#### Unit-2 shikhism

Topic 1 About Sikhism: Sikhism, religion and philosophy founded in the Punjab region of the Indian subcontinent in the late 15th century. Its members are known as Sikhs. The Sikhs call their faith Gurmat (Punjabi: "the Way of the Guru"). According to Sikh tradition, Sikhism was established by Guru Nanak (1469–1539) and subsequently led by a succession of nine other Gurus. All 10 human Gurus, Sikhs believe, were inhabited by a single spirit. Upon the death of the 10th, Guru Gobind Singh (1666–1708), the spirit of the eternal Guru transferred itself to the sacred scripture of Sikhism, Guru Granth Sahib ("The Granth as the Guru"), also known as the Adi Granth ("First Volume"), which thereafter was regarded as the sole Guru. In the early 21st century there were nearly 25 million Sikhs worldwide, the great majority of them living in the Indian state of Punjab.

The following discussion of the lives of the 10 Gurus relies on the traditional Sikh account, most elements of which are derived from hagiographic legend and lore and cannot be verified historically. This point should be borne in mind throughout, especially in the sections on the early Gurus.

#### **History And Doctrine**

Sikh in Punjabi means "learner," and those who joined the Sikh community, or Panth ("Path"), were people who sought spiritual guidance. Sikhs claim that their tradition has always been separate from Hinduism. Nevertheless, many Western scholars argue that in its earliest stage Sikhism was a movement within the Hindu tradition; Nanak, they point out, was raised a Hindu and eventually belonged to the Sant tradition of northern India, a movement associated with the great poet and mystic Kabir (1440–1518). The Sants, most of whom were poor, dispossessed, and illiterate, composed hymns of great beauty expressing their experience of the divine, which they saw in all things. Their tradition drew heavily on the Vaishnava bhakti (the devotional movement within the Hindu tradition that worships the god Vishnu), though there were important differences between the two. Like the followers of bhakti, the Sants believed that devotion to God is essential to liberation from the cycle of rebirth in which all human beings are trapped; unlike the followers of bhakti, however, the Sants maintained that God is nirgun ("without form") and not sagun ("with form"). For the Sants, God can be neither incarnated nor represented in concrete terms.

#### Sikhism

#### Guru Nanak

A member of the Khatri (trading) caste and far from illiterate, Nanak was not a typical Sant, yet he experienced the same spirit of God in everything outside him and everything within him as did others in the movement he founded. He was born in the Punjab, which has been the home of the Sikh faith ever since.

Nanak composed many hymns, which were collected in the Adi Granth by Guru Arjan, the fifth Sikh Guru, in 1604. Nanak's authorship of these works is beyond doubt, and it is also certain that he

visited pilgrimage sites throughout India. Beyond this very little is known. The story of his life has been the imagined product of the legendary janam-sakhis ("life stories"), which were composed between 50 and 80 years after the Guru's death in 1539, though only a tiny fraction of the material found in them can be affirmed as factual.

The first janam-sakhis were attributed to the lifelong companion of Nanak, Bhai Bala (1466–1544), who composed an account of the Guru's life that was filled with miracles and wonder stories. By the end of the 19th century, the Bala version had begun to create serious unease among Sikh scholars, who were greatly relieved when a more rational version, since known as the Puratan ("Ancient") tradition, was discovered in London, where it had arrived as a gift for the library of the East India Company. Although it too contained fantastic elements, it had far fewer miracle stories than the Bala version, and it presented a more plausible account of the course of Guru Nanak's journeys. When supplemented by references from a discourse by the poet Bhai Gurdas (1551–1637), the Puratan seems to provide a satisfactory description of the life of Guru Nanak.

According to this version, Nanak made five trips, one in each of the four directions of the cardinal points of the compass, followed by one within the Punjab. He traveled first to the east and then to the south, reaching Sri Lanka. He then journeyed to the north, deep in the Himalayas, where he debated with Nath masters known as Siddhs, who were believed to have attained immortality through the practice of yoga. His trip to the west took him to Baghdad, Mecca, and Medina. He then settled in Kartarpur, a village on the right bank of the Ravi River in the Punjab. After visiting southern Punjab, he died in Kartarpur, having appointed a loyal disciple as his successor.

The hagiographic character of the Puratan tradition is well illustrated by the story of Nanak's visit to Mecca. Having entered the city, Nanak lay down with his feet pointing at the mihrab (the niche in a mosque indicating the direction of the Ka'bah). An outraged qāẓī (judge) found him there and demanded an explanation. In reply Nanak asked him to drag his feet away from the mihrab. This the qāẓī did, only to discover that, wherever he placed Nanak's feet, there the mihrab moved. The lesson of the story is that God is everywhere, not in any particular direction.

Another popular Puratan story concerns Nanak's visit to the "Land Ruled by Women" in eastern India. Mardana, Nanak's faithful minstrel and travel companion, went ahead to beg for food but was turned into a sheep by one of the women. When Nanak arrived, he caused a pot to adhere to the woman's head and restored Mardana to his original form after instructing him to say "Vahi Guru" ("Praise to the Guru"). The women then tried all manner of fearsome magic on the pair, without success. After the queen of the Land Ruled by Women, Nur Shah, failed in her attempt to seduce Nanak, the women finally submitted.

Nanak was certainly no admirer of the Naths, who apparently competed with him for converts. (The janam-sakhi anecdotes give considerable prominence to debates between Nanak and the Siddhs, in which Nanak invariably gets the better of his opponents.) By contrast, he accepted the message of the Sants, giving it expression in hymns of the most compelling beauty. He taught that all people are subject to the transmigration of souls and that the sole and sufficient means of liberation from the cycle of rebirth is meditation on the divine nam (Persian: "name"). According to Nanak, the nam encompasses the whole of creation—everything outside the believer and everything within him.

Having heard the divine word (shabad) through a grace bestowed by God, or Akal Purakh (one of Nanak's names for God), and having chosen to accept the word, the believer undertakes nam simaran, or meditation on the name. Through this discipline, he gradually begins to perceive manifold signs of the nam, and the means of liberation are progressively revealed. Ascending to ever-higher levels of mystical experience, the believer is blessed with a mounting sense of peace and joy. Eventually the sach khand ("abode of truth") is reached, and the believer passes into a condition of perfect and absolute union with Akal Purakh.

Sikhs believe that the "voice" with which the word is uttered within the believer's being is that of the spirit of the eternal Guru. Because Nanak performed the discipline of nam simaran, the eternal Guru took flesh and dwelt within him. Upon Nanak's death the eternal Guru was embodied, in turn, in each of Nanak's successors until, with the death of Guru Gobind Singh, it was enshrined in the holy scripture of the Sikhs, the Guru Granth Sahib.

The fourth Guru, Ram Das, introduced two significant changes: he introduced the appointment of masands (vicars), charged with the care of defined congregations (sangats), and he founded the important centre of Amritsar. The chief contribution of Arjan, the fifth Guru, was the compilation of the Sikhs' sacred scripture, using the Goindval Pothis, which had been prepared at the instructions of Guru Amar Das. All of the Gurus continued the teaching of Nanak concerning liberation through meditation on the divine name. The first five Gurus were, therefore, one as far as the central belief was concerned.

Under the sixth Guru, however, the doctrine of miri/piri emerged. Like his predecessors, the Guru still engaged in piri, spiritual leadership, but to it he now added miri, the rule of a worldly leader. The Panth was thus no longer an exclusively religious community but was also a military one that was commonly involved in open warfare. All Sikhs were expected to accept the new dual authority of the Gurus.

The final contribution of the Gurus came with Gobind Singh. As before, there was no weakening of the doctrine affirming meditation on the divine name. Guru Gobind Singh, however, believed that the forces of good and evil fell out of balance on occasion, and at times the latter increased enormously. Akal Purakh then intervened in human history to correct the balance, choosing as his agents particular individuals who fought the forces of evil that had acquired excessive power. Gobind Singh believed that the Mughals, through Emperor Aurangzeb, had tipped the scale too far toward evil and that he had been divinely appointed to restore the balance between good and evil. He also believed that drawing the sword was justified to rein in evil.

## Guru Angad

In 1539 Nanak died, having first appointed Guru Angad (1504–52) as his successor. Originally known as Lahina, Angad had been a worshipper of the Hindu goddess Durga. While leading a party to the holy site of Javalamukhi (a temple in a town of the same name in Himachal Pradesh state, India), he passed by Kartarpur and was instantly won over by the beauty of Nanak's hymns. Thereafter the future Guru was completely loyal to his new master, and his behaviour persuaded Nanak that he would be a more suitable successor than either of the Guru's two sons. A thoroughly obedient disciple, Angad made no innovations in Nanak's teachings, and the period of his leadership was uneventful.

## Guru Amar Das

When Angad died, the title of Guru was passed to Amar Das (1479–1574), who was distinguished by his total loyalty to the second Guru. According to tradition, Amar Das was a Vaishnava who had spent his life looking for a Guru. While on a trip to the Ganges River, he decided to become a Sikh when he overheard the daughter of Angad singing a hymn by Nanak. Amar Das, who was 73 years old when he became Guru, assumed responsibility for the Panth at a time when it was settling down after the first flush of its early years. Many Sikhs had been born into the Panth, and the enthusiasm and excitement that characterized the religion under Nanak had dissipated. Believing that rituals were necessary to confirm the Sikhs in their faith, Amar Das ordered the digging of a sacred well (baoli), which he designated as a pilgrimage site; created three festival days (Baisakhi, Maghi, and Diwali); and compiled a scripture of sacred hymns, the so-called Goindval Pothis. In addition, because the Sikhs had spread throughout the Punjab, he established manjis (dioceses) to help spread the faith and better organize its adherents. Despite these changes, there was no weakening of the obligation to meditate on the nam.

## Guru Ram Das

Guru Ram Das (1534–81), the fourth Guru, was the son-in-law of Guru Amar Das. He is perhaps best known as the founder of the town of Amritsar ("Pool of Nectar"), which became the capital of the Sikh religion and the location of the Harmandir Sahib (later known as the Golden Temple), the chief house of worship in Sikhism. He also replaced the manjis with masands (vicars), who were charged with the care of defined sangats (congregations) and who at least once a year presented the Guru with reports on and gifts from the Sikh community. Particularly skilled in hymn singing, Guru Ram Das stressed the importance of this practice, which remains an important part of Sikh worship. A member of the Khatri caste and the Sodhi family, Ram Das appointed his son Arjan as his successor, and all subsequent Gurus were his direct descendants.

