Political Conditions:

From the very ancient times Kashmir\(^1\) has enjoyed a unique position in the geo-politics of Asia. Both the geologists\(^2\) and the legends\(^3\) tell us that this Valley was a lake a millions of years ago and got drained gradually through the (gorge) now known as the Baramula Pass. The mountains of Kashmir were regarded as the great walls of protection by the Kashmiris and the people were proud that these mountains saved them from foreign invasions.\(^4\) The territories of great powers—Britain, China, Russia and Afghanistan—met on the northern border of Kashmir. The Valley was bounded on the north by the districts of Astor, Skardo, Gilgit and other districts of Little Tibet; on the south by

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1. Its original Sanskrit form was Kashmir which is slightly changed into Kashmir. The Kashmiris themselves pronounce it as Kashir. Stein, M. A., Memoir of the Ancient Geography of Kashmir, p. 61.

2. The geologists give various periods through which this lake passed and became the land in its present form. Pithawala, Maneck B., An Introduction to Kashmir—Its Geology and Geography, pp. 10—11. See also Drew, Federick, Jammu and Kashmir Territories, p. 207.

3. There is a fable connected with this great lake, called Satisaras (the lake of Sati/Durga, who is supposed to be the daughter of Himalaya). The lake was the abode of a monster, Jalodbhava (Water-born). He resided in this lake and had caused a great distress to all his neighbours by his devastations. The Muni Kasgaper the father of all Nagas, was told about the distress by his son Nila, the King of Kashmir Nagas. He came to Satisar with a host of Nagas. The dewan refused to come forth from the lake. Then he pierced the mountain with his weapon, the plough-share when the lake became dry. Jalodhava was attacked by Visnu. Thus Kashmir came to be inhabited by people. It may be from this event that Kashmir contraction of Kashafmar, retained its name. Kalhana Rajatarangini, Book 1, Vol. I, pp. 25—27.

Poonch, Naoshera, Kishwar, Bhadrawah, Jammu and the British Districts of Jhelum, Gujrat and Sialkot; on the east were Dras, Suru, Zanskar and Ladakh; on the west were Kanghan, Hazara and Rawalpindi in the British Districts. From ancient times Kashmir stood on the Central Asian trade route and was a halting place for the caravans travelling between the plains of Hindustan and regions of Central Asia. Strategically Kashmir had the greatest importance for the British, in case of any trouble in the Punjab and in checkmating any trouble from the west.

Till the rise of Karkota dynasty, the history of Kashmir is unreliable, being, in most part, composed of myth and legendary tales. So the first reliable king of Kashmir was

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6. Lawrence, W. R., The India We Served, p. 124. Lawrence writes that Kashmir as a state, "just as the great power of Nepal, may some day play a great part in the destinies of the fat fertile Indian Provinces which lie adjacent to her frontier?"

7. It was due to the location of Kashmir which "lies directly on the road of an enemy advancing by the routes from Badakshan, Kashgar and Yarkand". Bates, Gazetteer of Kashmir, p. 1. Vigne, G.T. Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh and Iskardo, Vol. II, pp. 67-68; The author discussing the importance of the state. "But Kashmir not only deserves attention as a stronghold in time of war; it is to the acts of peace that this fine province will be indebted, for a more solid and lasting, though less gorgeous celebrity, than it enjoyed under the emprors of Delhi" Dugsal, Letters From India and Kashmir, p. 192 has also reproduced it in his letter NO: XVI, dated 2nd August, 1870.
Lalitaditya\(^8\) who is recorded to have had relations with the outer world.\(^9\) The next great king of Kashmir was Avantivarman, the founder of Utpala dynasty, who is famous for his constructive works.\(^10\) It was during Harsha's reign that the Turushkas (Muslims) entered the military services of the country as Captains.\(^11\) The Hindu rule saw its decline with the establishment of Lohara dynasty (1003 A.D.) and came to an end due to many causes. In 1015 A.D. Mahmud of Ghazni made an attempt to invade Kashmir but failed. Still it was "the first sign of the returning flood of invasions from the Punjab inwards to Kashmir."\(^12\) With the opening of the fourteenth century Suhadeva\(^13\) ascended the throne.

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13. During Suhadeva's time (1360-1 to 1319-20 A.C.) Kashmir was totally misgoverned.
He had two foreigners Rinchana and Shahmir at his court. Dulchi invaded Kashmir (1320 A.D.) and Suhadeva’s rule came to an end. Rinchana proclaimed himself king in 1323 A.D. Then Shahmir under the name of Shams-ud-Din, laid the foundation of Salatin-i-Kashmir (1339 A.D.). No doubt, he was an alien to the country but he defeated the Lavanyas and saved Kashmir from their impending subjection. Then followed a chain of Muslim Sultans who ruled over Kashmir but the most remarkable among them was Zainu’l-Abidin (1419-1470). His

14. Rinchana, a Tibetan, came to Kashmir and was given protection by Ramachandra, Commander-in-Chief of Suhadeva. Then Shahmir, a Muslim adventurer from Swat, also secured the same protection. During the Dulchas invasion both aided the Muslims and Rinchina gained the good will of the people and became ambitious.

15. After wiping off all the opposition Rinchana named Kota Rani, daughter of Ramachandra and admitted Islam so became the first Muslim king of Kashmir.

16. After the death of Rinchana, his son Haider was infant and could not succeed him so Udyanadeva (1328-38) was brought to rule over Kashmir. After his death Kota Rani (1338-39) secured the power, but the struggle to get the throne continued between the Rani and Shahmir, the former was taken as a prisoner and Shahmir ascended the throne.


18. Ibid.,

weak successors, however, gave the Chaks the opportunity to aggrandize their power. Mirza Haider Dughlat, a cousin of Babur the Mughal Emperor of India on several occasions persuaded Humayun to take possession of Kashmir, and when Humayun retreated to Lahore, Mirza took possession of Kashmir (1540 A.D.) and ruled it for ten years. The Chaks, got the power in 1556 A.D. But they themselves failed due to internal intrigues, personal weaknesses and also as a result of the imperialistic attitude of Akbar. Akbar conquered the "country which from its inaccessibility had never tempted the former kings of Delhi" and established the Mughal rule in Kashmir (1586 A.D.), the year when Kashmir lost its independence. "No doubt, "the Mughal rule in Kashmir was one continuous pageant of pleasure" with the exception of the rule of one or two subedars, but it "tended to weaken the courage of the people of the Valley".


21. Ghazi Chak was the first among the chaks to ascend the throne. He was followed by a few other Sultans and the last among them was Yaqub Shah, son of Yusuf Shah Chak.

22. Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, ii, p. 412 (Blochman) writes that the rule of the Chaks was disliked by the Kashmiris who sent a deputation to Qasim Khan, the then Commander of Agra. There was a great tussle between the Chaks and the Mughals, but the Kashmiris could not oppose the imperial power. Ain-i-Akbari, ii, p. 518.

23. A. Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, ii, p. 412, (Blochman)


1752 A.D. that Kashmir was passed into the hands of Afghans—the period of Shahan-i-Durani, the "cruelst and worst rule of all". The Afghan—Governors lost no time in extracting money from the people. But they were ousted by the Sikhs in 1819. The Sikhs administered Kashmir through their Governors (Nazims) and till the end of their rule in Kashmir nine Governors were appointed. The first among them was Dewan Moti Ram, who closed Jama Masjid and banned cow-killing. He was followed by the Governors who oppressed the people in one way or the other. They had neither the time nor any inclination to improve the conditions of the people, in general and those of the Muslims in particular. The villages (like Lolab) were deserted, which

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27. The Governors, like Azad Khan, Mir Hazar, Atta Mohammad Khan, were the worst examples of tyranny, in general to all the people but in particular to the Kashmiri Pandits. Khasta, Hargopal Koul, Guldasta-i-Kashmir, p. 561.


