The violation of truce by Thomas had very much disturbed and alarmed the Cis-Satlej Sikh chiefs. They were now seeking outside help against the Irish adventurer. The British did not help them for they did not want to entangle themselves in the politics of Cis-Satlej states. Maharaja Ranjit Singh was busy in his own affairs. So, they turned towards Gen. Perron. Raja Bhag Singh of Jind started negotiations with Gen. Perron against Thomas.

Gen. Perron not only thought of crushing Thomas but he also watched the mission of Mir Yusuf Ali Khan with considerable anxiety. He was not unaware of the military capacity of Thomas. He realised the dangers in this venture. This is evident from a letter of Col. J. Collins, the Resident with Sindhia:

Though I can have little doubt that Mr. Perron is jealous of the growing power of Mr. George Thomas, and would willingly crush it wherever a convenient opportunity occurred, yet I am inclined to think that he will if possible, avoid coming to immediate hostilities with that officer as well as on account of the force he commands which is far from contemptible*, as in consideration

* In July 1800, Col. Collins was informed by Yusuf Ali Khan, who was detained in the camp of Mr. Thomas due to heavy rain at Sossnah place, that Thomas raised seven battalions of infantry, 500 cavalry, 20 field pieces of artillery and four howitzers, the whole well-equipped, regularly paid, and in strict subordination (F & S, 16th Oct. 1800, Cons. No. 12; J. Collins to G.G., Fatehgarh, July 16, 1800, L. No. 120.)
of Mr. Thomas's connection with Begam Samru who now accompanies Mr. Perron and whose assistance is of importance in this juncture. 1

Being afraid of Thomas's growing power, the Sikh chiefs did not lose much time, 2 and they sent their agents to Delhi for securing Perron's help against him. In the meantime, Gen. Perron reached the territories of Karnal and Panipat in Sept. 1800.

The Sikhs envoys also came after him. He was conscious of the political and military importance of winning over the Sikh chiefs against the formidable power of Thomas. Gen. Perron was "engaged in conciliating the Sikh sardars who possess the tract from Delhi to Kstia la and inaugurating his present force by large levies of cavalry." 3

Afterwards, these Sikh envoys accompanied Gen. Perron to Delhi where they again requested him to help them against Thomas. Perron, keen to bring the Irish adventurer under control, formed an alliance (Wa'jab-ul-Arz) 4 with the Sikhs.

1. F & S. 16th Dct. 1800, Cons. No. 12; J. Collins to G.G., Fatehgarh, July 16, 1800, L. No. 120.
4. File no. H.5, Rabia II, Julus 43, Corresponding to Sept. 19, 1800 O? 'Wa'jab-ul-Arz'. There were seven terms in this treaty. According to one demand the Sikhs wanted the 'Expulsion of George Thomas from the fort of Hansi.' And Gen. Perron assured the Sikhs that, "what to speak of Hansi, wherever he may be".
Gen. Perron also came as far as Bejumpur, a place about 7 kos to the north-west of Karnal, to make a show of his support to the cause of the Cis-Satlej Sikh chiefs.

All the Sikh Chiefs particularly Raja Bhag Singh of Jind attended on Gen. Perron personally. Perron also realised the need of conciliating Sikh chiefs, especially Bhag Singh. He gave him two parganas (also called Mahals) in Jaidad, made a friend of him and through his means opened correspondence with Ranjit Singh of Lahore.

Meanwhile, in the beginning of 1801, there commenced a conflict between Raja Sahib Singh and his sister, Bibi Sahib Kaur. Raja Sahib Singh of Patiala with his forces, about 1500 cavalry and 1000 infantry laid siege to the fort of Bibi Sahib Kaur, Bhirian (also called Ubhowal).

George Thomas again marched towards the Cis-Satlej territories against Raja Sahib Singh in the beginning of January 1801. Col. Collins, in a letter, mentioned that Thomas came at the requisition of Bibi Sahib Kaur.

The neighbouring chiefs of Patiala territory were again alerted from his fresh advance towards them. Perron asked the Raja of Bikaner "to cause a diversion in favour of the Patiala Raja by attacking the adjacent territory of George Thomas." Gen. Perron also directed Bapuji Sindhia, the nazim of Saharanpur, to march immediately to the assistance of the Raja of Patiala leaving some force for the protection of his own district. 10

Thomas fought at Kulsar Mahal and Ghwand in Kaithal territory and later he looted Dhode, Batal, Bhatiwal and Majitha (Majithia) in Patiala territory. 11 When, Thomas approached Ubhowal, Raja Sahib Singh immediately abandoned the siege of Ubhowal fort and came back to Sunam where he despatched special agents to all other Sikh chiefs for help.** Now, Thomas advanced towards Sunam but his advance was soon checked by Sardar Tara Singh Ghebe of Rahon† and Sardar

9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
* At that time Sunam was a district of the Patiala state.
** The following chiefs assembled immediately to resist George Thomas: Gurdit Singh of Ladwa, Mehban Singh of Thanesar, Karam Singh Mirmale, Bir Singh and Deep Singh of Bhadour, Bakshi Mulk-gul-gher Khan, Nihal Singh Mansahia, Bata Singh Ghuman, Jit Singh Shekan, Dyal Singh Arora and Meha Singh Kaleka etc. (Giani Gian Singh, Twarikh, part 3, p. 728).
† Tara Singh Ghebe of Rahon (d.1807):
He was a prominent leader of the Dallewale Misl and also a chief of Rahon, a minor state on the right bank of the Satlej.
Karam Singh of Shahabrti.* After some minor clashes between Thomas and the Sikhs, the former changed his route and attacked Dirba**, a big village about 35 miles south of Patiala and 12 miles south-east of Sunam. Here Thomas was resisted by the Bhadour troops** and Bakshi Malik Sher Dogra, the commander of Patiala forces. In this conflict Thomas was victorious over his enemies. He looted many villages in Patiala territory. He occupied the town of Bhiwanigarh and Baladh between Sunam and Patiala.14

In the meantime, a large number of Sikhs assembled by the beat of battle-drum in the fort of Bhiwanigarh. Thomas retreated to Kanohori village; but on the way he had to fight a sharp skirmish with a Patiala army of 1,000 troops under Sardar Diwan Singh and Sardar Kharak Singh Mensahia who had stationed themselves there beforehand. Then, Thomas marched towards north-westward to attack the forces of Tara Singh Gheba who was marching to help Bedi Sahib Singh of Una,+ 

* Sardar Karam Singh of Shahabrti (d.1806): Karam Singh ("Nirmal") was a famous chief who belonged to the Nishanwala confederacy.
** Thomas attacked Dirba for second time.
12. Griffin, op.cit., p. 80 (At that time, Bir Singh was a chief of Bhadour estate. But later on, the Bhadour estate was equally divided between the brothers, Bir Singh and Deep Singh, Ibid., p. 256).
14. (i) Griffin, op.cit., p. 80 (Dewan Singh was a commander of the Patiala forces.) (ii) Punjab State Gazetteers, vol.17-A, Phulkian States, p. 47.
Thomas divided his army into three parts, not only to face the pursuing force of Tara Singh Gheba but also for collecting tributes from the villages which would come on the way. Tara Singh stayed at Malerkotla city where he thought of attacking Thomas's forces at once. A sufficient advance guard of Tara Singh Gheba was hidden in the forest near Malerkotla. Thomas now advanced towards the territory of Malerkotla through the same dense forest where the advance guard of Tara Singh Gheba had already taken shelter.

When Thomas came to know of this, he changed his route, and after a hard journey of 24 miles through the thick forest he reached Bhat, 6 miles north-west of Malerkotla. Tara Singh had occupied it. Thomas at once attacked the fort of Bhat. A fierce battle took place for the fort. Thomas's cannons blew up the door of the fort's gate. His army entered the fort. The Sikh army fled away from the fort. At last, the people of Bhat, on the advice of Tara Singh Gheba, gave a war indemnity of 50,000 rupees to Thomas.

* Thomas had increased his army to about 10,000 troops (W.F., op.cit., p. 196).
17. H.A.C., op.cit., p. 175.
18. (i) W.F., op.cit., p. 198;
19. (i) H.A.C., op.cit., p. 176;
(ii) W.F., op.cit., p. 198.
On this occasion, Raja Sahib Singh of Patiala offered the marriage of his daughter to the son of Karam Singh Shabadia. In this agreement he (Karam Singh) would assist him against Thomas. So, the proposal was settled and Karam Singh came with 5,000 troops for assistance (H.A.C., op.cit., p. 176).
In the meantime, Baba Sahib Singh of Una, on account of a variety of reasons attacked the Afghan colony of Raikot. He advanced towards the territories of Raikot and attacked its chief, Rai Alyas. Rai Alyas demanded help from Raja Sahib Singh of Patiala, an old friend of Rai's family, and other Sikh chiefs who "had always been on good terms with their Muhammadan neighbours of Kotla and Raikot, and who had no intention of allowing the Bedi to establish himself in their midst."\(^{22}\) Raja Sahib Singh and other Sikh chiefs like Bhag Singh of Jina, Jodh Singh of Kalabg, Bhaga Singh of Thanesar and Bardouria Sardars proceeded to help Raikot chief. But, they left their strong cavalry force behind to guard their territories against any sudden attack by Thomas, which could happen at any time.

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20. (i) Griffin, cit., pp. 72, 73.

* Historians mention different years about the second attack of Babaji. The year 1799 is written by Griffin, Ishar Singh Nora, Punjab District Gazetteer, Ludhiana and others. The year 1799 by Giani Atm Singh Randhawa and Sardar S.K. Benerjee etc. Hennessy and Bidwell write 1800 and other English writers mention 1801. But according to situation in Punjab at that time, this action took place about April-May 1801.


**. Jodh Singh Kalsia (1751-1818):
He was a son of Gurbaksh Singh Kator Singh.
On the approach of these Cis-Satlej Sikh chiefs, some active supporters of the Bedi such as Budh Singh Faizalpuria, Karam Singh 'Mirma'i or Shahabadia* and Bhanga Singh of Thanesar, deserted him and joined the Phulkian chiefs.23 Then, these allies of Rai Alyas recovered some forts which Babaji had earlier seized from them. Later on, Raja Sehib Singh of Patiala annexed Badowal, few miles south of Ludhiana, and three of its other forts, as the price of his assistance, while the fort of Dakha was mortgaged to Bhai Lal Singh of Kaithal.24

But, on other side, Babaji seized other villages.