#### Guru Arjan

Prithi Chand, the oldest brother of Guru Arjan (1563–1606), took a distinctly hostile view of his brother's appointment and in retaliation attempted to poison Hargobind, Arjan's only son. Prithi Chand and his followers also circulated hymns that they alleged were written by the earlier Gurus. This prompted Arjan to compile an authentic version of the hymns, which he did using Bhai Gurdas as his scribe and the Goindval Pothis as a guide. The resulting Adi Granth, in a supplemented version, became the Guru Granth Sahib. It remains the essential scripture of the faith, and Sikhs always show it profound respect and turn to it whenever they need guidance, comfort, or peace.

During Arjan's lifetime the Panth steadily won converts, particularly among members of the Jat agrarian caste. The Mughal governor of the Punjab was concerned about the growth of the religion, and Emperor Jahāngīr was influenced by rumours concerning Arjan's alleged support for Jahāngīr's rebellious son Khusro. Guru Arjan was arrested and tortured to death by the Mughals. Before he died, however, he urged his son—Hargobind, the sixth Guru—always to carry arms.

## Guru Hargobind: A new direction for the Panth

The appointment of the sixth Guru, Guru Hargobind (1595–1644), marks a transition from a strictly religious Panth to one that was both religious and temporal. Arjan's command to his son was later

termed miri/piri ("temporal authority"/"spiritual authority"). Hargobind was still the Guru, and as such he continued the pattern established by his five predecessors. He was, in other words, a pir, or spiritual leader, but he was also a mir, or chieftain of his people, responsible for protecting them against tyranny with force of arms. The new status of the Guru and the Panth was confirmed by the actions of Hargobind and came to be reflected in the architecture of Amritsar. Opposite the Harmandir Sahib, the symbol of piri, there is a building known as the Akal Takht, the symbol of miri. Thus, when Hargobind stood between the Harmandir Sahib and the Akal Takht and buckled on two swords, the message was clear: he possessed both spiritual and temporal authority.

Hargobind fought intermittently with Mughal forces in the Punjab. Following four such skirmishes, he withdrew from Amritsar and occupied Kiratpur in the foothills of the Shiwalik Hills. This was a much more suitable position because it was outside the territory directly controlled by the Mughal administration. There he remained until his death in 1644.

Before he died, the question of who should succeed him emerged. Although it was certain that the successor should be a descendant of his, it was far from clear which of his children or grandchildren should take his place. Hargobind had three wives who bore him six children. The eldest son, Gurditta, who was evidently his favourite for the position, had predeceased him, and none of the remaining five seemed suitable for the position. The older son of Gurditta, Dhir Mal, was rejected because, from his seat in Jalandhar district, he had formed an alliance with Emperor Shāh Jahān. This meant that the younger son of Gurditta, Har Rai, would become the seventh Guru. But Dhir Mal continued to make trouble for the orthodox Panth and attracted many Sikhs as his followers. He also claimed to possess the sacred scripture prepared by Guru Arjan and used it to buttress his claims to be the only legitimate Guru.

## Guru Har Rai

The period of Guru Har Rai (1630–61) was a relatively peaceful one. He withdrew from Kiratpur and moved farther back into the Shiwalik Hills, settling with a small retinue at Sirmur. From there he occasionally emerged onto the plains of the Punjab to visit and preach to the Sikhs. In this regard he was well served by several masands, who brought him news about the Sikhs and offerings of money to pay the expenses of the Panth.

## India: Sikh separatism

India's problems with poverty, pluralism, inequities in development and gross disparities in wealth and education, and continuing provincial...

The period of peace did not last, however. Guru Har Rai faced the same problems with the Mughals as Guru Arjan had. Aurangzeb, the successful contender for the Mughal throne, defeated his elder brother Dara Shikoh and established himself in Delhi. He then sent a message to Har Rai requiring him to deliver his son Ram Rai as a hostage for Har Rai's reputed support of Dara Shikoh. Aurangzeb evidently wished to educate the future Guru in Mughal ways and to convert him into a supporter of the Mughal throne. In an episode that illustrated the success of this quest, Aurangzeb once asked Ram Rai to explain an apparently demeaning line in the Adi Granth, which claimed that earthenware pots were mitti musalaman ki, or formed from deceased Muslim bodies. Ram Rai replied that the words had been miscopied. The original text should have been mitti beiman ki, the dust that is

formed from the bodies of faithless people. When this answer was reported to Har Rai, he declared his intention never to see Ram Rai again. Because he had committed the serious crime of altering the words of Guru Nanak, Ram Rai could never be the Guru, and the position passed instead to his younger brother, Hari Krishen, who inherited the title when he was only five years old.

# Guru Hari Krishen

Aurangzeb summoned Guru Hari Krishen (1656–64) to Delhi from the Shiwalik Hills. While in Delhi, Hari Krishen contracted smallpox, which proved fatal. Before he died, he uttered the words "Baba Bakale," which indicated to his followers the identity of his successor, the baba ("old man") who is in the village of Bakala. Hari Krishen meant to identify Tegh Bahadur, who dwelt in Bakala and was the son of Guru Hargobind by his second wife and the half brother of Guru Hari Krishen's grandfather.

# Guru Tegh Bahadur

As soon as these words became known, many hopeful persons rushed to Bakala to claim the title. Sikh tradition records that Makhan Shah, a trader, had been caught by a violent storm at sea and in his distress vowed to give the Sikh Guru 501 gold mohurs (coins) if he should be spared. After the storm abated, the survivor traveled to the Punjab, and, learning that the Guru resided in Bakala, he proceeded there. He discovered that several people claimed the title following the death of Guru Hari Krishen. He decided to test them all, laying before each claimant two gold mohurs. Finally he reached Tegh Bahadur, who asked him for the remainder of what he had promised. Rushing up to the rooftop, Makhan Shah proclaimed that he had indeed found the true Guru.

The period of Guru Tegh Bahadur (1621–75) is important for two reasons. The first is that several hymns that Tegh Bahadur wrote were added by Guru Gobind Singh to the collection originally made by Guru Arjan; the canon was then closed, and the Adi Granth has remained inviolable ever since. The second concerns the manner of Tegh Bahadur's death. Sikh tradition maintains that he was arrested by Mughal authorities for having aided Kashmiri Brahmans against Mughal attempts to convert them to Islam. Offered the choice of conversion or death, he chose the latter and was immediately beheaded.

A Sikh who witnessed the execution spirited away Tegh Bahadur's headless body and lodged it in his house outside Delhi. To cremate the body without raising suspicion, he burned the whole house. Meanwhile, three outcaste Sikhs secured the head of the Guru and carried it in secret up to Anandpur, a service which earned them and all their successors the right to be called Ranghreta Sikhs, an honoured group of outcaste followers of the Guru. Arriving in Anandpur, they produced the severed head amidst cries of great lamentation.

# Guru Gobind Singh and the founding of the Khalsa

Following the death of Tegh Bahadur, Guru Gobind Singh (1666–1708), the most important of all the Gurus with the exception of Guru Nanak, assumed leadership of the Sikhs. Gobind Rai, whose name was altered to Gobind Singh possibly at the time of the creation of the Khalsa, was born in Patna, the only child of Guru Tegh Bahadur. At the age of five he was brought to Anandpur and educated in Sanskrit and Persian and in the arts of poetry and warfare. His father's execution in Delhi by Aurangzeb must have made a deep impression on the child. For several years after his succession as Guru, he continued his education in the Shiwalik Hills. He grew to manhood as the ruler of a small

Shiwalik state, participating in various wars against other Shiwalik chieftains and demonstrating a particular delight in the sport of hunting.

According to Sikh tradition, on Baisakhi Day (the Indian New Year) late in the 17th century (the exact year is uncertain, though it was probably 1699), a fair was held at Anandpur, and all Sikhs were ordered to attend. The Guru remained concealed until the celebrations were at their height, when he suddenly appeared from a tent carrying a drawn sword and demanding the head of one of his loyal followers. At once the crowd became silent, wondering what had happened. The Guru repeated the command, and eventually Daya Singh volunteered and was taken behind a screen to be dispatched. Gobind Singh then reappeared, his sword dripping blood, and demanded a second victim. He too was escorted behind the screen, and again the sound of the sword could be heard. In this manner five loyal Sikhs agreed to die for their master. When he had apparently dispatched the fifth, the screen was removed, and all five were seen to be very much alive. At their feet lay five slaughtered goats. The five volunteers became the Panj Piare, the "Cherished Five," who had proved that their loyalty was beyond question.

Guru Gobind Singh explained that he desired the Panj Piare to be the beginning of a new order, the Khalsa ("the Pure," from the Persian khalisah, also meaning "pure"). The masands (many of whom had become quarrelsome or corrupt) would be eliminated, and all Sikhs, through their initiation into the Khalsa, would owe allegiance directly to the Guru. Gobind Singh then commenced the amrit sanskar ("nectar ceremony"), the service of initiation for the Panj Piare. When the rite was concluded, the Guru himself was initiated by the Panj Piare. The order was then opened to anyone wishing to join, and Sikh tradition reports that enormous crowds responded.

It should be noted that, contrary to the belief of many Sikhs, some central features of the presentday Khalsa did not exist in Gobind Singh's time. For example, although the Guru required that those initiated into the Khalsa carry arms and never cut their hair (so that at least the men would never be able to deny their identity as Khalsa Sikhs), the wearing of the "Five Ks"—kes or kesh (uncut hair), kangha (comb), kachha (short trousers), kara (steel bracelet), and kirpan (ceremonial sword)—did not become an obligation of all Sikhs until the establishment of the Singh Sabha, a religious and educational reform movement of the late 19th and the early 20th century. The Sikh wedding ceremony, in which the bride and groom walk around the Guru Granth Sahib, is also a modern development, having replaced the essentially Hindu rite, in which the bride and groom walk around a sacred fire, by the Anand Marriage Act of 1909. The names Singh ("Lion") for Sikh males and Kaur ("Princess") for Sikh females, formerly adopted upon initiation into the Khalsa, are now bestowed to all Sikhs in a birth and naming ceremony (see below Rites and festivals). All of these changes have been incorporated into the Rahit, the Sikh code of belief and conduct, which reached nearly its final form in the early 20th century.