29. Khanyari Ghulam Nabi, Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh, MS NO: 532, P.H.S. Research Deptt. folios—80-85, Khuihani, Gulum Hasan, Tarikh-i-Hasan, p. 786, refers to incident unveiling the Sikh tyranny that in 1845 cholera broke out and one Samad Baba Qadiri of Chhattabal with his seventeen family members was burnt alive in cow-dung for his alleged crime of cow-slaughter, under the supervision of Bhola-Nath—the Thanedar.

30. Moorcroft William, Travels in Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Punjab in Ladakh and Kashmir in Peshawar, Kabul, Kundoz and Bokhara, Vol. II, pp. 123-124 (was in Kashmir in 1824) writes "Every where the people are in the most object condition, exorbitantly taxed by the Sikh government and subjected to every kind of extortion and oppression by its officers, not more than about one-sixteenth of the cultivable surface is under cultivation, and the inhabitants starving at home, are driven in great numbers to the plains of Hindustan."
"wore the semblance of extreme wretchedness"; Islamabad was "swarming with beggars"³¹ and Shipian presented a miserable appearance³². The people around the country were "half-naked and miserably emaciated", who "presented a ghastly picture of poverty and starvation"³³. The natives were nothing than so many beggars³⁴. Kashmir had lost all its "charms as a desirable acquisition", whose riches had all departed and invaders went "in quest of wealth rather than new and productive territories"³⁵. Thus "each succeeding race of conquerers seems to have pulled the reins of despotic rule and urgent taxation tighter and tighter"³⁶.

Gulab Singh and Kashmir

After the death of Ranjit Singh, the Sikh government of Punjab disintegrated owing to the personal jealousies and rivalries among the Sikh nobles³⁷. Thus the British imperialists

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33. Moorcroft, Travels, op. cit. p. 293. The Kashmiris were looked upon as "Little better than cattle". The cultivators were "in a condition of extreme wretchedness". Ibid., p.126.
35. Hugel, op. cit. p. 123.
37. J.D. Cunningham, History of the Sikhs, p. 200.
annexed the kingdom of Punjab and created a new state for
Gulab Singh. Gulab Singh entered the Sikh army as a trooper
and he joined the royal camp in 1809. Gulab Singh assisted
Maharaja Rangit Singh in various battles viz., the Battle of
Darah, the Battle of Sgarath Fort, the Battle of Saidu, the
Battle of Peshawar and the Battle of Garh Daumala and played
a prominent part in all these campaigns. After the siege of
Multan in 1819, it was in 1820 that Gulab Singh was rewarded
with the possession of the province of Jammu and the title of
Raja. He conquered Kishtwar in 1821. By 1835 Gulab Singh had
become the most important feudatory of Ranjit Singh. He extended

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38. The family background of Gulab Singh is discussed in
Chapter II of the thesis, pp. 45-52

39. Kirpa Ram, Diwan, Gulabnama, pp. 104-105. The author says
that Gulab Singh entered the Sikh army at 200 rupees
salary, his brother Dhian Singh was appointed at the salary
of Rs. 60/- then his next brother Suchet Singh also joined
the Sikh Durbar. Anonymous, Tarikh-i-Jammu, F/35-a and
F/36-B (RPD, Manuscript NO: 170).

40. Dhar, Ram Joo, Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Shahi Dogra, F/23-a
(MS, NO: 2445). Rajab Ali Sahib Padri, Risvasat-i-Jammu
Wa-Kashmir Ke Talugat Angrezi Government, Seg, F/10-B,
Kripa Ram Diwan, Gulabnama, 188-190, p. 173-178, pp. 188-
119 and 170-171.

41. Tarikh-i-Jammu, op. cit. F/14-a. Kripa Ram, Diwan, Gulabnama,
p. 139.

42. Kripa Ram Diwan, Gulabnama, pp. 141-142.
his control over Ladakh and Baltistan in 1837 and 1839\textsuperscript{43} respectively. Maharaja Rangit Singh died on 27th June, 1839\textsuperscript{44} and his death resulted in weakening the Sikh power and also led to chaotic conditions in the Sikh kingdom. One king succeeded another, some killed, other died; there were conspiracies in the Lahore Durbar\textsuperscript{45}. In 1841, the Sikh Governor General Mahan Singh was murdered in Kashmir and Kanwar Partab Singh, the ten year old prince and son of Maharaja Sher Singh was instructed to proceed there at the head of a strong contingent under the charge of Gulab Singh\textsuperscript{46}. He restored peace in the Valley and Sheikh Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din was appointed as the Governor of Kashmir\textsuperscript{47}. The whole of Sikh kingdom was thrown into turmoil due to the collapse of the central authority at Lahore\textsuperscript{48}. The Sikh forces began to assume the role of protector of the Sikh state

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\textsuperscript{43} Dhar, Ram Jeo, \textit{Tariikh-i-Khandan-i-Shahi Dogra}, F/23-a Kripa Ram Diwan, \textit{Gulabnama}, pp. 244-263.
\textsuperscript{44} Kripa Ram Diwan, \textit{Gulabnama}, pp. 206-207.
\textsuperscript{45} \textit{Tariikh-i-Jammu}, op. cit. F/46-a to 48-a.
\textsuperscript{47} Sheikh Gulam Mohi-ud-Din was the first Muslim Governor under the Sikhs. He had been to Kashmir twice, before his appointment as Governor-- \textit{Tariikh-i-Hasan}, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 778. He defeated the Bombas who had risen against the Sikhs, Kachru Birbal, op. cit. f. 327, See also, \textit{Tariikh-i-Jammu}, op. cit. f. 49-b.
\textsuperscript{48} \textit{Tariikh-i-Jammu}, op. cit. f. 50-b and 51a.
\end{center}
and showed the signs of disobedience. Dhian Singh was the Chief Minister of Sher Singh, who wanted only a puppet. Some of the Sikh elements met under the leadership of Sardar Ajit Singh Sindhanwalia and Bikarma Singh and conspired to kill Sher Singh and the Dogra Rajas. They succeeded in the murder of Sher Singh, his son Partab Singh and his Chief Minister, Dhian Singh. Hira Singh, the son of Dhian Singh and the Commander of Sikh army, avenged his father's murder and assassinated the conspirators. The infant Dalip Singh was placed on the throne in 1843 and Hira Singh became the Chief Minister, the latter appointed Pandit Jalla as his agent. Pandit Jalla got undue importance which was disliked by Suchet Singh who went to Jammu but came back on hearing of the disturbed


50. Dhian Singh was the brother of Gulab Singh, and in 1818 he was given the charge of Deodhi—the command of the doorway—Kripa Ram, *Gulabnama*, pp. 132–133. Even during Ranjit Singh's life he was bestowed with the title of Raja and had assumed the role of King-maker, Cunningham, J.D. *History of the Sikhs*, p. 201. Then he became the Chief Minister of Kharak Singh and was granted the title of "Enlightened Minister—the Head of the Administration" by the Governor General, Lord Hastings—Kahan Singh, Thakur, *Tariikh-i-Rajagan-i-Jammu Wa Kashmir*, p. 137.


