1st June
1949

N: 853

Ordered that a copy of the above
letter

कोपी राष्ट्र-राष्ट्रीय अभिलेखागार
महाराष्ट्र सरकार के पास
Copy filed with the National Archive
of India, Govt. of India

letter together with the bill alluded to
therein be sent to the Financial Department
for information and further orders.

Semla
The 1st June 1849

Lt. W. M. Elliot
Secretary to Govt. of India
with the Governour

True copy

P. M. B. B.
Union Secretary to Govt. of India
with the Governour General

Compd

सर्वोच्च न्यायालय
सर्वोच्च न्यायालय
Chief Justice's Office
National Archives
of India, Govt. of India

(Foreign Department, Political Consultation, Proceeding 'A', Nos. 55-58,
16 October, 1849, NAI, New Delhi)

7

/ Copy /
No 1710

From, Sir Henry Elliot K. C. B.
Secretary to the Govt. of India
with the Governor General

To, The Board of Administration
for the affairs of the Punjab

Foreign Dept. Secy.

The Governor General having directed that
the slave girls in the establishment of Mahara-
ranee Chunda Komwar should be sent
back to their homes in the Punjab, I have
the honor to transmit the accompanying
copy of a despatch from the Agent at Benares
with a request that you will be pleased to
ascertain whether the girls alluded to therein
will be received by their families. —

I have the honor
to be, Sir, your obedient servant
H. M. Elliot
Secy to the Govt. of India
with the Gov. Genl.

Simla
The 14th September 1849

True Copy /

Permitted
under the Govt. of India
with the Governor General

Comptroller

कोपी सहे जायते अधिकार
सर्वे अधिकार के अंतर्गत
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of India, Govt. of India

(Foreign Department, Secret Consultation, Proceeding 'A', No. 25,
26 April, 1850, NAI, New Delhi)

Copy
No. 15. 3

From
A. J. Agiero, Esq^r
In charge of His Highness
Maharajah Dullah Singh.

To
Major G. P. Burn,
Deputy Secretary to the
Board of Administration,
Camp Meulacah
the 10th January 1850.

Sir,

On the 1st Instant, I addressed
a letter to the Resident at Whatmandoo,
requesting that he would have the good-
ness to keep me informed of the resi-
dence of the Rano, Minah, Mother
of His Highness Maharajah Dullah
Sing, and send me a list of her attendants,
and a description of such persons, as
she might be likely to employ as mes-
sengers to communicate with her son.
It has since occurred to me, that
it would be very desirable to employ some
intelligent person under the Resident
at Whatmandoo, to report any attempt likely
to be made by the Rano, to communicate

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

with the Maharajah, and to give information respecting him, and in the event of this arrangement meeting the approval of the Board, I would request that they would recommend the measure to Government, so as to be at once carried into effect.

3. As the Honble Mr. Crookine, the newly appointed Resident, is now on his way to Whatmanidhor, it might be in his power to take with him a person properly qualified for the duty, whose expenses might be defrayed either on the Nepal Presidency Establishment, or paid from the Maharajah's allowances.

4. I hope also that the Board will do me the favor to recommend to Government, that the Rani be detained in Nepal, under such surveillance as may be necessary, and in the event of the Nepal Government declining to continue the necessary allowance for her support, a small sum be granted to her, through the Nepal Durbar, to be paid from the 1/4 four Lakhs per annum granted to the Maharajah and Royal Family of Sahar.

१
श्री श्री लक्ष्मी कृष्ण प्रतिष्ठानम्
भारत सरकार के लिये
Copy No. 1000
of India. Govt. Secy.