Guru Gobind Singh believed that the forces of good and evil in the world sometimes fall out of balance. When the forces of evil become too great, Akal Purakh intervenes in human history to correct the balance, using particular human individuals as his agents. In Gobind Singh's time the forces of evil, represented by the Mughals under Aurangzeb, had gained the ascendance, and it was Gobind Singh's task, he believed, to right the balance. In the service of this mission, the Sikhs were justified in drawing the sword. He expressed this conviction in Zafar-nama ("Epistle of Victory"), a letter that he addressed late in life to Augangzeb.

Soon after the creation of the Khalsa, the Guru was attacked by other Shiwalik chieftains in league with the Mughal governor of the town of Sirhind. In 1704 he was compelled to withdraw from Anandpur, losing two of his four sons in the battle that followed. The two remaining sons were taken prisoner and delivered to the governor of Sirhind, who cruelly executed them by bricking them up alive. The fate of these two children has remained an agonizing tale for Sikhs ever since.

From Anandpur Gobind Singh escaped to southern Punjab, where he inflicted a defeat on his pursuers at Muktsar. He then moved on to Damdama, remaining there until 1706 and, according to tradition, occupying himself with the final revision of the Adi Granth. When Aurangzeb died in 1707, Gobind Singh agreed to accompany Aurangzeb's successor, Bahādur Shāh, to southern India. Arriving at Nanded on the banks of the Godavari River in 1708, he was assassinated by agents of the governor of Sirhind.

Guru Gobind Singh is without doubt the beau ideal of the Sikhs. Illustrations of him and of Guru Nanak are commonly found in Sikh homes. He is regarded as the supreme exemplar of all that a Sikh of the Khalsa (a Gursikh) should be. His bravery is admired, his nobility esteemed, his goodness profoundly revered. The duty of every Khalsa member, therefore, is to follow his path and to perform works that would be worthy of him.

## The 18th and 19th centuries

The most significant figure in Sikh history of the 18th century is Lacchman Dev, who was probably born in Punch in Kashmir and had become a Vaishnava ascetic known as Madho Das. He journeyed to the south and was in the vicinity of Nanded at the time of Guru Gobind Singh's arrival. The two met shortly before the Guru's death, and Madho Das was instantly converted to the Sikh faith and renamed Banda ("the Slave"). The Guru also conferred on him the title of Bahadur ("the Brave"); he has been known as Banda Bahadur ever since.

According to tradition, Banda Bahadur was commissioned by Gobind Singh to mount a campaign in the Punjab against the governor of Sirhind. A hukam-nama, or letter of command, from the Guru was entrusted to him certifying that he was the Guru's servant and encouraging all Sikhs to join him. Arriving in the Punjab with a group of 25 Sikhs, Banda issued a call to join him, and, partly because the peasants were struggling against the excessive land tax of the Mughals, he had considerable success. The fact that he had been commissioned by the 10th Guru also counted for much. The process evidently took some time, and it was not until late 1709 that Banda and his army of peasants were able to mount an attack, sacking the towns of Samana and Sadhaura.

Banda then turned his attention to the town of Sirhind and its governor, who had bricked up the two younger sons of Guru Gobind Singh. For this and many other crimes, the Sikhs believed that he merited death. Banda's army, fighting with great determination, attacked and overwhelmed Sirhind, and the governor was put to the sword. Thereafter much of the Punjab was plunged into turmoil, though Banda's army clearly was the dominant force in the early years of the rebellion. Many of the peasants had rallied to Banda, and the Mughals were exceedingly hard-pressed to maintain control. Finally, after six years of fighting, Banda was cornered in the village of Gurdas Nangal, where he chose to construct a defense by flooding a surrounding canal. This proved to be a mistake, since the Mughals only had to wait until hunger drove Banda's army to surrender. Banda was put in chains and carried to Delhi in a cage, and in June 1716 he was tortured and barbarously executed.

Although Banda is greatly admired by Sikhs for his bravery and his loyalty to the 10th Guru, he has never commanded the complete approval of the Panth. This is presumably because he introduced changes to the Khalsa, including a new greeting, "Fateh darshan" ("Facing victory!"), in place of the traditional "Fateh Vahi Guruji" ("Victory to the Guru!"). He also required his followers to be vegetarians and to wear red garments instead of the traditional blue. Those who accepted these changes were called Bandai Sikhs, while those opposed to them—led by Mata Sundari, one of Guru Gobind Singh's widows—called themselves the Tat Khalsa (the "True" Khalsa or "Pure" Khalsa), which should not be confused with the Tat Khalsa segment of the Singh Sabha, discussed below.

After the execution of Banda, the Sikhs endured several decades of persecution by the Mughals, though there were occasional periods of peace. Only the Sikhs of the Khalsa—whose identity could be easily recognized by their uncut hair and flowing beards—were persecuted; other Sikhs were seldom affected. This period, nonetheless, is remembered by Sikhs as one of great suffering, accompanied by acts of great bravery by many Khalsa Sikhs in their struggle against the Mughal authorities in Lahore.

Beginning in 1747, the ruler of Afghanistan, Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī, led a series of nine invasions of the Punjab that eventually brought Mughal power in the region to an end. In rural areas, the Sikhs took advantage of the weakening of Mughal control to form several groups later known as misls or misals. Beginning as warrior bands, the emergent misls and their sardars (chieftains) gradually established their authority over quite extensive areas.

As Mughal power declined, the misls eventually faced the Afghan army of Aḥmad Shāh, with whom an important Sikh tradition is associated. After the Afghans occupied the Harmandir Sahib in 1757, Dip Singh, a member of the Shahid misl, pledged to free the shrine or die in the attempt. His small army was met by a much larger one several kilometres from Amritsar, and in the ensuing battle Dip Singh's head was cut off. According to one version of events, the body of Dip Singh, holding the head in one hand, continued fighting, eventually dropping dead in the precincts of the Harmandir Sahib. Another account reports that the body fought its way to the outskirts of Amritsar and then hurled the head toward the Harmandir Sahib, the head landing very close to the shrine; the place where the head is believed to have landed is marked by a hexagonal stone.

By the end of Aḥmad Shāh's invasions in 1769, the Punjab was largely in the hands of 12 misls, and, with the external threat removed, the misls turned to fighting between themselves. Eventually, one misldar (commander), Ranjit Singh, the leader of the Sukerchakia misl (named after the town of Sukkarchak in what is now northeastern Punjab province, Pakistan), which included territories north and west of Lahore, won almost complete control of the Punjab. The lone exception was the Phulkian misl (so called after its founder, Phul, the disciple of Guru Har Rai) on the southeastern border of the Punjab, which survived because the English East India Company had reached the Sutlej River and Ranjit Singh recognized that he was not yet ready to fight the British army. For their part, the British recognized that Ranjit Singh was in the process of establishing a strong kingdom, and, for as long as it survived, they were content to have it as a buffer state between their territories and their ultimate objective, Afghanistan.

Sikhs remember Ranjit Singh with respect and affection as their greatest leader after the Gurus. He succeeded as Sukerchakia misldar when his father died in 1792. By 1799 he had entered Lahore, and in 1801 he proclaimed himself maharaja of the Punjab. He sheathed the two upper stories of the Harmandir Sahib in gold leaf, thereby converting it into what became known as the Golden Temple. Within the kingdom that replaced the misl system, Sikhs of the Khalsa received special consideration, but places were also found for Hindus and Muslims. The army was Ranjit Singh's particular interest. His objective was to create an entirely new army on a Western model, and for this purpose he employed numerous Europeans, only the British being excepted. When his new army was ready to do battle, the city of Multan, the Vale of Kashmir, and the citadel of Peshawar were all added to the kingdom of the Punjab.

Notwithstanding his many accomplishments, Ranjit Singh failed to provide a firm financial footing for his government, nor was he interested in training a successor. When he died in 1839, he was succeeded by his eldest son, Kharak Singh, though effective authority was exercised by Kharak Singh's son Nau Nihal Singh. Kharak Singh died in 1840 as a result of excessive opium consumption, and Nau Nihal Singh was killed by a falling arch on the day of his father's funeral. The Punjab quickly descended into chaos, and, following two wars with the British, the state was annexed in 1849 to become a part of British India. After annexation, the British favoured the Sikhs for recruitment as soldiers, and many Sikhs made the British army their career.

For their loyalty to the British administration during the unsuccessful Indian Mutiny of 1857–58, the Sikhs were rewarded with grants of land and other privileges. Peace and prosperity within the Punjab made possible the founding of the first Singh Sabha, a religious and educational reform movement, in Amritsar in 1873. Its purpose was to demonstrate that Sikhs were not involved in the Indian Mutiny and to respond to signs of decay within the Panth, such as haircutting and tobacco smoking. Because the men who gathered in Amritsar were, for the most part, large landowners and persons of high status, the positions they adopted were generally conservative. In response a more radical branch of the Singh Sabha was established in Lahore in 1879. The Amritsar group came to be known as the Sanatan ("Traditional") Sikhs, whereas the radical Lahore branch was known as the Tat Khalsa.

The differences between the two groups were considerable. The Sanatan Sikhs regarded themselves as part of the wider Hindu community (then the dominant view within the Panth), and they tolerated such things as idols in the Golden Temple. The Tat Khalsa, on the other hand, insisted that Sikhism was a distinct and independent faith. The pamphlet Ham Hindu Nahin (1898; "We Are Not Hindus"), by the Tat Khalsa writer Kahn Singh Nabha, provided an effective slogan for the movement. Other radical adherents, influenced by Western standards of scholarship, set out to revise and rationalize the rahit-namas (the manuals containing the Rahit), removing parts that were erroneous, inconsistent, or antiquated. Many prohibitions were eliminated, though tobacco and halal meat (flesh of an animal killed according to Muslim ritual) continued to be enjoined. Their work eventually resulted in a clear statement of the Five Ks, which has since been adopted by all orthodox Sikhs. Marriage was also reformed according to Tat Khalsa views.