53. Ibid., F/52-b.

54. Cunningham, J.D. *History of the Sikhs*, pp. 231–32.
conditions at Lahore. Both Suchet Singh and Rae Kesari Singh were killed\(^{55}\), at Lahore while fighting with the men of Pandit Jalla. Meanwhile, Jawahar Singh\(^{56}\) and Lal Singh\(^{57}\) could not tolerate the excessive powers in the hands of Pandit Jalla and Hira Singh. These Sikh Sardars asked Hira Singh to hand over Pandit Jalla to them but he refused and thus the two parties had a fight, in which Hira Singh and Sohan Singh\(^{58}\) were killed, on December 18, 1844\(^{59}\). Sardar Jawahir Singh and Lal Singh began to administer the crumbling Sikh kingdom\(^{60}\).
The death of Hira Singh and Sohan Singh was felt seriously by the people of Jammu and Gulab Singh. While he got furious on the one hand, on the other the Sikh Sardars ordered the army under Sohan Singh to hand over Pandit Jalla to them.

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56. Jawahir Singh Sardar was the real brother of Rani Jindan and the maternal uncle of Maharaja Dalip Singh, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, op. cit. F/54-a.

57. Lal Singh Sardar was the son of Misser Jassa Mal, Scribe in Ranjit Singh's treasury and Lal Singh got the same position in 1836 after his father's death. However, he rose to the position of the Chief treasurer in 1843; he was great favourite of Rani Jindan. His illegal relations with Rani roused the army against him. Cunningham, J.D., *History of the Sikhs*, p. 283. Honigberger, Dr. J.M., *Thirty-five Years in the East*, p. 124.

58. Sohan Singh was also known by the name of Mian Randhir Singh, he was the second son of Maharaja Gulab Singh. Kripa Ram, *Gulabnama*, p. 280.


Singh and Lal Singh to attack Gulab Singh at Jammu in March, 1845. After some fight the Sikhs surrendered and entered into peace with Gulab Singh. Gulab Singh visited the Lahore Durbar to have talks with Rani Jindan and left Bachna Singh and Rajput Prithi Singh, servants of Raja Hira Singh at Lahore who got the power and with a conspiracy killed Jawahar Singh to avenge the murder of Dhian Singh, Suchet Singh, Kaiseri Singh, Hira Singh, Dhian Singh and Sohan Singh. In 1845, on 8th November, Lal Singh had become the Prime Minister of the Lahore State and Tej Singh was appointed the Commander-in-Chief of the Sikh army, the latter wanted Gulab Singh to lead them, but he was at Jammu.

There was a lot of chaos and confusion in the Sikh army. The army men were clamouring for increase in their salary and rewards. At this time Rani Jindan, depressed owing to her

61. Ibid., p. 203.
63. Prithi Singh was the cousin of Rae Kesari Singh of Jammu and was Gulab Singh's man. He was the member of the Sikh Punchayat and had a great influence on the Sikh army.
64. Tarikh-i-Jammu, op. cit. F/56-b.
brother's murder, asked the Khalsa army that the British Government had the intention to occupy the Punjab territories and the army, after some consultation, made the preparation to leave for Satluj.

In 1841 when disaster overtook the British men in Afghanistan, they needed the Sikh co-operation which had been denied to the British by Ranjit Singh even at the time of first Afghan war. But Gulab Singh thought it as a suitable "occasion to secure the firm friendship of the British". Gulab Singh allowed the British army to pass through the Sikh territory of Punjab for the expedition to Afghanistan in 1841. No doubt, the British forces met with defeat in Afghanistan but it proved fortunate to the future of Gulab Singh. On 27th January, 1846 Gulab Singh was installed as Prime-Minister.

During the first Sikh war of 1845-46 at Mudki on December, 1845 Gulab Singh forgot his loyalty to the Sikhs and kept aloof from the war either because of the annoyed behaviour of the Sikhs towards him or due to an understanding with the British.

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67. Ibid., The existence of a strong and hostile Sikh state in the North-west of India could prove dangerous to the safety of British India, so the East India Company thought of to conquering the Punjab and the opportunity to fulfil this object was provided by the death of Ranjit Singh. Ganesh Dass Vadhera, Tarikh-i-Rajdarshani, p. 205.

68. Hasrat Bikramajit, The Punjab Papers, p. 57. From Ellenborough to the Duke of Wellington (Private), 26th October, 1841— PRO 30/12(28/12), 1844, p. 3.


70. Ibid., p. 92.
The Sikh troops crossed the Sutlej on December 11, 1845 and the British were prepared to destroy the Sikhs. In this battle Raja Gulab Singh assumed the role of "adviser and mediator" for the British. Gulab Singh had an understanding with them to the effect that "the Sikh army should be openly abandoned by its own Government; and further, that the passage of the Sutlej should be unopposed and the road to the capital laid open to the victors." Still the Sikh soldiers fought bravely and destroyed themselves in the battle-field. While the campaign was going against the Sikhs, Gulab Singh arrived in Lahore, along with his forces. Rani Jindan sent Bhai Ram Singh, Raja Dina Nath and other Sardars to receive him. The Rani bestowed on him the "khilat" of Wazarat. The Britishers came out


72. Josef Korbel, Danger in Kashmir, p. 13, writes "at first he remained strictly neutral; then he assumed the role of adviser and mediator for the British and finally... he actively participated in fighting his one-time protectors." Even the biographer of Gulab Singh, Kripa Ram, Gulabnama p. 327-- accepts that Gulab Singh showed no interest in the affairs of war. No doubt, he puts forward other reasons of his waiting for the summons from Rani Jindan, he could not join the affair. Rajdarshani, p. 206. See also The Punjab Papers, p. 101. Lord Hardinge to His Wife, 31st January, 1846, Ferozepore.

73. Cunningham J.D., History of the Sikhs, p. 279.


75. Kripa Ram, Gulabnama, p. 328.
successful on February 15, 1846. Rani Jindan asked Gulab Singh to settle the peace terms, so he reached Kasur. Raja Gulab Singh sent a *marasala* of peace to the British, presenting excuse of the Sikh invasion, it was sent through Lala Chuni Lal Harkara. Gulab Singh received the reply of Sir Henry Lawrence assuring the personal friendliness towards Gulab Singh. The other problems were being discussed behind the curtain for securing the co-operation of Gulab Singh. After full discussions the Treaty of Lahore was signed. The Lahore Government was charged with a war indemnity of one and a half crore rupees. This Treaty recognized Qalip Singh as the ruler and the country between Beas and Sutlej to be handed over to the British. The Lahore Government unable to pay the sum, ceded the forts, territories, rights and interests in the hill countries.

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79. The Treaty of Lahore, See Appendix NO: (III)
situated between the river Beas and the Indus, including the provinces of Kashmir and Hazara.\footnote{80}

The Governor-General thought of planting Gulab Singh as an ally of the British in the rear of the Sikhs, so as to break their back.\footnote{81} Though Lord Harding knew very well that "Gulab Singh, is the greatest rascal in Asia,"\footnote{82} yet he conferred the territories of the province of Kashmir on him by a separate treaty -- the Treaty of Amritsar\footnote{83} -- signed on 16th March, 1846 at Amritsar.

\footnote{80. The Punjab Papers, pp. 102-103. Lord Hardinge to his wife, 31st January, 1846, Camp Ferozepora, writes "... I shall require him (Maharaja) to present the keys of Lahore and Govindgarh, and to surrender every piece of cannon that has been pointed against the British army. I take from them a fertile district which improves our frontier, 1½ million of money, and as they have shown themselves too strong, I hope to take away Cashmere and the hill districts declaring them independent of Lahore."}

\footnote{81. Cunningham, J.D. History of the Sikhs, p. 287. Sri Ganesh, Tarikh-i-Jammu, F/60-b.}

\footnote{82. The Punjab Papers, p. 104. Lord Hardinge to his wife 2nd March, 1846, Lahore, "... The man, whom I have to deal with, Gulab Singh, is the greatest rascal in Asia. Unfortunately it is necessary to improve his condition because he did not participate in war against us and his territory touches ours. We can protect him without inconvenience and give him a slice of the Sikh territory which balances his strength in the same degree against theirs; and as he is geographically our ally, I must forget he is a rascal and treat him better than he deserves."}

\footnote{83. The Treaty of Amritsar, Appendix No: (IV)
The Sale of Kashmir:

By the Treaty of Amritsar Kashmir was sold to Gulab Singh, for a sum of seventy five lakh of rupees Nanakshahi on when the independent hereditary rights of governing it were conferred by the article (I) of the Treaty.

