CHAPTER VI
DARBAR POLITICS AND INTRIGUES (1839-1849)

The demise of the great ruler Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1839 let loose a flurry of passions and ambitions which his iron hand had firmly held in check. Maharaja Ranjit Singh died on June 27, 1839, and "the six years which followed were a period of storm and anarchy, in which assassination was the rule and the weak were ruthlessly trampled under foot".\textsuperscript{758} The period, after the demise of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, until the annexation of the Punjab, was not only crucial but of immense significance. During the span of one decade i.e. from 1839 to 1849 chaos and confusion prevailed in the Punjab and there was an atmosphere of lawlessness and unrest. This State of affairs not only terrorized the people but posed a great danger to the lives of the Hindu Courtiers and Officials at the Lahore Darbar. Infact, after the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh the Courtiers and Officials who had been loyal to the Lahore Darbar began to indulge in political machinations and intrigues. The Chief Nobels who had gained affluence lost moral accountability. Particularly the Dogras and the rest of the Sardars in general got entangled in crafty scheming and conspiratorial politics in the climate of political instability. The relations of the Dogras and Sardars with most of the Hindus ceased to remain cordial as before. Consequently, the political circumstances underwent a change for the worse and these courtiers and officials faced many problems at the Lahore Darbar.

Many opportunist and ambitious chieftains like the rajas of Jammu who had made strategic incursions during Ranjit Singh’s illness, suddenly felt relieved of any kind of control and started making plans for

\textsuperscript{758} Hugh Pearse (ed.), \textit{Memories of Alexander Gardner}, Patiala, 1898, p. 211.
expansion. In these times of cloak and dagger politics some even indulged in hiring assassins to murder rivals. They even found it politic to pit one claimant to the throne against the other. Therefore, the newly rich upstart aristocracy was desperate to do anything for achieving their personal ends. In a fit of political rashness some even opened surreptitious negotiations with the British who were already planning the annexation of the Punjab.\footnote{Syed Muhammad Latif, \textit{History of the Punjab}, New Delhi, 1964, pp. 520-21.} No member of Ranjit Singh's progeny except perhaps his grandson Nau Nihal Singh, could be considered a fit guardian and successor of the Khalsa Raj; and he too was prematurely removed from the political scene by an unfortunate accident.

A majority of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's able Hindu Courtiers and Officials like Diwan Mohkam Chand, Misr Diwan Chand, Diwan Bhawani Das, Diwan Ram Dayal and Diwan Ganga Ram had predeceased him, whereas, Diwan Moti Ram and Diwan Kirpa Ram had retired to Banaras. Only men of weaker moral integrity, some still a part of government and others who had turned traitors, survived to command the Army which naturally was straining at the leash.\footnote{N.K. Sinha, \textit{Ranjit Singh}, Calcutta, 1933, p. 190.} Court intrigues, accelerated by guilty ambition and disputed succession, weakened administration and created an atmosphere of uncertainty.

These intrigues were actuated by the determination of Raja Dhian Singh to maintain his power and the efforts of the rulers to establish their authority with the support of anti \textit{Dogra} Chiefs who had their own vested interests to guard. In this race for power both the parties tried to win over the army. It will be prudent here to make a passing reference of the various factions operating in the Lahore \textit{Darbar} after the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The Bhai group from U.P. exercised considerable influence on the \textit{Maharaja}. Jamadar Khushal Singh became the royal
Chamberlain in 1811 and his brother Ram Lal became the Brigadier-General in the army and his nephew Tej Singh became the commander of a division. The Misr family’s leading man Beli Ram, was the incharge of the Royal Toshakhana or treasury at Lahore. Some other well known groups like those of the Attari Chiefs, Majithias, the Fakir Brothers and the Sandhawalia Sardars too exercised a great influence on the Maharaja in shaping the destiny of the Punjab.

An account of the role of the Hindu courtiers and their relations with the successors of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and the members of the nobility as also the conditions in which they tried to function can be useful in understanding the political realities of the period immediately after Ranjit Singh.

**DIWAN DINA NATH (RAJA)**

Among the men who rose to power during the later days of the Sikh empire the most remarkable was Diwan Dina Nath. The politics of Diwan Dina Nath was based on the attitude of neutrality. Dina Nath knew how to keep his ambition in check and was one man in Lahore who made no enemies at the court. After the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, he sustained the dignity of his person and position through several years of anarchy that followed the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He served the successive rulers Kharak Singh, Nau Nihal Singh, Sher Singh and Dalip Singh without in any way compromising his position.

Historians have reproduced in their historical accounts the sequence of events attending the politically sensitive time of the sudden termination of Ranjit Singh’s rule. They have dilated upon the roles assigned by history to its agents like Diwan Dina Nath and discussed how they responded to these unforeseen and precipitous times. When, "The Maharaja became very ill on the night of the 20th instant (June,
1839) at 8 O’clock and Bhaís Ram Singh, Gobind Ram, Fuqeer Azeezoodeen, Diwan Deenah Nath, Missur Beliee Ram, Rajaahs Dhian Singh and Hira Singh were greatly distressed at his condition. They all agreed that Kanwar Kharak Singh should be proclaimed Ruler (Raees) and Raja Dhian Singh, his Minister (Vuzeer) early in the morning and that the doors should be placed at the disposal of Raja Hira Singh. In accordance with this plan Kanwar Kharak Singh and Raja Dhian Singh went in the morning to parade and took nazars from all the officers and commandants of the troops, proclaiming that the Maharaja had, while living raised the Kanwar to the Guddi, and nominated Raja Dhian Singh as his Wazir. "The Koonwer then return to the 'Summunboorj' and held his Durbar. Faqueer Azeezoodeen wrote a general order on the part of the Maharaja, and read it aloud in the Durbar, proclaiming the installation, and Diwan Dina Nath was ordered to apprise all the officers of the State. The Khillut of succession, to the Koonwer, and of vizarut, to the Raja, have not, however, been granted by the Maharaja, in consequence of its being an unlucky day, and it is deferred till a good day...."

Later in the evening, Diwan Dina Nath, Fakir Aziz-ud-Din, Fakir Nur-ud-Din, Raja Hira Singh, Dhian Singh, Keisree Singh, Jamadar Khushal Singh, Beli Ram and others, sitting in the Maharaja’s presence, made over that the Sardars should now have their respective possessions granted to them by the Maharaja confirmed by Kanwar Kharak Singh before the arrival of Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh. They entrusted Dina Nath, Fakir Aziz-ud-Din and Munshi Akram with the responsibility of preparing

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a document of the kind, which should be authenticated by the Kanwar. But in the meantime the Maharaja’s health deteriorated further and their plan was dropped.

On the 27th June, 1839, the very day of the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Bhai Gobind Ram, Bhai Ram Singh, Fakir Aziz-ud-Din, Fakir Nur-ud-Din, Jamadar Khushal Singh, Raja Dhian Singh, Raja Hira Singh and Diwan Dina Nath held a meeting and were unanimous about the absence of their confidence in Kanwars Kharak Singh and Nau Nihal Singh as regards their continuance in possession of the jagirs granted by Maharaja Ranjit Singh and considered it incumbent that a confirmatory deed bearing the seals of the Kanwars about the continuance of their jagirs from generation to generation and from loin to loin should be obtained from the Kanwars, in accordance with the regulations of the British Government. Diwan Dina Nath, Misr Beli Ram, Munshi Akram and Fakir Aziz-ud-Din prepared a draft of the document that the jagirs granted by the Maharaja should remain in the possession of their holders as formerly and no misunderstanding should exist between them. On 28 June, 1839, Kanwar Kharak Singh and Raja Dhian Singh swore by the Granth that the grants conferred by the Maharaja would continue in the possession of the present incumbents with the previous liability of the required loyalty from them as heretofore. Consequently every minister swore to this effect.

When Kanwar Kharak Singh was crowned on the 1st September 1839, his son Nau Nihal Singh was conspicuous by his absence from the investiture ceremony. The ceremony was hastily solemnized as the

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764 Ganda Singh (ed.), The Punjab in 1839-40 (Selection from the Punjab Akhbars, Punjab Intelligence etc. preserved in the National Archives of India, New Delhi), Amritsar, 1952, p. 64.
766 Ibid.
767 Jagjiwan Mohan Walia, Parties and Politics at the Sikh Court 1799-1849, New Delhi, 1982, p. 66.
Maharaja apprehended opposition from his son.\textsuperscript{768} Both Maharaja Kharak Singh and Dhian Singh were suspicious of the designs of Nau Nihal Singh. The various parties in these critical and unstable times were in a State of dissensions and disjunctions. Bhaís Ram Singh and Gobind Ram and Misr Beli Ram and Ram Kishen were political dissemblers who, though keeping up appearance with Dhian Singh, were actually supporters Nau Nihal Singh; Diwan Dina Nath and the Fakir family adopted a policy of neutrality. Only Sardars Ajit Singh Sandhawalia, Jawand Singh Mokal and Attar Singh, remained partisans of the Raja.\textsuperscript{769}

There were amongst the coterie of self-seekers, a small number of men, who refused to serve the Darbar as faithfully and honestly as circumstances permitted. Outstanding among them was Diwan Dina Nath, who administered the departments of revenue and finance. Man like Diwan Dina Nath was content to give advice whenever it was sought for but deliberately avoided exerting his influence on the question of men who had started asserting power through violent means.\textsuperscript{770}

On 5th November, 1840, Maharaja Kharak Singh died. After the cremation of Maharaja Kharak Singh, his son Nau Nihal Singh was advancing towards the fort with a party of men. The party passed by Kharak Singh's funeral pyre, now blazing fiercely, and came to the Roshnai Durwaza (The gate of splendour). Just as Nau Nihal Singh was passing underneath, the arch of the gate gave way and slabs of stone and masonry crashed down on his head. Diwan Dina Nath was among one of

\textsuperscript{768} At that time Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh was in Peshawar with Gulab Singh, Ali-ud-Din Mufti, Ibratnama, Lahore, 1961, Punjabi Trans. p. 587.
\textsuperscript{769} Ganda Singh (ed.), The Punjab in 1839-40, p. 91.
\textsuperscript{770} Khushwant Singh, The Fall of the Kingdom of Punjab, New Delhi, 1971 (reprint), p. 6.
them who received injuries. Nau Nihal Singh was brought to Ranjit Singh’s mausoleum where he died after some time.