The controversy between the Sanatan Sikhs and the Tat Khalsa Sikhs continued for some time, as other factions within the Singh Sabha lent their support to one group or the other. Most factions, however, supported the radical group, and, by the beginning of the 20th century, the dominance of

the Tat Khalsa movement had become apparent. Eventually its victory was total, and, during the early decades of the 20th century, it converted the Panth to its distinctive way of thinking, so much so that the accepted contemporary understanding of the Sikh faith is the Tat Khalsa interpretation.

## ARMY OF MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH

ARMY OF MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH, a formidable military machine that helped the Maharaja carve out an extensive kingdom and maintain it amid hostile and ambitious neighbours, was itself the creation of his own genius. His inheritance was but a scanty force which, in the manner of the Sikh misldari days, comprised almost solely horsemen, without any regular training or organization. Everyone brought his own horse and whatever weapon he could afford or acquire. What held these troopers together was their personal loyalty to the leader. The. tactics followed were those of the guerilla warfare.

The system had stood the Khalsa in good stead during the turbulent and anarchic eighteenth century, but was unsuited to the needs of the changed times and to Ranjit Singh's ambition to establish a secure rule. Early in his career, he had watched how the British troops with their systematic training and their discipline, had vanquished Indian forces vastly superior in numbers. He had also realized how crucial in warfare was a well drilled infantry as well as artillery. In 1802, soon after his occupation of Amritsar, he engaged some deserters from the army of the East India Company to train his own platoons of infantry.

He even sent some of his own men to Ludhiana to study the British methods of training and tactics. As Sikhs generally looked down upon infantry service, he recruited Purbias, as soldiers of fortune from Gangetic plain were called, Punjabi Muslims and Afghans and, later, Gurkhas as well. These troops were soon tested during the short campaign against Ahmad Khan Sial of Jharig and the zamindars of Uchch during the winter of 1803-04. Their success and the fact that the Maharaja himself regularly saw them train made the infantry an enviable service and Sikhs too started joining its ranks in large numbers.

Ranjit Singh gave equal importance to artillery which had, till his time, been limited to the use of zamburaks or swivels only. He increased the number of guns. The casting of guns of larger calibre as well as the manufacture of ammunition was undertaken on a large scale. The reorganization and training of cavalry, however, waited until the induction into Sikh service of European officers. The arrival of Jean Baptiste Ventura and Jean Francois Allard, two veterans of the Napoleonic Wars, at Lahore in 1822. was the starting point.

Ranjit Singh gave them employment after considerable initial hesitation and elaborate verification. He charged them with the raising of a special corps of regular army, the Fauji Khas or FaujiA`in. General Ventura trained battalions of infantry and General Allard trained the cavalry. Artillery, its training and command and ordnance were under Punjabi generals, Ilahi Bakhsh and Lahina Singh Majithia, until the arrival of a French officer, General Claude Auguste Court in 1827 and the American Colonel Alexander Gardner in 1832. It was organized into battalions of about 900 men each. A battalion, commanded by a kiimedan or commandant, assisted by an adjutant and a major, was the standard administrative and manoeuvring unit. Its administrative staff included, besides the usual camp followers and tradesmen, a munshior clerk, a mutsaddi or accountant, and a graiittii or priest and scripture reader. A battalion had eight companies of 100 men each, further divided into sections of 25 men each. Similarly, regular cavalry was organized in risalas, regiments, subdivided into turps or troops, and artillery into deras and batteries.

Artillery was further classified according to its mode of traction, which was generally determined by the size of the guns. In 1804, this arm had been bifurcated into topkhana kalan, heavy artillery and topkhana khurd, light artillery. Zamburaks or swivels, usually carried on camels, were attached to infantry units. Horsedrawn artillery was introduced in 1810. During the same year, a special artillery corps, known as topkhanaikhas or topkhanaimubarak, was formed as the royal reserve under Ghaus Muhammad Khan, popularly known as Mian Ghausa. In 1827, General Court reorganized the artillery into three wings.

Topkhana jinsi, literally personal artillery (reserve), was a mixed corps with batteries of gavi, bullockdriven, aspi, horse-driven, fill, elephant-driven, guns and the Aobobs or howitzers. Topkhana aspi or horse-driven artillery consisted of batteries for attachment to divisions of irregular army. Zamburaks or camel swivels and ghubaras or mortars were organized into deras or camps subdivided into batteries. Batteries were subdivided into sections of two guns each, with provision for even a single gun functioning as a subunit. The entire field army was divided into faujia`in or regular army, Faujibeqava `id or irregular army and jagirdari fauj or feudal levees.

# Fauj-i -A`in,

Fauj-i -A`in, with five infantry battalions under General Ventura, three cavalry regiments under General Allard and 34 guns under General IIahi Bakhsh, formed the hard core troops under the overall command of General Ventura. FaujiBeqava`id forming a larger bulk consisted of deras of ghorcharhas, or irregular cavalry grouped into divisions, each under one of the many distinguished generals such as Hari Singh Nalva, Diwan Mohkam Chand, Misr Divan Chand, Fateh Singh Ahluvalia. and Fateh Singh Kalianvala.

Each dera comprised several smaller groups, misJs, composed of members of a clan or their close relations commanded by heads of respective clans known as misldars. Deras of jagirdari fauj, or feudal levees, were similarly organized forming part of one or the other division. Artillery formed a single central corps from which attachments were made to the divisions, depending upon the requirements of a particular campaign. Nominal overall command of a particular expedition was vested in one of the princes royal. Ranjit Singh himself was the supreme commander.

He also led some expeditions personally. The crack brigade of Akalis under their famous leader, Phula Singh, was virtually an autonomous formation pressed into service when needed by the Maharaja through his personal influence and tact. Standard deployment at the commencement of a battle was guns in the centre and slightly forward of the rest of the force, infantry a little behind and also covering the flanks of artillery, and cavalry on the extreme flanks. The battle usually commenced with artillery barrage. Regular troops wore distinctive uniforms prescribed for each arm. Cavalrymen were dressed in red jackets (French grey for lancers), long blue trousers with a red stripe, and crimson turbans. Woollen jackets were used during winter. The regiments were armed with varying combinations of weapons sword/sabres and carbines and matchlocks or lances. Infantry was clad in scarlet jacket/coat, white trousers with black belts and pouches.

Different regiments were distinguished by the colour of their headdress white, red, green or yellow. The Gurkhas had green jackets and black caps. Postins or furcoats, or padded jackets were used during winter. The gunners wore white trousers and black waistcoats with cross belts. Officers were not bound by rules of uniform. They used gaudy dresses of bright coloured silks each dressing differently.

The ghorcharhas or the irregular cavalry had no uniform laid down for them; yet they turned out remarkably well, as testified by Baron Hugel, a Prussian noble, who visited Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1836 and inspected a cavalry parade. "I never beheld," he wrote of a troop of ghorcharhas, "a finer nor a more remarkably striking body of men. Each one was dressed differently, and yet so much in the same fashion that they all looked in perfect keeping." Recruitment to the army was on a purely voluntary basis.

There was no class composition on the basis of religion or nationality, nor was there a prescribed age limit for enrolment or retirement. Physical fitness and loyalty to the State were the essential conditions. However, the clannish basis of the misis in the

# Fauji-Be-qava`

Fauji-Be-qava`id ensured solidarity in the lower rungs of military administration. Similarly, bravery in the field and efficiency in the performance of duty were the only considerations for promotion and reward, which were also extended to the sons of those who died in action. A well defined system of reward and punishment was enforced to maintain discipline and morale.

The system of fasli or six monthly payment, or payment through jagirs was later replaced by regular monthly payment in cash. Rates of pay ranged between Rs 4,00,500 for a general, Rs 1,725 for an infantry soldier and Rs 2,226 for a horseman per month, including, in the last case, maintenance of a horse and accourt rements. European officers enjoyed much higher salaries. Ventura and Allard were, for instance, each paid Rs 25,000 per annum, in addition to certain jagirs.

There was no provision for retirement benefits, but allowances were sometimes sanctioned from out of the dharamarth or religious charities fund to those permanently disabled on active service or to the dependants of those killed in action. Distinguished service in peace or war was also recognized through the award of civil and military titles, bestowal of khill`ats or robes of honour and grant of jagirs or landed estates.

There were three grades of khill`at marked by the number, variety and quality of the garments, ornaments and weapons comprising each of them. Military titles were high sounding Persian expressions, which the recipients and their bards and ushers could use before their names, such as Hizbari Jang (the lion of battle), Zafar Jang Bahadur (victorious, brave in war) Samsam uddaulah (sharp sword of the State), Shuja` uddaulah (valour of the State), Tahavurpanah (asylum of bravery), and so on.

The titles of Raja and Diwan, sparingly bestowed, were essentially for distinguished service on the civil side. For military officers, the title ofSardar was considered one of considerable distinction. Towards the end of his reign or, to be more exact, on the occasion of the marriage of Kanvar Nau Nihal Singh in March 1837, Ranjit Singh instituted an Order of Merit named KaukabilqbaliPanjab (Star of the Prosperity of the Punjab). It was a gold medal, 2.25 inches across with five large and five small pointed branches issuing outwards alternately from a roundish centre bearing a likeness of the Maharaja in bust on one side, and his name on the other.

It was meant to be worn round the neck suspended on a gold and scarlet riband passing through a ring on top of the semiglobular head of the star. The kaukabwas of three different classes representing the three grades of the Order, distinguished by the size and quality of the inset preciousstones. Star of the first class, meant to be awarded only to members of the royal family and very few distinguished chiefs and nobles for their proven devotion and fidelity to the person of Maharaja and his House, was ornamented with a single large diamond.

The Order of the second grade was bestowed upon loyal courtiers, governors of provinces, generals and ambassadors in recognition of political services. It had a diamond (of smaller size) and an emerald on it. The Order of the third grade, having a single emerald, was awarded to military officers of the rank of colonel, major or captain for bravery, resourcefulness, alertness and faithfulness; to civil servants for distinguished administrative ability and honesty; and to others enjoying greater confidence of the sovereign. Bestowal of the kaukabswas accompanied by appropriate khill`ats and titles for the awardees.