Camp Moulasah. *Thano* 3/22
the 10th January. *M. J. S. Logan,*
1857. *In charge of His Highness*
Maharajah's Tullee Singh

True copy
W. H. S. Major
Deputy Secretary

Remained for him

श्री श्री सदीय अभिलेखागार
भारत सरकार का कार्यालय
Copy held in the National Archives
of India, Govt. of India

(Foreign Department, Secret Consultation, Proceeding 'A', No. 64,
28 July, 1849, NAI, New Delhi)

Copy
N^o 249

To
The Secy to the Government of India
with the Governor General

From
Lieut. Colonel C. F. Shoreby
Resident at Dipaul

For: Dept^{ts} Secy
Secret

With reference to the entry in
your Political Diary from 11th to 24th ultimo
expressing the wish of the late Madam
of Lahore to be allowed to reside with her
son wherever he may be, I am directed
by the Governor General to request that
you will inform Her Highness that
she will certainly not be permitted
to reside with her son. —

I have the
hon^{ble} Mr. Elliot
deputy to the Secy to the Govt of India
with the Govt General

(True Copy)

P. M. Elliott
Under Secy to the Government of India
with the Governor General

Comd^g C.

London, 9
The 16th July 1849.

अभि सहायक सचिव
विदेश विभाग
कोपी सहायक सचिव
दिल्ली, भारत सरकार

(Foreign Department, Political Consultation, Proceeding 'C', Nos. 154-155,
29, September, 1849, NAI, New Delhi)

Copy
No 1713 5

From
Sir Henry Elliot K.C.B.
Secretary to the Govt. of India
with the Govt. Seal

To
Major G. H. Macgregor C.B.
Agent to the Hon. Genl. Baines
Esq.

Foreign Dept. I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 31st ultimo, 1849, and our reply to convey the Governor General's sanction to the Bill submitted therein for Company's Busses One hundred and twenty three (123....) being the amount of 3 months wages authorized to be given as gratuity to certain male attendants lately on the Establishment of Maharajah Chunda Kormwar before their dismissal.

I have &c
G. H. Macgregor
Agent to Govt. of India
with the Govt. Seal

No 1713

Ordered that a copy of the above together with the Bill alluded to therein be sent to the Financial Department for information and further orders in continuation of A. 12644 dated 28th July last.

G. H. Macgregor
Agent to Govt. of India
with the Govt. Seal

Finally
P. H. Macgregor
Agent to the Govt. of India
with the Govt. Seal

(Foreign Department, Political Consultation, Proceeding 'A', No. 28,
23, June, 1849, NAI, New Delhi)

(Copy)
No. 856

From,

The Secretary to the Govt of India
With the Governor General.

To

Governor General's Office,
Bangor & Madras Territories.

Foreign Deptt
Sir,

The attention of the Governor Genl
having been drawn to the entry in your
Political Diary from 5th April to 5th May 1849
mentioning that you had offered a reward
of 5000 Rupees for the apprehension of the Ex
Maha Ranees of Schore, I am directed to
request that you will withdraw the pro-
clamation and not issue such notices of
such large rewards without the special
authority of Government. -

Yours
The 2nd June 1849

I have etc
By H. M. Elliot
Secy to the Govt of India
With the Gov Genl

(True Copy)

Robert Will
Under Secy to the Govt of India
With the Governor General.

C. G. G.

कोपी सहीर राष्ट्रीय अभिलेखागार
भारत सरकार के पास
Copy filed with the National Archives
of India, Govt. of India

LIFE AND TIMES OF MAHARANI JIND KAUR (1817–1863)

A

Abstract in English

Presented to the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences of the
Punjabi University, Patiala
in Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
HISTORY**

Supervised by:

Dr. Kulbir Singh Dhillon
Professor & Head

Submitted by:

Sandeep Kaur



(Established under Punjab Act No. 35 of 1961)

**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY,
PUNJABI UNIVERSITY, PATIALA
MARCH, 2017**

ABSTRACT

Maharani Jind Kaur was the one of the women of the history of the Punjab as well as the history of the India. Maharani Jind Kaur raised her voice against British when her husband Maharaja Ranjit Singh died in 1839 and British tried to wrest the Sikh kingdom from the heir who was her infant son Duleep Singh. During her role as regent Maharani Jind Kaur defended the Khalsa army against two disastrous wars commenced by the British that ultimately led to the annexation of the Punjab. No doubt Maharani Jind Kaur may have made strategic errors due to her military inexperience and young age, but she was a fierce and nationalist ruler or leader.