In the uncertain and wavering struggle between Mai Chand Kaur and Kanwar Sher Singh, Dina Nath was the only person who remained aloof and non committal. He knew the art of sitting on fence. Chand Kaur’s party now consisted of Bhai Ram Singh and Gobind Ram, Attar Singh Sandhawalia, Lehna Singh Sandhawalia and Ajit Singh Sindhawalia, Fateh Singh Mann, Gulab Singh Povindia, Shaikh Gulam Mohi-ud-Din, Jamadar Khushal Singh and his nephew Tej Singh, Raja Gulab Singh and Hira Singh also took up the Rani’s cause enthusiastically. On the other hand Sher Singh had the backing of Fateh Singh Ahluwalia, Dhanna Singh Malwai, Sham Singh Attariwala, Raja Dhian Singh, Bhai Gurmukh Singh, Fakir Aziz-ud-Din and Generals Ventura and Court. In this struggle Rani Chand Kaur occupied the throne. According to Dhian Singh’s proposal, an agreement was drawn up on November 27, with the following terms: Sher Singh was to retire to Batala till the birth of a child to Sahib Kaur, but was to leave behind his son Partap Singh who was to be a member of the council of chiefs. Chand Kaur was to remain regent until then, after which other arrangements were to be made. The agreement was signed by Dhian Singh and Gulab Singh, Bhai Ram Singh and Gurmukh Singh.

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771 Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ul-Tawarikh*, Daftar IV, (Part-I) Lahore, 1885, 1889, English Trans. V.S. Suri, Amritsar, 2001, p. 113. Sohan Lal Suri dilates upon the incident in some details: “After that the Kanwar Ji (Nau Nihal Singh) came near the gate when, somebody from the unknown universe made the whole of its roof along with the bricks of the arch fall down exactly as it was aiming the arrow of destiny at the target of the head of Kanwarji, with the result that according to the preordained will and the never-dying wish of the Almighty God the brain of the Kanwar Ji became hidden under the bricks and dust and Mian Udham Singh (eldest son of Raja Gulab Singh) consigned his life to its creator. The other persons, who were keeping company at that time, such as the Raja Kalan (Dhian Singh Dogra), the Bhais (Ram Singh and Gobind Ram), Diwan Dina Nath and several other chieftains received injuries upon their shoulders and their backs on account of the bricks. The servants of the State dug out the blessed body of Kanwarji from the heap of the bricks of the arch and the dust and felt very sad and grieved to see the condition of Kanwarji”.


Attar Singh Sandhawalia, Lehna Singh Majithia, Fateh Singh Mann, Mangal Singh Sidhu, Sham Singh Attariwala, Dhanna Singh Malwai, Jamadar Tej Singh, Fakir Aziz-ud-Din, Diwan Dina Nath and Shaikh Gulam Muhi-ud-Din, having been cajoled by Dhian Singh, both the parties were fully represented in the deed. Rani Chand Kaur became the chief authority of the State with Kanwar Sher Singh becoming President of a Council of Chiefs entrusted with the command of the army and superintendence over all departments of the State and Raja Dhian Singh being promoted to the position Wazir.

After some time Sher Singh became the Maharaja. During the reign of Sher Singh, Diwan Dina Nath and Lehna Singh Majithia along with some others maintained a discreet distance with the affairs of the State and endeavoured, as far as possible, to preserve neutrality in their conduct.

Diwan Dina Nath was one of those in immediate attendance on Maharaja Sher Singh when he was assassinated by the Sandhawalias. On 11th September 1843, in the morning, the Sandhawalia's men were posted fully armed at different points in the city and also around the fort. After the dispersal of the Darbar they "began to hurl taunts and cause molestations to the men of the State by hints, loudly and secretly." This unanticipated demonstration caused great apprehension in the minds of Aziz-ud-Din, Bhaiss Ram Singh and Gobind Ram, the Jamadar Khushal Singh and Diwan Dina Nath who observed that, "quite strange and amazing things had taken place and that they must be out to see what would make its appearance from the veil of the unknown so that it

775 Lepel Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs: Historical and Biographical Notices of the Principal Families*, Lahore, 1865, p. 331.
might become known to them what God wished and for whom God showed a liking."778 At the time of Maharaja Sher Singh's murder none of the mutsaddis, officers or friends, happened to be there except the Maharaja's favourite Diwan Dina Nath and Raja Hira Singh.779 Totally without suspicion, the Maharaja moved out of the room to inspect the troops. After the inspection had been conducted, he bade Dina Nath to prepare the roll of these men.780 The Diwan, too, came out in the open at his bidding. Griffin offers a different view about Diwan Dina Nath's position. According to him "Dina Nath was standing immediately behind Sher Singh when the Sindhwalias entered the apartment. He would in all probability have been wounded or killed by the shot which killed the Maharaja, had not Mehr Khasitah, a Sandhawalia Vakil, who was in the plot, drawn him aside, pretending to have something important to communicate to him.781

Diwan Dina Nath continued to retain his influential position during the inept Wazarat of Hira Singh, taking tactical advantage of the differences of Pandit Jalla782 with Gulab Singh.783 When Hira Singh entered into a quarrel with his uncle, Raja Gulab Singh, in the first half of October, Diwan Dina Nath, Bhai Ram Singh and Shaikh Imam-ud-Din were sent on deputation to Jammu with the express errand of bringing about an adjustment of differences with Gulab Singh784 and their mission was completely successful. They returned bringing with them, as

781 Lepel Griffin, The Punjab Chiefs: Historical and Biographical Notices of the Principal Families, p. 137.
782 Pandit Jalla was Tutor and Chief Adviser of Hira Singh Dogra.
a surety, Mian Sohan Singh, the son of Raja Gulab Singh, who was murdered with his cousin Hira Singh, not long afterwards.

Dina Nath was also the founder and leader of the Mutsaddi—a faction which comprised of the moderate old guard of Ranjit Singh's time like the Lahore Vakil (Rai Kishan Chand) the British political agent, besides Bhai Ram Singh and Fakir Aziz-ud-Din and Nur-ud-Din. Withdrawal of their support to Hira Singh completed the ruination of the ministry whose days were now numbered. The Secretariat of the Government was composed of men who were despised by the ignorant Sardars yet were influential and able with their seasoned and much practiced cunning accustomed to be deployed as defence against force. At the head of such as these was Diwan Dina Nath. According to B.R. Chopra, "this man was much trusted by the existing Government and he acquired great power. His regular emoluments were considerable, but his power and profit depended mainly on his extensive patronage in the revenue management of the territories directly administered under his administration and in the civil departments of the army". The former swelled in its extent by the resumption of jagirs but also got attenuated due to Pandit Jalla's vigorous administration. The Diwan, for a time, indemnified himself through additional appointments in the army. But, a few weeks before the revolution occurred Pandit Jalla turned his attention to this subject and ruthlessly truncated the dimensions and size of the various establishments. In some cases, only one tenth of the writers or Munshis of the revenue department were retained. Diwan Dina Nath, through Bhai Ram Singh, communicated to Pandit Jalla that he was also losing by these cuts and retrenchments, but the Pandit's cold answer showed that the Diwan was no longer indispensable. He,

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therefore, secretly joined the opposite, faction. Aziz-ud-Din and Bhai Ram Singh also acted in concert with Diwan Dina Nath.

At the time of Hira Singh’s death, Jawahar Singh, the debauched and abominable brother of Maharani Jindan, obtained the chief power, but Diwan Dina Nath still held office. He was one of the most trusted officials of Rani Jindan with whom she shared several affinities. Both had experienced all the ravages of revolutions in which kings rose and fell and most of the prominent Statesman perished. Diwan Dina Nath was the member of council of Ministers reconstituted by Rani Jindan in 28 December 1844. The other members of this councils were: Sardar Jawahar Singh, Raja Lal Singh, Bhai Ram Singh, Bakshi Bhagat Ram, Sardar Attar Singh Kalianwala, Sardar Sham Singh Attariwala, General Mehtab Singh and General Mewa Singh Majithia and General Lal Singh Moranwala. Diwan Dina Nath was the principal adviser of Rani Jindan and the army Panchayats and wielded considerable influence in moderating their aggressive tone towards the British Government. The attempt at governing through the council, however, failed, and the Rani and her brother, for all practical purposes themselves transacted all business of the State, whether the council was sitting or not.

After the murder of Prince Peshora Singh, the troops rose in mutiny, and decided to kill Sardar Jawahar Singh, who had been the

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787 Hugh Pearse (ed.), Memories of Alexander Gardner, p. 263.
788 After Sher Singh’s assaination in 1843, when the army had proclaimed minor Dalip Singh as the Maharaja, both Peshora Singh and Kashmira Singh revolted at Sialkot, and claimed the throne. The town was besieged by Lahore troops and pretenders submitted, but were finally pardoned. In March 1845, at Gulab Singh’s instigation, Peshora Singh revolted again. A Sikh force again invested Sialkot and compelled him to flee northwards. He raised an insurrection in the hills and in July he captured Attock, proclaimed himself a sovereign of the Sikhs, and made an offer of Peshawar to the Afghans for help in fighting the republican army. From Attock Peshora Singh carried on negotiations with Dost Muhammad Khan which extremely annoyed the army Panchayats and also the British were loath to see the deposition of Dalip Singh recently recognized by them and the surrender of Peshawar. Nothing, however, came out of Peshora Singh’s negotiations with the Amir of Afghanistan. Chattar Singh, the Governor of Hazara, was ordered by the Darbar to reduce the pretender to submission. After a nominal resistance, Peshawar Singh
instigator of it. The Sardar was much alarmed, prepared the fort for defence. The army Panchayats had by this time effectually assumed the power of Government; they resolved, on 19 September, the Jawahar Singh must die as a traitor and communicated this decision to him and to the Rani.\textsuperscript{789} Rani Jindan was told that she must hand over her brother, or else, she and the Maharaja might have to share the same fate. They avoided compliance and sent Diwan Dina Nath, Fakir Nur-ud-Din, and Attar Singh Kalianwala, Bakshi Bhagat Ram, Raja Lal Singh to negotiate.\textsuperscript{790} The troops immediately made them prisoners, releasing Nur-ud-Din\textsuperscript{791} who they sent to warn the Rani that the dated 20 was the latest day to which the option of surrendering her brother would be left to her. Nur-ud-Din, having fulfilled his mission, was honourably dismissed but the other prisoners were insulted, threatened and derided by the soldiery. Four battalions of infantry were actually dispatched from Mian Mir towards the city. Accordingly, the Rani, her son and Jawahar Singh started for Mian Mir on the afternoon of the dated 21 and arrived there soon after sunset. Maharaja Dalip Singh, his mother, and attendants were conducted to their tents and Jawahar Singh put to death, by sword and musket in the howdah of his elephant.\textsuperscript{792} On the 22 morning, Rani Jindan, who had still great influence with the troops, reproached them for her brother's death and threatened to destroy

herself and her son. The Panchayat released Diwan Dina Nath and Sardar Attar Singh Kalianwala with orders to soothe her. Sardar Jawahar Singh’s body handed over to Rani for cremation and they returned back to the fort. They also allowed Diwan Dina Nath and Sardar Attar Singh Kalianwala to accompany her. Jawahar Singh was brunt with his four wives the same evening and Diwan Dina Nath present on the part of the Rani Jindan. The unfortunate women who were to burn with the body were shamefully treated by the soldiery, who stripped them of their jewel and tore their nose-rings away.793 In this moment of extreme distress and suffering, the ladies cursed the Sikh soldiery and prayed to God for their destruction.794

