

**BETRAYAL**  
**OF**  
**THE SIKHS**

LANDEN SARASFIELD

# BETRAYAL OF THE SIKHS

LANDEN SARFIELD

*"Quicquid delirant rages plecuntur Achivi"*



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**This Book is Dedicated**  
to  
**My Life's Partner**

## APOLOGY

To those purists who would demand a full and more detailed history of the Khalsa in such a small volume, and those who would wish me to exclude entirely criticism of historical figures, I offer my sincere apologies. As the first is not practicable in the limited space provided, so, to my way of thinking is the second entirely unethical. In order to present a true picture before my readers I have spared no one—Sikhs, Muslims, Englishmen and Hindus have all come in for their share of criticism. To those who may resent it I would say *magna est veritas et praevalabit!*

*Author.*

## INTRODUCTION

Due to neglect on the part of the Cabinet Mission to make satisfactory provision for the Sikh Community in the future Constitution of India there seems to be a strong possibility of a clash between the Khalsa and the British. While that in itself is unpleasant enough to contemplate, there is also grave danger of such an agitation developing ultimately into communal strife, with consequent hardship and misery for all concerned. The object, therefore, of this Publication is to appeal to those responsible for the debacle to rectify their error while there is still time—time to retain harmony between the Sikhs and the British Government on one hand, and the various communities involved on the other. I feel sure that I am not alone in the wish that everything should be done to keep the Spectre of rebellion and civil war as far from this country as possible.

In this brief volume I have endeavoured to express an ordinary non-official Britisher's viewpoint with regard to a question which does not seem to have received the consideration it deserved. Had Lord Pethick-Lawrence and his colleagues sufficient experience of India to arrive at any decision independently of opinions expressed by Hindus, Muslims or British officials, they could not, I feel sure, have been responsible for a document which so entirely ignores the rights of this brave People. Furthermore, even with their limited

knowledge of Indian problems, had they given the matter sufficient thought beforehand, they must have inevitably realised that only bloodshed and misery could result from such step-motherly treatment of a community noted for its high standard of courage and spirit of sacrifice. No one can afford to ignore the lessons of history, yet this is precisely what the British Cabinet Mission has done.

Throughout the centuries many efforts have been made to crush the Sikhs, and destroy them as a political and religious force—with what success we all know.

It is hoped, therefore, before it is too late, some thing may be done to right this grievous wrong, to give the Khalsa at least a portion of what is rightfully theirs, not merely because of their past help and loyalty to the British Nation, but because it is the only way of ensuring peace in India.

*11th June, 1946.*

*The Author.*

## FOREWORD

by

MASTER TARA SINGH

I have read portions of the Book "Betrayal of the Sikhs." The Author understands Sikh psychology as few foreigners do, and has well grasped the present situation. The Sikhs shall not submit to Muslim majority rule. There are heavy odds against the Sikhs, but everyone believes that he can repeat past history.

The Members of the Cabinet Mission remark in their statement "Since we were greatly impressed by the very genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find themselves subjected to a perpetual Hindu majority rule.

This feeling has become so strong and widespread amongst the Muslims that it cannot be allayed by mere paper safeguards. If there is to be internal peace in India it must be secured by measures which will assure to the Muslims a control in all matters vital to their culture, religion and economic or other interests."

There is no doubt that the Cabinet Mission has rightly judged Muslim feeling, but they have failed to understand that the Sikh anxiety is even greater, lest they should find themselves subjected to a perpetual Muslim majority rule. This may be the cause why Sikhs have been utterly ignored, or the Cabinet Mission may have believed that the Sikhs were unable to disturb internal



peace while the Muslims were.

So the course left for Sikhs is to prove their "very acute and genuine anxiety", and further that there can be no internal peace, not at least in the Punjab, unless some effective power is given to the Sikhs to defend "their culture, religion, and economic and other interests."

I know the Sikhs are running the greatest risk against heavy odds, but the alternative for them is sure death. I am in the situation of a man on the top of a tree with a number of cobras coming up to attack me. There appears no escape. what should I do then? If I jump off the tree, I die without giving battle to my poisonous enemies. So I decide to fight with the tiny twigs; I can break off the branches round me. But lo! there comes the Eagle from Heaven and I am saved! I believe in God and I remember many miracles which He performed at critical moments in my life. I trust Him and, with this faith in my heart, I jump down this ravine in the dark. The Khalsa Panth is in danger, but it is His Panth and He can do wonders.

The Sikh position has been finally liquidated in the proposed constitution.

I have not the least doubt that we shall perish under the Government to be established in accordance with the Scheme of the British Cabinet Mission. Why should we accept this Phthisis? Are we cowards who fear to die a few years earlier? If die we must, we shall certainly die the death of Sikhs! We are no fools and no cowards to meekly submit to the slow death proposed for

us; we prefer the death of a warrior. Guru Gobind Singh always prayed for death on the battlefield by the arms of the enemy.

But I know the Khalsa will rise again with the blessings of its Martyrs. Sikh History will repeat itself once more.

I am thankful to the Author for putting the Sikh case from the Englishman's point of view, but it may not appeal to the English politician who know how to use other nations and communities in time of need, and throw them overboard when it suits his imperialistic policy.

I have my claim upon my right to live. The Muslims claim to be a separate nation. So they are aliens to us. When has a nation willingly submitted to the rule of an alien nation? No nation will submit to another merely because the latter has more men in it. Can the English yield to the Russians merely because the latter are more numerous? We must live and we cannot live under Muslim majority rule. If my argument does not appeal to the English or the Muslims, it appeals to the Sikhs and shall appeal to the World when it is advanced with sufficient determination.

I am certain the Khalsa will live to serve the Country and Humanity. The Khalsa was born to serve Humanity and it has not outlived its utility. The Country and Humanity need it at this critical juncture more than ever before.

Amritsar

Tara Singh.

13.6.4

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## THE SIKHS AND PAKISTAN

The All-India Muslim League has accepted the British Cabinet Mission plans for the future government of India, in spite of the fact that, ostensibly at least, the Mission has expressed its opposition to Pakistan, and refused to consider a separate Muslim State. Yet Pakistan was, and still is, the sole basis for all League politics, the rock bottom on which is founded every tenet of their political belief. Why then acceptance of a plan which, on the face of it, refuses to consider Pakistan as a practical proposition? The answer is not far to seek for those who study the Plan in detail. Members of the League Working Committee believe that, even if this has not been put in so many words, their demands have in fact been met, and that the Plan contains a potential if not an actual framework on which to build in order to achieve their ends. The Sikhs are the only great community whose demands have been rejected altogether.

Qaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah has been described as the man who put Muslim India back on the map of this Country, and it should be quite clear at the outset that I have nothing but admiration for this great leader of the Muslim people. More than any other person he has helped to prevent Islam being drowned in what Mr. Suleri describes as the "all-embracing and all-resolving sea of Hinduism." I have no quarrel, either, with his desire for Pakistan—a separate Muslim State

free entirely from the fear of domination by any other class or community. But, and this is very important, where should Pakistan begin and end, and if once obtained can Mr. Jinnah guarantee that he will be able to hold his Pakistan together as an independent state? I doubt it, but let us, however, look into the matter more closely. Primarily it appears, Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan is composed of two zones, North-west and North-east. The first to include the North West Frontier Province, Sind, Baluchistan and the Punjab; while the second would include Bengal and Assam. This volume is not concerned with the general practicability of the Pakistan scheme, but if it were, the first question I would raise is, how Mr. Jinnah proposes to persuade Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his Congress Muslims in the Frontier Province to enter the Pakistan fold, and secondly how he proposes to prevent his North Eastern area from being overwhelmed altogether by the communities surrounding it. I am concerned only with the rights and wrongs of the problem *as it affects the Sikhs*, and whether in fact the Sikhs will ever let such a state come into being.

Mr. Jinnah claims for the Muslims the right of self-determination as a nation and asserts that this is their birthright. Perfectly correct and laudable in every way, but are the Sikhs also not entitled to self-determination as a nation? Are they not as virile, as civilised and as capable of governing themselves as a separate nation? Are their traditions not as good in every way as those of Indian Muslims? Above all have they not as much reason to fear domination by Muslims as the latter

had to fear domination by Hindus and Sikhs ! Mr. Jinnah is a farsighted, unprejudiced statesman, who has shown himself free from religious bias insofar as his position allows him to be so, and I have no doubt a Pakistan run on the lines laid down by him would be a model of religious tolerance, where every person would be free to worship as he wished in accordance with his own tenets. Who is to say, however, to what extent Mr. Jinnah would control the destinies of such a state, assuming of course that it ever comes into being ? Mr. Churchill did more for England during the critical years of the War than any other Englishman, but as soon as the crisis was over he was removed from authority and relegated to comparative obscurity ! Who will say that this fate will not overtake the Qaid-e-Azam, who is after all an older man than Winston Churchill ? But even if Mr. Jinnah were to retain the coveted position as Head of State in a Pakistan of his own creation, would he not have advisers, and cabinet ministers and countless other officials to assist him in matters of administration ? Would it not be inevitable that many bigoted men with a strong bias against Hindus and Sikhs should find their way into such positions ? The fears of Sikhs would then indeed be justified, and with considerable reason. Say what you will the history of many Islamic powers does not show a high standard of tolerance for the peoples of other religions, whether these be Christians, Hindus, Sikhs or Jews. Even in Egypt at the present day it is asserted that pressure is being brought upon Copts to relapse to Mohammadanism. The lessons of Armenia and Spain

are still before us, and above all in India we remember Mahmud and Aurangzeb. Consequently there are some grounds for the Sikh fears of domination, and these are not entirely illogical.

Pakistan is to include those areas with a "predominantly Muslim" population, and the Punjab is asserted to come under this category. Actually, however, it is only the northern and western districts which have a predominantly Muslim population, while the Centre is about equal. The Eastern Districts, of which I will name but a few are predominantly Sikh or Hindu. I have no wish to produce a text-book full of boring data, so will content myself with mentioning those facts which must be self-evident to any normal person. Ludhiana, Ferozepore, Rohtak, Gurgaon, Hissar, Simla and Kangra undeniably come within this category, to say nothing of the powerful Sikh States situated within the orbit of what we know as the Punjab—Patiala, Nabha, Jind and Faridkot with their Sikh armies who gave such a good account of themselves in the 1939-46 war. Are these to submit quietly to inclusion in Pakistan, and if not then what is to be done with them? On the other hand it seems Mr. Jinnah envisaged some minor adjustments to the present boundaries of the Punjab. If so, does he propose to exclude the Districts and States mentioned above, and should he do so then what is to be done with them? If you admit their right to be separated from Pakistan you automatically admit that grounds exist to create a "Khalistan" or independent Sikh State. If, on the other hand, Mr.

Jinnah denies the right of self-determination to those areas which are predominantly non-Muslim, how can he claim the application of the same principle to the Mussulmans? Clearly the whole question boils down to this: if Muslims are entitled to Pakistan on those areas where they predominate, then equally the Sikhs are entitled to their Khalistan where they are in a majority.

The whole question is fraught with many difficulties and only time will produce a satisfactory solution. Much can be said for the Hindu and much for the Muslim point of view, *but nothing can be said for the view that does not recognise the right of the Sikhs to self-determination*, if once you allow that right to any other community. You may safely neglect the claims of Anglo-Indians, Parsees and other Classes, but no one should be so foolish as to imagine that the Sikhs will *allow themselves to be neglected*. The fallacy of "counting heads" must be obvious any where unless one is counting sheep, where all are of equal courage and stamina; it is futile, however when you count a flock which contains sheep and horned goats. Equally such a principle would amount to a fallacy also in the larger orbit of world politics—Belgium would receive less consideration than Nigeria. Yet this is what the Members of British Cabinet Mission have been guilty of, and consequently a very dangerous situation has been precipitated. With the exercise of a little statesmanship such a debacle could have been avoided, and may be yet it is not too late. Let us sincerely hope so.

It will probably be asserted that I have been ready



enough to criticise the Cabinet Mission, but that no really constructive suggestions have been put forward. Such an assertion would not be quite correct, however, because I have emphasised the grounds for "Khalistan" if once you agree to Pakistan. Whether the Sikh State is to be created between the Beas and the Jumna or in any other area must be left to a Commission appointed for the purpose—not a commission be it noted of politicians who know nothing whatever of India, but of those with many years experience in administration in the Punjab. It might be presided over by a retired Punjab Governor, and should contain only those, be they Europeans or Indians, who are absolutely unbiassed in the matter.