The Treaty of Amritsar was one of the steps of the general policy of the British, according to which they conducted their relations with other native states. This Treaty recognized the principle that "friends and enemies of one shall be friends and enemies of both". The Treaty of Amritsar with the articles (I) and (III) has attracted the attention and evoked strong condemnation. It is a well known fact that the East India Company was a trading agency and its main concern was the acquisition of money, which they got in the sale of Kashmir.

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85. Munshi, K.V. The Constitutional History of India, (1938 Allahabad), p. 288. The native states were to act in subordinate position, acknowledge the British supremacy, not "to have any connection with other chiefs of the states", in case of any dispute with the other native states, it was to be submitted to the British arbitration. Though this policy guaranteed the internal sovereignty of the ruler, but Britishers were the supreme. Thus the Treaty of Amritsar was no exception to this British policy of subordinate isolation.

86. The Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, wanted to satisfy the demands of the Directors; the Sikh treasury was empty, so the Governor-General had entered into secret agreement with Raja Gulab Singh and Kashmir along with its other provinces was sold to him for seventy five lakh of rupees. See Rajab Ali Padri, Riyasat Jammu Wa Kashmir Ke Taluqat Angrizi Govt. Se. F/16-a.
The defenders of the Treaty point out that the British East India Company was not at that time in a position to go and conquer the Valley. Lord Hardinge has defended himself for this act because he could easily foresee the uproar in Britain, so he justified his action in anticipation for concluding the Treaty of Amritsar. But his arguments

87. It is evident that it was merely due to the English threat that Kashmiris under Sheikh-Imam-ud-Din surrendered to Gulab Singh in 1846. Lord Hardinge while writing to a near relative points out the reasons for the transfer of Kashmir as:

"It was necessary last March to weaken the Sikhs by depriving them of Kashmir. The distance from Kashmir to the Sutlej is 300 miles of very difficult mountainous country quite impracticable for six months. To keep a British force 300 miles from any possibility of support would have been an undertaking that merited a strait-waistcoat and not a peerage. The arrangement made was the only alternative. The government took away with one hand and gave with the other as the exigencies of the case required; and as regards the honesty of the transaction, the names of Currie and Lawrence are a sufficient guarantee. Gulab Singh's character was not without reproach; but where was the native chief or minister to be found without similar blots on his escutcheon? Life of Lord Hardinge, p. 133 (Oxford 1891), Panikkar, The Founding of the Kashmir State pp. 106-107. Also see, R. Rankin, A Tour Through the Himalayas, June 5, 1898, pp. 185-186. Doughty, A Foot Through the Valley, p. 240.

88. Lord Hardinge to Ellenborough, Panikkar, The Founding of Kashmir State, pp. 100-103. Lord Hardinge writes:

"Gulab Singh was never Minister of Lahore for the administration of its affairs. Early in 1845 Jawahir Singh persuaded the army to march against Jammu. Gulab Singh desiring of being able to defend himself, threw himself into the hands of the Panchayats and was brought a prisoner to Lahore. He was there treated with great severity; and subsequently, when the army offered him the Wazirship, he repeatedly declined the offer. When the invasion took place he remained at Jammu and took no part against us, but tendered his allegiance on condition of being confirmed in the possession of his own territories.... It was evident that he had no cause for gratitude or attachment to the Lahore Durbar, by whose orders and intrigues his own"
proved their hollowness and his statements were conflicting and contradictory. It is evident from various communications of Lord Hardinge that Gulab Singh was "the greatest rascal" not militarily nor mentally great, a "cruel tyrant". But regardless of all this he transferred Kashmir to Gulab Singh.

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family had nearly been exterminated, his possessions taken, and his sons slain. During the whole of the campaign he had purposely kept aloof; not a single hill soldier had fired a shot against us, so that the Government had every right to treat with him. They had their own interest, also, to attend to, which required that the Sikh state should be weakened and that the hills should be separated from the plains.

... His forbearance was rewarded because his forbearance was in accordance with an intended policy and because the charge of treachery could not be substantiated." Life of Lord Hardinge, p. 133, (Oxford 1891). See also Panikkar, The Founding of the Kashmir State, pp. 161-164 for Letters From the Governor--General to the Secret Committee, dated 14th March, 1846.

89. Lord Hardinge to His Wife, 2 March, 1840, Panjab Papers, op. cit. p. 104.


91. Hardinge to Ellenborough (Private), 19 March, 1846. Punjab Papers, op. cit. p. 93. "I wrote a long letter to Hogg in reply to a letter of his advocating annexation..... explain(ing) the transaction of receiving Cashmere from the Barbar instead of one million sterling indemnity which they could not pay and transferring it to Golab Singh who would pay £ 750,000?"
It is also clear from Hardinge's communications that Ellenborough thought this act as treacherous, nevertheless in his justification Hardinge supported the sale. The defenders of the sale also claim that Gulab Singh remained loyal to the Lahore Durbar up to the last and "endeavoured to secure the best terms possible for Dhuleep Singh." But the fact remains, which is historically true, that Rani Jindan Queen Regent, when she heard of the transfer of Kashmir to Gulab Singh, sent her agents Raja Dina Nath, Fakir

92. Lord Hardinge to Ellenborough, 21 May, 1846, Punjab Papers, Op. cit. p. 6. "(You) suggested to (me) to hold out independence to the Governor of Mooltan in a manner similar to Golab Singh. Golab Singh's neutrality was most valuable before I crossed the river. He was informed that his good conduct would be appreciated. And yet, after recommending me to bribe the chief of Mooltan by the offer of his independence, you consider it treacherous to make Golab Singh the purchase of Kashmir and the independent prince of the hills?"

93. James P. Ferguson, Kashmir—A Historical Introduction, p. 56. writes that Gulab Singh remained loyal to the Sikhs and was rewarded loyally, "but even after Ranjit's death, when the Sikhs had been responsible for the murder of his brothers and had become hostile to himself, he still declared himself loyal to the Sikh Government and, as he might well have done, did not turn against it in its difficulties with the British. Indeed Sir Henry Lawrence who at a private interview reminded Gulab Singh of the unworthy treatment his family had received from the masters they had served so well, received the reply that his brothers were the subjects of the Lahore Government which had the right to treat them as it thought best." See Kripa Ram, Diwan, Gulab-name, p. 337.

Nur-ud-Din and Bhai Ram Singh to Henry Montgomery, Lawrence and Frederick Currie conveying her total opposition to the proposed transfer and told them that if they transfer Kashmir to Gulab Singh contrary to her wishes, she would go to England and present a petition of appeal to the Queen. But no heed was paid to her intervention. It is equally true that Gulab Singh did not lose any of his possessions, though it was under Ranjit Singh that he had risen from a petty position to the height and became disloyal to the Durbar for his own ends. Gulab Singh did not help the Lahore Durbar in its period of crisis and it was completely against the ruling spirit of the time.