He took possession of Neobat fort and Jandwali, and he also built a new fort in Dhugri village. Then, at right he besieged the fort of Ludhiana which was defended by Hassan Khan, and built a mud fort which was later called "Suthri-Ki-Dharamsal."25 Soon he conquered the fort of Ludhiana.

Francklin writes that Karam Singh 'Mirma'i' discovered the tricks of Bedi Sehib Singh by which the latter used to impress upon his followers his spiritual superiority and then deserted him. (W.F., op.cit., p. 205-6).

   (i. Perhaps Rai Alyas was also involved in this matter because he gave some offers as greed to Ganda (Mansurpurwala Ganda), Karam Singh Shahabadia and Budh Singh Faizalpuria, and had inverted them to his side. (Nara Raja Yogi..., p.182).
   (ii. These chiefs assembled at a village Dhurda, for capturing Babaji. But Babaji already come in Dhurkot village via Dhugri, mansur, and Rein Dahi. He was also helped by the people of these regions.

24. Ibid. (Griffin writes Dakha as Wakha).

his large force and Babaji was compelled to raise the siege of Ludhiana\textsuperscript{28}, and he encamped at a distant away.\textsuperscript{9} Afterwards, Thomas repulsed\textsuperscript{**} the forces of Babaji across the Satlej and "all the forts of Rai such as Pekhowal, Soonyt, Jandiali and Ludhiana which had been usurped by Bedi were restored.\textsuperscript{29} So, both Rai's restoration and Bedi Sahib Singh's retreat were now complete and the mother of Rai Alyas paid the settled amount to Thomas.

The Cis-Satlej Sikh chiefs keenly watched the activities of Thomas. They advanced with their full force towards Narangwal where Thomas lay encamped.\textsuperscript{30} But Thomas gave them a very tough resistance. Both parties lost a large number of troops. They even cut his supply of food and ammunition. When the supply of Thomas was finished, he

\textsuperscript{9} S. Isher Singh mentioned that Thomas fought against Babaji for seven days\textsuperscript{+}, while Griffin and Gianiji write that Babaji hearing of (Thomas) rear approach raised the siege of Ludhiana and retired across the Satlej; and Thomas without any interference returned to Hansi.
\textsuperscript{+} Nara, \textit{Raha Yogi}, p. 186 n.
\textsuperscript{**} (a) Griffin, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 75.
\textsuperscript{30} S. N. Rao, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 33.
\textsuperscript{29} Griffin, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 80; (ii) \textit{Punjab District Gazetteers}, vol. 14-A, Jullundur District, 1904 (Lahore, 1908), p. 33. (The Gazetteer mentions the date of conflict 1799 which is incorrect).
decided to retreat from the battlefield and then fled away to Jodh Mansur. 31

He plundered a number of villages such as Rajowana, south-west of Narangwal; Imalkur, Khandur, Lalton, Falewal, Gurjawai and Tung. 32 Meanwhile, the Patiala forces along-with other Sikh chiefs had moved to Ghungrana 33, a village 4 miles south-east of Narangwal, and later they reached a village, Baraundi 34, 6 miles south-west of Ghungrana and 9 miles south-east of Rajowana. Here, they completely surrounded George Thomas. 35 Skirmishes took place between Thomas and Sikh forces. Thomas decided to retreat from the battlefield. At last, he retreated at night after seven days clash with the Sikh forces but was pursued by the Sikhs. 36

Thomas left the state of Raikot and re-entered the Patiala territory where he was pursued by the Sikhs who defeated him at Kakarwal 37, 3 miles south-west of Dhuri. Here, they killed 300 troops of Thomas. 38 Then, Thomas

   (ii) Griffin, op. cit., p. 80.
34. Ibid.
35. F & S, 3rd June, 1801, Cons. No. 57; J. Collins to G.G., Patenga, 8th April, 1801, L. No. 154.
decided to punish the chiefs of Jind and Kaithal who had violated the agreement with him by joining the Phulkian forces against him. So, Thomas advanced from Kakarwal and after a long march he fell suddenly upon a fort of Kanhori which was situated on the bank of Ghaggar, about 18 miles west of Kaithal. The fort of Kanhori belonged to Raja Lal Singh of Kaithal.

Thomas stormed it and slaughtered the entire garrison of fort by way of teaching a lesson to Raja Lal Singh. He also plundered the whole town. He then surrounded the fort of Butari which was situated in the Kaithal state. He defeated the garrison of this fort. Raja Lal Singh now began to defend his own possessions from Thomas's attack.

Meanwhile, Raja Bhag Singh also returned to Jind for strengthening his own position.

In the meantime, Thomas returned to Hansi due to the shortage of ammunition. Moreover, he had to guard his

* These chiefs had already concluded a treaty with Thomas during his retreat from Rai Ahye's territory. In this treaty, they agreed not to disturb his territories during his absence. (W.F., op. cit., p. 211).

39. W.F., op. cit., p. 211. The capture of this fort was most important to Thomas because its situation near the Ghaggar and the borders of his districts afforded him to keep his the stores and ammunitions etc.

40. Randhawa, op. cit., p. 100. (In this fort, there were 500 men who surrendered to Thomas and had evacuated the fort).

territories from the sudden attacks of the Marathas.* During his return to Hansi, he plundered a village Rakhera, 36 miles south of Kanhorri. He also collected contributions in the territories of Raja Bhag Singh of Jind.43

Then, after making arrangement in his territory, Thomas collected sufficient food and ammunition, and again advanced towards the territories of Sikhs Sardars.44 He looted a number of villages of Jind and Kaithal states. Later on, he raided the neighbouring villages of Patiala state and also plundered 8 villages in south-west of Narwana.45 Thomas collected heavy contributions and booty in these raids. In these circumstances, Patiala chief demanded help from Gen. Perron.

Afterwards, Thomas again entered the Kaithal territory where he raided the forts of Kharaundi and Khatana.46 He also entered the territories of Raja Bhag Singh of Jind who went to Koil to seek the help of Gen. Perron.

* Col. Collins wrote "It appears that this officer (Thomas) rashly ventured to invade the Patiala territories, neglecting the necessary measures for preserving a communication with his own district" (F & S, 3rd June, 1801, Cons. No. 57; J. Collins to G.G., Fatehgarh, 6th April, 1801, L. No. 154).
42. W.F., op.cit., p. 212 (Its fort belonged to Kaithal chief and had a garrison of 500 men). (Francklin mentioned its name Retara. But this village, Retara, is situated 3 miles north-east of Nalwa and 16 miles south-west of Hansi, while Jind and Kaithal territories lay on the north and north-east of Hansi. (S.No. Rao, op.cit., p. 34n).)
45. S.No. Rao, op.cit., p. 34.
46. Ibid.
The Sikh forces again pursued Thomas, but the latter
marched southwards and attacked the fort of Safidon, an old
town of Raja Bhag Singh of Jind, 36 miles north-east of Hansi.
The fort of Safidon was old, and it was defended by a weak
garrison. It was built of bricks. It had a deep ditch around
its walls. The garrison in the fort of Safidon was 700 men,
and after erecting three redoubts, Thomas placed 18 cannons,
12 and 6-pounder guns and attacked at about three o'clock in
the afternoon before the enforcement of the enemy could reach. 47

The enemy commenced attack upon Thomas's advance posts.
The troops of Thomas tried to climb the walls of the fort by
rope ladders after crossing the breaches which were made by
the cannon balls. But they could not succeed in their mission.
The battle continued for a couple of hours in which Thomas
lost about 450 of his best troops and his assistant, Capt.
Hopkins, was severely wounded. 48 But the Sikhs also suffered
a lot.

Then the Sikhs tried to cut through the line of Thomas
and they were successful in their efforts. But their strength
was greatly reduced, and they had to leave the fort and take
shelter in the nearby jungle. In this way, Thomas took
possession of the fort of Safidon. Then, on hearing the sudden
siege of Safidon, Raja Bhag Singh immediately advanced towards
this place, but before his arrival, the fort had already fallen
into Thomas's hands.

47. W.F., op.cit., p. 23
48. Ibid.
Later on, Raja Bhag Singh besieged the fort and attacked it from all sides. It was useless for Thomas to remain shut up in the defenceless fort; so he came out from the fort and gave a pitched battle to Raja Bhag Singh beneath the ruined walls of the fort. But, he was defeated by the Jind Raja. After losing 500 men in this battle, Thomas now retreated to Kalwah, 8 miles south-west of Safidon in Kaithal territory.

On account of continuous fighting both sides were now thoroughly exhausted, especially the Sikhs, who were most to lose in these battles. Mr. Griffin writes, "their towns and villages were sacked, and the harvest destroyed, while the rapidity of the enemy's movements made it almost impossible to overtake him; and the discipline he maintained made an attack upon him, even with far superior numbers, a proceeding of doubtful wisdom." So the Sikhs wanted to get rid of Thomas by making peace on any terms. On the other hand, Thomas was also anxious not only for taking rest but also to go back to his almost defenceless territory which was at that time threatened by the Marathas. Perron never liked Thomas and the latter was always conscious of this danger. Thomas also knew that the Sikhs could join Perron against him any time. So, he decided to make peace for the moment.

   (Giani mention that 1100 men on both sides were killed).
50. Griffin, op.cit., p. 81.
51. Ibid.
They agreed to end hostilities on the following terms:

a) Thomas retained the looted wealth; and in addition the Sikhs would pay him a war indemnity of Rs 1,35,000.

b) The Sikhs would evacuate all the regions of Rai Alyas.

c) Some villages and towns on the frontiers of three powers (Patiala, Kaithal and Jind) were ceded to Thomas, the more important ones being Badsikri, Jamalpur and Tohana from Patiala state; Kanhori from Kaithal and Safidon from Jind.

d) The Chief of Patiala should subsidize two battalions of infantry, which were to be stationed on the common frontiers to keep order there and to safeguard either part.

e) Raja Sahib Singh would have cordial relations with his sister, Bibi Sahib Kaur. He would also restore her property which he had earlier confiscated. 53

53. (i) H.A.C., op.cit., p. 181.


(iii) Randhawa, op.cit., p. 102.