The present situation as understood by the average Muslim and the average Sikh is that neither community will be content with less than the whole province. May be their leaders have different views, but if not then they will have to come to a more reasonable frame of mind, and whittle their demands down considerably. Should they still be unprepared for compromise then there will indeed be bloodshed, and only Providence can say who will rule between Peshawar and Delhi. It may be Mr. Jinnah, it may be the Khalsa, or it may be even Afghanistan, if the first or the last, then you have the lessons of History before you from which to make a study. May be the story of Maharaja Ranjit Singh will repeat itself all over again.

## “ Agar Na Hota Guru Gobind Singh To Sunnat Hoti Sab Ki ”

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So wrote a famous Mohammedan many centuries ago —if it had not been for the opposition encountered from the Sikhs under the leadership of Guru Godind Singh, all India would have been circumcised, i.e., converted to Islam. This was a striking admission coming from a member of the people most noted then for their hatred of the Khalsa, and we may be sure it was intended in no way as a compliment. But a compliment it was—more it was a shining tribute to the gallantry of that handful who endured every form of oppression and torture rather than surrender the glorious heritage bequeathed to them by Guru Nanak, the Founder of the Sikh religion. Though miserably few in numbers they dared to oppose the armed might of the great Moghul and other successive Empires because they wished to be free to worship in their own way, and maintain their own culture. There is a parallel to be drawn between this great struggle fought by a gallant little people against mighty odds, and that more recent one fought by the people of Britain against a numerically stronger, entirely ruthless foe. Then, as in the Battle of Britain, no form of warfare was barred, no cruelty too fiendish to inflict on members of the weaker side, whether soldiers on the field or women and children in

the homes. Then as now the battle was for freedom, for the right of every man to be free from the terror of militarism and religious, or irreligious oppression for the right of self-determination.

That oppression started long before the time of Guru Gobind Singh is, however, clear, and in the time of the rebellion of Prince Khusru against his Imperial Father, Jehangir, we find Guru Arjan being falsely involved, as a result of which he was arrested and tortured to death. This is not a history of the Sikhs, but it would not be out of season to trace their origin, and the causes which led to the existence of this, now, World-famed religious sect.

The Sect was founded by Nanak, who was born at Nankana Sahib, near Lahore, in the year 1469, and was originally in the nature of a protest against certain unalterable conventions in the orthodox Hinduism of those days. The Guru found that his people were losing their religion as well as their culture, and so far from retaining the self-respect for which residents of the Punjab were once famous, they were in danger of receding towards the practices of the dark ages. During raids by the fierce Northerners they were content to see their womenfolk carried off to Ghazni and other places, and to have their children murdered before their eyes, without lifting a hand to save them. Above all, Brahminism seemed to do nothing to lift the people from the depths to which constant invasion had reduced them. More, the Brahmins were themselves oppressors of the poor, and their practices were by no means above

criticism. The Holy Guru taught of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man without distinction of caste or creed, of virtue in this world as being the only true way to Salvation in the next; and, as is very unusual in the case of reformers, he was honoured by those Brahmins whose teachings he opposed. This is a great tribute to the man who discouraged belief in a multitude of deities, and who always fought to remove the barriers of caste. His disciples increased daily but, though basically their purposes were non-military, they were soon to experience that intolerance which was eventually to force them in sheer self-defence to assume a martial character. In those days the state of the Punjab was indeed pitiful for, lying as it was right across the path of every conqueror who wished to enter the Country, the people were preyed upon by every desperate adventurer from Afghanistan or Central Asia who wished to carry his arms into India. That the Khalsa built a solid, impenetrable barrier against such invasions will be seen later, and the credit for this must to a great degree go to the Holy Guru Nanak.

There were ten Gurus in all. The fifth, Arjun, built the Golden Temple at Amritsar, and placed therein his Holy Granth, which was in effect a Bible to the Sikhs, or to be more precise it represented to the Sikhs what the Bible is to the followers of Christ. He was arrested, however, by the Muslim Emperor and done to death. The next Guru, Hargobind, accordingly started organizing the Sikhs for war and they had many skirmishes with the Mohammedan Imperial Armies. He

foresaw that only by living with swords in their hands could the Khalsa hope to escape extinction in those days of fanaticism, and it appears that the matter was about evenly balance between the rival armies. This was not, however, due so much to the strength or organization of the Sikhs as to the fact that the Emperors were busy elsewhere and do not appear as yet to have considered the Sikhs a danger. Oppression there was in the days of Shah Jahan, but it was not till Aurangzeb ascended the throne that there was started a real crusade against the disciples of Guru Nanak.

After the time of Hargobind, who was the sixth Guru, until the death of Teg Bahadur at the hands of Aurangzeb's minions, there was comparative peace, but when the head of his Father was brought to the nine year old Gobind by a Ramgarhia Sikh, he decided to organise the Khalsa for vengeance against the oppressors. It was in his time that the brotherhood of Sikhism was transformed into the "Khalsa"—the "Army of the Free"; distinguished by their observance of the five "kakkas" (Ks), coupled with a distinctly military method of existence. The *Kirpan* (sword), *Kach* (Underwear), *Kara* (Steel Bangle), *Kesh* (Long Hair) and *Kangha* (Comb) are the outward signs of the outward cleanliness of body and mind which distinguishes each true member of this militant community,

In spite of all that the Khalsa had suffered at the hands of his Father, Guru Gobind Singh was prepared to assist Bahadur Shah, the son of Aurangzeb, in order to gain his throne on the death of the old Emperor.

The Guru's forces gave him vast assistance, but eventually appear to have gained little from this alliance, and his death may have taken place as a result of it. Many were the bloody insurrections and the equally bloody suppressions inflicted on the Khalsa in which time after time it appeared to have been wiped out, always, however, to revive as a force to be contended with. Guru Gobind Singh's two sons, mere boys, fell into the hands of the Muslim Governor of Sirhind, and were cruelly put to death.

Guru Gobind Singh was stabbed by a Pathan while at the Camp of Bahadur Shah in the Deccan, and died in the year 1707. It is not clear why he was assassinated, but it might not be unreasonable to suppose that the new Ruler might have wished to get rid of an embarrassing ally. The act may on the other hand have been the work of those who foresaw too much influence being wielded by the Leader of the Khalsa.

Though much had been done to reorganise the Sect by the tenth Guru, and though their alliance was considered to be of sufficient importance to be sought by Bahadur Shah, they were scattered and badly armed as compared with the Imperial Armies. The Subedars (Governors) of Lahore, Sirhind and other places still pursued their policy of murder and torture of the members of the new community wherever they could be found. Whatever may have been their feelings in the matter, the Sikhs were in no position to offer any resistance to the Armies of Nadir Shah, and though any attacks on the Emperor at Delhi

would be welcomed by them, it is fairly certain that, had they been in sufficient strength to do so, they would have opposed his advance through the Punjab. That the position had changed somewhat by the time Ahmad Shah Durani came to India in 1760 will be seen from the fact that Sardar Jassa Singh of Kapurthala and others gave battle to him on more than one occasion.

After Guru Gobind Singh the next great man to come on the scene was Banda Singh, called "Bahadur" (brave) by the Sikhs. This it seems to me is a term that could equally have been applied to countless other members of the Khalsa, but that they chose to restrict its historical application to one man alone, is indeed a very great tribute to his personal courage and leadership. One thing at least is certain with regard to Banda Singh, and that is History has taken insufficient note of his efforts to organise the Khalsa against oppression by the Delhi Emperor—from the death of Guru Gobind Singh till his own execution by the most ghastly tortures imaginable, Banda Singh's existence was one terrific struggle for the freedom of his people. He entered the Punjab alone and so poor that he could hardly afford any clothes to his back: he had to be continually on the alert to avoid capture by Imperial troops, but his personality was so astounding that many people, even non-Sikhs, flocked to his assistance. His first attack was on Sonapat, which fell easily, and then he decided to take Samana which housed both murderer of Guru Gobind Singh's sons as well as the murderer of Guru Teg Bahadur. Samana was both rich and well fortified, but

it fell before the fierce attacks of the Khalsa, and then began a revenge for the countless years of misery and oppression which the Sikhs had suffered. The population, mainly of Syeds and Moghuls, were practically put to the sword, and it is said that ten thousand persons perished. Not till the City was in ruins and till the drains flowed with the blood of their enemies did the Khalsa leader restrain his men. Shahabad, Sadhaura and Rupar all witnessed victories of the poorly armed Sikhs against imperial armies made up of veterans with many years' service. Then came the turn of Sirhind, and Wazir Khan, the Governor, took every step to meet them. As was usual in such cases, he first of all declared a "Jehad," (religious war) against the Sikh infidels, and when the cry "Islam in danger" would be raised many fierce enthusiasts would flock to his banner. He collected artillery, cavalry and huge stocks of lead and powder, and enrolled thousands of additional troops under his command. From near and far great numbers of Ghazis or religious warriors flocked together, but nowhere as yet does it appear that the Emperor at Delhi sent troops to his Governor. Wazir Khan's troops were all well armed and well mounted, whereas it appears Banda Singh had no artillery and his men were armed only with bows and arrows. It was the same story of the Irish Kem all over again, and disaster was certain sooner or later. Fierce courage and burning religious enthusiasm may prevail for a time, but inevitably superior training, armament and numbers must win the day. But this was not to be yet. Wazir Khan



attacked with twenty thousand men and in the first onslaught at least one third of the Sikhs were destroyed or took to flight, soon after one thousand men under a treacherous Hindu deserted, and it seemed now that nothing whatever could prevent a resounding victory for the Muslims and complete extermination of the Khalsa. But Wazir Khan had counted without the terrible bravery of those men, fighting to destroy the very place where the two young sons or their beloved Guru had been tortured to death. Sadly outnumbered, only half-armed, and with little military organization, they rushed on the front ranks of the Muslim Regular Army. Hand to hand they might have been stopped by the bayonets of Turenne's or Eugene's armies, and undoubtedly they would have broken on a British "square" but no Asiatic force then known could hold a charge of the Khalsa. Led by Banda Singh and shouting "*Wah Guruji ki Fateh*" they even killed some elephants in Wazir Khan's army with their swords, they swept through the front ranks of his army, and within a few hours the Sirhind Force was in full flight. The slaughter on both sides was terrific, but only a few of the Muslims escaped to tell the tale. They were pursued to Sirhind itself, and though the City offered some resistance, it was taken and put to the sack. Terrible indeed was the revenge executed on the Mohammedans of the City, but some of it at least was spared on the intercession of some of the inhabitants.

Such victories were followed by others, but at last the Emperors of Delhi and their Governors at Lahore

were forced to take a hand. It does not appear that Bahadur Shah at least was very successful, but in the reign of Farukh Seer the situation assumed a different complexion altogether. It was inevitable that when once the well-organized and well-armed forces of the great Empire moved against the ill-armed and badly outnumbered Khalsa that only disaster could result. Finally in 1715 the armies of Abdus Samad, *Subedar* of Lahore surrounded the Sikhs at Gurdas Nangal, a village near the present town of Gurdaspur, and, though the defenders were poorly armed, half starving and in vastly inferior numbers they put up a gallant defence indeed. Finally, reinforcements were requisitioned by the Governor, Abdus Samad, and with an army of about thirty thousand men, he attacked the defenders who numbered not more than a few thousands. Nevertheless they still held out. All living creatures in the village were killed and eaten, and then the Sikhs were driven to the extremity of eating the bark of trees and such grass as they could find. Still, however, there was no question of surrender. They became so weak from hunger and sickness that they could no longer stand upright or lift their arms—nevertheless the attackers do not seem to have been keen on an assault, till eventually the gates were opened on the promise of Abdus Samad to intercede with the Emperor for the Rebels. This promise was never kept, however, and those who were not subsequently taken to Delhi to be executed by torture with Banda Singh himself, were butchered there and then.

With the expansion of Mahratta Power the Moghul Empire began to break up, and the Sikhs were to a certain extent delivered from the atrocities which had been perpetrated on them for many centuries. The Khalsa formed itself into a powerful association of Sardars, mainly, however, in the area known as Sirhind—roughly between the Sutlej and Delhi. There were, however, powerful Sikh Chieftains also between the Sutlej and Lahore, but in the main their greater strength was further towards the Indian Capital. That there were alliances is true, but it was not till a hundred years after the death of Guru Gobind Singh that the great Khalsa federation under Maharaja Ranjit Singh came into being. Because lack of cohesion existed, however, should not for one moment lead anyone to think that the different leaders were incapable of combined action. Whatever else they did they were intensely patriotic and actuated with a feeling of common loyalty to the Khalsa. They could and did on occasion combine to oppose armies sent from Kabul and elsewhere against them.