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95. Kripa Ram, Dewan, Gulabnama, p. 341. See also Hashmatullah, Tarikh-i-Jammu Wa Kashmir, p. 57. Panikkar, The Founding of Kashmir State, p. 98 has given the names of Rani's agents as "Dewan Dina Nath, Fakeer Anwaruddin, and Bhai Ram Singh". But instead of Fakeer Anwaruddin, it was Fakir Nur-ud-Din who was one among the three sent to Henry Lawrence. Kripa Ram, Gulab Name, p. 341.

96. Panikkar, The Founding of Kashmir, pp. 108-109. The author accepts the fact and writes "It is undoubtedly true that he had been for years cultivating the friendship of the British Government. It is also equally true that when the war broke out between the Company and the Sikhs he did not hasten with his forces to the standard of his sovereign, but held back in Jammu..." Panikkar, p. 110. He further writes that it was Gulab Singh's greatness that he did not turn to complete hostility to Lahore Durbar but merely remained neutral in the war which speaks of his loyalty to the memory of Ranjit Singh", Inspite of the deaths of his close relatives. But the fact remains that it was out of threat of being defeated by Sikhs that he did not turn hostile which is clear when he fought earlier against the Sikhs and was fined.

97. Cunningham, J.D. History of the Sikhs, p. 288, writes that "the custom of the East as well as the west requires the feudatory to aid his lord by foreign war and domestic strife. Gulab Singh ought thus to have paid the deficient million of money as a Lahore subject, instead of being put in possession of Lahore provinces as an independent prince."
There was a wide uprear both in England and outside against the sale of Kashmiris— as if the “people of song and story” and sold like “sheep and cattle” for a “paltry and insignificant” sum of seventy-five lakhs of rupees. These Kashmiris were sold at Amritsar, over three hundred miles from Kashmir, without any consideration for the people, not even one of their leaders was consulted, by a Nation known for its justice. The Treaty of Amritsar contains not even a single...

98. The sale of Kashmir has been described by the United Nations Mediator, Justice Dixon, as "a people of song and story", Saraf, M. Y. Kashmiris Fight for Freedom, p.191.

99. Bazaz, Prem Nath, Struggle For Freedom in Kashmir, p. 183. Commenting on the Sale of Kashmir he writes "Two million of people in the Valley and Gilgit were sold like sheep and cattle to an alien adventurer and the whole transaction was made behind the back."

100. W. Wakefield, The Happy Valley, p. 86. Indian Public Opinion, Newspaper., 1866-- Brinckman, The Wrongs of Kashmir (Ed. Gudru, Kashmir Papers), p. 44, has the hope of recovering Kashmir from Gulab Singh "to whom we might return seventy-five lacs for which we bargained away the welfare of hundreds of thousands of human beings, a sum too less that a year's income of that country—";

101. Faug, Munshi Mohammad-ud-Din, The Auction of Eleven Lakhs of Kashmiris (An Article) writes that each Kashmiri was sold for rupees seven by the English to Gulab Singh and reproduces the verse of Iqbal that neither the seller nor the purchaser realized the fact—

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دو بگاون کئئک دیئ رنج دگیلان فروختنی ہو تے نہیں
تھے فروختی پر اوران فروختی
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Trans: Their fields, their crops, their streams, Even the peasants in the vale, They sold, they sold all, alas, How cheap was the sale.

Dugsal, Letters from India and Kashmir, 1874, p. 163 comments on the same subject that "... As Cashmere contained six hundred thousand inhabitants, they were estimated at twenty-five shillings a head, the most extensive transaction in the slave trade of modern times."
provision pertaining to the rights and interests or "humane government" of the Kashmiris. Kashmir was taken and "plunged... into all the meseries which it has since suffered." Most known Englishmen have regretted the sale of Kashmir as a great "political mistake" which the Englishmen had made in a hurry, and the people of one religion were handed over to a

102. Robert Thorp, Kashmir Misgovernment, Ed. Gudru, Kashmir Papers, p. 84, points out that the Sale of Kashmir was a "dark stain", upon the history of British rule in India, on the ground "that in no portion of the Treaty made with Gulab Singh was the slightest provision made for the just and humane government of the people of Cashmere and others, upon whom we forced a government which they detested."

103. Ibid., p. 87. The author while regretting the Sale of Kashmir writes, p. 88, "that towards the people of Cashmere who have committed a wanton outrage, a gross injustice and an act of tyrannical oppression, which violates every humane and honourable sentiment, which is opposed to the whole spirit of modern civilization, is in direct opposition to every tenet of the religion we profess."

104. Dugsal, Letters From India and Kashmir, p. 163. The Sale of Kashmir was "one of those political mistakes that we make in a hurry to appease the demons of economy, the Exeter Hall, and repent at our leisure, or regret the fatality of the national tradition, that we threw away by diplomacy that we won by the sword."
person who belonged to another religion—Muslims to a Hindu. This Hindu Raja was not bound to the English advice, suggestions but was "irresponsible for any outrage or injustice he or his ministers might choose to commit, with regard to the internal administration of the country." Thus the result of the sale was a bad and oppressive government. English also were found to be at loss in this transaction which proved "a source of weakness rather than strength to the

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105. Robert Thorp, op. cit. pp. 84—85; Also see Murray Aynsley, Mrs. J.C., Our Visit to Hindustan, Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 92, comments on the important aspect of the sale that resulted in the deserted conditions of the villages and writes that "such is the lamentable result of our having handed over this splendid and fertile country to the tender mercies of a Hindu bigot, with officials of the same faith as himself, the inhabitants of the country being Mohammedan. History shows us, in the case of our own Queen Mary, and also in that of Philip of Spain with regard to the Netherlands, that no rule is so cruel as that of a bigot over people of a faith differing from his own."


107. F. Markham, Shooting in the Himalayas, (1854), p. 355, writes about the evils of the existing governments and holds the English responsible for the same... we have much to answer for, in transferring the country to Gholab Singh, selling it and its people, for filthy lucre. The price he gave, was about twenty-six lacs, somewhere about what the annual revenue of Cashmir should be under a good government."
great government, and the Kashmiris were to be the worst sufferers.

Thus Kashmir was sold to Gulab Singh for money and Kashmir was transferred to him as a price for his efforts, in helping the British. But still he had to pay the price for the territories. Out of seventy-five lakhs of rupees fifty lakhs were to be paid at the ratification of the Treaty and twenty-five lakhs before the first October.

108. Calcutta Review, Punjab Report, 1859, Lieut Colonel Torrens, H.D., Travels in Ladakh, Tartary, and Kashmir, (1862 London), pp. 301-03. Writes that "No Englishman can leave Kashmir without a sigh of regret that a province so full of promise should ever have been allowed through our fingers..., and we should have benefitted by the acquisition as much as, I hope, the people would have been bettered by our rule."

Lord Robert of Kandhar, Forty-One Years in India, (1854), p. 210 writes while regretting the loss, "... what were we about, to sell such a country for three quarters of a million sterling?. It would have made the most perfect sanatorium for our troops, and furnished an admirable field for British enterprise and colonization, its climate being as near perfection as anything can be! Dalhousie in his Minute (p. 117) cited Bawa, Satinder Singh, The Jammu Fox --- A Biography of Maharaja Gulab Singh, regretted that "... in 1846, we unwillingly handed over Kashmir to a chief who has proved himself a veritable tyrant, and who already appears to be the founder of a race of tyrants."

109. The Governor General personally invested Gulab Singh with the title of "His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir" on 16th March, 1846 at Amritsar, after signing the Treaty.

110. Panikkar, The Founding of the Kashmir State, p. 105, writes "... the Cession of Kashmir was the price paid for Gulab Singh's efforts to bring about a speedy peace which, if he had thrown in his weight with the Lahore Durbar, would not have been an easy matter to achieve."