Sardhar Jodh Singh Kalsia, Raja Lal Singh of Kaithal and other Sikh chiefs brought about a reconciliation between Raja Sahib Singh and his sister, Bibi Sahib Kaur. When she along with her brother came near Dhodan fort Bibiji felt suspicious about her brother. She at once escaped, to Ubhowal where she died a few months later on 15th Sept. 1801.

+ Rao mentioned her escape in April 1801, S.N. Rao, op.cit., p. 36n.
This treaty was concluded in the beginning of July 1801. Later the troops of Thomas evacuated the territories of the Raja of Patiala after committing great depredations, and retired to Hansi in the month of July 1801.

With Cis-Satlej attacks, Thomas reached his zenith, and the treaty with the Sikhs added a new feather to his cap. Later on Thomas told his biographer, William Francklin:

I had been more successful than I could possibly have expected, when I first took the field, with a force consisting of 5000 men and thirty-six pieces of cannon, I lost in killed, wounded and disabled nearly one-third of my force, but the enemy lost 5000 persons of all descriptions, I realized near 2,00,000 rupees, exclusive of the pay of my army, and was to receive an additional 1,00,000 for the hostages which were delivered up, I explored the country, formed alliances, and in short I was DICTATOR in all the countries belonging to the Sikhs, south of the river Sutledge.

No doubt Thomas got a number of impressive military victories over the Sikhs, but he lost some battles against them. His victories were due to his impressive leadership, trained and excellent disciplined infantry, cavalry as well.

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(i) Punjab State Gazetteers, vol. 17-A, p. 47. (The agreement signed on May 1801);
(ii) Sardar S.N. Banerjee, 'Patiala and Gen. Perron', I.H.R.C., vol. XVIII, Jan. 1942, p. 344 (Treaty made at the end of March, 1800). The above statements of various authors are wrong. Actually the treaty was signed in July 1801. The letters of J. Collins further support this month as well as the year.

54. P.R.C., vol. IX, No. 256; J. Collins to C.G., Fatehgarh 16th July 1801, p. 442. Francklin mention that Thomas came to Hansi in April 1801. But the above account of Francklin corrected by Sardar S.N. Banerjee who writes that Thomas's first raid led to prolonged desultory fighting, from Nov. 1799 to May 1800, second from Jan. 1801 to March-April 1801 and third continues up to June 1801.

as artillery, better war strategy, his swift and able movements, also his good knowledge about the geography of the Sikh regions. Further, he took advantage of the weakness and lack of cooperation among the Sikh chiefs. Although he claimed his dictatorship in all the Sikh regions but he could not suppress them completely. However, in spite of these victories and obtaining some villages from the Sikhs, there was no permanent or lasting political settlement in Punjab. These campaigns brought the Sikhs together and they began to work to bring about his downfall. His continuous raids and daring activities compelled the Sikhs to seek the aid of others against him. That is why, they thought to send their mission to Gen. Perron for making an alliance against Thomas.

In 1801, after the Cis-Satlej expedition, Thomas's resources and reputation reached their zenith. He increased his force to 8 battalions of regular infantry of 750 men each, 1500 Rohillas, 2000 garrison troops, 1000 cavalry and 50 guns. The Sikhs feared his growing power so near their states. Later on, many Sikh chiefs like Raja Bhag Singh of Jind, Raja Lal Singh of Kaithal and two Sardars i.e. Chain Singh and Hamir Singh, as the representatives of Patiala state, marched towards Delhi to meet Gen. Perron.

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56. Ibid., p. 219; H.A.C., op.cit., p. 183.
57. Griffin, op.cit., p. 82.

At that time, the attitude of Jaswant Singh of Nabha was, however, lukewarm to the Cis-Satlej Sikh mission. So, he did not join them in their visit to meet Gen. Perron at Delhi. But, he agreed to pay 5910 per annum to the Marathas after Thomas's defeat. (Punjab State Gazetteers, vol. 17-A, Phulkian States, p. 342).

Gen. Perron, who was at Koil near Aligarh, arrived in Delhi on 2nd July 1801 and met the Sikh mission there on 10th July 1801. Gen. Perron was also willing to render help to Cis-Satlej chiefs to crush the power of Thomas. Moreover, Compton writes, 'between the two adventurers enmity had long existed, for they were antagonistic at every point and hated each other as cordially as Briton and Frenchmen could hate at that period. Perron was both jealous and fearful of Thomas's increasing influence, which had been greatly augmented by the recent brilliant campaign against the Sikhs of the Sutlej states.'

After collecting sufficient tributes and booty from his continuous raids on the territories of Rajputana, Bhattiana, Marathas and Cis-Satlej states, Thomas enlarged his forces equivalent in size to that one of Gen. Perron's regular brigades. Therefore, the growing power of Thomas was a source of great alarm to Gen. Perron. He wrote a letter to Gen. de Boigne:

A men called George Thomas who had taken advantage of my absence in the Deccan to raise a party (parti) of 12,000 men and 60 cannons, seize a considerable tract of territory on the Sikh border and to pillage the whole countryside up to the very outskirts of Delhi. I have been forced to destroy his party entirely and I have permitted the scoundrel (scelerat) to leave on condition that he never again enters the territory of the prince.

i.e. Daulet Rao Sindhia.

60. Compton, op.cit., p. 258.
Previously Daulet Rao Sindhia had entered into correspondence with Thomas in a view to induce him to enter into Maratha service. But, Thomas had declined to serve under a Frenchman, i.e. Gen. Perron, and his condition was that he wanted to serve with an independent brigade in the Maratha army.

In the middle of July 1801, Gen. Perron sent a message to Thomas in which he proposed some terms. The terms proposed by Gen. Perron were not ungenerous to Thomas. He suggested that Thomas "should enter into Sindhia's service, with a brigade of the same strength as those of ours ... namely, 8 battalions, 300 regular horse, 1000 Rohillas, and 500 Mewattees, with 40 pieces of cannon, for which he was to be allowed 60,000 rupees per month, either in money or jaedad. He was also to be permitted to keep Hurriana, provided he furnished other five battalions for the service. Should these proposals be rejected, he might prepare himself to fight." But Thomas refused these terms and he openly declined to serve under him.

In the meantime, the political situation changed in Central India. Conflict broke out between Sindhia and Jaswant.

* In reply to Sindhia, Thomas wrote to him as mentioned in his memoir: "Should you think proper to appoint me to the management of operations, either offensive or defensive in any part of the Deccan, Hindustan, or Punjab, I am ready, and willing to undertake the charge, so soon as the necessary arrangements for the payment of my troops can be completed. (J.B.F., op.cit., p. 220).
Rao Holkar in which Holkar became victorious at Ujjain on 13th July, 1801. Sindhia ordered Gen. Perron to send more force against Holkar. But, Gen. Perron gave no response to Sindhia's demand. Moreover, Gen. Perron wanted to stabilize his control in the north. He further thought that it was inevitable to suppress the power of Thomas in the north, and for this purpose he at that time had only the Third and Fourth Brigades which he needed to deal with Thomas.

It was also believed that Thomas had opened negotiations with Begam Semru, the rajas of Jaipur, Jodhpur and Alwar, the Sikh chiefs and even Jaswant Rao Holkar. Thomas had already sent his messengers several times to Holkar to make an alliance with him, but the could not get favourable response from him.

So, Gen. Perron was now anxious for immediate action against Thomas. He did not go to Central India. He had also been trying to make an alliance with Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore through Raja Bhag Singh of Jind. Now, Gen. Perron was keen to meet George Thomas for settling the affairs of northern India. Early in August 1801, Gen. Perron invited Thomas through a personal messenger for meeting at Bahadurgarh, 20 miles north-west of Delhi. Gen. Perron thought if he succeeded in his mission he would remove Thomas from northern-

* Earlier Gen. Perron also tried to meet Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore through Raja Bhag Singh but his plan could not succeed at that time.

western territories of India either by bringing him into Maratha service or by sending him to the Malwa (Central India) and the Deccan. On the other side Thomas also thought that it would be good to come to a satisfactory settlement with Gen. Perron.

Thomas accepted the invitation of Gen. Perron and marched from Hansi on 1st August 1801. Gen. Perron also marched from Delhi; on the way he was joined by the Third Brigade commanded by Col. Louis Bourquin at Seetaram-Ki-Seraj, 4 kos west of Delhi. Thomas also arrived in the middle of August and encamped at a distance of 2 miles in front of Perron's camp. Gen. Perron brought whole of the Third Brigade with him, Thomas also brought his 300 body-guard cavalry and two battalions of troops and an escort. It appeared as if it was the meeting of the two sovereigns.

Gen. Perron sent Capt. Lewis Smith to meet Thomas. He not only guided him to his camp-site but also acted as

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63. C.G., op.cit., p. 49.
64. J.B.F., op.cit., vol. I, p. 216 (Col. James Skinner was also present in this meeting).
* Compton writes that on this occasion this brigade had 10 battalions of infantry and 2000 regular horse (H.A.C., op.cit., p. 186).
65. (i) A.A.R., 1804, p. 12.
(ii) W.F., op.cit., p. 222.
At that time, Thomas had 10,000 infantry, 1000 good cavalry and 50 pieces of cannons in the field, and he was not afraid of the Frenchman (Gen. Perron). This description was mentioned by a contemporary officer of Thomas, 'An Authentic Account of George Thomas' (From a correspondent at Lucknow), A.A.R., 1802, p. 56.
66. Ibid.
his aide-de-camp. Lewis Smith had also become an interpreter because Gen. Perron could not speak English fluently.

The historic meeting between Gen. Perron and Thomas took place at Bahadurgarh, near Seetaram-Ki-Serai on 19th August, 1801.67

The weather was very hot. Holman wrote,

> Despite the intense heat, Perron wore his full uniform of heavy sea-green serge with gold lace and epaulettes, while Thomas appeared in a uniform of British military red. It is a pity so little is recorded of this occasion. It must have been a rare moment when those two remarkable men entered the tent from opposite sides and shook hands, Perron with his left hand, the right having been blown off by a premature grenade in the siege of Kansa in 1793. 68

Thomas paid his respects to Gen. Perron.


(Hr. Francklin* and Mr. Grey** mention this meeting in the months of September and 10th October respectively).

* W.F., op.cit., p. 222.