The Panches decided that although matters of fundamental policy should be determined by them, the details of their execution should be handed by Ministers whom they could trust. Diwan Dina Nath and Fakir Aziz-ud-Din were the two men whose integrity could not be impugned. The Fakir was anxious to withdraw from active life, particularly as he disapproved of the measures being taken against the English. The choice therefore fell on Dina Nath whose first job was to announce the execution of Jawahar Singh. Dalip Singh was to continue nominally as the Maharaja of the Punjab with his mother Rani Jindan as Regent. Diwan

794 Ali-ud-Din Mufti, *Ibratnama*, p. 604; Murray, *History of the Punjab*, Vol. II, p.258, Kanihya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 384. Broadfoot writes, "Suttees are sacred and receive worship- their last words are considered prophetic, their blessing eagerly sought and their curses dreaded. Diwan Deena Nath, the Ranee, the Muharaja and others prostrated themselves before them and obtained their blessings. This was repeated at the pile by Deena Nath and by the Ranee and her son etc. by proxy. The suttees blessed them but cursed the Sikh punth- at the pile they were asked the fate of the Punjab and declared that during the present year its independence would cease, that the Sikh sect would be conquered, the wives of the Sikh soldiers be widows and the country desolate, but that the Ranee and her son would live long and happily and the Maharaja continue to reign. These prophecies made a great impression on the superstitious multitudes and I (Broadfoot) mention them on that account, and because they doubtless express the opinions of persons about the Durbar." Broadfoot to Currie, September 26, 1845; 167/36, P.G.R. cited in B.R. Chopra, *Kingdom of the Punjab 1839-45*, p. 412.
Dina Nath, Bhai Ram Singh and Raja Lal Singh were appointed Principal advisers of Rani Jindan.\textsuperscript{795}

After this, Diwan Dina Nath clearly perceived that while the army remained as powerful as lawless as it then was, there was no safety for him or for any man who filled a conspicuous position and with Raja Lal Singh, whose motives were similar to his own, and the Maharani who longed to avenge her brother's death, he began to encourage in the army a desire for a war with the English, from which the conspirators hoped it would never return. When the passion of the troops were sufficiently inflamed, a great council was called at Shalimar, early in November, and here the \textit{Diwan} made an address to eloquent, artful and impassioned, that all present unanimously declared for war. In an eloquent address, Diwan Dina Nath confirmed some of these reports. According to Giani Gian Singh that he referred to reports that in the Cis-Satluj States the high handed British agent was treating the Sikhs as if they were subjects of his government. He drew attention to the depleted State of the treasury not a single rupee, he said being forthcoming from Kashmir or Peshawar. Diwan Dina Nath also said our \textit{Maharaja} is a child and we have no chief. He offered the Rani's proposal, that Lal Singh be appointed \textit{Wazir} and Tej Singh commander of the armies, with unlimited authority in the event of hostilities. This was accepted without demur though neither Lal Singh nor Tej Singh had any distinction to recommended them.\textsuperscript{796} The eloquent speech made such an impression on the \textit{panches} of the \textit{khalsa} and the \textit{Sardars} assembled, that there was a unanimous cry for war and the appointments proposed by Rani Jindan were acceded to with loud acclamations. The result of that war is well known.

After the first Anglo-Sikh War, Diwan Dina Nath was one of the signatories of the treaty of 9 March 1846. In October 1846, arrangements were begun for bringing Lal Singh to trial for his role in the Kashmir debacle. Lal Singh was tried by a British Court, found guilty of duplicity and sentenced to be exiled from Punjab. At that time, Diwan Dina Nath, defended him in court, agreed that having been proved guilty he should be externed. Shaikh Imam-ud-Din produced the very letter, in the handwriting of Puran Chand, the State Parwana navis or to clerk, signed by Lal Singh, which he had privately sent to him enjoining him on no account to deliver up the territory to Gulab Singh. The guilt of Lal Singh was clearly proved. Lal Singh deposed from the office of Minister and was informed that he was not permitted to enter the palace. He was escorted to his own house by Mr. Edwards, Assistant to Colonel Lawrence, surrounded by a guard and was shortly after banished from Lahore to Agra fort on Pension.

After Lal Singh's dismissal, the powers of Government were invested into a council of four, Tej Singh, Sher Singh Attariwala, Diwan Dina Nath and Fakir Nur-ud-Din. A circular, was sent to all government officers in the Muffasil, to this effect and that no parwana was to be considered valid unless it bore the seal of all four councillors. This Government, however was not intended to last long and soon after four other influential chiefs were added to the number, constituting under the authority of the Governor General, a Council of Regency.

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798 Ganesh Das Wadehra, Char Bagh-i-Punjab, MS 1885, Punjab State Archives, Patiala, Punjabi Trans., Jeet Singh Sital, p. 55:
799 Khushwant Singh, The Fall of the Kingdom of Punjab, p. 113.
800 Debi Parshad, Tarikh-i-Punjab, Lucknow, 1872, Punjabi Translation by Harinder Singh Kohli, Gulshan-i-Punjab, Patiala. 2003, p. 132; Sita Ram Kohli, Sunset of the Sikh Empire, p. 126; Khushwant Singh, The Fall of the Kingdom of Punjab, p. 113.
When in May, 1846 the fort and town of Kangra and some hilly territory between the Satluj and Beas were ceded to the British by the treaty of Lahore. Sunder Singh Qiladar, in command of some 300 men in the fort, when asked to vacate, replied that he would open the gates to no one except the Maharaja of Lahore. Officers of the Darbar such as Diwan Dina Nath, Ranjodh Singh Majithia, Diwan Devi Sahai and Misr Rup Lal were in turn sent to persuade the garrison to deliver up possession of the fort but met with the same answer.\textsuperscript{801} On the occasion the Diwan’s influence or desire to use it, was not very strong, and it was not till a fortnight after he came, that the fort surrendered. The arrival of heavy siege guns from the plains had perhaps more to do with the surrender, than the persuasions of Diwan Dina Nath.

Undoubtedly Diwan Dina Nath, was the most able member of the council.\textsuperscript{802} The other members of the council of Regency at Lahore Darbar were: Sardar Tej Singh, Sardar Sher Singh Attariwala, Fakir Nurud-Din, Sardar Ranjodh Singh, Bhai Nidhan Singh, Sardar Attar Singh Kalianwala, and Sardar Shamsher Singh Sandhawalia. Although Dina Nath’s position as Head of Financial Department, give him many opportunities of enriching himself at the public expense, of which there is every reason to believe he availed himself, he still worked more disinterestedly than others, and was of great service to the Resident at Lahore. With his help it would have been almost impossible to disentangle the Darbar accounts. Whenever the new settlement papers of any district are submitted to the Darbar, Diwan Dina Nath produces his Aieen from the Daftar and laments the extraordinary tukhfeef conceded by the sahibs to the Zamindars.\textsuperscript{803} In 26 November, 1847, Diwan Dina

\textsuperscript{801} Sita Ram Kohli, \textit{Sunset of the Sikh Empire}, p. 122.
Nath was raised to the dignity of Raja of Kalanour.\textsuperscript{804} The following is the honourary title he received on the occasion: \textit{Khair andesh-i-daulat-i-alia, dyanatdar, mushir-i-khas, madar ul muham.}\textsuperscript{805} He received at the same time a \textit{jagir} of Rs. 20,000 from the \textit{Ilaka} of Kalanour.\textsuperscript{806} The Diwan was not a popular man at this time as before. The retrenchments which the lavish expenditure of the late ministers had rendered imperative were very distasteful to the Sikh Sardars and solidery and Diwan Dina Nath with Sardar Tej Singh, came in for his full share of odium.

In April, 1848, Diwan Mulraj \textit{Nazim} of Multan rebelled. On receiving the first report from Agnew on 21\textsuperscript{st} April, Sir Frederick Currie, on 24\textsuperscript{th} sent under the command of Diwan Dina Nath, Sher Singh Attariwala and Sardar Shamshered Singh Sandhawalia with the troops made available,\textsuperscript{807} but was soon afterwards recalled.

When Sardar Chattar Singh Attariwala, had turned traitor, and the mission of Sardar Janda Singh Butalia to reclaim him had failed. The Governor of North-West Frontier with several colonels discussing the probability of Diwan Dina Nath being able the arrange matters with Sardar Chattar Singh.\textsuperscript{808} The Resident sent Diwan Dina Nath to endeavour to influence him.\textsuperscript{809} This mission also failed as former one, for Sardar Chattar Singh backed by the Sikh nation, had determined to try one more the fortune of war. Some there were who said that Raja Dina Nath was a traitor at heart, that he had himself encouraged the rising, and that had he not been a wealthy man with houses and gardens and

\textsuperscript{804} Foreign Department: Secret Consultation; 31 December, 1847; No. 185 NAI; Ganesh Das Wadehra, Char Bagh-i-Punjab, p. 55.
\textsuperscript{805} Foreign Department: Secret Consultation; 31 December, 1847; No. 185. NAI.
\textsuperscript{806} Foreign Department: Secret Consultation; 31 December, 1847; No. 185. NAI. According to Debi Parshad, Tarikh-i-Punjab, p. 137; Dina Nath received the \textit{jagir} of 21,000 rupees.
\textsuperscript{807} Sita Ram Kohli, Sunset of the Sikh Empire, p. 144.
\textsuperscript{808} Lahore Political Dairies, 1846-49, Vol. III-IV, p. 551; Evans Bell, Annexation of the Punjab, New Delhi, 1983 (reprint), p. 73.
\textsuperscript{809} Foreign Department; Secret Consultation, 25 November, 1848;No. 243, N.A.I.
many lakhs of rupees in Lahore, convenient for confiscation, he would have joined the rebels without hesitation; but these stories perhaps invented by his enemies. Raja Dina Nath didn’t like the measures adopted by the British Government for punishing the rebels by the confiscation of their jagirs and the attachment of their houses and property and for counteracting the plots of the insurgent.\textsuperscript{810} After the annexation of the Punjab Diwan Dina Nath was confirmed in all his jagirs, worth Rs. 46,460 which he held till his death, in 1857.