Maharani Jind Kaur was popularly known as Jindan. She was born in 1817 and she married to Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1835. She was the mother of the last sovereign of the Punjab Maharaja Duleep Singh. At that time Maharani Jind Kaur was only keeping a watchfull eye on all the happenings from within the four walls of the Lahore palace as well as British policies against the Lahore kingdom.

Maharani Jind Kaur had no sufficient power or position in the court of Lahore until her son Duleep Singh came to the throne of the Punjab as Maharaja in 1843 at the age of five years. The political history of Jind Kaur begins from that date. Gradually, she assumed the role of a de jure regent to the minor Maharaja. Jind Kaur mobilized opinion at the Durbar against the dominance of the Dogras. She and her brother, Jawahar Singh, pleaded with the army panchayats (regimental committees) to banish Pandit Jalla and protect the rights of her son Duleep Singh. The council assured the Maharani that Duleep Singh was indeed the Maharaja of the Punjab.

British imposed a treaty of peace upon the young Maharaja Duleep Singh on 9 March, 1846. By the terms of this treaty the Lahore Durbar was compelled to give up the Jalandhar Doab to Britishers. The Maharaja was also forced to the payment of one and half crores of rupees as indemnity for the expenses of the war. The Khalsa army was limited to 20,000 infantry, comprising 25 battalions, and 12000 cavalry, the Lahore Durbar would pay the expenses. All the remaining 36 guns handed over to the British. At the same time, British troops were to have free passage through Lahore territories. Although Maharani Jind Kaur continued to act as the regent of the minor Maharaja Duleep Singh, the real power lay in the hands of the British resident Colonel Henry Lawrence.

Another treaty was signed between British and the Sikh Darbar at Bharowal on 16 December 1846. According to this treaty, Henry Lawrence was appointed as Resident with full authority to direct and control all matters in every department of the state. A council of Regency was established under the leadership of Tej Singh. The power to make changes in the administration of Lahore Durbar was vested in the hands of Resident. The British also maintained as many troops in Punjab as they thought necessary for the preservation of peace and order. Maharani Jind Kaur was deprived from administration and the provision made of Rs. one and half lakh per year for the maintenance of herself and her household. This treaty was to remain in operation until the minor Maharaja Duleep Singh attained the age of 16.

To fulfill the desire of annexing the whole of the Punjab, the British planned to remove Maharani Jind Kaur and Maharaja Duleep Singh not only from Lahore but also from Punjab. For this purpose they started influencing Maharaja Duleep Singh with Christian faith. For this purpose they appointed 'Mr. Login' as his guardian. All this was smelt by Maharani and she wished to save the country from total ruination and also wished to save her son from falling into the hands of the British. For this purpose she raised her voice against the British policy of dominance.

LIFE AND TIMES OF MAHARANI JIND KAUR (1817–1863)

A

Abstract in Punjabi

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(Established under Punjab Act No. 35 of 1961)

**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY,
PUNJABI UNIVERSITY, PATIALA
MARCH, 2017**

ਸਾਰ

ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਜਿੰਦ ਕੌਰ ਨੂੰ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੇ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਵਿੱਚ ਹੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਸਗੋਂ ਭਾਰਤ ਦੇ ਇਤਿਹਾਸ ਵਿੱਚ ਵੀ ਇੱਕ ਮਹੱਤਵਪੂਰਨ ਸਥਾਨ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਹੈ। ਉਸ ਨੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਪਤੀ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਰਣਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਦੀ ਮੌਤ (1839) ਤੋਂ ਬਾਅਦ ਲਾਹੌਰ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਵਿੱਚ ਅਹਿਮ ਭੂਮਿਕਾ ਨਿਭਾਈ ਸੀ। ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਦਲੀਪ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੋ ਸਿੱਖਾਂ ਦਾ ਆਖਰੀ ਰਾਜਾ ਸੀ ਅਤੇ ਇੱਕਲੋਤਾ ਪੁੱਤਰ ਸੀ। ਉਸ ਨੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਪੁੱਤਰ ਦੀ (ਰੀਜਿੰਟ) ਸਰਪ੍ਰਸਤ ਬਣ ਕੇ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ਾਂ ਦੇ ਵਿਰੁੱਧ ਦੋਵੇਂ ਯੁੱਧ ਜੋ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ਾ ਅਤੇ ਸਿੱਖਾਂ ਵਿਚਕਾਰ ਹੋਏ ਅਹਿਮ ਭੂਮਿਕਾ ਨਿਭਾਈ ਸੀ।

ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਜਿੰਦ ਕੌਰ ਨੂੰ ਜਿੰਦਾਂ ਦੇ ਨਾਮ ਨਾਲ ਵੀ ਜਾਣਿਆ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ। ਉਸ ਦਾ ਜਨਮ 1817 ਦੀ ਵਿੱਚ ਸਰਦਾਰ ਮੰਨਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਜੋ ਰਣਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਦੇ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਵਿੱਚ ਕੰਮ ਕਰਦਾ ਸੀ ਦੇ ਘਰ ਹੋਇਆ। ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਰਣਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਨਾਲ ਉਸ ਦੀ ਸਾਦੀ 1835 ਦੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਹੋਈ। ਪਰ ਉਸਦੀ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਵਿੱਚ ਪਹਿਚਾਣ 1838 ਈ. ਵਿੱਚ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਦਲੀਪ ਸਿੰਘ ਦੇ ਜਨਮ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਅਦ ਹੋਈ। 1839 ਦੀ ਵਿੱਚ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਦੀ ਮੌਤ ਹੋਣ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਅਦ ਉਹ ਕੁਝ ਦੇਰ ਲਾਹੌਰ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਵਿੱਚ ਹੋਏ ਲੜਾਈ ਝਗੜਿਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਸ਼ਾਂਤੀਪੂਰਕ ਅਤੇ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਿਕ ਅੱਖ ਨਾਲ ਵੇਖਦੀ ਰਹੀ ਅਤੇ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਲੜਾਈ ਜ਼ਗੜਿਆਂ ਤੋਂ ਆਪਣੇ ਆਪ ਨੂੰ ਅਤੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਪੁੱਤਰ ਨੂੰ ਬਚਾਉਂਦੀ ਰਹੀ।

1843 ਦੇ ਵਿੱਚ ਜਦੋਂ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਫੌਜ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਦਲੀਪ ਸਿੰਘ ਨੂੰ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦਾ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਥਾਪਿਆ ਗਿਆ ਅਤੇ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਨੂੰ ਉਸ ਦੀ ਰੀਜਿੰਟ (Regent) ਲਗਾਇਆ ਗਿਆ। ਉਸ ਸਮੇਂ ਤੋਂ ਹੀ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਜਿੰਦਾਂ ਦੀ ਸਿਆਸੀ ਜ਼ਿੰਦਗੀ ਦੀ ਸ਼ੁਰੂਆਤ ਹੁੰਦੀ ਹੈ ਉਸ ਨੇ ਦਰਵਾਰ ਵਿੱਚ ਹੋ ਰਹੀ ਆਪਸੀ ਖਿਚੋਤਾਵ ਵਿੱਚੋਂ ਨਿਕਲ ਕੇ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ਾਂ ਦਾ ਟਾਕਰਾ ਕਰਨ ਦੀ ਕੋਸ਼ਿਸ਼ ਕੀਤੀ।

ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ਾ ਦੁਆਰਾ ਸਿੱਖਾਂ ਨਾਲ 9 ਮਾਰਚ 1846 ਨੂੰ ਲਾਹੌਰ ਦੀ ਸੰਧੀ ਹੋਈ ਜਿਸ ਵਿੱਚ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ਾ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਯੁੱਧ ਦੇ ਹਰਜਾਨੇ ਵਜੋਂ ਜਲੰਧਰ ਦੇ ਦੁਆਬਾ ਦਾ ਇਲਾਕਾ ਮੰਗਿਆ ਅਤੇ 1 ਕਰੋੜ 50 ਲੱਖ ਹਰਜਾਨੇ ਵਜੋਂ ਭਰਨ ਲਈ ਮਜ਼ਬੂਰ ਕੀਤਾ। ਇਸ ਤੋਂ ਇਲਾਵਾ ਉਹਨਾਂ ਨੇ ਖਾਲਸਾ ਫੌਜ ਦੀ 20,000 ਪੈਦਲ ਫੌਜ ਦੀ ਗਿਣਤੀ ਸੀਮਤ ਕਰ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਅਤੇ 25 ਬਟਾਲੀਅਨ ਅਤੇ 12000 ਰਸਾਲੇ ਲਈ ਲਾਹੌਰ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਭੁਗਤਾਨ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਕਿਹਾ। ਇਹਨਾਂ ਸ਼ਰਤਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਇਹ ਸਾਬਿਤ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਸੀ ਕਿ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਭਾਵੇਂ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਦਲੀਪ ਸਿੰਘ ਦੀ ਸਰਪ੍ਰਸਤ ਸੀ ਪਰ ਅਸਲ ਤਾਕਤ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਦੇ ਹੱਥਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਸੀ ਉਹ ਨਾਵਾਲਗ ਰਾਜੇ ਦਾ ਫਾਇਦਾ ਉਠਾ ਰਹੇ ਸਨ। ਜਿਸ ਦੀ ਸਮਝ ਭਾਵੇਂ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਜਿੰਦ ਕੌਰ ਨੂੰ ਸੀ। ਪਰ ਉਹ ਵੇਵੱਸ ਸੀ। ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ਾ ਅਤੇ ਸਿੱਖਾਂ ਵਿਚਕਾਰ 16 ਦਸੰਬਰ 1846 ਨੂੰ ਭੈਰੋਵਾਲ ਦੇ ਸਥਾਨ ਤੇ ਇੱਕ ਸੰਧੀ ਹੋਈ। ਇਸ ਸੰਧੀ ਅਨੁਸਾਰ ਹੈਨਰੀ