Finally, in 1780 was born the man who was to organise the Khalsa *misl*s and lead them to victory on every side, the man who, himself famed for his bravery, was to teach the World how formidable a force the Sikhs could really be, Ranjit Singh; the "Lion of the Punjab". Before his death he was master of the country from Delhi to Peshawar, from Kashmir to Dera Ismail Khan, and even extended his sway up to Kabul itself. Had the British not been there before him it is more than probable that he would have annexed the Sind

the plains of Flanders, in Salonika or in the Islands of the Pacific, they have covered themselves with immortality in our service.

Surely, therefore, we cannot be so ungrateful as to forget them, to forget the services which saved so many British men and women in the past, to forget that without them in 1857 there would have been no recapture of Delhi, nothing but sheer stark disaster to British arms, and consequent violation and death to so many British women and girls. If we do forget, and permit the Sikhs to be consigned to economic and political oblivion, I do not think any self-respecting Englishman will ever again be able to look a Sikh in the face or shake his hand in the way only honourable friends can understand.

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up to Karachi also.

During the time of the great Maharaja there had been no clashes between the British and the Sikhs, but after his death the situation changed somewhat, and those in power at Lahore decided to attack, with a view to driving English and Hindustani forces out of Sirhind and the Cis-Sutlej States. A large army crossed the Sutlej at Ferozeshah on 22nd December 1845 and hurled itself on our armies encamped there. There was a fierce struggle in which we were almost beaten several times, but eventually succeeded in capturing the Khalsa entrenchments. Even then we would have suffered annihilation but for the fact that Tej Singh, who brought up about thirty thousand fresh, well mounted, the well armed men to reinforce the Sikhs, did not attack at all. It is said that this individual had been "bought" and that there is documentary proof to this effect, but be that as it may, British Arms were successful and the Sikhs retired. Gulab Singh, an ancestor of the present Kashmir Maharaja was then the chief minister at Lahore, and history could show fewer men on whom less reliance could be placed. It has been openly repeated again and again that he sold the Sikh confederacy. The battle of Sobraon was fought some months later again on the British side of the River Sutlej, but this time it was the latter who attacked. The Khalsa armies entrenched themselves in strength and repeated artillery barrages failed to dislodge them, and then it was decided to attack the Sikh positions with cavalry, and infantry with fixed bayonets. The Hindustani sepoy were frightened

## RANJIT AND THE AFGHANS

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Every one of India's numerous invaders came from Afghanistan. I use the word "every" after due consideration, because I do not consider the British were "invaders" at all in the strict sense of the word, and merely came to trade in the first instance. The Japanese crossing of the Assam border in 1944 could hardly be called an invasion because almost as soon as they set foot in India they started to run backwards in the great race that ended only in Tokio! Afghanistan, therefore, was the spring from which came wave upon wave of fresh invading hordes, some to settle in Hindustan and form dynasties, others merely for the loot which they took back with them to their own country. Mahmud of Ghazni came to this Country and penetrated as far as Gujrat, before finally returning; Shahab-ud-Din conquered most of the Ganges basin as well as Rajputana; while the depredations of Allah-ud-Din Khilji are too well known to need recapitulation. Ghoris, Tamerlane and Baber, they came and went as they pleased, leaving a trail of rapine and slaughter behind them. Not even the Muslims who had established themselves in India appear to have had any idea of frontier defence, as will be seen from the fact that Baber walked into the country without opposition, not with the aim, be it noted, of attacking the Hindus, but to overthrow another Muslim dynasty already in power. Such then was the miserable

## COURAGE IN ADVERSITY

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Of all the great Kings who have flourished in this Country from the earliest ages until the present day, few have been the subject of such diverse criticism as Alamgir, otherwise Aurangzeb. Descended from the Turkish family of Baber, the members of which had ruled India as Moghul Emperors for so long, he was the son of Shah Jahan, whom he succeeded in 1658. Many Muslims will say that Aurangzeb was a good ruler, and in fact the greatest of his line, but others disagree and claim the reverse to be the case. History, however, is the best judge of his greatness or otherwise, and I leave discussion on his merits to those Muslims who admire him, and those who, on the other hand, consider that his intolerant methods led directly to the collapse of the Empire. Any comments which occur in this volume have been introduced therefore only to show how far his policy affected the Sikhs, and not in any critical or deprecatory spirit. That he made the greatest efforts to destroy them is certain, but on the other hand Jehangir, Shah Jahan, Farrukh Seer, and even Ahmad Shah Durani, also sent armies against them. Other kings and Emperors were equally determined to destroy them forever as a people, unless they were prepared to abjure Sikhism and join the fold of Islam.

It was not till after the murder of Arjun, at the instance of Jehangir, that the Khalsa became animated

Because of the occupation of Peshawar by the Khalsa Dost Monammed, the ruler of Afghanistan, declared a "jihad" or religious war against the Sikhs and described himself as "Commander of the Faithful". Muslims of many countries flew to serve under Dost Mohammed and it was decided that now and forever the Sikh menace would be removed. If the Afghans were unsuccessful in destroying the Sikh State altogether at least its armies should be driven back behind the Attock river where they would be less danger to the Afghan power. In addition Kashmir and Multan were to be recovered. But the Sikh's fighting mood was also aroused, and if there was religious fanaticism on the part of the Muslims so too were the Khalsa prepared to fight to the last for their beliefs. Assisted to some extent by an American who served under him Ranjit tried diplomacy as well a threat of force to break the Afghan army, with the ultimate possible success. When the possibility of a clash with the Sikhs became imminent nearly half the force under Dost Mohammed deserted, and he had to retire without striking a blow. The "jihad" had failed and Ranjit was in occupation of three Afghan provinces in a stronger position than ever. Multan was forever to remain within the Punjab and even Kashmir was strongly held.

Peshawar, however, remained a danger point; and in 1837 the Afghans attacked again this time inflicting a defeat on Ranjit's army near Jamrud. If the Punjab was ruled by a strong virile leader so also were the people of Kabul daring and courageous, with little intention of



position till the end of the eighteenth century when Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the "Lion of the Punjab", established the Khalsa as an impenetratable barrier across the path. And from being merely a barrier gradually expanded, over the Indus, past Peshawar and finally up to the gates of Kabul itself. Kashmir was wrested from the Afghans, and the Sikh Armies swept westwards as far as Dera Ismail Khan.

Ranjit Singh was extremely patriotic and even in his youth tried to foresee a powerful Sikh nation created from the separate Mislis of the Khalsa. His religious fervour was unbounded and this, together with the high qualities of leadership displayed by him, eventually won him the first place among this race of warriors. While still a boy he distinguished himself on the field of battle both by his daring as well as a thorough understanding of the tactics of war in those days. Courageous to the last degree he nevertheless knew when discretion takes the better of valour, and consequently it has been said of him that he rarely led his forces other than to complete victory. Consistently friendly to the British it is safe to say that had he lived for ten years longer there would have been no Firozshah or eventual annexation of the Punjab. Even after his death had these in authority at Lahore followed the principle which guided his shrewd statesmanship, that is friendship with the British, there might have been an independent Sikh State in the Punjab today. British statesmen of those days wanted only the friendship of the Sikhs and had no actual break occurred the Punjab might have been another Nepal.

disgrace. No one, least of all the Muslims of the Punjab, doubts this, and only a person pathetically ignorant of Sikh psychology would ever have neglected to take the Sikh point of view into consideration. Had Lord Pethick-Lawrence invoked the ghosts of John Nicholson and Lawrence he would never have made the mistake of "counting heads", because they would have told him the value of one Sikh soldier, and he would then have known that were the Khalsa the smallest community in the world, they would still have to be considered as a force—a powerful force which will steep India in misery and bloodshed unless the rights of the community are maintained.

leaving their possessions in the hands of an Unbeliever. Hardy and well trained in the arts of war they were further inspired by the burning religious enthusiasm of their day, the enthusiasm which can be easily aroused in those northern people even today. Let no one think, therefore, that the "Lion of the Punjab" was fighting a cowardly or effete people; on the contrary, every strip of territory gained, had to be wrested from a government which could call on the finest Asiatic soldiers of its day, moreover soldiers who were savage and entirely ruthless. Little mercy was extended to a defeated enemy, while plunder and rapine were the order of the day. Ranjit Singh, however, was not to be beaten irrevocably even if his forces suffered defeat on one occasion. Before the Afghans had time to organise themselves for an attack on Peshawar he had pushed up reinforcements under the famous General Avitabile who was appointed Governor of the Fortress.

Unfortunately for the romance which we might weave round Avitabile and other Frenchmen under Ranjit, the Sikh State had no "historical section of the General Staff Library" from which particulars might now be gleaned. That they were romantic and able is, however, indubitable. Heroes of the Napoleonic Wars, who knows if they might not have become Marshals on a par with Soult, Massena or Ney, had not supreme tragedy overtaken their great leader. There were few soldiers of mediocre calibre under Bounaparte, and those who made their way to the East and created a name for themselves under the "Lion of the Punjab"

## LOYALTY IN THE INDIAN MUTINY

Indian Nationalists may consider loyalty to the British Government, now or in the past, a doubtful attribute, but we ourselves—the British people, should have a proper regard for those persons who have stood by us during the vicissitudes of riot and mutiny in this Country. When in the month of May 1857, Mohammedan and Hindu Sepoys in the Hindustani armies turned on their officers and massacred them, the Sikhs, in and out of the services, stood loyal to a man. More, in a number of cases they endured starvation and misery during those terrible days, and finally gave their lives by the sides of their British comrades, rather than surrender or go over to the mutineers. Fighting against hordes of well-armed enemies, very often hungry and always outnumbered, they covered themselves with glory; then as in the days of Aurangzeb they scorned to surrender to larger numbers, and with their backs to the wall, the Khalsa fought and died as men. All through the miserable summer of 1857 the Sikhs fought doggedly wherever they were—before Delhi, at Allahabad, Cawnpore and Lucknow; they gave of their best and that was by far the best to be obtained anywhere, with the result we all know. When on September 14th the Kashmir gate was blown in, the first in the breach were the gallant soldiers of the Khalsa. They were driven back in a number of places with fearful loss, always to attack again and again till they were finally

successful. Credit, too, must go to the Englishmen and the Pathans with Kamal Khan, but nowhere was it possible to equal the fierce gallantry and elan of the Sikh Cavalry, which was irresistible. Skinner's Horse and the other mounted units raised during those critical days, swept through Delhi like wildfire till the cry "Sat Siri Akal" rang from one end of the city to the other. For seven days the strongly entrenched mutineers opposed them, but their dauntless attacks, pushed forward with an entire disregard for personal safety, won the day and on the 21st September 1857 the spirit of the mutineers went down before the gallantry of the attackers, though these latter were far inferior in numbers to them. They surrendered the Moghul King and fled, an indisciplined rabble, towards Oudh. It was here again that the Sikhs were brought into action and pursuit organized consisted mainly of those cavalry regiments from the Punjab. These went on to Agra and finally joined Sir Colin Campbell's relieving force at Cawnpore; distinguishing themselves further at that spot.

When the mutiny broke out at Allahabad there were no British troops and all the Hindustanis followed the example of their comrades at Meerut and elsewhere. They murdered their British Officers as well as those women and children they could get hold of, and then marched to capture the Fort. Only one thing saved the day—the presence of a regiment of Sikhs. Their prompt action led by Major Brasyer, took the mutineers by surprise, and though outnumbered six to one, they seized the Fort before the Hindustanis could establish themse-

lives. Their troubles were not over, however, as the enemy immediately recovered and concentrated attack after attack on the defences. There was little food, though mercifully water was plentiful, otherwise there must have been many deaths in the terrible heat. As it was the little garrison suffered many losses and were hard put to hold out in the face of repeated attacks by a superior force. For five days the garrison kept up a gallant defence till relieved by Neill with a British Force.

The most conspicuous example of sheer gallantry and loyalty on the part of Sikhs was at Arrah, where there were only *fifty* of them together with fifteen Europeans, mostly civilians. There was no fort or line of entrenchments, no earthworks behind which to take shelter, so this gallant little band took refuge in an ordinary dwelling house, and decided to conduct their defence. Theoretically they should have been overwhelmed within a few hours, and one determined attack would have overrun the whole party. Such, however, was not the case and they held out for many weeks, inflicting serious casualties on the enemy who surrounded them. It has been estimated that not less than ten thousand mutineers sat down to besiege the improvised fort, but the Sikhs conducted such a brilliant defence that they failed to take it. Information reached other stations and two efforts were made to relieve them, but both were unsuccessful, and the relieving force was in each instance driven back with loss to Dinapore from where they had come. Finally, however, Colonel Eyre, who was bringing artillery up the river, succeeded in

reaching these brave defenders who, though sorely depleted in numbers, had held off an army of two hundred to one for many weeks. After this they joined the relieving force to drive off the besiegers on whom they succeeded in inflicting serious losses.