\textbf{THE MISR FAMILY}

\textbf{MISR BELI RAM}

Beli Ram was equally prominent courtier at the Lahore Darbar in the life time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. We have already discussed his role as a Chief Thoshakhana in chapter II. After the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh his influence and role in the Darbar politics is not less than any other courtier and official at Lahore Darbar. He became the victim of the intrigues of the Lahore Darbar. As Earlier said Misr Beli Ram was one of the courtiers who agreed that Kanwar Kharak Singh should be proclaimed ruler and Raja Dhian Singh his minister.\textsuperscript{811} When the Maharaja died on June 27, 1839, Misr Beli Ram, Diwan Dina Nath, Fakir Aziz-ud-Din and Munshi Akram were present there. At this time Misr Beli Ram observed that in case of the unwillingness of Kharak Singh and Nau Nihal Singh to put their seals to the document. The drafted having been fairly transcribed, Munshi Akram and Misr Beli Ram urged that, "God forbid, If the Koonwars do not come to an understanding with the aid de camps and the chiefs, they should act in concert with each other and the meeting observed, as it is customary with the British authorities

\textsuperscript{810} \textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{811} For detail see, p.. 192.
the whatever the member of the councils do, is approved and confirmed by the king of England, we have come to this resolution like the members of council and therefore, such resolution is mature and very proper.”

Let it be already noted that Maharaja Kharak Singh was crowned on 1st September, 1839. Misr Beli Ram occupied positions of trust and power during Maharaja Kharak Singh's short rule when they earned the enmity of Raja Dhian Singh and Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh. Beli Ram and his brothers were opponents of the Dogras at Lahore Darbar. The Misr family had not only been amongst the earlist and the most devoted of Ranjit Singh adherents, but also of his father Mahan Singh. From the confidence reposed in them by the late Maharaja they had always been an object of Dhian Singh's jealousy which exhibited itself some years back in a personal quarrel between the Raja and Misr Ram Kishan. The position had worsened since the new accession, because Kharak Singh relied all the more on Beli Ram to the exclusion of the Jammu Rajas. So long as the Misr continued to occupy their existing prominent positions, the Raja could hardly feel his own position secure. Misr Beli Ram support Sardar Chet Singh, favourite of Maharaja Kharak Singh, who became the Prime minister of the Maharaja. Chet Singh had the courage to put himself forward as a rival to the all powerful Dhian Singh. Misr Beli Ram and Ram Kishan, Bhai Ram Singh and Gurmukh Singh became the Chief advisers of the Sardars who flagrantly interfered in State affairs. On September 2, 1839, Raja Dhian Singh observed to the

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813 B.J. Hasrat, Life and Times of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, p. 267.
814 Earlier on 1 August, 1839 a dispute broke out between Misr Beli Ram and Lala Kaminhya Lal, Vakil of the dignified Sardar Nihal Singh Ahluwalia, with respect to the problems of the boundaries and limits of the Doaba. The Misr thoroughlessly and heedlessly used many harsh and degrading words for Raja Dhian Singh, while the said Lala too, did not keep his mouth shut. Raja Dhian Singh felt a hart rending dust settle upon the mirror of his enlightened conscience on learning about the words of the Misr. For detail see, Sohan Lal Suri, Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar IV (Part-1), p. 27.
816 B.R. Chopra, Kingdom of the Punjab 1839-45 p. 31.
Maharaja in the Darbar that Beli Ram was very little attentive to his orders.\textsuperscript{817} Raja Dhian Singh Dogra was dead set against the Misr Brothers and due to his manoeuvres Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh also became their enemy.

After the murder of the Chet Singh on 8 October, 1839, by the order of Dhian Singh, Misr Beli Ram and Misr Ram Kishan were put in fetters, a sentinel guard was set upon the Toshakhana and the horsemen were ordered to capture Misr Megh Raj and Misr Rup Lal.\textsuperscript{818} The ostensible cause of the arrest of Misr brothers was their association with Sardar Chet Singh.\textsuperscript{819} According to Murray Beli Ram and his brothers were put in irons, "upon the plea that he (Beli Ram) had refused to show the heir- apparent the treasury."\textsuperscript{820} Hardit Singh, brother of Chet Singh was arrested and confined in Kangra Fort. The properties of Misr Beli Ram and his brothers were confiscated.\textsuperscript{821} Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh thought of killing them, but owning to their being Brahmins, did not; as it is they will suffer a heavy punishment. On October, 1839, Misr Beli Ram being brought before Raja Dhian Singh and Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh, was ordered to be beaten and was asked where the missing pearl string worth many lakhs of rupees, and the precious daggers were? He replied that a few pearls out of the string and the daggers were still in treasury. The Raja told him he also would have been killed, had not the Kanwar kindly interceded for him and the Misr regined himself to the Kanwar's will. The captive Misr requested permission to eat and drink which had

\textsuperscript{817} Anon, \textit{Tarikh-i-Sikhan}, p. 75, cited in B.R. Chopra, \textit{Kingdom of the Punjab 1839-45} p. 21.
\textsuperscript{819} Foreign Department; Secret Consultation, November 6, 1839, No. 24-B, pp. 1-9, N.A.I.
been denied to him for two days." 822 They imprisoned the Misr and his brother for three months. 823 Maharaja Kharak Singh was particularly bitter about the imprisonment of Misr Beli Ram and his brothers and in his frustration about obtaining their release, often raved like a madman threatening very often to invoke the aid of the British. He was feeling restless and perturbed only day and night at the tragic end of the family to which he was much attached. Still more, the confinement of Misr Beli Ram and his family upon whose support and attachment to his interest he could confidently rely, had rendered him utterly helpless. The agitated State of the Maharaja's mind increased the anxiety of Nau Nihal Singh who became apprehensive of some serious results, if his condition did not improve. He conferred the districts of Pathankot and Nurpur in Jagir on Sardar Mangal Singh who promised to procure from the Maharaja's Razinama' absolving the Kanwar from the murder. Maharaja Kharak Singh, however told the Kanwar and his partisans that if they wished to please him, they should produce Hardit Singh and release Misr Beli Ram and his brothers from confinement. To this, Nau Nihal Singh and other replied that they were ready to give a written engagement to produce Hardit Singh within a month and that with regard to release of Beli Ram, they would consult the Minister, 824 for Nau Nihal Singh would not displease the latter who was very much averse to the Misr's release. His own interest too did not favour the measure as the Misr's might prove a greater hurdle in his way that Chet Singh had done. They might prove a ready instrument in the hand of the Maharaja for regaining his supremacy and might serve as a channel of his intrigues with the English.

822 B.R. Chopra, Kingdom of the Punjab 1839-45 p. 31.
Further, the Bhais had been recommending the Kanwar to release Misr Beli Ram and his family and so was Maharaja Kharak Singh.\footnote{Abstracts of Intelligence from Lahore: December 1 to 7, 1839, Foreign Department; Secret Consultations, May 4, 1840, No. 120 NAI; Abstracts of Intelligence from Lahore: dated December 15 to 21, 1839, Foreign Department; Secret Consultations, May 18, 1840, No. 260 NAI.} The Kanwar had at last, in league with the Bhais made up his mind to release the Misrs.\footnote{Abstract from Intelligence from Lahore dated January 5-11, 1840, Foreign Department; Secret Consultations, May 18, 1840, No. 239 NAI.} The Kanwar proposed to exact in writing from Beli Ram that he had been guilty but that he be pardoned, that he would render faithfully an account of the Toshakhana and that then he would be liberated.\footnote{Sohan Lal Suri, Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar IV (Part-I), p.95. When the Misr presented before Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh he (Beli Ram) said that "he was living upon the salt of the sarkar since three generations and was a sinner and an offender and requested that his past mistakes be pardoned and promised that henceforth he would never do any such improper act, but would remain constant and firm on the straight path of obedience and loyalty." For detail, Sohan Lal Suri, Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar V (Part-I), p.96.} On this Beli Ram replied that he would write whatever he was desired by the Maharaja and the Kanwar. On January 10, 1840, the Misr were summoned by the Kanwar and were made to take oath of fidelity and were then set free and restored to their old situations.\footnote{Abstracts of Intelligence from Lahore dated January 5 to 11, 1840, Foreign Department; Secret Consultations, May 18, 1840, No. 239, NAI.} Beli Ram presented a written engagement to give the Kanwar a Nazrana of five lakh of rupees on the delivery of which the latter was highly satisfied, though the Maharaja appeared much offended at this.\footnote{Wade to Maddock, January 15, 1840; 148/17. P.G.R. cited in B.R. Chopra, Kingdom of the Punjab 1839-45 p. 45.}

The release of Misr Beli Ram and his brother who were the sworn enemies of the Dogra chiefs, greatly upset the Raja. The first time a serious difference occurred was over the release of Misr Beli Ram. Dhian Singh asked for leave to go home and he left on 20 January 1840.\footnote{Sohan Lal Suri, Umdat-ut-Tawarikh, Daftar IV (Part-I), p. 100.} During his absence, the Sandhawalias, Ajit Singh and Attar Singh,
Jamadar Khushal Singh, all of whom were inimical to Dhian Singh, sought to widen the breach between the Raja and the Prince.

Next came up the question of the their restoration to their former situations. But, before this could be settled, it was thought necessary to examine the Toshakhana in charge of Beli Ram. Shaikh Gulam Muhi-ud-Din and Diwan Dina Nath were ordered to examine it and then Bhais Ram Singh and Gobind Ram and Jamadar Khushal Singh were to go there to inspect the various things of Toshakhana. Bhai Ram Singh observed that, "the Misrs were well known for their integrity and fidelity to the State." The examination of Misr Beli Ram's Toshakhana being over and nothing found missing. Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh, proposed, that if Kharak Singh did not object he would give the charge of Toshakhana of Beli Ram to Tek Chand, his own servant. This enraged the Maharaja who warned the Kanwar that if he did anything inimical to Beli Ram, if would be detrimental to his own interests and directed him to leave everything incharge of the Misr. The Maharaja, moreover, insisted that Beli Ram and his brothers should be presented with Khillats and restored to their old situations "as they were not guilty of any crime and were faithful servants of the Government". Nau Nihal Singh observed that their representation would offend Raja Dhian Singh who was one of the sincere well wishers of the Government and in his absence several public affairs had been disordered. The Kanwar thought it proper to adopt the middle course. Hence, on January 25, 1840, Beli

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831 Ibid., p.95.
832 This favourable disposition of Bhai Ram Singh etc., towards the Misrs was due to the fact that the former had received from the Misrs a bribe of rupees two lakhs, besides one lakh of rupees being distributed among Sardar Fateh Singh, Jamadar Khushal Singh and Sardar Tej Singh. Abstracts of Intelligence from Lahore: January 12 to 15, 1840, Foreign Department; Secret Consultations, February 17, 1840, No. 30, NAI.
833 Abstracts of Intelligence from Lahore: January 15 to 11, 1840, Foreign Department; Secret Consultations, May 18, 1840, No. 239, NAI.
834 Abstracts of Intelligence from Lahore: January 19 to 21, 1840, Foreign Department; Secret Consultations, February 24, 1840, No. 76, NAI.
Ram was restored to his old situation of incharge of the *Toshakhana*, but was directed to act in concert with Bhai Tek Chand, the servant of Nau Nihal Singh. The delivery was obtained by payment a *nazrana* of 5,00,000 rupees to the *Kanwar*. *Kanwar* tried to satisfy both the parties, viz. Kharak Singh and Dhian Singh but actually displeased both and worsened the position. Misr Beli Ram and Ram Kishan requested the restoration of their property which had been lately forfeited. On this the *Maharaja* replied that it would be restored.