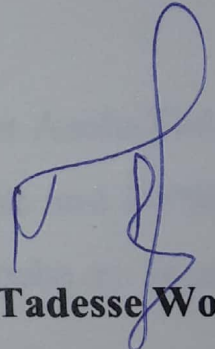
ਲਾਰੰਸ ਦੀ ਅਗਵਾਈ ਅਧੀਨ ਰਾਜ ਦੇ ਸਾਰੇ ਵਿਭਾਗਾਂ ਤੇ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ਾ ਕੰਟਰੋਲ ਹੋ ਗਿਆ ਅਤੇ ਇਸ ਸੰਧੀ ਦੀਆਂ ਸ਼ਰਤਾਂ ਉਦੋਂ ਤੱਕ ਲਾਗੂ ਰਹਿਣਗੀ ਜਦੋਂ ਤੱਕ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਦਲੀਪ ਸਿੰਘ 16 ਸਾਲਾਂ ਦਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਅਤੇ ਲਾਰੌਰ ਦਰਬਾਰ ਦੀ ਰੀਜੈਂਸੀ ਦੀ ਸਭਾ ਤੇਜ ਸਿੰਘ ਦੀ ਅਗਵਾਈ ਹੇਠ ਸਥਾਪਿਤ ਕੀਤੀ ਗਈ ਅਤੇ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਜਿੰਦ ਕੌਰ ਦਾ 1 ਲੱਖ ਪੰਜਾਹ ਰੁਪਏ ਖਰਚਾ ਨਿਸ਼ਚਤ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਅਤੇ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਰਾਜਸੀ ਕੰਮਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਵੰਚਿਤ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ। ਆਖਰਕਾਰ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਕੈਦ ਕਰਕੇ ਵੱਖ-ਵੱਖ ਜੇਲਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਭੇਜਿਆ ਗਿਆ ਅਤੇ ਉਸ ਨਾਲ ਬਹੁਤ ਭੈੜਾ ਵਿਹਾਰ ਕੀਤਾ ਫੇਰ ਉਸ ਨੂੰ ਆਪਣੇ ਪੁੱਤਰ ਦਲੀਪ ਸਿੰਘ ਤੋਂ ਅਲੱਗ ਕਰਕੇ ਬਨਾਰਸ ਭੇਜ ਦਿੱਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਅਤੇ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ਾ ਨੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਮਕਸਦ ਨੂੰ ਪੂਰਾ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਮਹਾਰਾਜਾ ਦਲੀਪ ਸਿੰਘ ਤੇ ਇਸਾਈ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵ ਪਾਉਣਾ ਸ਼ੁਰੂ ਕਰ ਦਿੱਤਾ। ਇਸ ਲਈ ਮਿਸਟਰ ਲੇਗਿਨ ਨੂੰ ਉਸਦਾ ਸਰਪ੍ਰਸਤ ਨਿਯੁਕਤ ਕਰ ਦਿੱਤਾ। ਪਰ ਮਹਾਰਾਣੀ ਜਿੰਦ ਕੌਰ ਇਸ ਸਭ ਕੁੱਝ ਤੋਂ ਜਾਣੂ ਸੀ ਪਰ ਉਹ ਆਪਣੇ ਦੇਸ਼ ਅਤੇ ਪੁੱਤਰ ਨੂੰ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਬਚਾਉਣਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦੀ ਸੀ। ਆਖਰਕਾਰ ਉਸ ਨੇ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ਾਂ ਦੇ ਵਿਰੁੱਧ ਲੜਨ ਲਈ ਆਪਣੇ ਪੁਰਾਣੇ ਫੌਜੀ ਜਰਨੈਲਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਇੱਕਠਾ ਕਰਕੇ ਅਤੇ ਅੰਦਲੇਨ ਨੂੰ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ਾਂ ਦੇ ਵਿਰੁੱਧ ਮਜ਼ਬੂਤ ਕਰਨ ਦੀ ਕੋਸ਼ਿਸ਼ ਕੀਤੀ ਅਤੇ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਨੂੰ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਬਚਾਉਣ ਦਾ ਬਿੜਾ ਚੁੱਕਿਆ।

DECLARATION

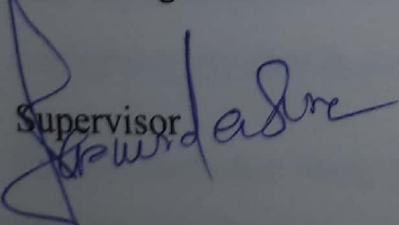
I hereby affirm that the work presented in this thesis is exclusively my own and there are no collaborators. It does not contain any work for which a degree/diploma has been awarded by any other university/institution.

I declare that I have faithfully acknowledged, given credit to and referred to the research workers wherever their works have been cited in the text and the body of the thesis. I further certify that I have not wilfully lifted up some other's work, paragraph, text, data, results, etc. reported in the journals, books, magazines, reports, dissertations, theses, etc., or available at web-sites and included them in this Ph. D. thesis and cited as my own work. I also declare that I have adhered to all principles of academic honesty and integrity and have not misrepresented or fabricated or falsified any idea/data/fact/source in my submission. I understand that any violation of the above will be cause for disciplinary action by the University.

Date: 20/12/2016


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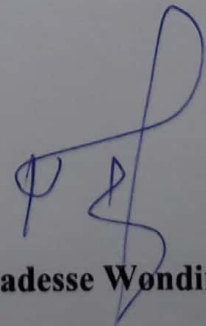
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