Patiala, Faridkot and many other Cis-Sutlej princes were loyal during the mutiny and rendered invaluable help to the British. Unlike the rulers of States in Oudh and Rajputana, who stood by and waited to see "which way the wind would blow", they threw in their lot immediately with the weaker power—for "weaker" the British undoubtedly were at that time, and scorned to accept a passive role.

During the advance towards Cawnpore from Allahabad on July 12, Havelock had about two thousand men with him of which six hundred were Indians. Of these again five hundred and fifty were Sikhs, and their successful attack in the comparatively minor battle at Fatehpur, cleared thousands of the mutineers. It was this force which eventually liberated Cawnpore, and finally pushed on towards Lucknow. They were the only troops who could be relied upon apart from the English soldiers, and their value as fighting men was too well known to be doubted. If John Lawrence had permitted the raising of Sikh levies at an earlier date in the Mutiny, the situation would have been brought under control even sooner than it was. However, whichever way you look at it, the conduct of the Sikhs throughout the mutiny was exceptional and we owe them a very great debt of gratitude indeed. Had it not been for their

loyalty and timely assistance the "Banner of England" might indeed have been trampled in the dust everywhere, and anarchy would have reigned in the land. Thousands of British men and women who were saved would have otherwise lost their lives and in fact India would have been lost to Britain entirely. The immense cost in men and money which would have been necessary to regain it can easily be gauged—if the country could have been regained at all.

Many times in different countries one has heard the taunt that we British have little use for a friend once he has served his purpose; and reluctantly one must admit that, with or without reason, many people think that of us. Now it seems to me that such a reputation is best lived down, and that we should not give further grounds to people to think this degrading thing of us. Furthermore, as far as the Sikhs are concerned I do not think they have finished their usefulness to us, and even if we are prepared to forget the thousands who have laid down their lives in our service, we should remember that some time, may be in the not-too-distant future, we shall have need for at least one friend in India. If we do not forget the Khalsa now, may be they will not forget us then.



## UNPARALLELED MILITARY RECORD

During the years 1939-45 the Sikh community provided two hundred thousand men for service in the Armed Forces, and in World War I their record was equally outstanding. So it has been from the time when Sikhs were originally formed into regiments for service in the Punjab and elsewhere many decades ago. A complete survey of their record would take not one volume but twenty, and so for the information of those who are unfamiliar with such data, three extracts taken from Sikh Regimental histories are given below :—

### A

List of Casualties (killed and died of wounds) of a Sikh Regiment from 1848 to 1918.

<i>Rank.</i>	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Naik	Suba Singh	19-9-48.	Bassa
Sepoy	Malah Singh	„	Bassa
Jamadar	Ram Kishen Singh	16-1-49.	Akrot
Naik	Bur Singh	„	Akrot
Sepoy	Man Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Kan Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Badan Singh	„	„
Naik	Ram Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Gulab Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Kharak Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Kanhaya Singh.	„	„

<i>Rank.</i>	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Jamadar	Maitab Singh	31-8-54	Shah Musa Khel, Mohmand Country
Sepoy	Panjab Singh	"	"
Sepoy	Karam Singh	"	"
Sepoy	Devi Singh	"	"
Sepoy	Khazan Singh	"	"
Sepoy	Sujjan Singh	"	"
Sepoy	Charat Singh	"	"
Havildar	Bindha Singh	"	"
Havildar	Nand Singh	31-3-59	Jerwah. ( <i>Indian Mutiny</i> )
Havildar	Shankar Singh	"	"
Sepoy	Utcher Singh	"	"
Sepoy	Bassa Singh	"	"
Sepoy	Kaleh Singh	"	"
Subedar	Babut Singh	"	"
Havildar	Gurdit Singh	"	"
Havildar	Suba Singh	"	"
Havildar	Bhan Singh	"	"
Havildar	Issuri Singh	"	"
Sepoy	Jawala Singh	"	"
Sepoy	Bhagwan Singh	31-3-59	Jerwah.
Sepoy	Alah Singh	"	"
Sepoy	Najah Singh	"	"
Sepoy	Jaimal Singh	"	"
Sepoy	Kira Singh	"	"
Sepoy	Jiwan Singh	"	"
Sepoy	Suchet Singh	"	"
Sepoy	Zorawar Singh	"	"

<i>Rank.</i>	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Sepoy	Bhagat Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Attar Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Hukam Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Dhanna Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Budh Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Kartar Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Hari Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Nidhan Singh	7-2-1872	Zam Pass (Wazir)
Sepoy	Dial Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Jawand Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Bhagwan Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Hakim Singh	3-8-1877	Kachanai Pass.
Sepoy	Buta Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Kala Singh	„	„
Naik	Prem Singh	1-12-77	Jammu.
Sepoy	Mangal Singh	9-11-77	Paiah.
Sepoy	Fateh Singh	10-11-77	Paiah
Sepoy	Nikka Singh	13-11-77	Near Paiah.
Sepoy	Ram Singh	„	Paiah.
Sepoy	Gurmukh Singh	16-1-78	Attacks on Zira heights.
Sepoy	Jaimal Singh	„	Narokulla Pass,
Naik	Allah Singh	8-5-1881	Mahsud-Waziri Expedition.
Sepoy	Uttam Singh	„	„
Havildar	Narain Singh	„	„
Naik	Dalip Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Ganda Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Attar Singh	„	„

<i>Rank.</i>	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Sepoy	Prem Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Sunder Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Gulab Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Hardit Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Rur Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Sunder Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Harnam Singh	4-5-1881	„
Sepoy	Kishen Singh	15-1-91	Waziristan.
Sepoy	Sher Singh	2-1-1895	„
Sepoy	Sarup Singh	21-12-94	„
Sepoy	Malah Singh	2-1-1895	„
Sepoy	Sunder Singh	10-6-1897	Tochi valley.
L/Naik	Attar Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Bishen Singh	„	„
L/Naik	Kesar Singh	„	„
L/Naik	Achar Singh	„	„
L/Naik	Sawan Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Sant Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Sawan Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Bisa Singh	10-6-1897	Tochi Valley
Sepoy	Sukha Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Lal Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Hazura Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Bir Singh	„	„
Naik	Ganda Singh	„	„
L/Naik	Karam Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Ganesha Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Sahib Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Prem Singh	„	„

<i>Bank.</i>	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Sepoy	Danda Singh	„	„
Havildar	Gurmukh Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Labh Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Bassawa Singh	23-7-1899	„
Sepoy	Bur Singh	1-7-1899	„
Sepoy	Chur Singh	23-7-1899	„
SubMajor	Hira Singh	5-8-1900	China. Pai-Tsang
L/Naik	Gopi Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Hakim Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Raja Singh	6-8-1900	China. Yang Tsun
Sepoy	Dharm Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Indar Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Ram Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Sundar Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Gela Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Gajjan Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Sher Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Bir Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Kesar Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Sher Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Narayan Singh	14-8-1900	Pekin.
Sepoy	Hazara Singh	23-3-1915	Mesopotamia.
Sepoy	Sunder Singh	31-3-1915	Egypt.
Sepoy	Mela Singh	1-6-1915	Egypt.
Sepoy	Batan Singh	6-1-1916	Mesopotamia.
Havildar	Mangal Singh	„	Sheikh Saad.
Havildar	Gurdit Singh	„	„
Beservist	Jiwan Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Fauj Singh	„	„

<i>Rank.</i>	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Sepoy	Isher Singh	"	"
Havildar	Saudagar Singh	7-1-1916	"
Sepoy	Sher Singh	"	"
Sepoy	Natha Singh	"	"
Reservist	Dalel Singh	"	"
Sepoy	Kharak Singh	"	"
Sepoy	Dharam Singh	"	"
Sepoy	Hira Singh	"	"
Naik	Ram Singh	"	"
Sepoy	Kishen Singh.	"	"
Sepoy	Sajjan Singh	"	"
Sepoy	Harnam Singh	"	"
Sepoy	Mula Singh	"	"
Sepoy	Waryam Singh	"	"
Sepoy	Bishen Singh	9-1-1916	"
Sepoy	Bhan Singh	23-1-1916	Bombay. (Died of wounds)
Sepoy	Keher Singh	22-1-1916	Mesopotamia.
Sepoy	Chanan Singh	27-1-1916	Khandwa.
Naik	Sewa Singh	13-1-1916	Wadi.
Sepoy	Udham Singh	"	"
Sepoy	Shiv Singh	"	"
Sepoy	Kazan Singh	"	"
Sepoy	Sher Singh	"	"
Sepoy	Jai Singh	"	"
Sepoy	Milkha Singh	26-1-1916	Mesopotamia.
Sepoy	Bhagat Singh	3-2-1916	"
Havildar	Udham Singh	"	"
Havildar	Mihan Singh	"	"

<i>Rank.</i>	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Sepoy	Lachman Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Udham Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Bhan Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Keher Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Kapur Singh	23-2-1916	Bombay (Died of wounds)
Sepoy	Mangal Singh	26-2-1916	Mesopotamia.
Sepoy	Santa Singh	1-3-1916	Hannah
Sepoy	Mohr Singh	26-3-1916	„
Sepoy	Milkha Singh	11-2-1916	„
Sepoy	Labh Singh	20-2-1916	„
Sepoy	Ghasita Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Jaimal Singh	23-2-1916	„
Sepoy	Dula Singh	20-2-1916	„
Subedar	Khushal Singh	„	„
Jamadar	Ganda Singh	„	„
Havildar	Gainda Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Surayan Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Ujagar Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Saudagar Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Kala Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Amar Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Jiwan Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Santa Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Mota Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Puran Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Bal Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Kala Singh	8-3-1916	Dujaila.
Sepoy	Harnam Singh	„	„

<i>Rank.</i>	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Sepoy	Attar Singh	,,	Mesopotamia.
Sepoy	Arjan Sidgh	,,	,,
Reservist	Munshi Singh	22-3-1916	,,
Sepoy	Mangal Singh	4-4-1916	,,
Sepoy	Shanker Singh	7-4-1916	,,
Sepoy	Chet Singh	,,	,,
Sepoy	Bhagwan Singh	,,	,,
Sepoy	Bachitter Singh	10-4-1916	,,
Sepoy	Thakur Singh	7-4-1916	,,
Sabedar	Bhagwan Singh	6-4-1916	Sunnaiyat.
Jamadar	Jagat Singh	,,	,,
Naik	Mangal Singh	,,	,,
Naik	Khushmir Singh	,,	,,
Naik	Khazan Singh	,,	,,
Sepoy	Hamir Singh	,,	,,
Sepoy	Shan Singh	,,	,,
Sepoy	Surat Singh	,,	,,
Sepoy	Lal Singh	,,	,,
Sepoy	Bishen Singh	,,	,,
Sepoy	Maghar Singh	,,	,,
Sepoy	Sunder Singh	,,	,,
Sepoy	Battan Singh	,,	,,
Sepoy	Wadhawa Singh	,,	,,
Sepoy	Mohr Singh	,,	,,
Sepoy	Dharam Singh	,,	,,
Sepoy	Pal Singh	,,	,,
Sepoy	Sant Singh	,,	,,
Sepoy	Sunder Singh	,,	,,
Sepoy	Basawa Singh	,,	,,



<i>Rank.</i>	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Sepoy	Prem Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Natha Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Munsha Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Bhagat Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Battan Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Karam Singh	7-4-1916	„
Sepoy	Lal Singh	5-5-1916	Bombay (Died of wounds)
Sepoy	Dalip Singh	12-5-1916	„
Subedar	Gurdit Singh	15-5-1916	Lucknow „
Sepoy	Keher Singh	22-4-1916	Mesopotamia.
Sepoy	Phuman Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Meher Singh	„	„
Naik	Santa Singh	25-4-1916	„
Sepoy	Sunder Singh	28-6-1916	„
Sepoy	Waryam Singh	26-7-1916	„
Sepoy	Mangal Singh	27-7-1916	„
Sepoy	Puran Singh	4-8-1916	„
Naik	Thakur Singh	1-8-1916	„
Sepoy	Atma Singh	17-8-1916	„
Sepoy	Isher Singh	6-4-1916	„
Sepoy	Rur Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Didar Singh	2-11-16	Mesopotamia.
Sepoy	Bhuri Singh	25-10-16	„
Sepoy	Kauri Singh	„	„
Naik	Nand Singh	6-4-16	„
Sepoy	Santa Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Sher Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Chur Singh	„	„