During the reign of Maharaja Sher Singh, Misr Beli Ram restored to his old post of *Toshakhana*. When Sher Singh ascended the throne on January 20, 1841, he support him with Bhai Gurmukh Singh, Nihal Singh Ahluwalia, Dhanna Singh Malwai, Generals Court and Ventura, the three *Dogra* Rajas, Aziz-ud-Din, Sham Singh Attariwala and Shamsher Singh Sandhawalia. Beli Ram was much in the confidence of Maharaja Sher Singh and in conjunction with his friend, Bhai Gurmukh Singh, he was endeavouring to form a party against Dhian Singh Dogra. But his intrigues cost him his life. Misr Beli Ram and Bhai Gurmukh Singh became a party to the murder of Maharaja Sher Singh and *Wazir* Dhian Singh. When Raja Hira Singh succeeded his father as minister of the Sikh Kingdom of Lahore, soon after Raja Hira

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835 Abstracts of Intelligence from Lahore: January 22 to 25, 1840, Foreign Department; Secret Consultations, March 15, 1840, No. 40 NAI.
836 Abstracts of Intelligence from Lahore: January 5 to 11, 1840, Foreign Department; Secret Consultations, May 18, 1840, No. 239. NAI.
837 He refused to give a document acquitting Nau Nihal Singh from the Murder of Chet Singh, unless the *Kanwar* restored Beli Ram to the independent charge of the *Toshakhana* and punished those who had insulted the *Maharaja* on the occasion of the murder of Chet Singh. Abstracts of Intelligence from Lahore: January 19 to 31, 1840, Foreign Department; Secret Consultations, March 30, 1840, No. 55. NAI.
838 Bhai Gurmukh Singh was supported by no powerful party. He has been many years on terms of intimate friendship with the *Maharaja*. He has no weight of character or ability and will never coalesce with the *Raja*, who can seldom exclude him from his highness presence; Clerk to Maddock, March 15, 1842, Punjab State Archives, Patiala.
singh, at the instigation of Bhai Ram Singh and Misr Lal Singh, arrested Bhai Gurmukh Singh with his friend Misr Beli Ram and his brother Misr Ram Kishan and made them over to the custody of Shaikh Imam-ud-Din, Governor of the Jalandhar Doab, who killed them during the night on the 16 September, 1843.\textsuperscript{841}

**MISR RUP LAL**

As we earlier Stated in the Chapter V Misr Rup Lal was very efficient Governor of Jalandhar. After Ranjit Singh's death Misr Rup Lal also became the victim of the intrigues of the Lahore Darbar and was replaced by Gulam Muhi-ud-Din as Nazim of Jalandhar. Prince Nau Nihal Singh, who nursed a grudge against Misr Beli Ram for supporting his father's favourite Chet Singh, threw him and his brothers into prison in October 1839, immediately after the murder of Chet Singh. As a result of the obstinate demand of Maharaja Kharak Singh, Misr Rup Lal was released.\textsuperscript{842} When Sher Singh ascended the throne, Misr Rup Lal appointed as Governor of Kalanaur and the lands of the Lahore State south of the Satluj, with orders to resume the fort and domain of Bharatpur from Jamadar Khushal Singh. When Misr Beli Ram became imprisoned, he wrote a letter to his brother, Misr Rup Lal, who was in Kalanaur at that time, Informing him that his circumstances had taken a different turn and so he should go away to put up in some safe place.\textsuperscript{843} But he was again imprisoned in September 1843 by the orders of Raja Hira Singh. Misr Rup Lal was place discharge of Misr Lal Singh his old enemy. Rup Lal, more fortunate remained in confinement till the fall of


\textsuperscript{842} Abstract of Intelligence from Lahore from 22-25 January 1840, *Foreign Department : Secret Consultations*, 15 March, 1840, No. 40, N.A.I.

Raja Hira Singh in December 1844. When he was released, he was made Governor of Jasrota by the minister Jawahar Singh.844

After the first Anglo Sikh war, when in May 1846, the fort and town of Kangra and some hilly territory between the Satluj and Beas were ceded to the British by the treaty of Lahore, Misr Rup Lal, with other officers, Diwan Dina Nath, Ranjodh Singh Majithia, Diwan Devi Sahai were sent to take the possession of the fort.845

Miser Rup Lal was at Jasrota in 1846, when by the treaty of Amritsar dated 16 March, the province of Kashmir and the States of Jammu and Kohistan were transferred to Raja Gulab Singh. The Raja vehemently accused Misr Rup Lal of treason in not yielding up the hill territories in accordance with the terms of the treaty. So he was accordingly removed from Jasrota by the Darbar. After this he placed in charge of Rohtas and Jehlum, Kala, Pukowal, Pudree, Sungoe, Choutala, Darapur, Rampur and Jalalpur846 and was there when the second Anglo Sikh war broke out. He joined with his sons, the forces of Sardar Chattar Singh Attariwala. As a result after the war, all his jagirs and property were confiscated by the British Government and Gouhar Mal appointed kardar in his place. He died in September 1865, upwards of eighty years of age, at Dalwal in the Jehlum District.847

**MISR MEGH RAJ**

MISR Megh Raj also became the victim of the intrigues by Raja Dhian Singh with his brothers. He was incharge of the treasure in the fort of Gobindgarh at Amritsar.848 As earlier Stated that the Misr family imprisoned after the murder of Chet Singh and Misr Megh Raj released

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844 Ibid.
845 Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, p. 122
848 B.R. Chopra, *Kingdom of the Punjab 1839-45* p. 31
with his brothers.\textsuperscript{849} After the release of Misr Megh Raj, Nau Nihal Singh released the family of Misr Megh Raj, confined in Gobindgarh and ordered an examination of the treasure in that fort of which Megh Raj had held charge. He succeeded his brother Beli Ram as the Chief Toshakhana, who continue to serve, for some time, even under the British Government after the annexation of Punjab.\textsuperscript{850} After the Satluj campaign, on the occasion of a visit of the Governor General to Lahore he received the title of \textit{Rai Bahadur}.\textsuperscript{851}

\textbf{MISR RAM KISHAN}

Ram Kishan was made Chamberlain to Ranjit Singh, who always treated him with special kindness. After the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh he supported Maharaja Kharak Singh and became the chief adviser of Chet Singh, with his brother Beli Ram. From the confidence reposed in them by the late \textit{Maharaja}, they had always been object of Dhian Singh’s jealousy which exhibited itself some years back in a personal quarrel between the \textit{Raja} and Misr Ram Kishan.\textsuperscript{852} After the murder of Chet Singh, he was imprisoned.\textsuperscript{853} Misr Ram Kishan was released him with his brothers due to the endeavours of Maharaja Kharak Singh.\textsuperscript{854} In February, 1840, Maharaja Kharak Singh sent Misr Ram Kishan to khatore to look after the interests of the State in that

\textsuperscript{849} Abstract of Intelligence from Lahore from 22-25 January 1840: \textit{Foreign Department : Secret Consultations}, 15 March, 1840, No. 40, N.A.I.
\textsuperscript{851} Lepel Griffin, \textit{Chief and Families of note in the Punjab}, Lahore, 1940, p. 365.
\textsuperscript{852} Murray, \textit{History of the Punjab}, Vol. II, p. 212. It took place when Misr Ram Kishan stopped Raja Dhain Singh's entrance at Deorhi when he proceeded as usual to the \textit{Darbar} and high words were exchanged on either side, which went so far that the \textit{Raja} proposed to regime, but the officers of the court interposed and brought about a partial reconciliation; Shahamat Ali, \textit{The Sikhs and the Afghans}, p. 21.
\textsuperscript{853} Sohan Lal Suri, \textit{Umdat-ut-Tawarikh}, Daftar IV(Part-1), p.67
\textsuperscript{854} Abstract of Intelligence from Lahore from 22-25 January 1840 : \textit{Foreign Department : Secret Consultations}, 15 March, 1840, No. 40, N.A.I.
quarter. During the Wazarat of Hira Singh, Ram Kishan was murdered with his brother Beli Ram in 16 September, 1843.

**MISR SUKH RAJ**

Sukh Raj was fifth brother of Misr Beli Ram, was a commander of several battalions of Infantry during the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. After the murder of Chet Singh he was imprisoned with his brothers and released due to the endeavours of Maharaja Kharak Singh. He died in 1842.

**DIWAN SAWAN MAL**

During the kingship of Maharaja Ranjit Singh Sawan Mal increased his power day by day but he never became rebel. His was little disturbed but he paid his tribute with regularity; there was no cause of complaint. Dogra brothers hatred him. Diwan Sawan Mal was the arch opponent of the minister Raja Dhian Singh and his brother Gulab Singh and Suchet Singh whose influence at the court of Ranjit Singh is usually all powerful. After the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh the Dogra brothers attempted to destroy him but they are not successful in their mission.

During the reign of Maharaja Kharak Singh, Diwan Sawan Mal, who sometime ago received orders to construct at Mitten-Kot a small fort, he accordingly commenced upon the same. In Multan, he, with a view to encourage trade by river, has ordered a Gunj or mart to be built at Adamwan opposite to Bahawalpur, and as an inducement for merchants and others to resort to it, had reduced the inland duty of Merchandize

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855 Ibid. p.122
858 Lepel Griffin, *Chief and Families of note in the Punjab*, p. 36.
860 Ganda Singh (ed.), *The Punjab in 1839-40*, p. 221.
one half. Several of the most wealthy and influential merchants of Multan have established a branch of their firms there.\textsuperscript{861} One circumstance reflects the highest credit to him, in Multan exists not a single robber in the whole territory under his sway.\textsuperscript{862}

Under the Regency of Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh, *Dogra* brothers became all powerful at the court and was proposted to demand from Diwan Sawan Mal half a million sterling (fifty lakhs) and summoned to Lahore to render his accounts in September, 1840.\textsuperscript{863} If he refused to obey, it was the intention of the *Darbar* to send troops to compel him. Due to his cleverness, he succeeded in the evasion of examination of his accounts. For this purpose, he bribed Bhais Ram Singh and Gobind Ram with a lakh of rupees, Raja Dhian Singh and Hira Singh fifty thousand rupees, Diwan Dina Nath twenty five thousand rupees, Sardar Fateh Singh Mann twenty five thousand rupees and Rani Chand Kaur with a lakh of rupees.\textsuperscript{864} When amicable arrangements were made, he returned in peace to Multan.