# TOPIK-3 Anglo-Sikh war-I (1845-46) AND Anglo-Sikh War-II

(1848-49)

## INTRODUCTION

Maharaja Ranjit Singh named his rule as 'Sarkar-e-Khalsa' and its coinage was named Nanak Shahi. He clarified that he was one of the Sikhs and did not call him the Maharaja. He should only to be called Singh Sahib. These were all the components of the Sikh state. However, he did not work a lot in making the Sikh state as his successional realm and bring the Sikh at the top of state management. He deceased in Lahore on June 27, 1839, after a simple attack of paralysis. With his demise, the Sikh kingdom began to collapse on social and political sphere. Two Anglo-Sikh wars overthrew the Sikh armed forces and the seizure of their monarchy in 1849. Their social deterioration also began at the similar time. He had left seven sons which were born of various wives. But the decline of the Sikh rule started rapidly because there was no one sturdy and capable enough to succeed him. At the top of the executive set up, there were no dedicated Sikhs to save it from the intrigues of the British. It provided a unique occasion to the cunning and judicious British to enter intrigues with conspirators which they could not do in Ranjit Singh's life. His sons were not capable to deal with such a dangerous condition because all of them were eliminated one after the other with the help of the Dogras and the Brahmins .

The land of Multan has been remained the target of insurgent activities of the foreign invaders and dictators. These foreign forces not only exploited its brave, hardworking, fearless and dauntless people but also divided it into pieces. They attracted the local people with the lust for earning and enrolled them in the army because their sole aim was to prepare them for fight against their accused enemies. These foreigners belonged to different religions, civilizations and

geographical tracts. Multan has also enjoyed the Muslims rule for three centuries. During this period, it maintained its social, political and religious position but in 1707, after the death of Aurangzeb Alamgir, the Mughal Empire began to scatter. At last in 1818, Ranjit Singh conquered Multan. The political circumstance also stayed extremely melted and geo-political changes frequently occurred. As a result, two Anglo-Sikh Wars fought which caused the decline of Ranjit's Kingdom.

# BRIEF DESCRIPTIONS OF ANGLO-SIKH WARS AND THE FALL OF SIKH RULE

The area under study has an extremely incredible importance in the history of Punjab and Multan. The first half of the nineteenth century was a time of radical changes in the Punjab which was dominated by the Sikhs. But after the death of Ranjit Singh, his successor could not maintain it due to many reasons. One of them was Anglo-Sikh Wars which totally demolished the Sikh Kingdom. During the proposed period, the Sikh rule was on the verge of closure and the new British rulers were attempting to obtain the entire Subcontinent. The present work related to those reasons which resulted the decline of the Sikh Rule. Besides this, it highlights the major facts and consequences of these wars. Its main aim is to examine the causes and consequences of these wars in promoting or demoting Sikh rule.

Kharak Singh, the eldest son of Ranjit, was designated as the Maharaja by his father. Ranjit Singh assigned the task of his protection to Dhian Singh Dogra who asserted to be honest with him and the Sikh state. Yet, Ranjit Singh understood that he would soon prove to be traitor to his son, family and the Sikh state. Besides this, Kharak Singh was not appropriate to elaborate problems that revealed at the crucial time . So, Dhian Singh was visualizing to install his son, Hira Singh, on the chair of the Sikh state. He and his brother, Gulab Singh, tried their best to assume all the powers of the selected Maharaja but could not be fruitful. Chet Singh Bajwa handled the Maharaja Kharak Singh in government matters. He put aside the Dogras and Nau Nihal Singh, son of Kharak Singh. Under the treacheries, Nau Nihal Singh was made de facto as monarch on August 10, 1839, and his father was restrained in the fortress <sup>[4]</sup>. Nevertheless, Nau Nihal Singh rejected to play into the hands of these fabulous Dogras. He recognized his competence to rule and the determination to administer the state. By this act, he dissatisfied the Dogras and recouped the control over the military too .

On November 5, 1840, Kharak Singh died and the very next day when Nau Nihal Singh came to the citadel, the mischievous fell down which extremely hurt his head with the stone block. This block cracked his head and, as a result, he died. Briefly, he could not become the Maharaja, however he had demonstrated his competency to grasp the high title. If his expiration had not come so soon he would have administered the kingdom excellently and intrigues against the Sikh state could have been escaped . Kharak Singh and Nau Nihal Singh' demise hastened a catastrophe which not only enfeebled the State but was also the first step of inner uproars. Chand Kaur, mother of Nau Nihal Singh, took the supremacy of the state in her hands. Sher Singh and Chand Kaur were two plaintiffs because Sher Singh was the son of the Maharaja's first wife. He was relatively a healthier administrator. He, with the reinforcement of Dhian Singh, made a proposal for the throne whilst Chand Kaur was reinforced by the chiefs of Sandhawalia. On November 9, 1840, Sher Singh was installed as the Maharaja but, after just 23 days, he was dislodged by Chand Kaur. On December 2, 1840, she took the sovereignty and declared Malika Mukaddas<sup>2</sup> (Queen Empress). During November 5, 1840 and January 18, 1841, there appeared a bloodstained and Sher Singh proclaimed himself as the Maharaja. Maharani surrendered all the privileges to throne and received a Jagir of 9 Lakh rupees per annum .

Sher Singh administered from January 20, 1841 to September 15, 1843. He nominated Dhian Singh as Chief Minister. In spite of the hardships and the penetrating groups in the Sikh Sardars, he governed in the Punjab with capability and astuteness. He had been welcomed by the Sikh command and the adjacent British Empire. He was too feeble and nervous to control. He not only elevated substantial alarm for Lahore Durbar but also the British who predicted nothing lower than a total turmoil. In these circumstances, some British officials recommended that an army of 12000 men should be proceeded to Lahore to preserve the Maharaja from the Sikh military. Although he had introduced himself as a king to the troops, yet he was unable to command them <sup>[7]</sup>. The troops were disciplined and there was no mark of disobedience. For some time, the Maharaja fully trusted on the favour of Dhian Singh but he, by assuming his too much power, called back the Sandhawalias. They had not disremembered that embarrassment which they had experienced <sup>[8]</sup>. So, the British granted them shelter. In November 1842, Ajit Singh, who was anti Dogras and Pro-British, was appointed as a commander in the armed forces. On September 15, 1843, he and his uncle, Lehna Singh, assassinated Dhian Singh, Sher Singh and his son, Partap Singh. They had strategy to rule over the State. But Hira Singh killed the both in revenge of his father's assassination, yet Dhian Singh's demise was in the Sikh interests .

With the assassination of Sher Singh, the supremacy transferred to the disordered army. Dalip Singh, in the presence of his three surviving brothers, was designated as the Maharaja on September 15, 1843. Hira Singh was made his chief amicably.

minister, yet his brothers, Pashaura Singh and Kashmira Singh, did not resign to the assertion of the throne . Rani Jindan, mother of Dalip Singh, had played an appropriate role, yet she failed to transmit the harmony amongst her family and the Sikh Sardars. Pashaura and Kashmira Singh communicated with the Sikh army. They also met Bhai Bir Singh, an ex-army man, yet the Sikh armed forces blasted his Dera. The Sikh army killed Attar Singh, Kashmira Singh as well as Birr Singh. Pashaura Singh ran to the British Empire and caused further strife in the Sikh state. After this, the Sikh army attended to Hira Singh for Rani Jindan's character assassination. He tried to run away from the Sikh dynasty but he was also murdered. Rani Jindan took over the control of the state affairs in her hands with the assistance of her brother, Jawahar Singh. Pashaura Singh seized the Attock fort and declared himself as the Maharaja but he was killed by the Sikh military. The Khalsa army Punchayat found Jawahar Singh to be accountable and instructed him to appear before it. On September 21, 1845, when he came before the Army Punchayat, he was deceased. But it failed to have any impression on the Sikh state. All these circumstances had been noticed by the governors and officials of Multan but they kept quiet.

After Ranjit's demise, the story completes with the challenging Anglo-Sikh Wars which observed the decline of his kingdom in the hands of his descendants. The initial strain in Anglo-Sikh relationships happened over a quarter century after the confirmation of the Sutlej Treaty<sup>3</sup> It endorsed an Anglo-Sikh dual attack at Afghanistan to keep Shah Shuja on the seat of Kabul. The demand for the course of troops was not as clear as it showed because the British wanted to quantify the power of the Sikh armed forces, however the abuse of benevolence was to be taken still more. In 1841 the British, for sending its troops in Kabul, claimed Lahore Durbar's assistance. Lahore Darbar satisfied them to send a force under Gulab Singh but the British attempted to buy him .

# EVENTS OF THE FIRST ANGLO-SIKH WAR

The British took serious note of the inaugural battle of the First Anglo-Sikh War in their internal councils, since it was soon obvious that a high cost had been paid for its triumph and catastrophe. On December 13, 1845, the British pronounced war on the Sikhs with the decree that the area beyond Sutlej would be regarded under their sphere too. Five battles, Mudki, Ferozshah, Buddowal, Aliwal and Sobraon, were fought from December 18, 1845 to February 10, 1846. The Sikh armed force achieved Ferozepur as it was in a position to overcome the British armed forces. The head of the Sikh armed forces was also supporting the British . The Sikh and the British armed forces met on the combat zones at Mudki on December 18, 1845 and at Ferozshah on December 21, 1845. Tej Singh, the commander-in-chief of the Sikh armed force, guaranteed the annihilation of the Sikh forces as the British army was not in a position to crush the Sikhs . He, along with 5000 Sikh warriors, fled from the front line at Mudki by instructing the Sikh forces to leave the war exactly when the army was at the stage of triumph. Same approach was adopted by the Sikh leaders at Ferozshah as per guideline from the British .

On January 23, 1846, the Sikh armed forces battled with the British at Sobraon, yet this fight was lost even before the war because the leader of the Sikhs had sent data to the British about the Sikh army two days earlier. He guaranteed that the Sikh military would be misinformed and would be overcome <sup>[13]</sup>. The Sikh military, who was still occupied with war, surprised when it found sand in the sacks of ammo. In such a traitorous circumstance, how could the armed force be triumphant? The double dealing in the skirmish of Aliwal was repeated by the Brahmin officer . Hasrat narrates:

If, Lal Singh and Tej Sing, Generals of the Sikh armed force, had not sold out their armed force, the aftereffect of the skirmishes amongst the Sikhs and the British would have thoroughly been distinctive .