** C.G., op.cit., p. 49.

(Col. J. Collins got the information from his agent regarding this meeting between Gen. Perron and Mr. George Thomas. Collins wrote, "I learn from Syed Reza Khan, that George Thomas has consented to join and serve Mr. Perron in consideration of a money stipend of 40,000 rupees, with permission to retain the fortress of Hansi. All other parganas which he possesses to the north-west of Delhi, are to be relinquished in favour of M. Filose, to whose jaidad they appertain. Mr. Syed Reza also told, that a treaty in this connection also signed by Mr. Perron, on the part of Daulat Rao Sindhia that Thomas is, in consequence, shortly expected." It seems Mr. Syed Reza got the rumours about this treaty. The meeting took place on the 19th August, but Mr. Syed informed about this treaty to Collins before 19th August. No treaty was concluded. (F.R.C., vol. IX, No.27; J. Collins to G.G., Pathegharh, 12th August, 1801, p. 56.)

68. Holman, op.cit., p. 45.
Then the meeting was devoted entirely to an exchange of courtesies and the language of their conversation was almost Hindustani. Holman writes,

The two parties of officers faced each other, lounging back in large, upright chairs, hookah stems in their hands, puffing indolently, while servants behind them stirred the air with large fans made of palm matting and edge with blue cloth. In the space between the rows of chairs, amanvenses sat cross-legged, scratching with their reed pens as they recorded every word that passed. Their function not only slowed the exchanges, but had the effect of making them stilted and deliberate. 69

Later on, in the evening the officers of both armies took dinner and entertained each other on this occasion. Afterwards, Thomas returned to his own camp which was at distance of about 2 miles from the town of Behadurgarh. 70

Several meetings took place between Gen. Perron and Thomas, and during this period, Col. Skinner and Capt. Lewis Smith had taken the opportunity of examining the troops of Thomas. Col. Skinner writes,

we saw his troops, who looked well, but were not over-disciplined; his artillery was very fine, and his bullocks particularly good and strong. The only European officers he had, were Captains Hearsey, Hopkins and Birch; and there were some Europeans acting as sergeants in his artillery. 70

69. Ibid., pp.45,46.
Then Capt. Lewis Smith, an elderly and more experienced officer of Gen. Perron visited Thomas's camp. In the meetings, he also recorded the impressions of Thomas carefully. According to Smith,

This man was one of the most uncommon characters I have ever seen, and I knew him well; he was bold, indefatigable, active, cautious, and possessed strong natural sense; he formed a considerable party from his own personal exertion, unassisted, by the power or the treasure of any prince-without money and without country-opposed by all and supported by none, he raised a strong party which was nearly destroying the gigantic power of Perron.71

Perhaps Gen. Perron could not understand the kind of man Thomas really was. Gen. Perron wanted to draw Thomas under his own command as he had earlier drawn Hessing and Jean Filose's battalions. But he could not succeed in his mission because Thomas wanted to remain independent.

Perron, keen to secure Thomas, however, put forward certain conditions. Perron demanded that Thomas should surrender all his jagir and territories of Haryana. He should join Sindhia's army with the whole of his brigade, for which he would receive a rank of Colonel. He would also get a monthly subsidy about 50,000 rupees73 either in cash or in

71. Capt. L.F. Smith, 'A Sketch of the Rise, Progress and Termination of the Regular Corps, Formed and Commanded by Europeans in the service of the Native Princes of India', p. 20, (iii) op. cit., p. 145.
72. C.C., op. cit., p. 50.
73. (i) Holman, op. cit., p. 46.
   (ii) W.F., op. cit., p. 222.
   (iii) C.C., op. cit., p. 50 (Grey writes in 80,000).
   (iv) W.H., op. cit., p. 145 (Hennessy writes in 60,000).
jagir, but he should give up one of his richest districts i.e. Jhajjar\(^74\) to the Marathas. Moreover, he (Thomas) would send four of his battalions forthwith to reinforce Sinchia against Holkar.\(^75\)

But Thomas refused the terms of Gen. Perron particularly the demand of Jhajjar which was the apple of his eye. He broke off the negotiations largely due to his fanatical hatred of Frenchman. He said, "Mr. Perron and myself, being subjects of nations in a state of hostility, could not possibly act together in concert, and I was convinced that he being a Frenchman, and I am Englishman, Mr. Perron would always be prepared to misinterpret my actions."\(^76\) Moreover, Thomas thought, if he made an alliance with the Marathas he could not freely plunder the Sikh territories. So, Thomas rejected the proposals of Perron and the latter threatened him "Be warned of the consequences", Perron said, "It must lead to war." "Then let it be war", Thomas replied. He glanced round at Perron's officers, among whom Skinner sat. "Tis a pity, gentleman", he told them. "But the next time we meet I shall be obliged to kill ye."\(^77\) Thus the negotiations between George Thomas and Gen. Perron broke off.\(^73\)

\(^74\) W.F., op.cit., p. 222.
\(^75\) H.A.C., op.cit., p. 167.
\(^76\) C.G., op.cit., p. 50.
\(^77\) Holman, op.cit., p. 46.
\(^73\) F & S, 16th August, 1802, Cons. No. 5; J. Collins to G.C., Faschgarh, 10th Sept. 1801, L. No. 168.
As the negotiations broke down, Thomas at once left for Hansi on 25th August 1301. On the way he marched towards Jind territories and collected some contributions from there. Raja Bhag Singh of Jind was surprised by the sudden and unexpected raid of Thomas upon his territories. He at once requested Gen. Perron to take an effective step against Thomas.

At last Gen. Perron decided on war with Thomas by making an alliance with other powers especially the Sikhs who were keen to destroy Thomas. So on August 30, 1301, the Sikh mission placed their demands before Gen. Perron in which it was stated that Gen. Perron should establish his headquarters in their area.

The mission requested for not only the expulsion of Thomas from his capital, but also the recovery of their territories from him. They also indicated that if the operations took longer period then they would pay all military expenses. They also stated that Perron should help them in seizing the possessions of such chiefs who failed to give their share. They also mentioned that their possessions of the territories would remain same as they were in the days of mahadji Sinhia. Besides, it was also agreed that the booty will be distributed between Gen. Perron and the Sikhs in ratio of two to one.

Gen. Perron accepted the Sikh demands by finally signing this treaty. Thus, the Sikhs finalised the \textit{Vajih-ul-Arz} which was earlier made between Gen. Perron and them against Thomas. But this treaty did not give an exact idea about the assistance which was promised by the Sikhs to Gen. Perron. However, Col. Collins, in a letter, mentioned that 'the Sikh chiefs agreed to pay Perron \$50,000 per month for 6 months certain.'


The other writers give following version:


iii. \textit{Khalsanama}, describes Mr. Sinha that the Malwa Sardars agreed to pay 4 lakh in cash (ashal) and one-third of revenue as a price of driving out George Thomas (Sinha, \textit{Rise...}, p.174).

iv. Mr. Griffin writes that Perron had got from the Sikh chiefs a promise of an annual tribute of about \$1,00,000 against their estimated revenue of \$3,00,000 (Griffin, \textit{op.cit.}, (Their Minor Phulkian Families), p. 363. The tribute promised by the Cis-Satlej Sikhs was as follows:

\begin{table}[h]
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{Chiefs} & \textbf{Revenue} & \textbf{Tribute} \\
\hline
Raja Sahib Singh of Patiala & 1,14,750 & 38,250 \\
Raja Bhag Singh of Jind & 21,750 & 7,250 \\
Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha & 28,500 & 9,500 \\
The Chief of Malerkotla & & \\
\textbf{(Nawab Atta-Ullah Khan)} & 15,000 & 5,000 \\
The chiefs of Raikot & 60,000 & 20,000 \\
The chiefs of Raipur and Gujarval & 15,000 & 5,000 \\
Bhai Lal Singh of Kaithal & 45,000 & 15,000 \\
\hline
\textbf{Total} & 3,00,000 & 1,00,000 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

v. Dr. Rao writes that the mission offered to pay \$3 lakh as tribute to Daulat Rao Sindhia and \$1 lakh as Bagarana or present to Gen. Perron as well as 5,000 troops. They also fixed Chauth i.e. the total share of each chief was fixed 1/4 of his revenues. (S.N. Rao, \textit{op.cit.}, pp. 37, 276).
Perron entrusted the conduct of war against Thomas to Col. Louis Bourquin who was not only the commander of Third Brigade but also acted as his Deputy. He asked Bourquin not only to expel Thomas from the territories of Cis-Satlej states but also to establish Maratha supremacy in the Cis-Satlej region.  

The division of Louis Bourquin consisted of 12,000 troops. There was a large number of European officers like the Skinner brothers, the Smith brothers, Oliver, Rebells, Reculloch and McKenzie etc. The strength was further increased when 6000 Sikh troops also joined the army of Col. Bourquin. Began Samru's brigades also joined him. So, the total strength increased to 20,000 troops of all arms. But the force of Thomas was not so large as compared to Bourquin's. Thomas's army consisted of about 10,000 men of whom 500 were horsemen, his European officers being himself, Hopkins, and Two Eurasians, Birch and Hearsey, together with four sergeants of unknown nationality.

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83. Seton to Edmonstone, 3rd April, 1808, C 1, Para 4, (quoted: Bikram Jit Hasrat, op. cit., p. 39).
84. C.G., op. cit., p. 51. (Ranchlin writes that on that occasion Perron had 10 battalions of Infantry, 6000 horses, a body of Rohillas, and 60 pieces of heavy artillery. (J.F., op. cit., p. 224).
(ii) H.A.C., op. cit., p. 188 (There were also 60 guns).
86. C.G., op. cit., p. 51.
87. (i) C.G., op. cit., p. 44A.
(ii) C.G., op. cit., p. 44B.
(Hennessy mentions only 5,000 men).
In the last week of August 1801, Col. Louis Bourquin along with Maj. Lewis Smith marched with 10 battalions of sepoys, 3,000 cavalry and 500 Rohillas to attack Thomas who was then plundering the territories of Jind. Col. Bourquin now made a plan to attack the forts of Jhaggar as well as Georgegarh. The chief of Jhaggar had carried off about 100 wagons of sugar from the camp of Col. Bourquin. Col. Bourquin demanded these wagons of sugar from the chief who refused to return these wagons to him. The fort of Jhaggar was attacked and taken over.  