111. Cunningham, J.D. History of the Sikhs, p. 332, f.n. writes, that when the Treaty of Amritsar was signed "... Maharaja Gulab Singh stood up, and with joined hands, expressed his gratitude to the British Viceroy—adding, without, however, any ironical meaning, that he was indeed the Zar-Kharid, ("Gold-boughten slave").
liable to pay thirty-five when Sikh army was sent to Jammu
against him but paid only five lakhs. Then in Lahore he was
again fined sixty eight lakhs but paid only twenty-seven
lakhs--leaving a balance of forty-one lakhs which were in any
case he was liable to pay to the Sikh court. Suchet Singh's
treasure, buried at Firozpur, contained fifteen lakhs which
was seized by the English and Guleb Singh became its claimant.113
This amount was adjusted as a part payment of the sale--price
charged from Guleb Singh114. So Guleb Singh purchased Kashmir
legally for rupees nineteen lakhs. He paid the stipulated
amount in at least 42 instalments. The last instalment was paid


113. Suchet Singh had several wives but no legitimate
son or daughter but his wives and nephews were/
deprived of his money--who had also a right to
it.

on 29th March, 1850—four years after the signing of the Treaty.

It was at the time when the British occupied Delhi that a mission of Kashmiris contacted the Britishers and urged them to take the country under their own protection but no heed was paid to their proposals. An urzee was sent by the Hill Chiefs to English before September 30th, 1846.

In it they expressed their "great sorrows" at the action and

115. Final Receipt For the Purchase of Kashmir, Lahore, 29th March, 1850. signed by the Board of Administration. See Sapru A. N., The Building of the Jammu and Kashmir State, Appendix No. V.

116. Karim Nawaz, Tarikh Aeina Dikhati Hai PGR publications, Saraf M. Y., Kashmiris Fight for Freedom pp. 203, 204. The author writes about the nature of money paid by Gulab Singh for the Sale of Kashmir. Among the amounts adjusted against the outstanding price, was a sum of rupees twenty-one thousand and seventeen, paisa twelve and pice five of timber supplied by the Maharaja for the construction of a cantonment at Wazirgbat and a sum of rupees eighteen hundred paid to a certain jugal Kishore, news writer, for the supply of 28 handkerchiefs. On 9th April, 1846, Lawrence protested in writing against delay in payment of the first instalment, stating that British Government was in need of it. The first instalment of rupees twenty one lacs was sent from Jammu to Jullundhur on 18th April, 1846 under a military guard consisting of a platoon with 2 guns and commanded by Bijai Singh Kamiden. It was loaded on 45 carts, 20 camel, six box-carrying coolies and forty kshars. Five extra carts were also attached, yet, counted at the receiving end, it fell short by rupees nine thousand, one hundred and twenty-eight. The explanation furnished for the short fall was that the sacks were old and that part of the journey had been performed by night. A perusal of the details shows that all types of currency was used in payment including the Muhammad Shahi (Mughal) ashrafis as well as coins from Oudh.

decided to fight, similarly, an urzee was sent by the Chadrees, Manufacturers, Pandits and the inhabitants of the Valley that "the English by giving this country to Raja Gulab Singh are oppressing us... But if it be that we are to have him, we shall all run away both small and great...".

**Occupation of the Valley:**

Maharaja Gulab Singh became only a nominal, de-jure, ruler of Kashmir through the Treaty of Amritsar since he did not obtain the actual possession of his new province. Sheikh Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din had been installed as the Governor of Kashmir for his third term in 1841 under the orders of Lahore Durbar. He died in 1845 and his son, Sheikh Imam-ud-Din, succeeded to the office on the recommendation of the Maharaja.

120. Hasan, Tarikh, op. cit. Vol. II, pp. 778-779. Aakhun, Haaiid-Ullah Kashmiri, Akbarnama, F/11-14. The author calls the Sheikh to be the most liberal, just a clever and religious-minded person who tried his best to end the tyranny, helped the poor, repaired the mosques.
121. Panikkar, The Founding of the Kashmir State, p. 117 has quoted an article by a contemporary in the Calcutta Review, July, 1847, describing Sheikh Imam-ud-Din in the following words, "The Sheikh is perhaps the best-mannered and the best dressed man in the Punjab. He is rather under than above the middle height, but his figure is exquisite, "as far as it goes", and is usually set off with the most unrivalled fit which the unrivalled tailors of Kashmir will achieve for the Governor of the province. His smile and bow are those of a perfect courtier whose taste is too good to be obsequious; his great natural intelligence and unusually good education has endowed him with considerable conversational powers."
The following year, on March 16th, 1846 Kashmir along with its all the hilly and mountainous country situated eastward the river Indus and the west-ward of the river Ravi was handed over to Gulab Singh.

Maharaja Gulab Singh sent some forces under Wazir Lakhpât Rai to take possession of Kashmir from the Sikh Governor, Sheikh Imam-ud-Din, but it was a difficult task for the Wazir. He entered the Valley, at the plains of Maisume, on 14th June — (Ist Har, 1903 B). Wazir Lakhpât took the possession of the Fort of Hari Parbhat. The dispute between the Sheikh and Lakhpât Rai arose over the transfer of Kashmir treasure along with its arrears. Sheikh Imam-ud-Din had rallied more than twelve thousand men. Sheikh Imam-ud-Din had no intention of holding Kashmir as a servant of Gulab Singh, neither did he want to remain as a feudatory of the Sikhs. He was popular among the Kashmiris and was urged by his wife, a staunch Muslim, to establish the power of Muslims in Kashmir. The Sheikh wanted

123. Kripa Ram, Dewan, Gulabnama, p. 356.
125. Naba Shah, Waiz-ut-Tawârikh, (PM), p. 190, (RPD), Lal Singh from Lahore Durber had tutored the Sheikh not to hand over Kashmir to the Dogras, so he refused to leave. Nazim, Qazi Zahir-ul-Hasan, Miqaristan-i-Kashmir, p. 253. But whether or not the Sheikh had got the information about the change of masters, he totally refused to acknowledge Gulab Singh as his master.
to become the Sultan of Kashmir and got the assistance of Bombas from the Jhelum Valley, a people favourable to the Sheikh, and the Western Rajas, Hazaras and Gakhars awaited his action, and the winter pass—Baramulla—was commanded by his allies. On the other hand Gulab Singh was told by the British to collect all the forces at his disposal and despatch the reinforcements to Kashmir to back the Dogra forces sent under Lakhpat Rai. So Wazir Ratnu was also sent to Kashmir, at the head of some reinforcement. A large number of local Muslims, four thousand, Bombas and Khakhars and the zamindars of the various parganas, had joined hands with the troops under the command of Mirza Faqir-ullah.

The Sheikh's forces under Jan Mohammad Risaldar attacked the Dogras and a battle ensured in which blood-shed and slaughter followed. The Dogra army was cut into pieces, Wazir Lakhpat Rai was killed and his able generals slaughtered.

126. Ibid., Gulab Singh believed that the Sheikh had sent, presents to Lord Hardinge, the Governor-General and it was stated in the Lahore Akhbar that the Sheikh offered thirty-five lakhs to the British for Kashmir. Sapru, The Building of J & K State, p. 45.

127. Auras-i-Tarikh-i-Kashmir, (1857) (1670 M.S.), F/60-a

Wazir Ratnu fled and took refuge in the Koh Maran (Hari Parbat Fort). The Kashmiris also suffered heavy losses.