<i>Rank.</i>	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Havildar	Hazara Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Lachman Singh	30-11-16	„
Sepoy	Munshi Singh	25-12-16	„
Sepoy	Dhirta	28-1-17	„
Sepoy	Ganga Singh	8-1-17	„
Sepoy	Lachman Singh	30-1-17	„
Sepoy	Labh Singh	17-2-17	„
Sepoy	Kala Singh	22-2-17	„
Sepoy	Gainda Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Udham Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Sohnu Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Puran Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Prem Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Fauja Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Ralla Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Kishen Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Amar Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Kirpa Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Babu Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Harnam Singh	25-2-17	„
Sepoy	Dharam Singh	24-2-17	„
Havildar	Ram Singh	13-3-17	„
Sepoy	Hari Singh	14-3-17	„
Sepoy	Buta Singh	9-3-17	„
Sepoy	Rakha Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Isher Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Ganasha Singh	21-3-1917	„
Sepoy	Keher Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Hazara Singh	10-4-17	„

<i>Rank.</i>	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Date,</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Sepoy	Mihan Singh	„	„
Havildar	Bhagwan Singh	„	„
Havildar	Bela Singh	22-4-17	„
Havildar	Arjan Singh	„	„
Naik	Batan Singh	„	„
Naik	Teja Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Bachint Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Jagir Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Fateh Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Hazura Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Surmukh Singh	„	„
Subedar	Harnam Singh	„	„
Naik	Lachman Singh	1-5-17	„
Sepoy	Labh Singh	1-6-17	Bombay. (Died of wounds)
Sepoy	Hazara Singh	6-4-17	Mesopotamia.
Sepoy	Inder Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Ganga Singh	22-4-17	„
Sepoy	Harnam Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Natha Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Ghauma Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Bahadur Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Bir Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Kishen Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Amar Singh	14-6-17	„
Sepoy	Dhanna Singh	21-1-17	„
Sepoy	Basant Singh	6-4-17	„
Sepoy	Ujagar Singh	31-5-17	„
Sepoy	Bela Singh	11-6-18	Palestine.

<i>Rank.</i>	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Sepoy	Harnam Singh	8-6-18	„
Sepoy	Inder Singh	9-6-18	„
Sepoy	Bir Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Udham Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Achhar Singh	„	„
Sepoy	Sadhu Singh	22-7-18	Palestine.
Sepoy	Labh Singh	5-8-18	„

## SIKH V.C.Os.

Details taken from History of the 1st Sikh Infantry, Diocesan Press, Vepery. As this concerns Sikhs only names of British Officers and persons of other communities have been omitted.

That is the record of men who gave their lives in one battalion, and the same story has been repeated in numerous other instances. The following is a list of campaigns in which in another regiment took place in fifty years, we may be sure, a corresponding number of casualties :—

### B

Kohat Pass Afridis	... 1850
Mohmands	... 1851
Miranzai	... 1851
Umarzai Waziris	... 1852
Hassanzais	... 1852/53.
Ranizais	... 1852
Utman Khels	... 1852
Bori Afridis	... 1853
Hindustani fanatics at Kotla	... 1853
Shiranis	... 1853
Kasranis	... 1853
Michni Mohmands	... 1854
Aka Khels	... 1855
Rabbia Khel Orakzais	... 1855
Miranzais	... 1855

Miranzai and Kurram	... 1856
Bozdars	... 1857
Naringi	... 1857
Indian Mutiny	... 1857/58

(Including siege and capture of Delhi, Relief and Capture of Lucknow, and numerous other engagements and operations)

Khuchi Khel and Hindustani Fanatics.	... 1858
Kabul Khel Waziris.	... 1859
Mahsud Waziris	... 1860
Umbeyla Campaign	... 1863
Mohmands near Shabkadar	... 1864
Black Mountain Tribes	... 1868
Bizoti Orakzais at Ublan Pass	... 1868/69
Dawar Valley	... 1872
Jowaki Afridis.	... 1877/78
Ranizai, Iskakot	... 1878
Utman Khel	... 1878
Afghan War	... 1878/81

(Including Ali Masjid, defence of residency at Kabul, defence of Sherpur, Kabul, Charasiah, march from Kabul to Kandahar, Kandahar and other engagements and operations)

Mahsud Waziris.	... 1879/81
Takht-i-Suleiman	... 1883
Zhob Valley	... 1884
Black Mountain tribes	... 1888
Black Mountain Tribes	... 1890/91/92
Miranzai, 1st and 2nd	... 1891.
Gilgit	... 1891/92

Waziristan	... 1894/95
Relief of Chitral	... 1895
Tochi	... 1897
Malakand	... 1897
Tirah	... 1897
Mahsud Waziri Blockade	... 1900-02
Kabul Khel Waziris	... 1902
Zakha Khel Afridis	... 1908
Mohmands	... 1908
Burma	... 1852-54
Sikkim	... 1861
Lushai	... 1871-72
Duffla	... 1874-75
Aka	... 1883-84
Burmah	... 1885-86
China	... 1900-01
Somaliland	... 1901-02
Tibet (Mounted Infantry detachment)	... 1904.

Particulars from History of the 54th Sikhs  
Gale and Polden, Aldershot.

C - Honours and Awards received by *one* Sikh  
Regiment during the 1914-18 War only.

Decoration or Award.	Received by		
	Officers.	N.C.Os.	Men.
Indian Order of Merit	10	1	2
I. D. S. M.	4	14	9
O. B. I. 2nd Cl.	5	...	...
Indian Meritorious Service Medal	...	36	6
D. S. O.	3	...	...
C. M. G.	1	..	...
C. B.	1	...	...
Military Cross.	8	...	...
Order of St. Stanislaus, (Foreign)	1	...	...
Order of the Nile	3	...	...
Mentioned in Despatches	44	11	8

Particulars from the Historical Records of the  
3rd Sikhs—Pardy and Son.

*Officers* Include V.C.Os.

The above represents only a minute period of the brilliant record created for themselves by different Sikh Regiments, but these extracts should serve to illustrate how much we really owe to this gallant community, and impress upon us the fact that should we forget these services, we will deserve to be described as very ungrateful indeed.



## • AMRITSAR AND THE GOLDEN TEMPLE

Not even the famed Temple at Jerusalem has been demolished so many times by enemies as the Darbar Sahib of Amritsar. It is not clear why the term "Golden Temple" has been used by Europeans to such a large extent, but it is as such that it is universally known, and not by its correct designation. Amritsar itself, together with the Holy Tank, was founded by Guru Ram Das, the third Guru after Nanak Dev, who originated the Sikh Religion. This was in 1577, but it was not till twelve years later that Guru Arjan started to build the Temple. Since then Amritsar and the Temple have been recognised as of so much importance spiritually that thousands of Sikhs have been prepared to die merely to bathe in the Tank, and colossal sums of money have been expended on its repair after the depredations of an enemy have laid it low. It is extremely doubtful, in fact, whether mere words could describe the feelings of the Khalsa towards this spot and the fierce religious enthusiasm aroused against those who were guilty of sacrilege. History shows many instances of this, though not always were the Sikhs in sufficient strength to take effective action. It is on record that soon after Bhai Mani Singh had taken charge of the Temple in 1721 soldiers were posted in Amritsar by the Lahore Governor, with orders not to allow Sikhs to even visit the Darbar Sahib, and a

proclamation was issued ordering a general massacre of the Khalsa wherever they were to be found. It is of course clear that the persecution of Sikhs started long before that, but even after the proclamation issued by the Lahore Governor they still ran the gauntlet of the Muslim soldiery, and galloped through their Lines in the early morning hours in order to bathe in the Holy Tank. Bhai Mani Singh was eventually arrested and quartered under the orders of the Lahore Governor.

Massa Ranghar, a Governor (Subedar) of Lahore used to keep prostitutes and hold nautch parties inside the Temple, and its precincts were used as stables. How the Sikhs felt about this we can be sure, but they were helpless, hiding in jungles, and too few in number to take strong action. Finally it seems a Sikh named Bhai Mehtab Singh, with one follower, came from far off Bikaner on hearing of the sacrilege, and gaining entry he killed the Governor. That he was in turn killed was of course to be expected, but he had at least shown that the spirit of the Sikhs was not dead.

It was not by any means uncommon to find the Muslims of those days fighting each other, or an invader of another family or clan raiding into India from Afghanistan, but on one point at least they were nearly all agreed, and that was the destruction of the Sikhs. Aurangzeb has been blamed for a good deal of oppression against this Clan, until one is given the impression that he probably originated the idea of destroying the Khalsa. That would be entirely wrong, however, because if you go further back to the time of Shah Jahan or even

Jehangir you will find that oppression was in full swing. Many historians will of course be ready to blame the Emperors for this, but on the other hand if they failed to suppress every tribe or clan that decided to oppose them where would their empire be? That on occasion they were even ready to murder their own brothers is indisputable, so it was hardly to be expected that they would love the Sikhs, who were, to say the least of it, a perpetual thorn in their side.

Ahmad Shah Abdali demolished the Darbar Sahib on two occasions, and to make the job more permanent also filled in the Holy Tank with stones and earth? No matter what happened, however, the Sikhs always came back to their beloved Temple and rebuilt it. The City of Amritsar was also to a great extent in ruins and, among others, Sardar Jassa Singh of Kapurthala helped to rebuild it. But it was not till the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh that the Darbar Sahib came to assume anything of its present magnificence. He attached a considerable estate for its maintenance and had it "adomed" with marble and gold.

Mention has been made in the local Press of the Akal Takht in front of which the Sikh Meeting has been held during recent days. This is a temple founded by Guru Hargobind, the Sixth Teacher, and probably represents the finest centre of real democracy in the World. Here it is that all men are equal and that the weak and oppressed may come for succour. An example of the power wielded by the Khalsa when assembled at the Takht was when the Great Lion of the Punjab, Maharaja

Ranjit Singh, was punished for consorting with a prostitute? Few Eastern monarchs in those days would have tolerated such daring on the part of their subjects. One is led to think that even in Western countries such power on the part of an assembled brotherhood could not have been wielded easily, but if in the East such a procedure had been tried elsewhere the results would have been indeed serious. Abdul Rahman Durani lived many years after Ranjit Singh, but had a constituent assembly of Afghans dared to even suggest a criticism of his excesses many heads would have rolled into the basket?

If any thing is certain at all in connection with the Sikhs or their problems it is that they will never surrender the Darbar Sahib or its surroundings. Whatever form of government comes to stay in the Country they will never tolerate any form of secular control. That they did for some time on the part of the British in the past is not proof that they will ever allow it in the future. Let no one doubt this point? Without for one moment suggesting that a Muslim majority Government would, in these enlightened days, show any form of interference, or intolerance, towards this spiritual home of the Sikhs; it is doubtful whether the average Akali would believe so, and this lack of faith in other communities is, after all, the sole basis for the questions of Pakistan and Khalistan. When the Sikhs ruled the Punjab it is said the Akalis would go berserk if they heard the Muezzin or Muslim call to prayer. They are not quite so intolerant in these days, but they are

still the "puritans" of the Sikhs and are particular on Gurdwara (Temple) Reform. A few among them would easily see interference by other communal majorities even where it possibly did not exist, and serious trouble might be the result.

If India is to be undivided and no question of Pakistan arises then, no Sikh will raise any difficulties; but what the average man in the community fears is domination by a Muslim majority owing to the fact that the Cabinet Mission have actually created a plan by which that is possible. In such a case the Sikh Holy Places will have to be protected, whether by inclusion in Khalistan or otherwise : the details are for politicians to work out, but the principle is simple. No domination, and above all no interference with Sikh institutions or culture. For the maintenance of these—intact and inviolate—they will fight to the last man?

## THE KHALSA COLLEGE

No mention has been made of this important educational institution in any political discussion, yet it is bound to count as a factor when the question of territorial adjustment arises. It would be obviously futile for instance to imagine that the Sikhs would tamely submit to have one of their greatest cultural centres abandoned in a purely Muslim State and, like the Darbar Sahib (Golden Temple) it may provide one of the very difficult problems to be decided. Though Amritsar District itself, where the Khalsa College is situated, is a great centre of Sikhism, the Community does not command sufficiently large numbers to ensure a preponderance in the local population. Consequently if and when the time comes for a line to be drawn between Pakistan and Khalistan, the Muslims may possibly lay a claim to this Area.