Col. Bourquin instructed the Smith brothers (Maj. Lewis Smith and Capt. Felix Smith) to invade the fort of Georgegarh (also called Jheezgarh). He himself set out with 3 battalions in infantry, 3000 cavalry and 500 Rohillas, to attack George Thomas who was then looting Jind State's territories. The Smith brothers laid siege to Georgegarh, a strong fort built by Thomas about 8 miles west of Jhajjer.

Thomas had about 10 battalions of infantry, 600 cavalry, a body of Rohillas and 60 pieces of heavy artillery, in the expedition of Jind. When he learnt about the coming of Col. Bourquin, he himself set out with 3 battalions in infantry, 3000 cavalry and 500 Rohillas, to attack Georgegarh, a strong fort built by Thomas about 8 miles west of Jhajjer.

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83. (i) Holman, op.cit., p. 47.
90. Ibid.
Louis Bourouin towards Jind he immediately advanced towards Fatehabad as if he was bound for Patiala territory. When Bourouin reached Jind, he heard that Thomas had gone to Patiala. He immediately left Jind for Patiala but on his way Col. Bourquin again learnt that Thomas was in fact advancing fast with his whole army for Georgegarh. Thomas had learnt about the siege. For intercepting Thomas's advance, Bourquin moved towards Fatehabad with his "Cheria Fauj". But Thomas advanced towards his territories at the marvellous speed of 30 miles a day, covering the last 76 miles in 2 days, leaving the cavalry regiment of Col. Bourquin a day behind and its main force too.

After reaching Hansi Thomas at once advanced towards Georgegarh and besieged it early on the morning of 29th Sept. 1801. Thomas attacked Georgegarh with 2 battalions of infantry, 3000 cavalry and artillery. Thomas's brave officer called hartaaza Khan at once attacked the troops of Maj. Lewis Smith but was repulsed. A tough fight took place.

* It was Gen. de Boigne's First Brigade which was called 'Cheria Fauj' or 'the army of birds' because it was famous for its fast marching.

94. Holman, op.cit., p. 47.
95. F & S, 22nd Oct. 1801, Cons. No. 7, Proc. vols; J.Collins to G.G., 5th Oct. 1801, L. No. 172 (Before reaching Georgegarh, Thomas advanced towards Capt. Smith and on the way he encamped at the town of Reham, then Col. Bourquin at that time was 33 miles north-west of that place).
96. Ibid.
The greatest resistance came from Puran Singh, a Rajput officer, under the command of Maj. Lewis Smith. Hertaza Khan retreated by losing 4 of his guns. When Thomas heard this disaster he along with Asolut Khan at once advanced to the relief of Hertaza Khan's troops.

After some fierce fight Thomas killed Puran Singh. The wounded men and the guns of Puran Singh were captured by Thomas. But Puran Singh's brave self-sacrifice gave time to Maj. Lewis Smith to get the rest of troops and all the guns away from the fort. Maj. Lewis Smith raised the siege of the fort and managed to escape with all his force to Jhajjar. Maj. Smith lost considerable tumbrels of ammunition, 5 pieces of cannon and some stores, and Thomas kept these captured goods in the fort of Georgegarh. Col. Collins, in a letter, writes that in this action, about 600 men on each side were killed and wounded.


In this battle, Thomas lost only 700 men and 20 pieces of cannon but the enemy had lost about 2,000 men and 30 pieces of cannon (A.R.R., 1804, p. 12).

Mr. Hennessy, from the description of Maj. Smith, writes that he (Smith) pursued him, if he, he (Smith) might have lost all the guns and men (M.H., op.cit., p. 149).

(Thomas lost only under 100 men).
When Col. Bourquin got the news that Thomas had taken Georgegarh and routed the troops of Maj. Smith, then he immediately sent Capt. Felix Smith, the brother of Maj. Lewis Smith, to support his brother at Georgegarh. In the beginning of October 1801, Capt. Felix Smith arrived with 2,000 Hindustani horses and joined his brother, Maj. Lewis Smith. Now it became difficult for Thomas to face the formidable Maratha army.

Thomas collected rest of his troops and began to prepare to face Col. Bourquin who was advancing towards him. Gen. Perron's force arrived at Beri, about 5 miles from his encampment. Thomas decided to fight a defensive battle against the enemy. He carefully chose the end of a wide open plain, and dug a prepared position linked to Georgegarh fort which was at that time firmly held by the Rohillas under one of his most trusted officers, Shah Tab Khan.

Thomas strengthened his right as well as left front, and his rear front was protected by a strong large walled village. From this strong defence, the enemy could approach him only through an area of sand-dunes which would obstruct an artillery advance. Therefore, the whole front was covered by the trenches, the parapet and the field-batteries. Thomas


103. (i) A.P.R., 1804, p. 13; (ii) W.C. Keene, The Great Anarchy, p. 20.

On the left side of the town, there was a small fort where he stationed about 1,000 Rohillas and 4 pieces of cannon (J.B.F., op.cit., vol. I, p. 219).
had also defended his front across the stretch of sand-dunes by "six battalions and thirty-five guns, supported by his 500 Mussulman cavalry in reserve just behind."

Thomas had already left about 1,200 regulars and irregulars to protect the garrison of Hensi. At Georgegarh, his troops consisted of 10 battalions of infantry, 50 pieces of cannon, 600 Rohillas and about 500 cavalry, not exceeding in aggregate 5000 men, only 4000 of whom could be brought into action. Thomas also sought help from Bapu Sindhia and Jaswant Kao Holker against the Marathas, but he could not get any help from them. Bapu Sindhia had earlier promised help to Thomas, but now he had joined the forces of Gen. Perron.

106. W.F., op.cit., p. 228. Mr. Bidwell wrote "at Jehszagarh he may have 4500 regular infantry, 800 irregular Rohillas under Shitab Khan but only, apparently, 300 cavalry, and all his guns; 6-pounders in the battalions and some heavier guns, possibly 12-pounders as well." (S.B., op.cit., p. 158).

* 1. These chiefs earlier gave assurances to him that they would support him (Thomas) in his present operations. (E.E.S. 22nd Oct. 1801, Cons. No. 7, Proc. vols; J. Collins to G.O., 5th Oct. 1801, L. No. 172.)

ii. It appears that Thomas had earlier formed alliances with the chiefs like the Begum Samru, the Rajas of Jaipur and Alwar and Mr. LaFontaine, who commanded the 6th battalion of Filoze's party in service of Sindhia. (Huzaffaranger District Gazetteer, (Ed. H.M. Nevill, 163), pp. 102, 103).
On 29th Sept. 1801, Col. Louis Bourquin with his whole force reached Georgegarh at about midday, two days after the clash between Thomas and Maj. Lewis Smith. His troops were exhausted because they had marched to Georgegarh without any halt. Col. Bourquin at once attacked Thomas without resting his troops or without checking Thomas's position. Col. Bourquin kept his cavalry about 2,000 yards in the rear of Thomas's line. He blocked the camp of Thomas by his superior cavalry. All the supply of Thomas was cut out.

The force under Major Smith was stationed to southwest of Thomas's position. Thomas took position near the fort of Georgegarh where he had already erected several long batteries of cannon on the sandy hills which commanded all the approacher to his encampment. Now, the main body of the Third Brigade moved into a frontal assault in open columns of companies. James Skinner, who was himself present in this battle, told his biographer that "we came within musket range, but found that Thomas had thrown up sand-banks in his front, which brought our line to a halt." About "6000 foot...

109 V.F., op.cit., p. 228.
111 Ibid.
steadily advancing across a wide plain, with their colours flying, their fifes and drums setting the step with a stirring march, and their officers (except Bourquien) out in front on their magnificent chargers. Behind each battalion came its guns at their drag-ropes, and behind these the ammunition tumbrels drawn by trains of white, long-horned bullocks. They could have been at a review only that presently the sand dunes ahead erupted and the thunder of the battle began."113

Now, the Maratha army was within the musket-shot of Thomas. Their guns and ammunition were struck up in the sand dunes. Thomas took the opportunity and opened such a vigorous and effective fire from his long line of batteries that in a short time 25 of the ammunition tumbrels of Col. Bourquien were blown up114 and all his gun cattle were killed. It was a great gain to Thomas because he had already chosen this position very intelligently. The Maratha artillery could not make much effect upon Thomas's forces because the loose sand proved to be a hindrance to the volleys of cannon. Then, the gunners fired upon their advanced columns. They continued to exchange shot for shot. The Marathas lost many

(From Maj. Smith's description that 7 battalions of the Third Brigade advanced with their guns through heavy sand. H.H., op. cit., p. 150).
114. C.G., op. cit., p. 52.
(H.G. Keene, The Great Anarchy, p. 30.)
troops as the grape raked through them by Thomas's front
gunners and flying chains also cut them in half. Their
whole gun-powder was blown up by the grape shots.*

Col. Bourquin's second-in-command, a French officer,
Maj. Bernier, who was a brave and able soldier, controlled
the Maratha troops. He ordered Capt. Felix Smith that he
should silence the terrible guns of Thomas by the help of
cavalry attack. He further instructed that he should continue
his attack till the reformation of the Maratha infantry.
Maj. Bernier attacked Thomas's infantry wing with his whole
force but Thomas's troops resisted them with great courage.
They had deployed in line with bayonets fixed and fell upon
the enemy. Their artillery also delivered the volleys upon

*A description of this attack, Col. Louis Bourquin wrote
in his memoirs: "At two in the afternoon, I moved my
troops in order to split the forces of the enemy in two.
I marched a thousand horse and two battalions to the left
of the hillock and myself attacked the right with six
battalions. The action lasted until six in the evening.
We were then within pistol shot of the hillock. But only
five of our thirty guns were any longer fit to fire and
two-thirds of our men were out of action. George Thomas
had suffered just as severely. Neither of us could
strike another blow and we both entrenched ourselves
where we stood. We remained in these positions for a
month and a half, watching each other. We kept up our
artillery fire the whole time but without doing much
damage to either side."*+ 

* J.P. Thompson, 'An Autobiographical Memoir of
Louis Bourquin', J.P.K.B., vol. IX, Part I,
p. 50, 51.

the enemy. At last, Maj. Bernier had to drive back his columns. But Capt. Felix Smith and his cavalry again attacked Thomas with great courage. Capt. Smith was wounded in this action and he died later on.