In March 1841, when Maharaja Sher Singh had just obtained the supreme power, Dhian Singh tried to poison the *Maharaja’s* mind against Diwan Sawan Mal and get rid of him. The *Maharaja* directed both Dhian Singh and Diwan Sawan Mal to raise new units with which to replace some of the turbulent Khalsa soldiery.\textsuperscript{865} In compliance with his order Diwan Sawan Mal began to raise Muhammadan troops, with the greatest activity with the real object of defending himself against Dhian Singh. On the other side Raja Dhian Singh was not less energetic, hoping with his

\textsuperscript{861} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{862} Foreign Department : Secret Consultations, 24 August, 1840. No. 115, N.A.I.
\textsuperscript{863} Foreign Department: Secret Consultation, 20 October, 1840 No. 107-09 NAI.
\textsuperscript{864} Foreign Department: Secret Consultation, 20 October, 1840 No. 107-09 NAI.
\textsuperscript{865} Jagjiwan Mohan Walia, *Parties and Politics at the Sikh Court 1799-1849*, New Delhi, 1992, p. 117.
new troops, not only to overwhelm Sawan Mal, but to defend Jammu both against the Sikhs and the British.

On 16 December, 1841, the Raja urged the Maharaja to remove Diwan Sawan Mal from Multan as he was not satisfied with him. But the Maharaja asked the Raja to remain silent until the arrival of Raja Gulab Singh and Kanwar Partap Singh at Lahore. In order to harass the Diwan, he was asked to render the accounts of Multan. On 23 April, 1842, Diwan Sawan Mal reported that he had governed the Multan district for many years to the best of his ability and now he was called to account due to the misrepresentations of some interested people. He expressed his readiness to pay whatsoever was due from him and besought the Maharaja not to listen his enemies. Devi Ditta his nephew, was ordered to ask his uncle (Sawan Mal) to render the accounts and not to postpone it.

In January, 1842 the Mazari tribe, which had always given trouble to Sikh governors and made a decent upon Rojhan with the hope to plunder it before the arrival of help. But Diwan Sawan Mal marched against them, and they were compelled to return.

Like the Dogra brothers, Bhai Gurmukh Singh was not an amicable towards the Diwan too because he was on cordial terms with Bhais Ram Singh and Gobind Ram. Since the time of Ranjit Singh, Bhai Gurmukh Singh had been a rival of Bhais Ram Singh and Gobind Ram. He is reported to have observed that "the Diwan was afraid, since the fall of Bhais Ram Singh and Gobind Ram's Power, and that he was night and day engaged in arranging his own affairs, or in correspondence with Bhais, and the Sandhawalas." On the 26 April, 1842, reports at Ludhiana wrote about the correspondence between Diwan Sawan Mal

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866 Ibid, p. 120.
867 Jagjiwan Mohan Walia, Parties and Politics at the Sikh Court 1799-1849, p.120.
and the Sandhawalia chiefs, who were the position of Rani Chand Kaur. On this Raja Dhian Singh observed that the Maharaja’s servants were very disloyal. Though Raja Dhian Singh and Bhai Gurmukh Singh were against Diwan Sawan Mal, he was so firmly established that they could not succeed in supplanting him. Later on, when Raja Dhian Singh was assassinated by the Sandhawalia Sardar, the Diwan was free from the ablest of his enemies.

But all the members of the Dogra family hated him. Raja Gulab Singh was nerves of Diwan Sawan Mal, a clever, moderate, and influential man, a more faithful servant of the Sikh State than himself and the irreconcilable enemy of his family.\(^{868}\) Raja Hira Singh because Pandit Jalla, his minister and master hated him. The design of Pandit seems to have been to destroy Raja Gulab Singh by directing the Sikh army against Jammu and afterwards destroy Diwan Sawan Mal and others by similarly gratifying the love of plunder and excitement, natural to a body of soldiers. Later in December 1844, Pandit Jalla were also murdered by the troops. Moreover, Diwan Sawan Mal had been in close contact with the British authorities since the days of Ranjit Singh. Though these years, Sawan Mal had been strengthening himself at Multan and he made his fort at Multan almost impregnable to a native force. There is every reason to believe that he intended at some favourable opportunity, to throw off his allegiance to Lahore and declare his independence. It was with this intention that he expended so much money and labour upon his fort at Multan. In 1844, 3 regiments of cavalry and 46 small and big cannons under his command.\(^{869}\)

Diwan Sawan Mal had a tragic end. "On the 16 in the evening Diwan Sawan Mal was riding past the jail in the city a prison, an Afghan

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\(^{868}\) Foreign Department; Secret Consultation: 23 March 1849;16 November, 1849, No. 210. NAI.

\(^{869}\) Debi Prashad, Tarikh-i-Punjab, p. 178.
seized a pistol from one of the Guards and fired at the Diwan. The Diwan fell from his horse and was immediately removed to his residence but in a State of insensibility. It was found that the ball had passed through the upper part of the left side. In the morning the Diwan had somewhat recovered. He gave large sums in charity and directed that the man who fired at him should be put to death.\textsuperscript{870} As a result of that wound he died on September 29, 1844.\textsuperscript{871} At the time of his death he was nearly fifty years of age. Thus perished the wisest and best of all Sikh governors. He continued in office till his last breath. He was a man of great Vigour and ability and the prosperity of the province is mainly attributable to his administration.\textsuperscript{872} Diwan Sawan Mal had left seventy lakhs of Rupees in cash and also jewels and other property to the same amount in the fort of Multan.\textsuperscript{873} He was succeeded as Nazim of Multan by his eldest son Mulraj.\textsuperscript{874}

**DIWAN KIRPA RAM**

Earlier Stated Diwan Mohkam Chand's family became the victims of Dhian Singh Dogra during the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. His grandson Diwan Kirpa Ram due to the intrigues of the Dogra family left the Lahore Darbar and went to Banaras. During the reign of Maharaja Kharak Singh, in February 1840, Sardar Attar Singh Sandhawalia made efforts secretly to prepare Diwan Kirpa Ram, the rival and enemy of


\textsuperscript{871} *Foreign Department; Secret Consultation*, 26 October, 1844; No. 90. NAI; Hari Ram Gupta (ed.), *Punjab on the Eve of the First Sikh War*, p. 323 Sir H.B. Edward has given a different account of the manner in which the Diwan met his death. He States that assassin was a soldier, who had served Sawan Mal faithfully and who came to Darbar to ask for his pay and discharge. That Sawan Mal refused to grant these just demands, and caused the petitioner to be stripped of sword and shield and turned out of Darbar. That in revenge for the grievous insult the soldier shot him. For details see H.B. Edwards, *A Year on the Punjab Frontier*, 1848-49, London, 1851. p.74.


\textsuperscript{873} Hari Ram Gupta (ed.) *Punjab on the Eve of the First Sikh War*, p. 303.

\textsuperscript{874} *Foreign Department; Secret Consultation*, 26 October, 1844; No. 90 NAI; Murray, *History of the Punjab*, Vol II, p. 238.
Raja Dhian Singh to return. The Sardar pursued the object of his mission continuously for six long months, but having failed to persuade Kirpa Ram to return to the Darbar, he himself returned to the Punjab in September. The Diwan was wise in keeping out of the Lahore politics, for the adventure might have cost him his life at the hands of the Jammu Rajas who were too resourceful to be so easily supplanted. Rani Chand Kaur had been insisting on the recall of Diwan Kirpa Ram a rival of Dhian Singh, to the Darbar on finding Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh not inclined to her views, the Rani had also been trying to obtain the Darbar's permission to proceed beyond the Satluj for the purpose on the pretext of a pilgrimage to the Ganga and visiting the holy place of Thanesar. But the Kanwar would put it off.

After the death of Maharaja Kharak Singh and Nau Nihal Singh, Rani Chand Kaur, again tried to recall Diwan Kirpa Ram. Her men now wrote to Attar Singh Kalianwala who had gone with Kharak Singh's and Nau Nihal Singh's ashes to Hardawar, to bring him back. But there was not much certainty about the Diwan's agreeing to return because Fakir Aziz-ud-Din, Bhai Gurmukh Singh and Dhian Singh were definitely in Sher Singh's favour, although the first assumed outwardly the appearance of neutrality. Maharaja Sher Singh also tried to recall Diwan Kirpa Ram. Letters were issued firstly to Sham Singh Attaiwala and then Ajit Singh that they should necessarily bring Diwan Kirpa Ram along with himself. But he never returned to Lahore and died at Banaras.

**DIWAN AJODHIA PRASHAD**

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875 Abstract of Intelligence from Lahore dated from 18-19 February 1840 : Foreign Department : Secret Consultations, 27 April, 1840, No. 82, N.A.I.
At the time of the Maharaja’s death, Ajodhia Prashad was with the brigade at Peshawar, where it had been stationed for two years. At the close of 1839, he was with Sardar Lehna Singh Majithia, directed to accompany the army of the Indus, under Sir John Kean, from Attock to Firozepore, which was reached on the 31 of December, 1839.\textsuperscript{878} Diwan Ajodhia Parshad was one among those persons who has enjoyed the confidence with Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh.\textsuperscript{879} His attention and anxiety to meet the wishes of the General were warmly acknowledged by that officer. In April and May 1840, the brigade with General Ventura and Ajodhia Parshad, was sent against Kahan Singh Bedi, who had murdered his nephew, seized his fort of Malsian in the Jalandhar Doab and imprisoned his family.

Later in the year Ajodhia Parshad with Ventura was sent against the Mandi Chief who had omitted to pay his tribute since the death of Ranjit Singh.\textsuperscript{880} Mandi was covered with little forts, besides the strong fort of Kamalgarh. The Raja of Mandi was frightened by the force sent against him and gave in his submission and was directed to proceed to Lahore. The town of Mandi was occupied, and most of the forts dismantled. Kamalgarh, however, held out and while its seize was in progress news arrived of the deaths of Maharaja Kharak Singh and Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh. This news is some measures raised the courage of the garrison. But the seize was vigorously pressed and at length the fort surrendered on the 29 November. Bhai Ram Singh praised the wisdom and policy of General Ventura and Diwan Ajodhia Parshad in apprehending the Mandi Raja and settling the affairs at the place and they were promised Khillats. He got the Khillats of 8 parchas and 1 pair

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{878}{Lepel Griffin, \textit{Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab}, p. 274.}
\footnote{879}{Fauja Singh and M.L. Ahluwalia (eds.), \textit{Maharaja Kharak Singh}, p. 121.}
\footnote{880}{Fauja Singh and M.L. Ahluwalia (eds.), \textit{Maharaja Kharak Singh}, p. 121.}
\end{footnotes}
of gold bangles, worth Rs. 500. The General Ventura and Ajodhia Parshad, leaving a Sikh garrison in it marched to repress disturbances which had broken out in Kulu. General Ventura gave the charge of the brigade to Ajodhia Parshad and himself left for Lahore in the beginning of January, recalled by Raja Dhian Singh, who wished for his support to the claims of Prince Sher Singh. Reinforcements had been despatched from Lahore to Kulu, and when these arrived Fauj-i-Khas heard that the troops in Lahore had received large gratuities from Maharaja Sher Singh with four months pay. Only two months pay had been brought for them, so they rose in mutiny, seized the treasure in their camp and killed several of their officers. Ajodhia Parshad, who had considerable influence with the men, restored order and promised to obtain for the brigade whatever the Lahore troops had received.