The foundation stone of this beautiful College was laid by the Punjab Governor in the year 1892; and Sikhs are apt to remember with sorrow the remarks made at the time in which it was stated that the British Government owed them a debt of gratitude for their large share of victories in Hindustan and China, Abyssinia, Egypt and Afghanistan. The site is that where a battle occurred between the Muslims and Sikhs during the time of the Sixth Guru (Teacher), but at the present time it is possible to find there students of many other com-

munities, as well as those of the Khalsa. The institution began originally as a middle School, but an M.A. Class was added in 1916.

Originally the Principal and many members of the Staff were Europeans, but as time went on they were replaced by Sikhs, who have shown themselves to be thoroughly efficient in every way. Some Europeans were very popular and liked by both the students and the Community; such was Mr. Wathen who retired some years ago. He appears to have tried to get the Khalsa College raised to a Sikh University, but the turmoil of world events was too much for him, and this notion, conceived in the years of World War I does not seem to have received impetus afterwards. There are no longer any Britishers on the Staff, but it is extremely doubtful if it would be possible anywhere to find a more able or popular Principal than the gentleman who now fills that post, Sardar Bahadur Bhai Jodh Singh, M.A. In the same way I have not heard it said that the standard of efficiency in regard to the remaining members of the Staff could be bettered in any way.

In the past there has been considerable agitation against the Government control introduced in the time of Lord Curzon, though this was subsequently removed. In the same way mass resignations have taken place for different reasons, but on the whole efficiency has been well maintained and the rule that members of the Staff are to take no part in matters outside their academic sphere is usually adhered to.

Given the proper adjustment of India's present

political problems, and the dissociation of such problems from its academic life the Khalsa College is likely to have a very great future indeed. It may be said that if the worst were to happen it would be no worse off in Pakistan than the Aligarh Muslim University in Hindustan. But will anybody believe that the Al Azhar University would be as important to the Egyptians if it were situated in Abyssinia? I doubt it, and any way two wrongs cannot possibly make a right. Let us hope the wisdom of all concerned will find a solution satisfactory to the existence of this great cultural centre as well as Amritsar and the Sikh nation as a whole.



## PATIALA STATE

The tale of Sidhu, first true member of the Jat family to which the Maharaja of Patiala belongs, bears some similarity to that of Moses, the story of whose sojourn in the bulrushes we all know. Sidhu's father, who was in reality a Rajput, first married a girl of his own tribe, who, however, did not bear him any children and consequently he took to wife a Jatni, daughter of one Basir of Neli. No action could have been so disgraceful in the eyes of his Rajput kinsmen as this, but their reactions have, however, little bearing on the subsequent course of affairs. The second wife certainly succeeded where the Rajputni had failed, and a son was born, later to be known as Sidhu. However, due to the duplicity of a midwife, who had been bribed by the first wife, who was naturally jealous of Sidhu's mother, a girl was substituted for the male child, and within a day of being born, the male baby was thrown into a dry watercourse in the jungle to die. But he was not to die, as will be seen. A childless man who was passing by saw the infant and took it home to adopt it as his own. This might very well have been the end of the story but for the fact that the midwife comes into the scene again, this time through divulging her part in the transaction. By means, so well known in the good old days, the Rajputni was "persuaded" to admit her share of the guilt, and when the father became aware of the fact that

he had been cheated, a search was instituted for the missing baby. The matter appears to have taken a long time, but eventually Sidhu was recovered and returned to his Father. It is from this individual that the present Patiala Ruler is descended. Whether any reliance can be placed on a tradition based on happenings which occurred before Baber came to India, is another matter.

Sidhu, who according to Rajput custom, took the caste of his mother, appears to have four sons, and these in turn of course had many descendants, but for obvious reasons it is not possible to trace their fortunes, this would fill not one volume, but many. For the purposes of this work therefore I propose to pass over the centuries of Moghul Rule, as well as the days when Maharaja Ranjit Singh controlled the whole of Northern India, and take up the tale of Patiala State in the year 1860, after the last embers of mutiny had disappeared from the Country. In January of that year Lord Canning, the Viceroy of India, held a *darbar* at Ambala in which he addressed the Maharaja of Patiala as follows:—

“It is very agreeable to me to have this opportunity of thanking you, personally and in public, for the valuable services you have rendered to the State. I esteem them, not more for the effective aid they gave to the Forces of the Government, than for the promptness with which they were offered, and for the example of hearty and unhesitating loyalty which you thereby set before the Queen’s subjects in Upper India from the very beginning of the strife.

I need not recount these services : they are well

known to everyone here present, and the history of them is recorded in the history of the operations by which the British troops sustained and asserted the power of England in this part of Her Majesty's dominions. *There is no fear, therefore, of their being forgotten.* (The underlining is mine—Author).

But I desire to assure you, before this Durbar, of the satisfaction which the Queen's Government has in augmenting your honour and possessions, and of the wish which it entertains that these may long remain under the rule of descendants of your own,—brave and loyal as yourself.

I have directed that a grant be prepared confirming your title to these possessions, and to all the privileges attached to them. I have also directed that it be recorded, that if, unhappily, lineal heirs should fail you, your adoption of a successor from the ancient Phulkian, of which your family forms a part, will be recognised and respected."

The following Sanad was issued by the Viceroy to the Maharaja on May 5th 1860, and is interesting in that it discloses the privileges and responsibilities of the State Ruler, as well as the extent of his territories :—

"Since the establishment of British authority in India His Highness the present Maharaja of Patiala, and his predecessors, have always been steady in their allegiance. They have frequently received rewards for their fidelity in the accession of fresh honours, dignity and territory. More recently His Highness, the present Ruler of Patiala, has surpassed

the former achievements of his race, by the constancy and courage he evinced during the mutiny of 1857-58. In memory of his unswerving and conspicuous loyalty, His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India has conferred additional honours and territory upon the Maharaja for himself and his heirs for ever, and has graciously acceded to His Highness's desire to receive a Sanad or grant under the hand and seal of the Viceroy, guaranteeing to the Maharaja the free and unreserved possession of his ancient territories, as well as those tracts bestowed on His Highness and his predecessors at various times by the British Government. It is accordingly ordained as follows :—

*Clause I.*—His Highness the Maharaja and his heirs for ever will exercise full sovereignty over his ancestral and acquired domains according to the annexed list. All the rights, privileges and prerogatives which His Highness enjoys in his hereditary territories, he will equally enjoy in his acquired territories. All feudatories and dependents of every degree will be bound to render obedience to him throughout his dominions.

*Clause II.*—Except, as provided in Clause III the British Government will never demand from His Highness or any of his successors, or from any of his feudatories, relations, or dependents, any tribute on account of revenue service, or on any other plea.

*Clause III.*—The British Government cordially desires to see the noble house of Patiala perpetuated, and in this spirit confers upon His Highness and his

heirs for ever, whenever male issue may fail, the right of adopting a successor from among the descendants of the Phulkian family. If, however, at any time, any Maharaja of Patiala should die without male issue and without adopting a successor, it will still be open to the Rajas of Nabha and Jind, in concert with the Commissioner or Political Agent of the British Government, to select a successor from among the Phulkian family, but in that case a *nazarana* or fine equal to one third of the gross annual revenue of the Patiala State shall be paid to the British Government.

*Clause IV.*—In 1847 the British Government empowered the Maharaja to inflict capital punishment after reference to the Commissioner. It now removes the restriction imposed by this reference, and invests His Highness with absolute powers of life and death over his own subjects. With regard to British subjects committing crime and apprehended in his territory, the Maharaja will be guided by the Rules contained in the De-patch of the Honourable Court of Directors to the Madras Government, No. 3 dated 1st June 1836. The Maharaja will exert himself to execute justice, and to promote the welfare and happiness of his people. He engages to prohibit *Sati*, Slavery and Female Infanticide throughout his territories and to punish with the utmost rigor those who are found guilty of any of these crimes.

*Clause V.*—The Maharaja will never fail in his loyalty and devotion to the sovereign of Great Britain.

*Clause VI.*—If any force hostile to the British Government should appear in this neighbourhood, the Maharaja will co-operate with the British Government and oppose the enemy. He will exert himself to the utmost of his resources in providing carriage and supplies for the British troops, according to requisitions he may receive.

*Clause VII.*—The British Government will not receive any complaints from any of the subjects of the Maharaja, whether Mafidars, Jagirdars, relatives, dependents, servants or other classes.

*Clause VIII.*—The British Government will respect the household and family arrangements of the Maharaja, and abstain from any interference therein.

*Clause IX.*—His Highness the Maharaja will, as heretofore, furnish, at current rates, through the agency of his own officers, the necessary materials required for the construction of railroads, railway stations, and imperial roads and bridges. He will also freely give the land required for the construction of rail-roads and imperial lines of road.

*Clause X.*—The Maharaja and his successors, etc. will always pursue the same course of fidelity and devotion to the British Government, and the Government will always be ready to uphold the honour and dignity of the Maharaja and his house.”

“Schedule of Territories Belonging to the Maharaja of Patiala.”

*Ancestral.*—Parganah Patiala Khas and Sanour, Ilaqas Murdanpur, Ghanour, Ranimazra, Amargarh, Chinarthal, Sonam, Rajpura, Amargarh or Barnala, Sherpur, Bhiki, Banur, Bhawanigarh urf Doda, Boha Sardulgarh urf Dodhal, Akalgarh or Manak, Karmgarh or Kulbanum Dirha, Bangarh or Narwana, Binjor, Govindgarh or Bhattinda, Ramgarh or Ghurum, Sahibgarh or Pael, Fatehgarh or Sirhind, Alamgarh or Nandpur Kalour.

*Acquired Territories* —Ilaqa Umralah, the hill district of Bughal, the hill district of Keonthal, ilaqa Chamkorian, Parganahs Bassai Mulk Hydar, Fateh Jhuneri, Muhla and Narnoul.

*List of feudatories.*—Sikhs of Lunda Lohari, Bhet Kot, Gunar, Chakia, Rara, Kotilo, Bulara Bulari, Buladi Bhai, Bir Singh Rampur, Kot Duna. The Jagirdars of Bhadour and Jiundan.

The Jagirdars of Khumanun, Tullakour, Dhanouri and Lukhnour are at present under the jurisdiction for life of the Maharaja of Patiala, but paying commutation tax in lieu of service to the British Government.

Ilaqa Bhai Rupa shared with Nabha and Jind.

So eighty six years ago did Britain express her gratitude to the Prince of Patiala who, probably to a greater degree than any other Indian ruler rendered valuable assistance during the dreadful days of 1857 and 1858. Powers and privileges conferred by the

Governor General of India then remain unaltered to the present day, and territories ruled by the Maharaja are, with few exceptions, the same as those in which he was confirmed under the authority of the Sanad. No rewards or honours awarded could, however, erase from our memories the loyalty and gallantry of a Prince who stood by us in the times when it seemed as if indeed the days of British rule in India were over for ever: when it seemed as if every British man, woman and child remaining in the Country was likely to suffer the same fate as those at Meerut, Cawnpore and elsewhere. "There is no fear, therefore, of their being forgotten." So runs the promise of the King's Representative, and so indeed the ordinary Britsher does not forget even today. Is it not an irony of fate that the elected representatives of the British People seem in danger of doing so? That not merely in danger of forgetting centuries of devotion and unswerving loyalty, they are helping to undermine the very foundations on which these gallant Princes and people have based their existence?

No one, except God and possibly the members of the Cabinet Mission, is quite sure what is going to happen to Princes in the India of the future; but it is easy to guess that their position will be altered considerably. Britain, so it is said, has no intention of surrendering supremacy to anyone either now or in the future. I wonder, though, what she proposes to do if the rulers of Pakistan desire to enforce supremacy on a Sikh State



after British forces have been withdrawn. Presumably she will draft a diplomatic protest—but all the while she will be aware that not the least notice will be taken of it, and that those States whose services she has promised not to forget are sure to be subjugated by the greater power within whose borders they lie. British statesmen should be aware that in the East in particular a “protest” is likely to be effective only if you have the means and intention of following it up with force, and no one is foolish enough to imagine that were the Ruler of Patiala to receive an ultimatum threatening his complete “extinction” in say, five years time; that Britain would fit out an expeditionary force to come to his aid.

The services of Patiala to the British Crown do not, however, end with the Mutiny, and in the 1914-1918 war we again find troops of the State Army on active service in many places. In addition to this Patiala State sent many thousands of recruits to the British Indian Army where they have always been distinguished for their loyalty and high standard of courage. Complaints against the personal character of the Maharaja (Father of the present ruler) were not always wanting, but insofar as his record of loyalty to the Supreme Power is concerned there can be no two possible opinions. His father has always been the role of a true ally indeed.