Now, the forces of Thomas began to fire in front of enemy's left wing, they charged a volley, as Col. Skinner describes in his own words,

which completely succeeded in driving back our left wing. However, our colunnduze kept to their guns; and the gallant Hopkins having his leg shot off by one of our six-pounders, whilst advancing at the charge, the battalion gave way as soon he fell, and ran back, taking their leader along with them. Our left wing then rallied and resumed their position, but the fire was so murderous that our whole line was ordered to sit down; as for Thomas's men, they were sheltered by the sand hillocks in his front. In this way we remained till night. 116

At night Thomas appointed a body of Rohillas to guard the baggage in the battlefield.

The battle was almost over and the guns on both sides became silent. The sand-dunes were covered with dead and dying soldiers, horses, many smashed guns and cannons, and some smoking wagons.

In this battle, Maj. Robert Skinner was separated from his brother, James Skinner, due to confusion and heavy smoke in the battlefield. Then some rumors reached James Skinner that Robert Skinner had been killed, while Robert received some rumors that James had been killed. In the dark night James tried to search the body of his brother while Robert also tried the same search. After a weary and fruitless search, both brothers came to Bourquin tent. Both entered the tent from the opposite sides at the same time and were astonished to see each other living. It was a very remarkable incident in the action of Georgegarh. (J.B.F., op.cit., vol. I, p. 222).
At sun-rise of 30th Sept. 1801*, both parties hung up a flag of truce so that they could collect their casualties in the battlefield. Col. Louis Bourquin lost about 3,000 to 4,000 men; 7 officers killed among them Capt. Felix Smith and Lt. McCulloch; Capt. Oliver and Capt. Rebells were wounded, whilst Thomas lost his second in command, Capt. John Hopkins, with 700 men only. Capt. Hopkins was wounded by a cannon ball and he died later on. In the trenches of sand-dunes, many wounded troops were lying in helpless condition. They were crying for help and water to quench their thirst. The flag remained there till noon and then it was pulled down, but the battle was not resumed by the parties.

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* Col. Collins puts this battle of Georgegarh in the afternoon of the same day viz. 29th September 1801. (F & S, 29th Oct. 1801, Cons. No. 42, Proc. vols; J. Collins to G.C., 8th Oct. 1801, L. No.173.)

** Col. Collins mentioned that there were about 600 casualties on each side. The casualties figure of Col. Collins seems to be different that of other sources.

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117. Ibid. (He also lost 15 cannons)

(i) Mr. Keene writes that out of 8,000 men of Col. Bourquin, he lost 4,000 men, many wounded and 4 European officers were killed (H.G. Keene, The Great Anarchy, p. 81).

(ii) Compton writes that Maj. Smith lost only 1100 men (H.A.C., op.cit., p. 152).

(iii) Mr. Fraser writes that Thomas lost 2000 men (op. cit., vol. I, p. 221).

118. A.A.R., 1806, p. 15.

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i. Franklin writes that Thomas also lost 20 cannons (.F., op.cit., p. 230).

ii. Mr. Grey mentions that Thomas lost only 1200 men. (C.C., op.cit., p. 52).

About the soldiers who sacrificed their lives for Thomas in this battle, he says that "these were only men who stood true to my interests." 119 To him the greatest loss was that of Capt. Hopkins. Not only was he the best officer Thomas possessed, but his best friend and the only confidant.

Regarding the effect of Capt. Hopkins' death upon Thomas, James Skinner mentioned in his biography that "oppressed by the loss of his only friend and strain of so many years' constant fighting, together with the present anxiety, Thomas abandoned himself to one of those prolonged debauches, to which he was, unfortunately, so much addicted. Yet before doing so he had a letter of condolence with a sum of £2,000 sent to the sister of Hopkins in Calcutta, for her present needs, and a promise of more, for her brother who had been her only support." 120

No doubt the battle of Georgogorh ended without any decision but the advantage was certainly with Thomas. However, he lost it soon. He did not continue his efforts and afforded an opportunity to the enemy. Skinner criticized this conduct of Thomas in his memoir: "we had always heard", he says,

that Thomas was a brave, active and clever soldier, and an able general; but we were surprised that he now permitted us to remain for fifteen days without attempting to attack us, or to make good his retreat to Hansoo, for there was no doubt on our minds that, had he tried either plan, he would have succeeded. 121.

119. Ibid.
121. Ibid, p. 223.
Bourquin and his troops had lost heavily; but Thomas did not drive home the advantage. On account of Thomas's inactivity, the Marathas again recovered their confidence and also strengthened their position by receiving reinforcements from various chiefs. Thomas missed the opportunity and his greatest victory also slipped through his fingers.122

Gen. Ferron ordered Maj. Drugeon, the governor of Delhi, to send reinforcements to Col. Bourquin at Georgeerpur. Maj. Drugeon sent Col. Pedron with 5 battalions of the Fourth Brigade to join Col. Bourquin. In addition to this Ferron sent other Sikh and Maratha contingents to help Bourquin.

Soon Thomas's camp was completely surrounded by 22 battalions of infantry, 110 pieces of artillery and 14,000 cavalry; the whole army of 30,000 men under the command of Col. Pedron who had been sent to help Col. Bourquin.123 Thomas had only 2000 Rohilla horses124 and some trusted troops of the battalions of Capt. John Hopkins. In such a critical situation, Col. Collins writes that Mr. Hearsay came with some corps to assist Thomas. He was resisted on the way by Maj. Louis (Smith) but in vain.125

Surrounded by heavy odds, Thomas sent appeals to Jaswant Rao Holkar but of no avail.

122. H.A.C., op.cit., p. 194.
Nov. 7, all the supplies of Thomas were cut off by the Marathas. Col. Pedron also captured his main water supply. He even established a ring of trenches around Thomas's camp. His cavalry patrolled very carefully and was preventing messengers and supplies from entering Thomas's camp. Moreover, some officers of Thomas had their homes in Gen. Perron's territory. One of them was Thomas's revenue collector, Shah Tab Khan who was a commander of Georgegarh fort. Shah Tab Khan belonged to Aligarh which was under the possession of Gen. Perron. So, Col. Pedron put pressure on this man that he should betray his master. Shah Tab Khan had to obey Col. Pedron because the latter had already seized his family.

Similar threat was given to Khairat Khan, the commander of Thomas's first matchlock regiment. 126

Vaman Rao, Thomas's ally, sent a fast camel convoy of grain and some troops to reinforce Thomas at Georgegarh. Col. Pedron came to know of this. His forces captured the camel convoy of Vaman Rao and his troops immediately fled away. The camel drivers were captured, and their noses cut and thrown into the camp of Thomas to strike terror. 127

Later, on 18th October, 1801 128, after minor skirmishes between the forces of Thomas and Col. Pedron, a fight took place. Thomas lost about 400 men. The same day, Rahman Khan,

127. Holman, op.cit., p. 52.
one of Thomas's officers, made a gallant sortie with 2,000 men near Col. Pearon's well-posted guns. On the other side, Shah Tab Khan played a treacherous role and went over Pearon's camp.

Now, Col. Pedron turned against the native officers of Thomas. He captured the families of those officers who were the inhabitants of Hansi and Jhajjar regions. He pressed them to desert their master, and bribes were also offered to them. He also promised them a good treatment and pay if they would obey him. But he threatened them with terrible punishments if they would remain loyal to Thomas.

Col. Pedron did not attempt to attack the camp of Thomas because he did not have considerable army. Soon some Sikh cavalry and 4 battalions of sepoys of Gen. Perron and Bapu Sindhia joined Maj. Smith's force in Georgegarh. But, Col. Pohlmann another officer of Sindhia had reduced his force by detaching 4 battalions towards Nathura, later immediately more troops employed against Thomas. The whole camp of Thomas was now completely surrounded on all the sides by a large cavalry and infantry of Maj. Lewis Smith. Insipite of this Col. Collins writes that the position of Thomas was very strong. He covered the redoubts with military skill.

129. Ibid.
132. Ibid.
133. Ibid.
But due to lack of supply, the condition of Thomas's troops became critical. Food and water ran short in the camp. They even slaughtered their cattle for getting food. He did not receive any help from any quarter. Desertsions began to take place.

It was the beginning of the end of Thomas's army. He was deserted by his Muslim troops and even his most trusted officer, Shah Tab Khan, betrayed him by leaving the fort. Shah Tab Khan had joined Col. Fedron's force in the first week of November, 1801.

Now Thomas knew that the whole game was up and only his staunch supporters were in the fort. On that occasion his condition was very miserable, and he was reduced to the direst straits. His supply was almost cut off; grain was finished in his camp; his cattle was killed; water supply became exhausted and finally his ammunition was used up. So it was difficult for him to face the attack of enemy in such a difficult condition. Thomas also got the news about the desertion of Ali Ghul from the camp, his most trusted Afghan chief.

Under these circumstances, Thomas decided to leave the fort in the cover of darkness. Before departing, Thomas assembled all his troops and told them that he now could not

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43 Thomas demanded help from Jaswant Rao Holker, but he could not get it because Holker was defeated by Sindhi's forces in the battle of Indore in Oct., 1801. (F & S, 16th Aug., 1802, Cons. No. 9; Col. J. Collins to G.G., Fatehgarh, 25th Oct., 1801, L. No. 175.)

help them for long. Then, he distributed his cash among them and also advised them that they should join Sindhia's service by accepting the offers from Col. Bourquin. At this, it is said that "many of his old soldiers wept a farewell, and a number renounced all worldly interests to devote themselves to a holy life, vowing that they who had served 'George Bahadur' could never obey another commander." 136

Then, at about 9 o'clock on 10th November, 1801, 137 suddenly Thomas along with his 300 Rohilla cavalry 138 broke Col. George Hasing's sector and marched towards Hansi. He was immediately pursued by Col. Pedron's cavalry 139 and many of his troops were cut down on the way. But Thomas along with his two remaining European officers, Capt. Hearsey and Capt. Birch, and two of European sergeants managed to get away and

136. C.G., op. cit., p. 54.


139. F. & S., 16th August, 1802, Cons. No. 12; J. Collins to C.G., Fatehgarh, 14th Nov. 1801, L. No. 177.
reached Hansi in the evening of 11th November, 1801. The victors obtained a rich haul. This booty was sent to Gen. Perron at Koil by Col. Bourquin. Col. Skinner mentioned that 'Al his (Thomas) guns and camel were taken, and his soldiers having laid down their arms, were offered service, but they refused it with contempt. They all appeared very much attached to him, and several native officers, who had been a long time in his service, tore their garments and turned beggars, and swearing they would never serve as soldiers again.'