When Ventura left the Punjab on leave in March 1840, Ajodhia Parshad retained the command, though it was placed nominally under the little Prince Partap Singh. Ajodhia Parshad did the first task against Jawala Singh, the agent of the Maharaja Sher Singh. Maharaja Sher Singh moved out against him. Ajodhia Parshad, with the Fauj-I-Khas and supported by artillery, was directed to formidable brigade, Jawala Singh surrendered. He afterwards died in Prison in the fort at Sheikhupura.

Maharaja Sher Singh paid to the Fauj-i-Khas the gratuity promised to them in Kulu by Ajodhia Parshad and to the Diwan himself he made valuable presents. At the end of 1843, when General Ventura finally left

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882 Jawala Singh had hoped to be Wazir when master become king and the office had been promised to him by Sher Singh. Raja Dhian Singh had however, no intention of vacating the post; to the Maharaja he insinuated suspicions of Jawala Singh's loyalty; and he warned Jawala Singh of the Maharaja's intentions against him, till at last the wretched man was driven into treason, and being encamped with five thousand irregulars at the Dera Charyari near Shalabagh, refused to obey the Maharaja's order to come into Lahore. Lepel Griffin, Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab, p.275.
the Punjab, Diwan Ajodhia Parshad now took command of the brigade and held it till the close of the Satluj campaign.883

During the troubled administration of Raja Hira Singh, when almost the entire Sikh army had become unmanageable, it was Ajodhia Parshad's Fauj-i-Khas which maintained order and discipline. When Hira Singh fled from Lahore and was pursued of Sardar Jawahar Singh and the Sikh army the Fauj-I-Khas remained on the plain below the citadel, to guard the person of the young Maharaja. Jawahar Singh added Rs. 3,000 per mensem, to Ajodhia Parshad's pay, and gave him the village of Mauza Khan, Gang, Shadian, Muradi and Kathianwala, in the Hafizabad district.884 After the murder of Sardar Jawahar Singh, Tej Singh who was hated by the army was appointed commander-in-chief of the regular forces, and Raja Lal Singh of the irregular. When the Fauj-i-Khas was ordered to Peshawar it distinctly refused to obey. In 1844, Diwan Ajodhia Parshad commanded the forces of 4 regiments of cavalry, 2 regiments of infantry and 34 small and big cannons including the Sikhs and Muslims.885 When the Satluj campaign closed he tendered his resignation, which was accepted and he left the corps which he had served for twenty six years.

After the treaty of March 1846, Ajodhia Prashad appointed Commissioner along with Captain Abbot to determine the boundary line of the Lahore and Jammu territories.886 On 22 February 1847 he received jagir of Rs. 11,000.887 On 26 November, 1847 he had received the honorary title of Mumtaz-ud-daulah (Eminent in the State)888.

883 Ibid.
885 Debi Prashad, Tarikh-i-Punjab, p. 177.
888 Foreign Department; Secret Consultation; 31 December 1847; No. 185.NAI.
During the second Anglo Sikh war he remain loyal to the British Government. At annexation he was in possession of Rs. 5,000 per annum cash allowance, besides the villages of Nainsukh, Balu Salu, Chogian, Kot Nao, Khanpur, Khatianwala, Shadman, Gang and Muradi worth Rs. 19,000 per annum. After annexation of the Punjab he was appointed to take charge of the young Maharaja Duleep Singh in conjunction with Dr Login. He accompanied Duleep Singh to Fatehgarh in 1849 and remained in attendance on him till September 1851.

**BAKSHI BHAGAT RAM**

Bakshi Bhagat Ram was another important courtier whose influence at Lahore *Darbar* was no less than other courtier and official. He was appointed *Bakshi* or paymaster during the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and he held his position throughout the reign of Maharaja Kharak Singh. He was extremely popular with the army and after the assassination of Sher Singh his influence became very great. In 1841, Maharaja Sher Singh granted him a *jagir* worth Rs. 3000 in Ajnala and Surapur in addition to his salary. He was considered a leader of the *Mutsaddi* party as they were popularly known.

In March 1845, Bakshi Bhagat Ram went to Jammu with the expedition against Raja Gulab Singh and his great influence with the troops induced Raja Gulab Singh to bestow upon him enormous presents. But Bhagat Ram was very near loosing, for when the army had brought Gulab Singh to Lahore, the prince professed his willingness to guarantee to the troops a higher rate of pay as an incentive, provided

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889 Foreign Department; Secret Consultation; 27 January, 1849; No. 10, NAI
891 Lepel Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs: Historical and Biographical Notices of the Principal Families*, p. 255.
that all the chiefs contributed according to their means and the Bakshi he put down for a donation of five lakhs of rupees, which was in reality less than he had received at Jammu.

Bakshi Bhagat Ram was one of the members of council of Ministers reconstituted by Rani Jindan on 28 December 1844.\textsuperscript{893} Maharaja Dalip Singh granted him a new jagir worth Rs. 8,000 at Datarpur in Jalandhar Doab.\textsuperscript{894} In 22 February 1847, he received Rs. 14 daily from the British Government.\textsuperscript{895} At the close of 1847, when John Lawrence, the officiating Resident, was attempting to introduce some order and system into the Sikh administration, Bakshi Bhagat Ram was directed to render the army account, which he had not done for several years. When he failed to render the accounts, his jagirs were forfeited. Even after he had been absolved of every charge, the jagirs were not restored.

**RATTAN CHAND DUGGAL**

When Nau Nihal Singh was in power he was appointed manager of Dhanni, Kalar Kahar and Rupowal, on a salary of Rs.4,320 per annum.\textsuperscript{896} During the reign of Maharaja Sher Singh his influence increased considerably. But after his murder during the Wazarat of Raja Hira Singh Dogra, he was fined heavily by Pandit Jalla in 1844, but this was remitted through the intercession of Bhai Ram Singh. In February 1845, Rani Jindan dispatched a small number of her own trusted Sardars and secretaries to negotiate with Raja Gulab Singh; among them were Diwan Rattan Chand Duggal, Sardar Fateh Singh Mann, Sardar Sher Singh Attariwala and Baba Mian Singh Bedi.\textsuperscript{897} Raja Gulab Singh very cunningly started delaying the matter's coming to a definite

\textsuperscript{893} Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, p. 91.  
\textsuperscript{894} Lepel Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs: Historical and Biographical Notices of the Principal Families*, p. 256.  
\textsuperscript{896} Debi Parshad, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, p. 448.  
\textsuperscript{897} Sita Ram Kohli, *Sunset of the Sikh Empire*, p. 92.
settlement, as he wished to gain time to create dissensions in the Sikh army and to win over as many of their leaders through venal means as he possibly could. Rattan Chand’s first report to Lahore spoke confidently of approaching a speedy agreement. Thus, Gulab Singh secured further delay in operation against him.

After much altercation and violent language, Gulab Singh actually paid to the deputation four lakhs of rupees as an earnest of his intention to pay whatever was just. But on the same day, on their way back, the deputation was ambushed outside Jammu and the treasure carried off. Fateh Singh Mann and Wazir Bachna were killed. Rattan Chand Duggal was also wounded.898 Gulab Singh expressed sorrow at the incident and expressed his innocence in the matter, but detained Rattan Chand Duggal, Baba Mian Singh and Sher Singh Attariwala in Jammu, probably to serve as hostages and negotiators, if required.

Rattan Chand Duggal got the villages in jagirs Binjo Walla, Dewan Kote, Thattah and Fukrullah etc.899 During 1848-49 the action of Rattan Chand Duggal was aroused some suspicion and his jagirs were forfeited with the exception of two gardens, one at Lahore and other at Wazirabad, upon which he had expended much money.

**RATTAN CHAND DHARIWALA**

Rattan Chand Dhariwala was employed in the postal department and continued his service under the successors of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Rattan Chand happened to be in the Lahore fort when the Sandhawalia chiefs seized it and Raja Hira Singh believing him their accomplice, fined him Rs. 30,000.900 This punishment was, later on

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reversed by Sardar Jawahar Singh, after the death of Wazir Hira Singh Dogra and the money realized earlier given back. After the Satluj campaign Rattan Chand was appointed Postmaster-General in the Punjab and did excellent service throughout the rebellion of 1848-49. After the annexation of the Punjab, certain of his *jagirs*, amounting to Rs. 6,800 were released to him for life, free of all service and a garden near the Shahalmi Gate of Lahore was released to his male heirs in perpetuity.

**KISHAN CHAND (RAI)**

Kishan Chand was doing his service as a Lahore agent. In 1 November 1839, he went to Wazirabad to receive Colonel C.M. Wade and offer him welcome on behalf of the Maharaja. The title of ‘Rai’ was conferred on Kishan Chand by Prince Nau Nihal Singh in 1840. As the members of this family were well wishers of the Jammu Rajas, they were suspected by other party in the court of Maharaja Sher Singh. After the death of Maharaja Sher Singh the position of the agents of Lahore on the British frontier underwent a considerable charge. Rai Kishan Chand exercised certain civil and criminal powers in the Lahore protected States, and drew them considerable wealth. Inspite of the jealousy and opposition of Fakir Aziz-ud-Din to most of his policies, he received support of some powerful friends chief among whom were Bhai Ram Singh and Diwan Dina Nath.

Kishan Chand did his best to maintain a good understanding between the Lahore *Darbar* and the British Government and protested strongly against the first Anglo-Sikh war of 1845-46 when it became imminent. When the Sikh army was preparing to cross the Satluj he was ordered by the political agent to leave and retire into the Lahore territories which he did. After the war the family lost its *jagirs* on the left

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901 Lepel Griffin, *Chiefs and families of Note in the Punjab*, p. 310.
In 22 February 1847, Kishan Chand received the *jagir* of Rs. 1,000. He was directed to attend on the agent of the Governor General at Lahore till 1848, when he received permission to retire to Batala.