In this way, the British could win these fights otherwise it was difficult to vanquish the Sikh armed forces. Cunningham

#### describes:

The English, therefore, humiliated Gulab Singh because their willingness to recognize a Sikh sway in Lahore should have been dispersed, yet the Raja announced his powerlessness to manage troops which still intimidated him and other well-wishers of the Ranjit Singh's family. This powerlessness was somewhat overstated to narrow minded objects. Under these conditions of subtle approach and blatant sedition, war of Sobraon was battled.

#### He further described:

Indeed Tej Singh, rather than leading fresh men to support the worsening strength of the troops to his right side, fled on the initial attack and either unintentionally or by conformation sank the boat on the bridge.

It was the peak of treason and infidelity where more than fifteen thousand Sikhs murdered. The holders of wealth, nourishment and ammo of war helped the British to vanquish them and joined the foes to concede the foundation of their Government at Lahore . The penetrating competitions and egotistical inspirations of the Sikh Sardar were

obviously accountable for such circumstances. It was sure that Lal Singh was not only in correspondence with Capt. Nicolson but also referred the plan of the Sikh's arrangement at Sobraon to Col. Lawrence on February 7, 1846. Major- general Sir J. Littler crossed the Sutlej at night and on February 12, 1846, the fortress of Kasur was occupied without restriction. On February 15, 1846, the raja and a few Sardars met with Governor General at Kasur. They were informed that Dalip Singh would keep on his sovereignty, however the territories between the Bias and the Sutlej would be held by the subjugators. He must paid 1500000 pound as insurance for the expenditures of the war. On February 20, 1846, the terms were reluctantly concurred and the British armed force landed at the Sikh capital of Lahore.

Dalip Singh was announced as the Maharaja of Punjab whilst Tej Singh was made Minister and Chief of armed forces <sup>[15]</sup>. It is not comprehended why their intrigues could not be known to the Sikhs and why they were not repulsed for such horrifying violations. It is unmatched that how these few rascals succeeded to crumble such enormous Sikh Empire and to make the valour Sikhs vulnerable by their intrigues. Truly, it was their disloyalty that the British were permitted to reach Lahore on February 26, 1846 as per the preplanned strategy.

On March 11, 1846, a pact was settled between the Sikh ruler and the British by which the whole region under the realm of the Sikh was separated into following three sections .

- The region amongst Sutlej and Bias was affiliated by the British.
- •The regions of Jammu and Kashmir was handed over to Gulab Singh Dogra in acknowledgment of the services as conspirators of the Sikh.
- The rest of the Punjab region was admitted to be under the sphere of Maharaja Dalip Singh as the Sikh State.

It was also mentioned in the accord that Dalip Singh, until achieving the age of adulthood on September 4, 1854, would stay under the custody of the British government. It was a joke because, during Ranjit Singh's era, the Britishers did not attempted to enter in the Punjab for half a century. We see that, during the first Anglo-Sikh war, Multan and its ruler kept silence like an impartial one and did not play any part in support or against the both sides. The reason was that Mulraj was really going to resign and had no enthusiasm for the war. The reality is that, he would have surrendered if he had the chance.

# **BRIEF HISTORY OF SECOND ANGLO-SIKH WAR**

The British preceded their tricks with the assistance of the deceivers even in the region reserved for Dalip Singh. If the success of the Punjab had been the object then it must have been inaccessible operations to cover Peshawar and Multan. For this purpose, they made equipped uprisings in Multan with the inspiration of pushing their military for further affiliation. The inhabitants were included in spreading the revolt against Multan. Actually, the Sikh armed forces had united with the supposed defies of Multan against the British plotting. The Multan Rebellion, oppressed by the British, had irritated the Sikhs.

Towards the end of the Sikh battle 1845-46, Sir Charles Napier walked to Multan and reached to the central command of armed forces. In the areas of Multan and Hazara, the British forces were sent to annihilate the uprisings. It was the height of roguish plots, yet there was no power to uncover it. The Govt. of India had chosen the Punjab to reach a critical stage <sup>[16]</sup>. On November 21, 1847, Diwan Mulraj offered his resignation. Mr. V. Agnew and Anderson were sent to Multan with Kahn Singh who was to take a charge of the new Diwan. A little force of 530 irregular men was also sent with them. Both were assaulted by Mulraj's people and killed. So, it was planned to send a force to penalize this deed and insubordination <sup>[14]</sup>. In July 1848, it was agreed to quick operations against the stronghold of Multan with the help of the troops of Nawab of Bahawalpur and Edwards so that Diwan Mulraj could be defeated. On July 22, 1848, a decree was issued against Mulraj with regards to his disobedience and tricky murder of the British officers.

Lord Dalhousie, who was exceptionally eager to wipe out the Sikh power, announced the war against the Sikhs. He said that it was the second Anglo-Sikh war and they are not on the eve of, but in the core of war with Sikh dynasty. I have drawn the sword and discarded the scabbard. On August 18, 1848, Major General Whish marched with seven thousand men and stayed near Multan fort. He issued a decree to the residents and a convention of war was held with regards to the technique of assault on September 06, 1848. The place was blasted and different operations were started<sup>5</sup>. On September 14, 1848, Sher Singh, with his troops, walked from Multan whilst General Whish held a meeting in which it was resolved to pull back from the siege and wait for assistance

On November 18, 1848, the occupant issued a decree that the British armed forces have entered in the districts of the Punjab and will not come back to its cantonments until the full chastisement of all rioters. The operation, to put down all

armed resistance, had been continued for three and a half months On December 27, 1848, Bombay regiment under Brig. D Dundas, arrived and assaulted the foe's entrenchments by a shell of the mortars. The foe's primary magazine was exploded then a large number of houses as well as a majestic mosque annihilated. On January 10, 1849, Luckee was taken and Muhammad Azim Khan entered in Bannu on January 11, 1849. Six thousand men and four gun took part in the possession of Dulipgarh. On, January 22, 1849, Tylor took the control of Bannu and Luckee and thus the whole of the neighbouring territories of Multan were seized. Some days after the above events, the fort of Harrand had also been taken by Lieut. Young. In early February, the Nazim of Multan gave up the hopeless contest which finished the war in this quarter of the Punjab. Till January 22, 1849, number of injured and killed persons was 1198. This end of the siege was due to the General Whish who acted with incredible reasonability without endangering a failure.

On January 13, 1849, the second notable war was battled at Chillianwala. Chattar Singh, Nazim of Hazara, was accused by the British. His Jagir was seized and he was adjourned from the office. So, he chose to fight a war with the British and occupied the citadel of Attock and seized Haripur. In this expedition, Col. Canora was executed and Sher Singh, along with his troops, left the British. He clearly criticized the British for their mistreatment and wildness On January 10, 1849, Lord Gough knew about the fall of Attock. Besides this, he came to know that Chattar Singh, along with his military, is also proceeding under Sher Singh

By an uncommon coincidence, this memorable engagement occurred at the same site where King Purus, 2175 years ago, had battled a war against the Macedonians under Alexander. This time it was the burglar on Indian land who was soundly crushed. The Sikhs, under Sher Singh and his father, were present in the jungles near Chillianwala <sup>[11]</sup>. Formerly, the Sikhs were outperformed in the field until increasing their number to 10000. After this, they attacked the British and the fight proceeded for the whole day. The Sikhs caught four guns and three colonels of British brigades. It was measured the worst beating endured by the British since their control of India. As a result, 2446 men along with 132 officers expired. It is said that three thousand British officers were assassinated or injured by the Sikhs . On the fourth day, the British armed force retreated to the Chenab River. The Sikh Ghorcharas separated the British horse regiment and chop down their horsemen. At another site from inside the wilderness the weapons opened up with demolishing effect. Brookes, a Lieut. Col., of the 24th Foot, was also murdered. In another meeting, a vast group of the Sikhs encompassed the Second Infantry Brigade. Gilbert's army had neither the shelter of guns nor the provision of cavalry. As a result, the contingent was scorned and driven back with overwhelming misfortune.

The Sikh armed forces had snatched George Lawrence and discharged him with the terms of compromise to leave the Punjab and accept Dalip Singh as an undeniable Maharaja. This bargain was not adequate to the British because Lord Dalhousie was designing to vanquish the Chillianwala. He wished to eradicate the Sikh realm from the substance of India and launch British government in the Subcontinent by annexing the Punjab <sup>[16]</sup>. Since, the extension was in delay from the higher strata of the Britain, Dalhousie's affirmation was welcomed. Despite the fact that there was a large number of the people at London who was not in favour of the seizure of the Punjab. With the end goal of expansionism, it was chosen to apprehend Gujarat because the British had a dream that if they won this fight they would achieve their goal to control India

On February 21, 1849, another decisive war was fought in the territory between the town of Gujarat and River Chenab. The British had 11569 cavalry and 56636 infantry whereas the Sikh army contained 20000 men. A violent war occurred, yet the Sikh military's ammo exhausted. They showed such a valour which the British acknowledged them. They hold the knives of British warriors with the left hand whilst affected them angrily with their right hands.

I feel embarrass to state, even we succeed to spare our men from the retribution. I dread, they were executed thereafter. Yet, after all, it is a war of eradication

On March 11, 1849, Sher Singh and his father handed over their swords to Major General Gilbert near Rawalpindi. Bhai Maharaj Singh was one of the individuals who was expelled to Singapore. The hesitancy of some Khalsa troops, to surrender their weapons, was clear. Some could not detain their tears whilst anger and scorn were visibly depicted on the faces of others. The comment of one dark facial hair, as he put down his weapon, was that, "Aaj Ranjit Singh mar giya" (Today Ranjit Singh expired). In this way, the war came to be an end. The Sikhs fought like villains. They ran right on the knife blade and collided with their attackers when they were stabbed. Lord Gough rewarded the Sikh fighters in these words:

Strategy blocked me freely recording my opinions on the mind blowing courage of our fallen adversary or to record the demonstrations of valour showed not only separately but also jointly by the Sikh Sardars and the military. I announce that it was not from a profound conviction that my nation's great required the detriment and I could have sobbed to have seen the dreadful butcher of so committed a group of men.