On receiving the booty of Thomas, Gen. Perron congratulated himself for a much-awaited success. However, the Irishman had fled away. Perron could not tolerate it.

He again asked Col. Pedron to capture Thomas.

140. H. C. Keene, The Great Anarchy, p. 81. The following statement about this incident was written on Feb. 1802 by Thomas's contemporary officer at Lucknow. He narrates that, "I left George Thomas contending with the Mahrattas. He ought several battle with them, in all of which he compelled them to retreat; but they were too numerous for him to gain anything but a name by the victories he had obtained. Finding that arms would not reduce him, they had recourse to means more certain, though less honourable, and they succeeded but too well. They bribed his chiefs, and deserted his army, he was obliged to fly to his strong fortress. It was distant 100 miles. He reached it in one night, upon one horse." (An Authentic Account of George Thomas; (From a correspondent at Lucknow), A.A.R., 1802, p. 57)

141. J. F. Thompson 'An Autobiographical Memoir of Louis Bourquin', J.F.H., vol. IX, Part I, p. 51. (Regarding Thomas's bullocks, Col. Bourquin mentioned that "his bullocks especially were of great assistance to us. They more than made up for the loss of our own, as they were stronger and more accustomed to hard work". Ibid., p. 51.)

After reaching Hansi on the 11th November, Thomas immediately began to organise his defence against the enemy. In the fort of Hansi, the entire garrison had only 1,200 original regulars (300 Rajput troops and 900 Rohilla troops). Later on, Thomas increased his army, cast some new cannons and did strong fortifications. It appears from the account of Col. Skinner that "Thomas had still 5,000 foot, 200 horses, two 24-pounders, four 12-pounders and six-pounders guns." He filled the deserted wells by throwing dead cows and pigs and rendered the water useless for the enemy. Thomas strengthened his position to face enemy's attack. He even formed a large mound of mud in front of the main gates of fort.

Then Col. Bourquin's force of 4500 arrived at Hansi in November after 3 weeks from Georgegarh. He at once mounted his heavy batteries to breach the walls of the fort.

The bombardment continued for a week.

145 J.E.F., op.cit., vol. I, p.226 (Fraser also writes that 'one of the South-East, at the Bursee gate, was defended by 60 men; another Kutub gate, to the south by 100 men; on the west, towards Hisar, with 200 men'. (Ibid., vol.I, p.226).
147 Holman, op.cit., p. 54. (On this occasion, Col. Pedron also brought his Third Brigade and from the Second Brigade; Col. Bourquin had 10 battalions of infantry, 500 Hindustani Horse and 5,000 Sikh cavalry (H.A.C., op.cit., p. 264).
On 9th December, the walls of fort were breeched and at dawn on 10th December 1801, Col. Bourquin's force in 3 columns of two battalions each, stormed the outer walls of the fort. In the tough fight outside the fort, Maj. Bernier, commander of Begum Samru's force, was killed. Lt. MacKenzie was mortally wounded. Among these three columns, one was led by Maj. Robert Skinner and remaining two by Col. James Skinner. Now, these two brothers took the command of the rest of battle.

Col. James Skinner advanced towards the citadel and stood about 20 yards away from Capt. Birch. A skirmish took place face to face between Capt. Birch and Col. Skinner. Col. Skinner describes this action in his Memoirs,

my column was opposed by Birch, who twice beat me back by showering burning straw, powder pots, and anything else he could get hold of upon us. Finally, I reached up the top of the well, and as I did so, I saw him aiming a double barrelled gun at me.

148. Ibid.

Two battalions under Lt. MacKenzie were directed to assault Barui gate, two under Col. Skinner for Kutub gate and two under Capt. Bernier at Hissar gate.

149. C.G., op.cit., pp. 54, 55.


151. C.G., op.cit., p. 55; (ii) Holman, op.cit., p. 54 (Holman mentioned that one was led by Col. James Skinner and remaining two by Maj. Robert Skinner); (iii) S.B., op.cit., p. 207 (One column was led by Lt. MacKenzie and other two by the Skinner brothers).

** Col. Skinner and Capt. Birch were previously cadets in the East India Company. Later on, Col. Skinner joined the Maratha's army while Capt. Birch joined Thomas's army. Capt. Birch and Col. Skinner were present during the meeting between Gen. Perron and Thomas in August 1801.
Thinking this a very scurvy reception from an old school mate, I aimed my half pike at him, which took off his hat and caused him to miss me. 152

Then, the stormers entered the fort and the final skirmish took place in the town square near the walls of the fort.

All the three columns combined in this struggle.

There was a bitter hand-to-hand fighting near the walls of fort. Maj. Robert Skinner came in the square with all his force. When they were busy in thrusting, hacking and shouting, then there was a murderous blast of case-shot from a six-pounder pushed up by hand and fired from a few yards away. With it was a huge man in native dress, armed with his sword and buckler, his face contorted with fury, and roaring like a bull. He was white, his arms bare to the shoulders and entwined with tattoo marks. 153

This was Thomas who came out from the fort wearing his full battle dress. He was also accompanied by a large number of his troops.

Then, Maj. Robert Skinner at once turned towards him and fought bravely, and he even gave a terrible blow of sword to Thomas who was saved only by his suit of chain though his main belt was cut down. 154 But Thomas fell upon him like a thunderbolt and Maj. Skinner had to run away to save his life. Thomas even chased him but in vain. At last, they succeeded in driving back Thomas along with his troops into the fort.

154. Holman, op.cit., p. 54.
About 1600 troops were killed and wounded on Col. Bourquin's side while Thomas's casualties were much less.

Now Thomas could not resist the attack for long inside the fort. Col. Bourquin also opened the bombardment upon the fort by the 16-pounders but the mud walls of fort were so thick that they did not shake its rampart. He even used mining but in vain. Ten days passed in this operation of the fort without any result. Afterwards, Col. Bourquin started seducing the troops of Thomas through letters which were rolled on the arrows and then shot into the fort from the trenches. In these letters, Col. Bourquin offered them 6 months' pay and permanent service in Sindhia's army if they would give up the fort as well as their master. He received various favourable replies from them that they were ready to leave the fort and willing to betray their chief, George Thomas.

But these tactics of Col. Bourquin against Thomas were not liked by some British officers. They "felt indignant at this underhand treachery and agreed that it would be disgraceful if through such intrigues Thomas should be taken prisoner and put into confinement." They requested Col.

155. (i) H.A.C., op. cit., p. 206 (Thomas lost 500 men).
(ii) J.B.F., op. cit., vol. I, p. 229 (Fraser writes that he lost 1600 men).
(iii) W.F., op. cit., p. 243 (Thomas lost 700 men).


* Thomas was a great soldier who commanded the highest respect and much admiration among the adventurers during this period. No doubt these British officers were in the service of Sindhia, but they admired him heartily because in their eyes he was a brave, active, honourable and a true soldier.

157. Ibid.
Bourquin that it is better to make peaceful alliance with Thomas by offering some terms than catching him by treachery.

The British officers resolved to solve the affair by intervening between Col. Bourquin and Thomas. They at once sent Maj. Lewis Smith to the fort with a flag of truce. Though Maj. Smith lost his brother in the battle of Hansi, yet he had no intention of revenge in his heart against Thomas. He advised Thomas that since he was surrounded by dangers he should make an "honourable surrender." He permitted him to go free, with all his family and money, movable property and personal arms. A Maratha battalion would also escort him up to the British territory. In return, he demanded the surrender of the fort with all his cannons, regimental arms and other stores. Thomas carefully thought over these terms and was inclined to accept them. He mentions in his memoir that:

considering ... that I had entirely lost my party, and with it, the hopes of at present subduing my enemies, the Seiks, and vocers in the French interests, that I had no expectation of succour from my quarter, Lucknow having gone to Joudpore that if hostilities continued, my resource in money would have failed, in this situation I agreed to evacuate the fort. 160.

Thus, after accepting the terms the curtain fell on his rule and also the principality which he had founded.

160. W.F., op. cit., p. 244.
His kingdom "won by the sword, and held by the sword, it was surrendered at the sword's point."\(^{161}\) He signed the truce after settling all the terms. Thomas surrendered himself to Col. Bourquin on 20th December, 1801.\(^{162}\)

Later Col. Bourquin invited Thomas to dinner. Col. Skinner, who was present on that day, describes the event:

"Hearsey and Birch spent the whole day with us, talking of our various exploits; but it was about seven in the evening when Thomas arrived with about 50 of his sowars, much affected, as it appeared, by his misfortunes. About eight we sat down; and after dinner, did all we could to cheer Thomas, taking great care to avoid all conversation about our attacks."\(^ {163}\)

Then, they started to drink wine which continued till eleven o'clock at night. All were enjoying the drinking bouts when all of a sudden Col. Bourquin passed a tactless remark. Then Bourquin called out, 'let us drink to the success of Perron's arms'. At this we all turned up over glasses; and Thomas, on hearing and seeing this, burst into tears, and putting his hand to his sword called out to Bourquin that it was not to him but to his own ill fate that his fall was due, and (drawing his sword) "one Irish sword" said he, 'is still sufficient for a hundred Frenchmen!' \(^ {164}\)

Thomas rushed round the table with his thunder cry at Col. Bourquin who, in this terrible situation, immediately

\(^{161}\) *ibid.*, op.cit., p. 208.
\(^{164}\) *ibid.*, p. 234.
jumped from his chair and fled calling out his bodyguard. Meanwhile, some of the officers including Col. James Skinner at once rushed in tent. Thomas waving his sword in the midst of officers, told them that how he had made the Frenchman (Col. Bourquin) run 'like a jackal'. They explained to him that Col. Bourquin was drunk. Thomas should not feel it as an insult, and he should forget this incident.

They also induced Col. Bourquin to forget the incident, and they brought him in the tent. Col. Bourquin immediately shook hands with Thomas and felt sorry over this incident. Peace was restored between them but Thomas remained in a very suspicious mood. They again began to drink till midnight. Later on Thomas decided to leave the camp.