**MISR RALLIA RAM**

Misr Rallia Ram, in 1841, during the reign of Maharaja Sher Singh, discovered at Makhad, in the Rawal Pindi district, a sulphur mine, which so pleased Maharaja Sher Singh that he granted him a *jagir* of Rs. 11,000 in the Jandiala *Ilaka*, with a Persian title of honour. In 1847, he was appointed *Kardar* of the district of Jhang. He took interest in the improvement of cultivation and induced the *Zamindars*, to betake themselves vigorously to the cultivation of land. Miser Rallia Ram had considerable knowledge of trade and the management of the salt mines. The chief merchants of Meeanee were happy and satisfied with the arrangements made by Misr Rallia Ram. He established Patrols of 20 sowars at four places in the *Bar*, between Pind Dadan Khan and Ram Nagar for the protection of the *kafilahs*. The merchants said that there were two advantages in the *Misr’s* superintendence. A Merchant who paid his 20,000 rupees got his 10,000 maunds of salt *pukka* without any diminution and the salt now obtained was far better than that formerly made over to them, being cleaner and of finer quality. The other arrangements which he did, the miners are now paid daily at the mine instead of every fortnight. Secondly, that not a pound of salt leaves the mine without being weighed; weight being previously an item which

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904 Lepel Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs: Historical and Biographical Notices of the Principal Families*, p. 47.
opened the door for great rascality and consequent discontent. Thirdly, cash is taken on the spot for salt delivered. The employees who worked in the salt mines praised the Misr's management, who appears to have had the happy tact of pleasing every body. But the Baniyas of Khushab were much discontented with Misr Rallia Ram's new salt arrangements of which ready money was the principal.

At Pind Dadun Khan he constructed a road which is of great service to the salt merchants whose camels travel from the city to the river and in Bar Meeanee district Misr Rallia Ram has stationed sowars along the road for the protection of travellers.

In September 1847, the whole customs of the country were placed under the superintendence of the Misr and his son, Sahib Dayal. During the second Anglo-Sikh war of 1848-49, he remained loyal to the British and after the annexation of the Punjab, his jagirs of Rs. 11,000 and a cash allowance of Rs. 6900 were maintained to him for life.

**MISR SAHIB DAYAL**

Misr Rallia Ram’s son Misr Sahib Dayal was made chief of the customs of Jalandhar in 1839 and held this appointment till the annexation of the Punjab. In 26 November 1847, Misr Sahib Dayal received the title of "Muhsin-ud-Daluah Berber". Lawrence in his letter to Elliot praises “we are indebted for the arrangements of the custom line. He and his father bear better characters than any two men in the Punjab.” During the second Anglo-Sikh War 1848-49, he also remained faithful to the British like his father. In June 1848, three

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909 Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 396
910 Foreign Department; Secret Consultation, 27 January, 1849; No. 10, N.A.I.
911 Lepel Griffin, The Punjab Chiefs: Historical and Biographical Notices of the Principal Families, p. 50.
912 Foreign Department; Secret Consultation, 31 December 1847; No. 185, N.A.I.
913 Ibid.
914 Foreign Department; Secret Consultation, 27 January, 1849; No. 10, N.A.I.
months after the outbreak at Multan, Bhai Maharaj Singh, having collected a large number of disaffected men, set out from the Majha to join the rebel Mulraj, at Multan. None of the Sikh troops would attempt his arrest but Misr Sahib Dayal attacked and dispersed the armies of Bhai Maharaj Singh.  

915 Misr Sahib Dyal was selected by the resident in November 1848, to accompany the Headquarters of Commander-in-chief, Lord Gough as the chief officer on the part of the Lahore Darbar.  

After the annexation of the Punjab jagirs of Rs. 5,180 was confined on him with a cash allowance of Rs 2,800 for life.  

DIWAN HAKIM RAI  

When Nau Nihal Singh obtained supreme power, he gave to the Diwan, who had served him so well a jagir worth Rs. 10,000 in the Sialkot District.  

918 He had governed the ilaka of Rawalpindi.  

For a long time, he enjoyed great respect and was made the Supreme Judge of the Adalat-i-Ala. Although he was against war with the British yet such was his loyalty to his Government that he was the first to cross the Satluj on a reconnaissance in force in 1844 during the first Anglo-Sikh War of 1845-46. In 1846, he was sent to Kashmir to Subdue Imam-ud-Din, who on the instigation of Wazir Lal Singh, was not surrendering the area of Raja Gulab Singh as per the treaty of Amritsar dated March 16, 1846.  

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915 Evans Bell, *Annexation of the Punjab*, New Delhi, p. 72.  
916 Evans Bell mention, Misr Sahib Dyal was a good as his ward: and he and his people kept their promise faithfully. On arriving at Jhang, Bhai Maharaj Singh’s force had diminished to about 1000 or 1200 men; the Misr’s party immediately attack them and though really inferior in numbers they were fresh, while their opponent were hungry and tried by a long and harasing retreat. A great many of the rebels were killed in the encounter and three or four of Misr Sahib Dayal’s men and then or twelve wounded. The whole rebel force was driven into the Chenab a difficult river to cross at all times and now formidable from being much swollen by the rains and the melted snow. It is calculated that from 500 to 600, horse and foot, perished in the river among the rebels, Bhai Maharaj Singh. Three hundred of the rebels were taken by the Misr’s soldiers in boats and put into confinement in Jhang. Bhai Maharaj Singh's four officers, Sikhs of some note, were among the prisons and are now on their way to Lahore in irons. Evans Bell, *Annexation of the Punjab*, p. 72  
917 Lepel Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs: Historical and Biographical Notices of the Principal Families*, p. 50.  
In April 1847, the Diwan was sent, at the recommendation of the Resident to Peshawar, as Chief Justice and Civil Governor in the room of Sardar Chattar Singh Attariwala.\textsuperscript{920} The appointment he did not hold for long because he had many enemies in Darbar and chief of them was Sardar Tej Singh. Diwan Hakim Rai was a nominee of Diwan Dina Nath and this was in itself sufficient to make Raja Dina Nath hostile.

During the second Anglo-Sikh War of 1848-49, his loyalty and patriotism once again shone itself. He along with his son Diwan Kishan Kishore, went over to Raja Sher Singh Attariwala and being an exceedingly able man lent a great strength to his cause. The document or ultimatum sent to the British Resident at Lahore detailing grievances felt by the Attariwala Sardar Sher Singh and his father Chattar Singh and the reason for their rising against the British dominant regime at Lahore was drawn by him. He surrendered to the British along with the Attariwala Sardars. After the annexation of the Punjab, Diwan Hakim Rai was considered too dangerous owing to his loyalty to the Sikh rule. So, he was removed as a prisoner to the fort of Chunar.

**GENERAL HARSUKH RAI**

During the reign of Maharaja Sher Singh, Harsukh Rai made the Kardar of Sheikhpura on a salary of Rs. 1800 per annum.\textsuperscript{921} But soon he fell into disgrace with his patron, Wazir Dhian Singh Dogra whose influence was used to procure his dismissal in 1841. He made Sardar Jawahar Singh, the new Wazir, his enemy by his intrigues with Prince Peshora Singh as a result, he was not only dismissed but his jagirs and property were also confiscated. When Raja Lal Singh came into power, he again came into favour and he was made general of the newly created

\textsuperscript{920} Lepel Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs: Historical and Biographical Notices of the Principal Families*, p. 296.
\textsuperscript{921} Lepel Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs: Historical and Biographical Notices of the Principal Families*, p. 220.
brigade. He was also made the *Kardar* of Patti at the south western extremity of the Lahore district.\(^9\) When Raja Lal Singh fell from power, Harsukh Rai’s prestige fell from him. The new brigagde was broken up and he also lost the Kardarship of Patti.

Soon after the outbreak at Multan, in 1848, Harsukh Rai was again sent by the desire of Colonel H. Lawrence to the Majha as *Kardar* on Rs.4,310 per annum.\(^2\) He performed his duty faithfully throughout the troublesome days of 1848-49 and remain royal to the British Government.\(^3\) On the annexation of Punjab, his *jagir* worth Rs. 1,790 was maintained for life and he made a *Tehsildar*.

**SHANKER NATH**

Shanker Nath he was doing job in the Central Record Office, in which he continued after the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He was worked as a chief *Munshi* under Diwan Dina Nath. During the time of residency from 1846 to 1849, Shankar Nath was largely and confidentially employed by British officers, Messrs Bowring, Cocks, Wedderburn, and Major Mc’Gregor. They all have borne witness to the value of his services and to his high character. In 22 February 1847, Shankar Nath granted with the *jagir* of Rs. 2,000.\(^4\) In 1849, Shankar Nath held *jagirs* to the value of Rs. 6,500 besides cash allowances Rs. 1,360 and Rs. 2,412 for his establishment.\(^5\)

**DIWAN DEVI SAHAI**

Devi Sahai was one of the important courtiers of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and after his master’s death he continued his service. In 1846, he

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\(^2\) Lepel Griffin, *The Punjab Chiefs: Historical and Biographical Notices of the Principal Families*, p. 220.
\(^3\) *Foreign Department; Secret Consultation*, 27 January 1849; No. 10, N.A.I.
accompanied Raja Gulab Singh and Raja Dina Nath to Kasur, where the treaty which concluded the first Anglo-Sikh War was signed.\textsuperscript{927} In 1849, he joined Mulraj and presented through the seize of Multan. He fought the battle of Chillianwala. After annexation all his \textit{jagirs}\textsuperscript{928} were confiscated but he was given a compensation allowance Rs. 240 per annum.

After going through the mutual relation of the Hindu Courtiers and Officials, after the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, were not cordial and friendly. However, they are divided into groups, but their relations with the royal family and the successors of Ranjit Singh were friendly, smooth and cordial. They never cheated their masters; rather they remained sincere and loyal to the Lahore \textit{Darbar} as well as the various successors of Maharaja Ranjit Singh until they were forced by treacheries, intrigues and political circumstances. Maharaja Kharak Singh, Maharaja Sher Singh and Maharaja Nau Nihal Singh did trust them, assign them some duties and responsibilities to them to perform. In return to their trust, they came up to their expectation while doing their best to serve the cause of the Lahore \textit{Darbar}. Dogra Brothers were against them and wanted their expulsion at Lahore \textit{Darbar}. During the intrigues some of them lost their lives, jagirs and honours.

\textsuperscript{927} Lepel Griffin, \textit{Chiefs and Families Note in the Punjab}, p. 238.
\textsuperscript{928} Chak Ram Das in Bannu is one of the \textit{Jagir} of Diwan Devi Sahai. \textit{Lahore Political Dairies, 1847-49}, Vol. V, p. 139.