On receiving the news of the defeat, Gulab Singh asked the English for help and Lahore Durbar was asked to assist Gulab Singh with one half or two-third of their forces at every station between the Ravi and the Attack. On the other hand the Muslims put their whole-hearted effort on the side of the Sheikh. The shawl-bafs, the artisans, Gun-makers (Banduk-khars) all supported the Sheikh. The Sheikh deputed Saif-ullah Khan to Rajauri with 900 men and letters were sent throughout hills ordering the people to be ready for opposition to the Maharaja Rahimullah and

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133. Fauq, Munshi Mohd Din, Mukamal-Tarikh-i-Kashmir, Vol.III Sapru, The Building of J & K State, p. 50, describing the seize of Hari Parbat records "towards the entrance was Dewan Dutto Mull, to the south was Fukeeroolah, to the east Sirdar Soojan Singh with two Regiments and to the north colonel Busunt Singh, On the hill to the north was Maizooden Khan Sultan with some hill men. Futteh Singh and Goolzaree commandant were placed near the houses of the Hindus and Samud Khan and Mirza Murtaza were to the west."

Faiz Talib revolted in Rajauri and Poonch but were defeated. Ten to twelve thousand Dogra troops were engaged in suppressing the resistance in Bhimber, Mirpur, Rajauri and Poonch. Faiz Talib fled to Punjab and others surrendered. One of the rebels, Atta Ullah told the British Officers Broome, Hay, Micholson and Farquharson (who had been sent to Srinagar) that the people of Kashmir and the Hill chiefs were supporting the Sheikh for their hatred against Gulab Singh.

The British had deputed Lt. Herbert Edwards, Assistant Political Agent to remain with Gulab Singh for advice. Henry Lawrence threatened the Sikhs to cancel the Treaty of Lahore if they failed to place a part of their forces at the disposal of Gulab Singh. The Sheikh's relatives who lived in Punjab, were interned by Henry Lawrence. The jagirs of the Sheikh at Doab, Jullender and Sheikhpora were confiscated. The Lahore Durbar

134. Kripa Ram, Gulabnama, pp. 356-357.
136. Ibid., p. 62.

The author has estimated the revenues from these jagirs to be Rs. 24,500, 000/-.
was exerting strongly to assist the Maharaja. Strict orders were issued to all the chiefs and officers from Lahore to attack to remain ready for the march to Kashmir at one day's notice. Though the Maharaja was eager to secure the British help, he was particular that the British force did not enter the Valley. The Maharaja collected a huge army and kept ready at various stages. On 24th of September, 1846, a letter was addressed to the Sikh Officers in Kashmir warning them to keep aloof from the Sheikh. Similarly Gulab Singh also sent a Tussali-name to the Sheikh for the safety of his life and property and the same was also promised by Lt. Edwards through the Sheikhs Vakil. The British army, the Sikh forces and the Dogra soldiers were all kept under the command of Col. Lawrence who marched towards Kashmir through Rajauri. Mirza Faqir-Ullah, the chief of Rajauri, submitted. Thus it broke the


141. Jawala Sahai, the Jammu Dewan thought five or six thousand men from Lahore and Sher Singh's forces sufficient to conduct the situation successfully. The Maharaja had 20,000 men, out of which 4,000 men were in Hari Parbat, and others at other stations. Sapru, *The Building of J&K State*, p. 53.

142. From H. M. Lawrence, to the Sikh Officers and Soldiers in Kashmir, Sept., 24, 1846, Sapru, *The Building of J&K State*, p. 54. It was written in the letter that it was the "practice of the English to warn and to give opportunity to escape before they slay"... I warn you that if an receipt of this order you separate from the Sheikh and return to the Punjab, your lives will be spared and your means will be paid."

143. Ibid.,

back of the Sheikh and he was further shocked by the arrival of British Vakils, Fateh-Ullah Khan and Hakim Rai, in Srinagar, so he ordered his soldiers to lay down their arms, and asked all the hilly chiefs to surrender.

Lt. Edwards was at Riesi, when Imam-ud-Din's Vakil Poorun Chand accompanied by the Sirdars, Fateh-Ullah Khan, Rattan Singh, Tufte Singh and Gulab Singh arrived. Poorun Chand explained the conduct of his master to Lt. Edwards and assured him that the Sheikh "had acted under orders from Lahore and could produce those orders in writing for his own justification". While the British forces moved into Jammu for Gulab Singh's help, Poorun Chand was asked that Sheikh should leave the Valley within two days. Though all the forces were kept ready for the march. At this time many urzees were sent by the hilly chiefs and other inhabitants of the


146. Ibid., Three original documents were placed by the Sheikh before Henry Lawrence at Thanna which showed Lal Singh's desire to oppose the Dogra forces in their bid to enter Kashmir. Kripa Ram, Gulab-nama, p. 359.

147. Ibid., pp. 54-55. Lt. Edwards sent a Purwana to the Sheikh to the effect "that if within two days after the arrival of the Vakil Poorun Chand, Sirdar Futheh-Khan, Towanah and others, you proceed to join me at once, and disperse those over whom you have any influence, your life shall be spared and orders be issued for the release of your family, who are now in confinement, on the day that you give yourself up."
Valley that Kashmir should not be handed over to Gulab Singh which they construed was an act of oppression against them. When the news of the mobilisation reached Srinagar the Sheikh made preparations for leaving and ordered all the rebellious chiefs to surrender. The Sheikh himself left the Valley on 25th October via Shupiyan, reached Baramulla and on 1st November presented himself at Thanna before Lt. Colonel Lawrence. On the next day all the forces withdrew including the forces under Major General Sir John Littler and Brigadier Wheeler. Lal Singh was held responsible for every opposition by the Sheikh and suffered retribution for this by being exiled.

Gulab Singh entered Kashmir Valley accompanied by H. M. Lawrence and reached Pampur wherefrom the Maharaja started alone on November 9th, 1846 at 8 a.m., an hour declared auspicious to him. Thus Kashmir was conquered, Dogra rule established and the Raja of Jammu became the Maharaja.

148. Ibid., p. 62.
149. Ibid., p. 68.
150. Kripa Ram, Gulabnama, p. 359.
152. Aurag-i-Tarikh-i-Kashmir, F/9-b, The author has given the date of conquering the Valley by Gulab Singh.
of Jammu and Kashmir state. For Kashmiris it was nothing but "another tragic experience in a millennium of tragedies", and Kashmiris became again the slaves under foreign rule; "Its old ill-luck struck by it still, that hand had an itching palm, and they were again sold into the hands of the philistines." Gulab Singh puts down other instructions:

After the capture of Kashmir, Gulab Singh had to face various insurrections and campaigns with regard to hill tribes and countries. In 1847, the Zaminsfars and other tribes

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152 Cont.

"The author has used " as the date of actual occupation of Kashmir with its ABJAD value works out to be 1262 H (1846 A.D.)


155. Torrens Travels, op. cit. p. 301. Walter Lawrence, The India we Served, p. 64 When Gulab Singh entered the city, he had a naked sword in his hand and said "This alone shall now decide the fate of Kashmir."
of Hazara\(^\text{156}\) rose in rebellion against the Maharaja. They set up armed resistance, Diwan Hari Chand was already present there, but Diwan Jawala Sahal was sent to put down the rebellion.\(^\text{157}\) However, afterwards by an agreement between the Maharaja and the British, Hazara, Pafchli and Kabuta were exchanged by Maharaja for Kathua and Suchetgarh with fort of Manawar, which were given as jagir to Captain James Abbot for his services in fixing the boundary lines.\(^\text{158}\) Later on Bhaderwah was also transferred to the Maharaja.\(^\text{159}\)

**The Conquest of Chilas Fort**

In 1851 the frontier rose in rebellion\(^\text{160}\) and the chilasis began to plunder the possessions of the Maharaja at Hazara. In the spring of 1852 Maharaja sent a strong force under Dewan Hari Chand, Wazir Zorawar Singh, Colonel Bijai Singh,

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156. Hazara territory lies at the foot of the Himalayas in the North-west of the Punjab and included the territories of Mansehra and Haripur and Upper Tanawal. It was transferred to Gulab Singh by the Treaty of Amritsar in 1846.