In the second World War Patiala Regiments surpassed if possible their previous record of gallantry on the battlefield. Officered entirely by Sikhs, Muslims or Hindus from the State territories their discipline and training is second to none either in the British or Indian

Armies. Awards for gallantry earned by these regiments are numerous and will serve to show theirs was always to be in the vanguard whenever an enemy was encountered. The Japanese could speak with sorrow of their worth, and many an Italian has surrendered to the men of Patiala.

The strength of the present State Army runs well into five figures and of its efficiency there can be little doubt, added of course to the experience gained in six years of war in all theatres. Today, tomorrow or any other day the Rajindra Infantry and other regiments will give a first class account of themselves and will undoubtedly remain absolutely loyal to the Maharaja in whatever course he determines. That his every tendency is towards friendship with the British is indubitable, but if tomorrow the whole Sikh Community were to unite in attacking us, who can say where his greater loyalty would be? Whatever occurs, however, no greater tragedy could come to pass than for us to find our comrades of yesterday engaged in a life and death struggle against us. Let us hope that British statesmanship is equal to preventing such a possibility.

State rulers as a whole are likely to suffer much in the new constitution of India, but none so much as the Sikh Princes in the areas where Pakistan is to be established. Among these attention must first focus itself on the Maharaja of Patiala, head of the most important Sikh State. His position will indeed be difficult, no matter what happens. A first class sportsman, he is universally liked, and is a just, enlightened ruler, Equally

popular with Muslims as he is with the British and his own people, it will be a great tragedy indeed if he is forced to take up arms against either, and great must be the responsibility of the Cabinet Mission or any other body of individuals who precipitate such a state of affairs.

## KAPURTHALA STATE

It is not at all clear why most Jat families will insist on attempting to prove their descent from some, very often, entirely mythical Rajput, when history can show brave illustrious ancestors among their own immediate forefathers. Such also appears to be the case with the present Ahluwalia family of Kapurthala, and some writers try to show that in fact their ancestor was Rana Kapur, a Rajput immigrant from Jesalmir.. This may quite easily be correct, but there is no authentic record to bear out the claim, and when History shows that in fact the real founder of the family was Sardar Jassa Singh, it matters little who he was or where he came from. Millions of people who are not students of history could answer the question "who was Napoleon Buona- parte?", but few could even hazard a guess at his father's name. Not that the Emperor had any reason to be ashamed of his paternal parent, but because the matter is just not important. Besides, if a man of really small beginnings can get together a few followers and, by the aid only of his gallantry, powers of leadership, and the strength of his strong right hand, carve out a kingdom and a name for himself, is he not entitled to greater credit than if he had received these things as a present from his forefathers? The Maharaja of Kapurthala is not an Amritdhari (true) Sikh in that he does not follow all outward observances of the Khalsa Belief, but the

State is nevertheless as truly Sikh as those situated at the other bank of the Sutlej, and he has this in common with them that his ancestors lived by the sword—and generally died by it.

Even in the Punjab, which has become proverbial as the birthplace of distinguished soldiers, few have as much claim to greatness as Sardar Jassa Singh. In fact after Banda Bahadur, who had been executed by Farrukh Seer in 1716, and second only to Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the Sardar has acquired a great reputation. Born in 1718, he was the son of one Badar Singh, who himself died a few years later, and consequently Jassa Singh was rendered fatherless at an early age. The state of the Sikhs in those days was indeed pitiful, because after the execution of Banda Singh Bahadur at Delhi some years before, there was none to stand against the oppression of Abdus Samad Khan, then Governor of Lahore. The followers of Guru Gobind Singh were hunted like so many wild animals, and it is indeed a wonder that they were not exterminated altogether. In spite of oppression and poverty, as well as cruelty and treachery on the part of the Imperial minions, they however, maintained their martial character, and even in those dark days were not incapable of sudden offensive action against the Tyrant. They were considered to be crushed and entirely negligible as a military force till, like a bolt from the blue, we find Jassa Singh attacking an Imperial treasure convoy and carrying off all the spoils and many prisoners. This was probably in the year 1743/44 when Lahore was governed by Zakhria Khan, son of Abdus

Samad. The Subedar (Governor) decided to extract a fitting revenge and sent a large army against the Khalsa who were inferior both in numbers and armament. It is not quite clear where the battle took place, but one thing is certain—the force of superior armaments as well as numbers had its effect, and the Sikhs suffered defeat with great slaughter. Prisoners taken were conveyed to Lahore, where they were executed and their bodies thrown into the famous Shahidganj well. That some women and children were among those executed has been shown by the fact that in later years the skeletons of many, often with bangles on the wrists, were recovered from there. Jassa Singh, however, escaped, together with a small number of followers and, though it would not have been unreasonable to expect him to have gone into hiding from the power and vengeance of his enemies, the reverse appears to have been the case. Up to this time he appears to have held a small fort at Daliwal on the Ravi, but obviously this now became quite untenable for him, so he retreated to the Sutlej. There an opportunity presented itself to have his own back on the Muslims, and we find him seizing a number of Dogar villages. Once more an army is sent against him, this time under a Hindu Officer of the Imperial Government, and once again he is beaten and his force dispersed. How Jassa Singh always managed to escape from the well mounted Muslim soldiery is well nigh amazing, but on this as on other occasions he got away to find a hiding place in the Mandi hills. This may have been in the year 1745.

For a few years little is heard of the Sardar till he

joins with other chieftains to make an attack on the Muslim stronghold of Kasur, but in spite of the greatest bravery on the part of the Sikhs they were driven off by the defenders. These consisted among others of about two thousand well armed Pathans.

Nowhere in history is it possible to find a chief who would suffer defeat after defeat, and yet always rally to fight against superior numbers, as was this Sardar Jassa Singh. With sadly diminished forces, always badly armed, nearly always hungry, he never knew when to accept defeat, be his opponents ever so powerful. He knew perfectly well that once he fell into the hands of the Emperor's men there would be no mercy for him. His eyes would be picked out with daggers and his flesh would be torn off with red-hot pincers as was done in Delhi under the orders of Farrukh Seer to other Sikhs. His womenfolk would most probably be hacked to death in front of his eyes, before he was blinded, but the possibility of these ghastly tortures worried him little, and he still continued his policy of enmity and opposition to the Greatest Eastern Power of its day. As an example of the desire of the Emperor to exterminate as many as possible of those Sikhs, none is more well-known than an incident which happened when Sarbarah Khan Kotwal was carrying out certain executions in the year 1716/17: The four year old son of a chieftain who was about to be executed was brought before him, and he was offered the choice of killing the boy with his own hand. He refused, however, nor did he beg for mercy either for himself or his offspring. The executioner then

hacked the boy's limbs off with a dagger and while yet alive he removed the quivering heart and placed it on the dagger point in front of the father's eyes. Such was the treatment which Jassa Singh might expect had he fallen into the hands of the enemy.

At this stage it would be as well to note that savage executions in those days were not confined to any class or community or even to the emperors of the East. As late as 1798 the pitch-cap was in use in certain European countries, and who will say this was less dreadful than any form of torture which might be invented at Delhi or elsewhere in India. Though undoubtedly the Sikhs were a thorn in the Imperial side there is no reason to suppose they were treated any worse in the matter of executions than was current among the Muslims when they fought against each other. Neither is there any reason to suppose that on occasions the Sikhs were not as bad themselves. Warfare in those days was a cruel savage affair, and the only law was "kill or be killed", To kill as savagely as possible was a means of ensuring that your enemies fought shy of you to a greater extent.

Jassa Singh is next heard of fighting against Ahmad Shah Durrani, and this time he is allied with a Muslim, Adina Beg, against the Afghan Invader. In this, as in other battles against superior troops the Sikh leader was defeated at Sirhind and both he and Adina Beg suffered severe loss. That he inflicted some damage on Ahmad Saha's forces is, however, indubitable, and actually captured some of the latter's baggage at the Chenab.

After the departure of Ahmad Shah, Jassa Singh



attacked his erstwhile ally, Adina Beg, but there seems to have been little gain on either side. The Sardar then turned his attention to Amritsar, killing the Governor and taking possession of a considerable area of land.

By 1759/60 Jassa Singh had made a great name for himself as a soldier, and this was deserved in every way. "Alway in the battle's brunt, always fighting at the front, fighting in a crowd or all alone" would have described him admirably. Added to that would have been the caption "always fighting against the most superior and impossible odds." But he had his reward. Being called in to assist Kaura Mal to drive Shah Nawaz Khan from Multan he rendered such assistance to the victor as to be given a considerable reward and part of the booty. From then onwards his seems to have been success in every engagement, till in the year 1760 he held Jandiala and Sirhind and Ferozepore, Ambala District, Hoshiarpur and Kapurthala (which was incidentally under a muslim jagirdar). In fact he assisted by the Patiala and some other chiftains, appears to have exercised practically complete control from the walls of Lahore almost up to Delhi. It was only in 1771, however, that he determined to make Kapurthala his headquarters, and appears to have ousted the Muslim Jagirdar for this purpose.

The Sardar died at Amritsar after he had further enhanced his greatness and had extended his control over practically the whole of the area between the Sutlej and the Chenab. Prior to his death, which took place in 1783, he had rebuilt the Darbar Sahib or Golden

Temple at Amritsar, and reorganized the Khalsa Armies. He was indeed a great soldier as well as a notable religious leader.

The scene now shifts to the reign of Sardar Nihal Singh and the period of the Sikh wars when Kapurthala stood to lose almost everything which had been gained during the difficult years before Maharaja Ranjit Singh controlled the Punjab. After the assassination of Maharaja Sher Singh, the Kapurthala ruler might easily have become the greatest man in the Punjab had he come forward. He did not, however, and Gulab Singh, a Dogra became the greatest power in politics. In the same way when the British came, Nihal Singh adopted a policy of trying to keep in with both sides. It is said that some of his troops even fought against the British at Aliwal, but he excused that by saying they were mutineers. Anyway, as a result he lost most of the territories which had been gained by the greatness of his predecessors, and he was left only the estates in the Jullundur Doab.

When in 1857 the Hindustani Troops mutinied, however, the situation was different indeed, and the Ruler at that time, Raja Randhir Singh, marched immediately to Jullundur with what forces he could muster. Later on he also despatched troops to Hoshiarpur. The only troops who could be relied upon in that area were the Kapurthala Force and one hundred Europeans in the Phillaur Fort, and about a thousand Tiwana cavalymen. In 1858 he led a force towards Oudh and rendered exceptional service there, as a result

of which his revenue to Government was lessened and he was granted additional estates. Without a doubt none was more prominent in rendering immediate and effective aid to the British in those days, and that he received considerable rewards shows that Government was not ungrateful.

Many gentlemen of the present Maharaja's family hold permanent commissions in the Indian Army, and during the first and second world wars the services of this State were indeed excellent. Coming of a race of fighting men, and ruling over a country noted for the fighting capabilities of its peoples, the Ruler was able to provide first class material both in his own regiments and among those who enlisted in the Indian Army. Some of his close relations rendered excellent service as recruiting officers in the Doab area, even in places outside the State altogether. Many members of his family will be known to British Officials as well as non-officials, and the hospitality of Kapurthala is traditional. Some of his relations reside in Jullundur and are well known and respected there, and many English people will have met princess Indira in England. The tendency now in the Maharaja's family is towards a stricter observance of Sikh rites, and though he is undoubtedly an enlightened and advanced ruler, that tendency is likely to develop in the future.

During the past few years there was slight tension between certain persons in authority and the *Akalis* (immortals), but this, due largely to statesmanship on the part of the Maharaja, may be now said to have dis-

appeared. Whatever happens in the future it is certain that the Kapurthala Government will be wholeheartedly on the side of the Sikhs, and such assistance as may be rendered will be far from negligible. Whether that will ever be used remains to be seen, and if used, whether against the British or someone else is also a moot question. Those having any acquaintance with the residents of the Doab will pray that strife should stay far from there and that nations as well as communities will find it possible to live in peace. Normally they are a quiet, lovable people, but when aroused, are likely to be fanatical. This is of course to be expected, as much among the Muslims as the Sikhs, because they have the hot blood of centuries of fighters in their veins and care little for consequences as soon as they enter the fray. Let us try and help to prevent such a catastrophe.

## JIND STATE

History shows that every bigha (about an acre) of land held by Sikh rulers in or near the Punjab was obtained by conquest, and was held only by the greatest of difficulty for many hundreds of years. The ancestors of the present rulers were gamblers—with life—and were not afraid to risk their everything in a bid for the power which they usually were successful in obtaining. Sometimes when pitted against overwhelming odds they lost, but that did not deter them from trying again.