This situation will be adequate to show the infrequent species of courage by these men. The dedication with which they stayed at their posts when the climate around them was completely fired by the British weapons does not concede portrayal. It is stated that they never retreated but battled valiantly with their Talwars (swords) to the end It was also recorded that they attacked the British domain. They made no assault on their distant cantonments nor set foot in their domain <sup>[20]</sup>. According to Dalhousie:

There will never be calm and peace in the Punjab if the individuals are permitted to hold the chance of making war. There never can be currently my certification for the serenity of India until he should have influenced the whole overpowering of the Sikhs and eradicated them

Self-protection may require the scattering of the Sikh army but how do we legitimize the seizure of our companion's region who, in adversity, helped us to recover our matters <sup>[25]</sup>. After this war, the unsteadiness of the Sikh state expanded. The Sikhs armed forces attempted to take the Sikh affairs into their own hands but all in vain because the military did not have full control over the Sikhs. After this war, paltry annexation of the Punjab was made by Harding whilst Dalhousie completed the aggregate annexation.

# TOTAL ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAB

On March 10, 1849, Sher Singh, along with his father and a few Sardars, reached in his camp and handed over their swords. On March 11, 1849, they were captured by the British and thus they convinced that no Sikh left to fear them . The British then chose to annex the whole regions of the Sikh dynasty. On March 29, 1849, the text of affiliation was constituted. Maharani Chand Kaur and her son, Dalip Singh, were sent to England. This narration was engraved on marble stone on the wall of Sheesh Mahal The points of this pact were that:

- •Maharaja Dalip Singh surrenders his all rights and the privilege of his successors in regards to the Punjab and all territory of the Punjab is given to the British in pay for the gigantic amount of expenses spent by the British during the skirmishes.
- Kohinoor, precious stone, is given to Queen of Britain which Ranjit Singh had taken from King of Kabul.
- The British would offer forty five hundred thousand rupees every year to Dalip Singh and his relatives as expenses.

Dalip Singh rapidly signed on this agreement and thus, the administrations of all his old workers were ended. In 1854, his all other properties were seized and sent him to England. He embraced Christianity and was given him a domain at Elvedon in Suffolk.

From December 18, 1845 to February 21, 1849, detail of Murdered, injured and missing in the Anglo-Sikhs fights are as under in **Table 1** 

Year	Date	Battle	Officers & Men	Horses
1845	18th December	Mudki	872	297
	21st, 22nd December	Ferozshah	2419	507
1846	28th January	Aliwal	589	353
	10th February	Sobraon	2383	148
Total	6263	1305		
1848	23rd November	Ramnagar	90	140
	3rd December	Sadoolapur	73	48
1849	2nd January	Multan	1198	0
	13th January	Chillianwala	2357	176
	21st February	Gujarat-	807	280
Grand Total	10788	1899		

Table 1: Detail of Murdered, injured and missing in the Anglo-Sikhs fights.

On 29 March 1849, after the annexation of the Punjab, the Nanakshahi mints of Amritsar, Lahore, Derajat, Multan, Pind Dadan Khan, Peshawar and Rawalpindi were abrogated and the currency was introverted and intentionally replaced

with the currency of the British Company. All Nanakshahis were recollected from the treasuries at Moti Maunder, Lahore, Amritsar, Peshawar and Multan. All transactions, salary of the soldiers and revenues, were paid by the Company currency

With the Battle of Gujarat, the last confrontation of the Khalsa Army ended and thus, Lord Gough recovered his repute which received a shock in the War of Chillianwala and had been succeeded by Sir Charles Napier as the Commander-in- Chief <sup>[26]</sup>. The sight was pitiful for the Khalsa army which had experienced repeated lashing since 1845-46. As the Sikh warriors sent with their weapon and offer farewell to their horses. The mutineers were trailed in a systematized way. The opportunity of the Sikh-Afghan collaboration was upset. All 41 guns and 16000 weapons were laid down. Besides Rachhpal Singh and Maharaj Singh, who fled without supporters, all the Sardars had capitulated.

The triumph of Sobraon gave Harding the right of subjugation. The success at Gujarat forced Lord Dalhousie to proclaim that right. He reminded Henry Lawrence that he had planned to demolish the Sikh power and the treason of its authority <sup>[27]</sup>. In January 1849, he was informed by the Home Department that it was only in the situation of emergency that he was granted the right to seize the Punjab. Henry Lawrence thought that the affiliation of the Punjab is unfair and unwise <sup>[28]</sup>. The affiliation of the Punjab was intentionally approved by the Parliament, Court of Directors and the British nation <sup>[19]</sup>. Lord Dalhousie sent Henry Elliot, Foreign Secretary, to Lahore to safe his accord in the British Government's verdict to destabilize the empire of Late Ranjit Singh. He also sent Diwan Dina Nath and Tej Singh with the explanation that the British Government had decided to annex the Punjab .

After the annexation of the Punjab, the first difficulty was to adopt a system of government for the newly attained provinces because captivation of the Punjab offered administrative problems. For a consistent civilian management, first gadget was a Board of administration. Besides this, in the history of India, a truly operative system of fortifications was formed for the military and political duties, the supervision of the Sardars and demilitarization of the old army . Every Presidency, under its Council and Governor, was authorized to endorse a code of Regulation when any region was added by invasion or the pact, yet the Punjab was not dedicated to any Presidency but merely affiliated to the British colony. It became the first organized province on the basis of long executive experience The practice of Interventionism could be found to the Regency era. It indicates a system of administration which deals with its public and authoritarian in a generous way. The Punjab province was classified into following seven Divisions.

First, the Cis-Sutlej Division on the East of Sutlej River, second was the Trans-Sutlej Division on the West and third was Lahore or the Central Division. Similarly, on Southern side, the fourth Division was Mooltan which was close to the convergence of the Indus and its branches. Fifth division was named the Sind Sager Doab Division. Besides this, Peshawar and Derajat Divisions were known as the sixth and the seventh respectively <sup>[33]</sup>. Initially, newly subjugated regions were classified into following four focal groups or commissionership.

- •The Lahore Division encompassed the upper locations of the Ruchna and Bari Doabs covering political capital Lahore and the viable center Amritsar of Ranjit Singh's Monarchy. It was consisted of Lahore, Amritsar, Batala, (Gurdaspur), Sheikhupura (Gujranwala) and Wazirabad (Sialkot).
- The Jhelum Division comprised the Chuj Doab and the zone in the Salt Range (Hazara) in the Sind Sager Doab.
- •The Multan Division incorporated the lower places of the Ruchna and Bari Doab, with three districts such as Multan, Jhang and Pakpatan (Fatehpur Googian).
- •The Leia Division, which encompassed the site of the Sind Sager Doab, consisted of all Derajat, South of the Salt Range and Trans-Indus Zones up to the latitude of Kalabagh.

Leia had four districts, Leia, Dera Ghazi Khan, Khangarh and Dera Ishmael Khan including Bannu. However, Peshawar was the fifth division which created later in which Peshawar, Kohat and Hazara districts were included <sup>[34]</sup>. Each Division was employed under a Commissioner along with suitable subservient officials. In subordination to the Board were the Commissioners, Dy. Commissioners, Asst. Commissioners and Extra Asst. Commissioners <sup>[35]</sup>. Commissioners performed as appellate judges and controlled the Dy. Commissioners which intruded directly upon the lives of the inhabitants. They also performed the functions of Magistrate, Revenue Collector and Criminal as well as Civil Judge. The staff of Dy. Commissioner's Office consisted of Superintendent, Reader, Record Keepers, Deputy Record Keepers, Accountant of Revenue, Superintendent of Town Accountants and Departmental Clerks .

The gathering of revenue had totally broken down and various techniques were invented to substitute the Sikh structure of collecting taxes which had been enforced by the power <sup>[36]</sup>. After the battle of Gujarat, the pacification of the Punjab was originated with ameliorative processes . Addition of the Punjab proceeded the borders of the British Empire to the mountain series. It intensely transformed the British relationships to the politics of Kabul and Central Asia. Before the British era, the tribes, by aggressive actions, were engaged in struggle and the Nazims of Multan and Derajat reserved their plunders . With the end of the Gujarat war, the British troops engaged the city of Peshawar. The domain of the Punjab had assisted as a sturdy buffer state between Afghanistan and tribal strongholds on the one hand and the regions of the Company on the other. British officials prejudiced the tribal chiefs in such a way that many of them

gathered round the British during the Multan Revolt. After the affiliation of the Punjab, the difficulties expected twofold characteristics i.e., the formation of a constant boundary between the Afghanistan and the Punjab and the Government of that boundary.

To protect the inner peace, two different bodies of police; the civil and the military were prepared. The former body was allocated the duties to lookout and preserve the interior peace in the ward, villages and town under civil officers. Whilst the later was consisted of 8100 strong men to stop crime and detain criminals under the mechanism of military officers. They were given the duties to supply guards and patrol the region <sup>[9]</sup>. Police was accountable for the anticipation of anti- social events like burglary, dacoit and Thugee etc. One admirable characteristics of the police institute was that the revenue collectors or Tehsildars were explored with police authorities in their dominion and thereby their collaboration was encouraged earlier. The second remarkable quality of the police setup was that the best in the native measures was merged in it <sup>[38]</sup>. Within a two years, Board was able to report that all ferocious criminalities have been crushed, all bunch of criminals, assassins and robbers have been creased and the agitators carried to justice. The life and property have been saved in the boundaries of the Punjab

The reconciliation and alliance went side by side in the Punjab. The Lahore Durbar, in relations with military and police, was incomplete. Each British effort, in the subjugation of the Punjab, was followed by discharging and disarming of the Punjabis. The procedure began with the Treaty of Lahore in 1845, when the Khalsa army was deactivated and restricted. This tendency sustained during 1848-49. With the annexation of Multan, the step and gauge of demilitarization increased. New army and police setup was presented with a sight to merge the administrative, political and economic grasp of the British in the Punjab. The Board originated its strategy towards the royal family, nobility and the princely states in order to eradicate the conferred benefits and incentive the favourites.