158. Ibid., pp. 361-362.


Colonel Jawahar, Lochen Singh and Dewan Thakur Singh 161.

Ranbir Singh himself stayed at Sopore to conduct the affairs and the villagers were captured for Begar to carry the supplies 162. The chilasis fought bravely, men fought during night and the women in day time. More than 1,500 men died within one week. Colonel Bajai Singh got wounded 164. The soldiers were forced to eat the leaves of the trees for bread. 165

The chilais fort was situated on a high hill and its water supply depended on one well. The Dogras bored a big hole into the well and the whole water got drained from the well. So the chilasis were deprived of the water 166, but the chilasis drank oil and continued the battle for three days. 167 Finally, the chilasis surrendered and their leaders were brought to Srinagar. The fort was razed to the ground. The Maharaja's

161. Kripa Ram, Gulabnama, p. 397.
165. Kripa Ram, Gulabnama, p. 399.
166. Hargopal Khasta, Guldasta-i-Kashmir, p. 188.
authority was accepted and the leaders left their sons as hostages\textsuperscript{168}, but still Chilas remained always a frustration for the Maharaja because of its timely rebellions\textsuperscript{169}.

**Gilgit Insurrections:**

Upto 1842 neither Astor nor Gilgit\textsuperscript{170} had been annexed by the Sikhs. At that time Yasin invaded and drove out the rulers of Gilgit and the latter appealed to the Sikhs for help. A regiment was sent by the Sikhs under Nathu Shah who occupied Gilgit and married the daughter of the Raja of Yasin, Hunza and Nagyr. In 1846 Gilgit was ceded to Gulab Singh and Nathu Shah left the Sikhs and transferred his services to the new ruler, Gulab Singh, who went to take possession of Gilgit for him, and was successful\textsuperscript{171}. His matrimonial relations could not establish peace on the frontier for long. Then came the visit of British Government Commission comprising two English

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{168} Panikkar, The Founding of the Kashmir State, p. 144.
\item \textsuperscript{169} Mirjanpur, Khalil, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, F/308 (PMS)(RPD) writes about Chilas as:
\begin{quote}
چپا کے کنے ہیں اٹھال کمباڑ آئی رپنپال
\end{quote}

(It is of no use to be at sorry after doing a bad thing).
\item \textsuperscript{170} Gilgit was a barren country, with lofty precipitous mountains, narrow rocky gorges swift glacier--borne torrents, and only narrow strips of cultivation around stone--built villages. It was, nevertheless, of no small political and strategical importance.
\end{itemize}
Officers, Ensign Vans Agnew and young, of the Bengal Engineers, they were sent for the purpose of ascertaining the limit of Gulab Singh's possessions in the context of the Treaty of Amritsar. The Hunza Raja launched an attack on the Gilgit territory and plundered five villages. He justified his action of breaking peace with Nathu Shah by saying that the latter had brought the English to see the country. Nathu Shah led a force to Hunza river to avenge the attack but his forces were destroyed and he was killed. The titular ruler of Gilgit Karim Khan, who had accompanied him also lost his life. Bakhshi Hari Singh was sent at the head of Ram-gol Platon who punished the rebels and subjugated Gilgit, Gohar Rahman apologized through his agent, so he was restored.

In 1852 Gohar Rahman rebelled once again. Santosh Singh was the Thanadar of Gilgit fort. The next fort was...

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173. Kripa Ram, Gulabnama, p. 403. Some sources have referred to him as Gohar Amin, while the author of Gulabnama has referred to him as Gohar Rehman.

174. Ibid.,

175. Tarikh-i-Jammu, op. cit. F/64-b.

defended by the Devi-Din Kumedan, the Commander and by the Gurkha regiment. Bhup Singh was in command of the reserves at Bawanji and Astor. Gohar Rahman suddenly brought a force around and separated the two forts. The Gurkha regiment fought bravely even when no rations and water were left, but Bhup Singh was killed. Gohar Rahman brought Gilgit under his own control and many of his adversaries were dealt with sternly by him.

Thus Dogras were ousted from Gilgit, and it was not until 1856 that Gilgit was recovered by the Dogras and kept under Gohar Rahman's step brother, the Thanadar. But in 1857 Gohar Rahman again captured it. The conquest of Gilgit was completed by Ranbir Singh in 1866.

In 1857, Ranbir Singh succeeded his father and he resolved to recover Gilgit. First he employed all his resources in the operations against the mutineers, until 1860 he could not concentrate on the Gilgit frontier. In 1860 Gohar Rahman died.

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177. Kripa Ram, Gulabnama, p. 402; Drew, The Jammoo and Kashmir Territories, p. 440 gives "Rom Din" as the name of Commander.


A large force was sent under Colonel Devi Singh Narainia, to reduce the fort built by Gauhar Rehman. Gilgit was re-occupied. Then Raja Isa Bagdwar of Punist, who had incurred the wrath of Gauhar Rehman and sought refuge at the Dogra court, was reinstated. He occupied the territory of Ishkoman. In 1863, Yasin was reduced by a force led by Colonel Hoshiara. In 1865, disturbances which originated from Hunza, made Gilgit occupation very difficult. The insurgents were assisted by the ruler of Chetral. The Maharaja sent the reinforcement and Darel was occupied. In 1867, Punial was invaded by its enemies from Yasin. But the relief was sent from Gilgit and order was restored. About this time, the Valley of Chaprot was occupied by the Hunza ruler. In 1877, the then ruler of Nagar occupied Chaprot, and Chalt, and from that day these areas were held by the Nagar and Kashmir troops.

No doubt so many vain attempts were made by the Maharaja to get Gilgit earlier, but that caused suffering only to the peasants of the Valley, who were taken over and again for the purpose of carrying supplies in Begar. In 1880 three thousand soldiers were sent to Gilgit to put down the revolt of the natives demanding their rights.

182. Tarikh-i-Jammu, op. cit. F/68-e.
In the Afghan War of 1878-80 the Maharaja had sent a contingent of troops and artillery to assist the British Government. Though the Treaty of Amritsar did not make any provision with regard to the appointment of the British Resident in Kashmir, a British Officer on Special Duty was appointed who came in 1877. He was, under the direct control of the Government of India while up to that time the political affairs of Kashmir were conducted through the Punjab Government. The Dogra rulers had to pay nazrana annually to the British Government. The nazrana consisted of one horse, twelve perfect shawl-goats of approved breed, six male and six female, and a pair of Kashmiri do-shalas. However, this article was modified in 1882 when the British Government asked the Maharaja to give pasham as a substitute for twelve shawl goats, and the Maharaja accepted.

185. Article 10 of the Treaty of Amritsar, 16th March, 1846.

186. F/3/1883—Letter No. 417, dated 28th September, 1883, From Officer on Special Duty to the Diwan, which stated that five seers of Pasham which came to Kashmir from Ladakh and black-pasham of superior variety, five seers; four seers of middle variety and Sihuili of different (low) varieties seven seers, were decided to be given to the English instead of shawl goats.
Thus, politically, the Maharaja's state consisted of four provisions—Ladakh in the East, Gilgit and Baltistan in the North, Kashmir in the West, and Jammu in the South. As the Raja of Jammu, Gulab Singh had been the Hill Chief of Jammu and held Ladakh and Baltistan by right of conquest and Gilgit had become an appendage of Sikh governorship of Kashmir. Kashmir was then handed over to him by the Treaty of Amritsar and Gulab Singh was confirmed to what he already possessed.