Bourquin's men took control of the fort of Hansi. He also took possessions of all the regions of Thomas, which yielded about 80 lakh. All his European officers and troops were liberated and many of them went to Delhi. Thomas was allowed to take his cash as well as his other property from the fort. When the news of this agreement was sent to Gen. Perron he was displeased with Col. Bourquin for giving this concession to Thomas. Thus, after the total defeat of Thomas, the Marathas captured and controlled all

167. Ibid.
dominions of Thomas in Haryana. They also took all forts and established their authority over the dominions of Hansi.

Before his departure from Hansi, Thomas assembled his officers as well as soldiers for his final meeting with them. He told them that they could join the service of other chiefs if they liked. Later on, some officers including Capt. Birch and Capt. Hearsey joined Gen. Perron's service and later joined British service. Some soldiers also followed them. But many soldiers refused to serve another chief. It is said that after Thomas's departure, they were heart-broken, tore their badges, uniforms and left the worldly affairs. Some of them devoted the rest of their lives to prayers, loitering on the roads or begging for their daily food.*

Then, on January 1, 1802, Thomas bade farewell to Hansi along with his family and cash of about 1,50,000 rupees including other articles under the escort of a whole

* Capt. Mundy, who was touring India, wrote about such a beggar who was badly wounded. The beggar met him at Mathura on Jan. 16, 1828. Capt. Mundy wrote, "A very interesting beggar besought charity at the door of my tent the following day. He said he had been a sepoy in the service of the famous George Thomas, and had been cut up by the cavalry of Scindia, the Mahratta chief. They certainly had used their swords upon the poor fellow to some purpose. His left hand was cut off at the wrist, and two joints of all the fingers of the other." (Capt. Mundy, Pen and Pencil Sketches Being The Journal of A Tour in India, vol. I, p. 69.

battalion, commanded by Maj. Lewis Smith, for Anupshahar in the British territory. They arrived at Anupshahar in the middle of January 1802. Here, Thomas's wife decided that she would not accompany her husband to Ireland. He gave her one lakh rupees and sent her to Sardhana in Begam Samru's palace.* Then, he set off on the long and slow journey to Calcutta in the rainy season by river.

Thomas had to break his journey due to heavy rains at Benaras in March 1802. Here, he was received by Sir John Hamilton, a retired officer of English East India Company. Afterwards, he was invited by Lord Wellesley who was not only interested in him but also in his great adventures especially his idea of bringing the whole of Punjab under British rule. They met at Lucknow where Lord Wellesley gave a hearty welcome to Gen. Thomas, the ex-raja of Haryana.**

171. (i) H.A.C., op. cit., p. 212.
   (Thompson mentioned that Thomas remained shut himself in the fort for 22 days; J.P. Thompson, 'An Autobiographical Memoir of Louis Bourquien', J.P.H.m., vol. IX, part I, p. 51.)

172. Sir Hamilton bought Thomas's famous Persian horse which had carried Thomas from Georgegarh to Hansi.

173. Giani Ji mentions that Thomas's wife later went to France along with her family and money (Giani Giani Singh, Twarikh..., part 5, pp. 724n, 730).

174. (i) W.F., op. cit., p. 246.
   (ii) H.A.C., op. cit., p. 212.

175. S.B., op. cit., p. 210 (Sir Hamilton bought Thomas's famous Persian horse which had carried Thomas from Georgegarh to Hansi).

   (ii) H.A.C., op. cit., p. 212.

** Here, Thomas told Wellesley about the strength of the armies of the native chiefs in the northern parts of India. He also gave a great deal of valuable information about the regions beyond the Delhi territories.
After some conversation Lord Wellesley told Thomas about his future plans by showing him a map. It is interesting to note that when they were looking over a map of India, Thomas enquired about the red colour. On being explained about red colour, Thomas then sorrowfully placed his hand over the whole of Punjab's map, and said, "Had I been left alone, I would have made all this red with this hand."\(^{177}\)

During his stay at Benares Thomas also met Col. William Francklin, a future brother-in-law of Sir Hamilton. Here, Francklin persuaded Thomas to tell him his whole story which was later called 'Military Memoirs of George Thomas'. But it is pity that neither Francklin questioned him about his early life nor did Thomas try to narrate it. Francklin, during his interview, found him a heavy drunkard. He was boastful and heart-broken by turns during his narration of his life story. He was boastful upon his past victories but mourned his failure in his grand design to win the whole of Punjab. However, Francklin admired him greatly. He even made a drawing of Thomas in which he decorated the shield at the centre of the stand of arms below the medallion with the rosettes of the Hamilton coat of arms.\(^{178}\)

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178. S.B., op.cit., p. 211.

The desire of Thomas to conquer the whole Punjab was at that time well known to the British Government. But, "it was not the policy of the Marquess Wellesley at that time to fight the Sikhs or annex their country. On the contrary, he wanted to cultivate their friendship and raise them into a power as a buffer state against the Afghans on the one hand and the Marathas on the other." (Maj. B.D. Basu, Rise of the Christian Power in India, (Calcutta, 1931), p.608).
After staying for a few days at Benares, Thomas marched to Berhampur near Murshidabad in Bengal where he fell ill and died near the military cantonment of Berhampur on 22nd August, 1809 at the age of 46. He was buried in the old English cemetery at Berhampur. According to Mr. Hennessy the following words are written on his grave:

God be good to his soul;
he was a whole man. 180

After the defeat of George Thomas, Gen. Perron improved his position. He not only brought practically all Hindustan into subjugation but also acted as a supreme ruler within Sindhis's large possessions from the Narbada river to the Satlej river. Later on, with a view to preserve peace and order in these territories, Gen. Perron appointed Capt. Hannel Deremas to its charge and also posted troops at Jamelpur and Tohana. 181

The Cis-Satlej chiefs exchanged their turbans with Gen. Perron as a token of friendship as well as their victory over George Thomas. The Sikh chiefs felt greatly relieved over the defeat and death of the daring Irish leader who had repeatedly defeated them and plundered their territories.

179. (i) W.F., op.cit., p. 245.
(ii) H.A.C., op.cit., p. 213.
Gianiji mentions that Thomas died near Agra.
Giani Gian Singh Ji, Twarikh..., part 3, p. 324 n.
Gen. Perron also warned the Sikhs against the designs of the British towards their territories. In a letter to Raja Bhag Singh of Jind he wrote,

It is an invariable custom with the English first to gain a footing by the excitation of avarice, by the promise of assistance or other flattering terms, and then by gradual steps to assume the Government of the country viz. Cheyt Singh, Tipu Sultan, Nawab Gossin Ali Khan, Nawab Asefuddowalsh, Nizam Ally Khan and others. 182

Later on, Raja Bhag Singh of Jind, Dewan Chain Singh from Patiala and also the Vakil of Jadu Singh, a Sikh chief were given a Khilate by Gen. Perron at Koil, and in return a vakil of Patiala presented a Nazrans of 100 gold mohurs to Daulat Rao Sindhia, the master of Gen. Perron. 183

Then, the disintegration of George Thomas raised the question of the division of his territorial possessions among the Cis-Satlej chiefs. They now claimed a share in the lands of Thomas's territories. Their claims were based on the Wazib-ul-Arz which was earlier signed between Cis-Satlej chiefs and Gen. Perron.

182. F. & S., 19th March, 1801, Cons. No. 51; Tr., Gen. Perron to Raja Bhag Singh of Jind, dated 3 Jumma 1215 Hijree (letter written on 22.1.1801 and received by J. Collins on 4.2.1801.)


(ii) F.H.C., IX, No. 49; Collins to G.G., Camp near Ujain, 30th March, 1802, p. 96.

The Marathas took possession of various districts and towns like Beni, Hisar, Meharn, Beri, Agroha, Sewani, Rohtak, Barwala, Behl, Fatehabad, Sirsa, Rewa, Bhatar, Safidon, Ahurwan, Jamalpur, Dharot, Tohena, Casohen, Bahuna-Gorekapur etc.* Some of them were divided into three parts. They were: Fatehabad, Sirsa and Rewa (First Part); Pergamara of Jamalpur and Tohena (Second Part) and the third part consisted of the taluq of Bahuna-Gorekapur.184

The Raja of Patiali took possession of the places like Badsikri, Kenhori, Casohen (16 villages), Jamalpur and Tohena (these districts re-taken from the British Government in 1807).185 Raja Bhag Singh of Jind took possession of Safidon and Dharot while Raja Lal Singh of Kaithal got few

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* On that occasion, Fatehabad consisted of 46 villages, Sirsa consisted about 24 villages, Ilek Gorekapur consisted of 15 villages and Rewa had 100 villages. But, after the fall of Gen. Perron, the British took possession of the large number of territories. Many of them like Jhajjar, Badli, Kanuini, Naraul, Bedan and Badi etc. granted by Sir G. Berloe to Raja of Jhajjar, Rejbat Ali Khan in 1806. These had 12 lakhs yearly revenue. In 1806, Kurnal region was granted by Gen. Lake to 3 chiefs i.e. Muhammad Khan, Ghair Khan and Ishad Khan for their lives. It had 840,000 revenue per annum.++ Griffin, op. cit., pp. 168, 169, 170.
++ Beale, op. cit., pp. 12, 38.

** This group was not included within the dominions of George Thomas by them. Perhaps this group was the area of the Bhatti region to whom it belonged.

(iii) Giani Gian Singh Ji, Twarikh Kad Khalsa, Part II, p. 89.
Though the Patiala chief got more than he had asked for in this distribution yet he was unsatisfied. His claim could not be settled till almost half a century, while other chiefs like Raja Bhag Singh of Jind and Raja Lal Singh of Kaithal were more or less satisfied with this distribution.

In the meantime, Col. Bourouin started collecting the promised money from the chiefs of Cis-Sutlej states. He, accompanied by Sardar Chain Singh, a vakil of Raja Sahib Singh of Patiala, advanced towards those Sardars who did not pay. Col. Bourouin took heavy contributions from the Sardars of Singhpuria, Ambala, Manimajra, Sirala, Chachhrauli, Jigadhri, Buria and Shahabad. Out of the total 4 lakh rupees, Col. Bourouin received 2 lakh for his payment and rest 2 lakh for his services. Later on, Col. Bourouin went to Hansi while other Sikh chiefs returned to their territories.

After the fall of Thomas, Perron's ascendancy was established in Jumna-Sutlej region. But it was a short-lived triumph. Soon Lord Wellesley and Gen. Lake (1803) were to shatter the dreams of Arathas and Gen. Perron in the north.