# CONCLUSION

The decline of the Sikh rule started rapidly after the first Anglo-Sikh War because there was no one sturdy and capable enough to succeed him. At the top of the executive set up, there were no dedicated Sikhs to save it from the intrigues of the British. It provided a unique occasion to the cunning and judicious British to enter intrigues with conspirators which they could not do in Ranjit Singh's life. His sons were not capable to deal with such a dangerous condition because all of them were eliminated one after the other with the help of the Dogras and the Brahmins. So, as a result of second Anglo- Sikh War, the Sikh Kingdom became more weakened and then fall into decline. These Anglo-Sikh wars proved a turning point in the history of the Sikh dynasty because they had totally changed the political scenario of the Punjab and Multan. After second Anglo-Sikh war, the Punjab and Multan had gone under the direct control of the British Empire which demolished that Sikh state which Ranjit Singh had founded by a great struggle. It can be easily observed that only Ranjit Singh's successors were not responsible for the decline of the Sikh kingdom, but he, for some extant, was also responsible. Dogras and the Brahmins, who had neither share in founding the Sikh state nor any commitment to the Sikh state, had been installed on the key posts. The consequences of these blunders were proved catastrophic for the Sikhs. Similarly, he had no rationalization for exiling the chiefs of the confederacies from the management of the Sikh State. If he had not transported the Dogras and the Brahmins to the helm of the government and given the civil management into the hands of the skilled and faithful Sikh Sardars then could be escaped from this catastrophe.

#### Battle of Ferozeshah – 21Dec 1845-(1845-12-21)

Date of battle: December 21-22 1845:

Location: On the south bank of the Sutlej River in the Punjab in North West India.

Generals that fought in the battle: Major Gen Sir Hugh Gough and Gen Sir Henry Hardinge, Raja Lal Singh and Tej Singh

The next day after the Battle of Mudki, the dead on both sides were buried or cremated where possible. However many bodies were left to rot. The British went to secure the Mudki Fort where they were met with Sikh snipers. Lal Singh conveyed the Sikh position to the British through emissary Shams-ud-Din reaching Major Broadfoot essentially favouring an attack to the north. C in C, Gough preferred a direct attack from the south and for it to be undertaken imminently.

Lord Hardinge in view of what he saw of the fighting spirit of the Sikhs at Mudki, over-ruled Gough and ordered that the attack be deferred till Littler's force from Ferozepur joined the main army. On the other hand, Tej Singh with a force of ten thousand under him, remained idle in the neighbourhood of the battle field absurdly pretending that he was guarding Ferozepur although Littler's force of 5000 had left clearly in broad day light.

Lal Singh was being admonished by his own artillery for not moving quick enough and failing at Mudki. The Sikhs were estimated as having between 35, 000 fighting force to around 25,000 however not all of this was deployed in the battle (with 17,000 only engaging). The British figures were recorded as 18,000 with one third Europeans and two thirds sepoys. The Sikhs, Fauj-i Khas was commanded by Dewan Ajodh Prashad, artilery headed by General Ilahi Bakhsh, together with Methab Singh and Bahadhur Singh's brigade.

The fighting began at 3.30pm when the C in C, Gough himself led the right, Hardinge in the centre and Littler the left wing of the assailing force. Such were the quick volleys of this firing that within ten minutes two hundred British soldiers were either killed or crippled and Littler retired with his force to Misreewallah. The power of the Sikh guns were superior to the British, leading to the depleting reserves of their ammunition.

As darkness fell, General Harry Smith's division launched a renewed attack, which overran several Sikh batteries and penetrated into the midst of the Sikh camp, around the village of Ferozeshah itself, before being driven back by counter-attacks. Fierce fighting continued until midnight. Many casualties were caused on both sides as a Sikh magazine exploded, British losses increased. Walter Gilbert and General Wallace showed some success however losing 270 men in the exploit. The Sikh horsemen were driven back by a British cavalry regiment, the 3rd Light Dragoons at which time the British also withdrew.

Khalsa Artillery firing on the the 37th Kings Own light Dragoons (3rd (King's Own) Hussars).

The British now found themselves in a grave position. The British were without food or water through the night. Cunningham who was present in the battle gives a graphic description of the battle scene, "Darkness, and the obstinacy of the contest, threw the English into confusion; men of all regiments and arms were mixed together: generals were doubtful of the fact or of the extent of their own success and colonels knew not what had become of the regiments they commanded or of the army of which they formed a part". The future of the British Empire remained in the balance.

Diary of Sir Robert Cust, who was present in the battle states, 'December 22nd. News came from the Governor General that our attack of yesterday had failed, that affairs were desperate, that all State papers were to be destroyed, and that if the morning attack failed, all would be over; this was kept secret by Mr. Currie and we were concerting measures to make an unconditional surrender to save the wounded, the part of the news that grieved me the most.' General Sir Hope Grant who was also present stated 'Sir Henry Hardinge thought it was all up and gave his sword, a present from the Duke of Wellington and which once belonged to Napoleon-and his Star of the Bath to his son, with directions to proceed to Ferozepur remarking that if the day were lost, he must fall.

On the second day of fighting, the Sikhs had the advantage having full rations of food and with ample ammunition. However frustration was building up with Lal Singh who had deliberately failed to attack the British lines which left his Ghorchurras ineffective in the battle. The Akali Nihangs attacked his camp, he precipitately fled, leaving his subordinates without orders and without an object, at a moment when the artillery ammunition of the English had failed, when a portion of their force was retiring upon Ferozepur.' On the right of the British line Gough committed Brigadier White's cavalry brigade; HM 3rd King's Own Light Dragoons, 4th Bengal Light Cavalry (Lancers) and the 9th Bengal Irregular Cavalry, to an attack on the corner of the fortifications. Hardinge and his units were on the left. However, the British and Bengal Army units rallied and drove the Sikhs from the rest of their fortifications.

#### Battle formation of the British and the Sikhs

Considerably reduced by their casualties at Mudki, the 3rd charged through a battery and the infantry positioned behind it, before breaking into the Sikh camp and engaging in ferocious hand to hand combat with crowds of swordsmen and matchlock men. During the battle a particularly hard fought action took place over a black Akali standard, with several officers and soldiers of HM 80th killed in the struggle to capture it. The standard was finally taken by Colour Sergeant Kirkland of HM 29th Foot (which now hangs in Lichfield Cathedral). Much of the Sikh army had now fled.

After four days Tej Singh who had remained stationary near Ferozepore finally arrived near Ferozeshah. The British were caught unaware of his intentions and proceeded to regroup their forces northwest of the village. Some shot were fired by the troops which were returned by the British. With this exchange lasting no more than two hours- Tej Singh ordered a retreat to the bewilderment of his Sikh forces and British alike. With two commanders of the Sikh army retreating within a space of two days the dual role and treachery of their cause was open for all to see on all sides.

After the battle the Sikh army crossed the Sutlej at Sobraon, while Gough led his army on to Ferozepore. If the Sikhs had initially attacked Ferozepore the British would have had nowhere to go except to fall back. Only when reinforcements and additional ammunition arrived in the new year would Gough resume his offensive and attack the

main Sikh army in Sobraon however there was Buddowal and Aliwal to contend with first.

C in C, Gough whilst in charge was being over ruled by the Governor General Hardinge who had relinquished his command to serve under Gough. This put Gough's decision making under strain.

One the first day of fighting the British had deployed all parts of their army into the battle, the Sikh infantry was never used and could have beat the British if they had taken part.

Interestingly the battle of Ferozeshah is celebrated by many regiments in the UK. No such event takes place in India. Several British regiments commemorate the Battle of Ferozeshah: in particular the 62nd, which became the Wiltshire Regiment and the 80th which became the South Staffordshire Regiment. The successors of both these regiments still mount parades on the anniversary of the battle. In the Wiltshire Regiment the colours were handed to two sergeants who held them for 24 hours in commemoration of the high officer casualties at Ferozeshah which led to the colours being taken over by sergeants.

A curious incident had occurred at the beginning of the day's crisis, when the assistant adjutant-general, Captain Lumley, suffering it is thought from the sun and the stress of battle, approached various regiments in turn and ordered them to march to Ferozepore, with the result that at the worst moment of the hard fought two day battle a significant portion of Gough's army left the field. Tej Singh cited this reason to withdraw his forces from the battle.

Major George Broadfoot, the political agent at Ferozepore who was instrumental in causing friction with the Lahore Durbar and his assistant Capt. Peter Nicholson who was receiving battle plans from the Sikh commanders were both killed at Ferozeshah.

Losses: british losses 694 killed, 1721 wounded, sikh losses estimated at 3,000.

#### The Battle of Sobraon 10th February 1846

Battle of Sobraon was fought on the 10th February 1846. It was the fourth, last, and decisive battle of the First Sikh War (1845–46). The Sikh army was entrenched at Sobraon on the eastern British-held bank of the Sutlej River, their retreat secured by a bridge of boats.

General Sir Hugh Gough having decided to attack the Sikh positions, his troops marched out from their encampment just before dawn with that object. Brigadier Taylor 's Brigade including the HM 29th Regiment moved to its position at Chota Sobraon. A thick haze covered the initial British deployment, but as day dawned the Sikhs opened a sharp cannonade.

General Gilbert's 2nd Division which contained the 3rd Brigade composed of the 41st and 68th Bengal Native infantry and HM 29th Regiment, took up its position at the centre of the British line.

At 0.700 hrs an artillery duel, which lasted for about two hours began on both sides. At approximately 09.00 hrs, General Dick's division on the British left was ordered to attack the Sikh right flank. This made little headway and General Gough ordered a general assault. At about 10.00 hrs the 1st and 2nd Divisions received their orders to storm the works to their front. Moving out of a ravine Taylors's brigade advanced in line a distance of three-quarters of a mile exposed to heavy fire from a battery of 13 guns the whole time.

In the charge the 29th outstripped the native infantry and as a result fought alone for some considerable time and were forced to retire to the ravine. The Regiment made a second assault which was again repulsed. Finally charging a third time it entered the entrenchments and captured the battery.

The defences being breached in all directions the Sikh forces retired towards a bridge of boats and the ford across the Sutlej River. In the retreat the bridge collapsed and the remnants of the Sikh army fled across the ford, where they were subjected to fire by all three divisions and the British artillery.

Brigadier Taylor was mortally wounded in the final assault. The 29th Regiment had started the day with 23 officers and 513 Rank and File. It suffered the following casualties one officer and 36 Rank and file killed. 14, Officers and 136 Rank and File wounded.