“If you can make a heap of all your winnings.

“And risk it on one turn of pitch and toss,

“And lose, and start again on your beginnings.

“And never breathe a word about your loss”.

Such were these great adventurers, whose “pitch and toss” were the fortunes of war, with their lives and estates forfeit if they lost. Sometimes they lost both, in which case their brothers or children carried on the fight, sometimes they only lost the lands they had held, so what more natural than to get a few gallant souls together and win some land elsewhere? That is why today they can hold up their heads proudly before the other rulers who were “presented” the lands they hold, sometimes for dubious services rendered, sometimes for the service rendered by a good looking female relation in an imperial harem, sometimes merely because of blood relationship with a conqueror. Today, people

in Kashmir State are saying that the Hindu Maharaja has no right to rule because the original title of his family was faulty ; and maybe in the not so distant future popular agitation may have him removed. Anyway it is correct that the State was presented to Gulab Singh, unless one considers fifty or seventy five Lakhs of rupees to be an adequate price? Unfortunately, too, the Maharaja family has not always made itself loved, and the perpetuation of outmoded caste prejudices will be remembered by many Westerners. That the situation in this respect has altered somewhat in recent years is of course indubitable, yet somehow it is generally felt that, should the Ruler of Kashmir be compelled to abdicate, few will mourn his passing.

Not so, however, with the Khalsa States of which Jind is one. Where the Prince is really head of the people in that a considerable number of his own clan are his subjects, there you will generally find that the interests of both are similar, and any political move is concerted, with the full backing of all.

The original history of Jind is practically that of Patiala, and it is not till the birth of Gajpat Singh in the year 1738 that a really outstanding leader was born in this territory. Though the houses of Patiala, Jind and Nabha belong to the same family, it has not been uncommon to find them disagreeing and sometimes, even at war with each other. At an early age, therefore, Gajpat Singh suffered as a result of this policy and, at the instigation of the Nabha Ruler, he was captured by Imperial Troops and taken to Delhi. Later, however

he succeeded in escaping, together with his mother, from the clutches of those set to guard him, and eventually we find him joining the Sikh forces to attack the Afghan Governor of Sirhind in 1763. He then seized considerable tracts of land, including Panipat and Karnal, as well as Jind itself, and appears to have held them for some time under the Delhi Empire. When only twenty nine years of age, however, we again find him under arrest at Delhi, this time for non-payment of revenue. He eventually secured his release and this time, after due payment, was confirmed by royal order in his lands, and assumed the state of an independent ruler. That he coined his own money is doubtful, but some authorities assert that this was the case.

Six years later Jind was at open war with Nabha over some trifling matter of grass cutting and got very much the better of the quarrel, capturing a number of important towns in the Nabha territories, including Sangrur. (This latter is now the capital of *Jind State*) At the intervention of Patiala, however, he was compelled to disgorge them and peace was restored. But not for long! In the following year Jind was at war with the Muslims, and Rahim Dad Khan, the Governor of Hansi advanced against the Sikh State. The latter, with the assistance of other Sikh ruler, however, inflicted a severe defeat on the Khan, and killed him. Now grown strong the combination of Sikh chiefs carried the war into Rohtak, but this time were not so successful, and were compelled to retire when attacked by a strong force under one Zalita Khan of Rohilla.

Gajpat Singh and his Patiala Ally even went as far as Meerut in their raids, where they were severely beaten by Mirza Shaffi Beg in 1780. Gajpat Singh was again taken prisoner, but this time succeeded in gaining release after being ransomed for a large sum. He died of fever at the age of fifty one after having fortified the Jind Fort.

The next ruler of any interest is Bhag Singh, the son of Gajpat, and this individual was one of those who fought against George Thomas the Irish Adventurer. (Readers of current editions of the Illustrated Weekly of India will not be unfamiliar with this character). At the outset Bhag Singh lost Karnal and Hansi to a combination of Thomas and the Mahrattas, but he eventually addressed General Porron at Delhi for help to drive the European Adventurer away. Necessary assistance was granted and finally Thomas had to seek refuge in British territory.

After the siege of Delhi in 1803 Raja Bhag Singh made overtures to the British and became their Ally. As far as actual service is concerned he appears to have done little, though on one occasion he together with his Sikh Allies, held Saharanpur while Colonel Ochterlony was fighting the Mahrattas. He assisted the British in their campaigns against Holkar, and conducted a mission to Maharaja Ranjit Singh with a view to preventing any assistance being given to Holkar against the British. That none was given may have been due to the efforts of the Jind Sardar, who was related by marriage to Ranjit Singh.



In spite of his relationship to Maharaja Ranjit Singh Raja Bhag Singh did not altogether agree with the latter's attack on Malerkotla, and seems on the whole to have trusted the British rather than his own relation. Be that as it may he maintained good relations with both during his lifetime.

Raja Bhag Singh died in 1819, but not before a great many upheavels had taken place in the State and among his own close relations. For some years he had been unable, owing to illness, to manage affairs as a result of which the Rani had been given the powers of regent. One of his sons, however, rebelled and killed the Rani, afterwards taking possession of Jind. This Prince was, however, subsequently forced to fly and lost all claims to the rulership.

During the wars of 1845-1846 Raja Sarup Singh was of considerable assistance to the British, and unlike other chieftains, his loyalty was uniform throughout. A detachment of his troops serving even in far off Kashmir where there was a revolt against Gulab Singh, the British Ally, by Imamuddin, a Muslim Governor.

The Raja of Jind was the only chief who was himself present with the British at the siege of Delhi where his forces rendered invaluable service during this phase of the Indian mutiny. When the mutiny started he marched at once to Karnal with about eight hundred men, and under the defence of the town and cantonment. His troops assisted in quelling the rebels of the Rohtak District, and in destroying the force of Nasirabad mutineers who were in considerable strength. The whole Rohtak

District was made over to him for administrative purposes during the period of the mutiny, and in addition, he gave valuable assistance to the British Army in purchasing horses and the provision of supplies. After Delhi had surrendered the soldiers of Jind were to be found fighting with Van Cortlandt and under Colonel R. Lawrence; others were scattered at Rohtak and many other places on garrison duty.

When the Mutiny was finally quelled the Raja was rewarded with grants of land and money as well as enhanced dignity and an increase in the number of guns. He was also confirmed in his original territories and allowed to exercise the power of life and death over his subjects, a function the exercise of which, until that time, had been denied him.

In the first and second World Wars the services of this State have been as outstanding as those of Patiala and Faridkot, and the soldiers of Jind distinguished themselves on many battle fronts. Relations with the British Government are therefore excellent, and the Raja is an advanced enlightened ruler. Many persons will have seen the famous Jind kennels which are situated in the Kumaon hills some distance from the State itself.

Jind State is situated on the borders of the Ambala, Karnal and Ludhiana Districts, and contains an area of about one thousand five hundred square miles. The State army is well disciplined and efficient, and has a total strength running into many thousands.

## FARIDKOT STATE

Of all those gallant Sikh chieftains who carved their way to power from comparative obscurity none is more worthy of note than the family of Faridkot, a State which has its capital a few miles from Ferozepore. Perhaps "comparative obscurity" is a misleading expression, "absolute and entire obscurity" would far more adequately express the starting point of their fortunes. Descended from the same stock as the Maharaja of Patiala there is, however, the difference that whereas the latter belongs to the Phulka family, the Raja of Faridkot is a Brar. Ruling over a territory of about six hundred and fifty square miles the Prince will be known to many Europeans and Indians for his hospitality, and his exceptional popularity with all those who have the pleasure of his acquaintance.

Like all the other Sikh principalities Faridkot came into the possession of the present Raja's ancestors after they had rendered brave and singular service to the Delhi rulers. Sanghar, who was a descendant of that same Sidhu from whom the Patiala princes claim their ancestry was a landless wanderer, and when Baber came to India he joined the latter's service with a few soldiers. It will be seen that Baber, who came from Afghanistan with only a very small army indeed, must have been glad of the services of those warlike Jats who joined him in those desperate days. When this gallant, romantic

adventurer entered the lists against Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat, his army was still outnumbered by more than ten to one. That he succeeded in snatching an outstanding victory against such odds is a tribute to the fine soldiers he commanded as well as to his own powers of leadership. Perhaps no service was as great as that of Sanghar—certain it is that none was greater. Fighting bravely on that April day in 1525 on the side of chivalry against superior odds he gave his life in the service of the Emperor to be—Baber. This might well have been the end of the matter if any other Prince had been involved, but it was not the way of Humayun's Father to forget his friends easily. As soon as he became lord of Lodi's possessions he awarded to Sanghar's son the rulership of a strip of land in the country to the south west of Delhi, and from then onwards may be said to have ended the obscurity in which this family had its beginnings. The Brars were, however, to become famous eventually in the Ferozepore District rather than in the "Choudriyat" awarded to them by Baber.

It is obviously out of the question to trace the history of this family in detail, but nothing is so amazing as its propensity for being involved in every form of warfare in an age when war seems to have been the pastime of all those chieftains who could muster a few followers with which to lead an attack on their neighbours. No condottiere of mediaeval Europe could claim to have been involved in so many wars as this small Jat Principality—little larger than an ordinary provincial district in British India. We find the Brars

fighting the Bhattis, and at loggerheads with the Rajas of Lahore and Amritsar; we find them even at war with their relations of Patiala who, incidentally, won a signal victory over them. When not at war with someone else the fathers fought the sons, or vice versa, and when even this was not possible brothers developed a quarrel amongst themselves. It does not seem as if they even knew when they were beaten or that any enemy was too strong to oppose, and in 1808 we find Maharaja Ranjit Singh himself attacking Faridkot. That his victory was a "walk-over" was of course to be expected, but the mere fact of his receiving any opposition at all from this small State illustrates how little it mattered whether the enemy was fifty strong or fifty thousand—the Brars fought him just the same.

One point is worthy of note, and shows on the other hand, that Faridkot was capable of consistent and unswerving loyalty. The love which the Sikhs bore for Guru Gobind Singh is too well known to be doubted, and history shows how easily that combined with their intense patriotism could easily be translated into violent and fanatic action. Yet when the holy Guru approached the Ruler in 1704 and asked for help against the Mohammedans it was refused on the grounds of loyalty to Imperial Delhi. The message contained in the following couplet is attributed to Guru Gobind Singh at the time :—"*Na zarrah daren rah khatra tarast, Hamah Qaum-i-Burar hukam-i-marast*". Which translated would mean that there was little fear for the Chief as the whole tribe would support the Guru

*lit* under his command. Be that as it may, Faridkot would not then join in a rising against the Muslims.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh was compelled by the British to restore his conquests on the left side of the River Sutlej, but he appears to have done everything possible to avoid the surrender of Faridkot. The reason is not clear because there is no evidence to show that it possessed other than a purely tactical value. Diwan Mokam Chánd, Ranjit's Chief Minister who hated the British would willingly have gone to war rather than surrender Faridkot, but the Maharaja eventually decided on compliance with their request, and Faridkot was evacuated.

During the mutiny of 1857, Raja Wazir Singh, the Ruler, rendered exceptional service to the British, and apprehended many deserters whom he handed over. He also placed himself, together with a considerable body of troops under their orders, and records show that the Faridkot Force served with distinction under General Van Cortlandt.

In the year 1862 the Raja of Faridkot was rewarded with a Sanad and the right of adoption was granted to him; he was confirmed in the possession of his territories, and promised that as long as he fulfilled the terms of treaties, etc. with Britain nothing *should ever disturb him*. That he seems in danger of being *disturbed* now will be seen later!

The present Raja holds active commissioned rank in the British Army, and his forces have distinguished themselves in both the first and second World Wars.

They have gained many awards for gallantry in all theatres of operations where they have taken part. Further, in addition to the State regiments, officered entirely by Indians from State territory, recruits from this area have flocked in large numbers to serve in the Indian Army, where they have distinguished themselves. Taking into consideration the comparatively small area ruled by the Raja it has done very well indeed.

Unfortunately an agitation has recently been started in Faridkot, which has the sympathy, if not the active help of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Starting on account of comparatively childish quarrel over the unfolding of a flag, it has developed into fairly large proportions and at least one person has met his death as a result. Whether the demands of those who wished to unfurl the flag were unreasonable, or whether the local State authorities became unnecessarily worried over what was after all likely to have no serious consequences to anybody, the fact remains that the matter has been allowed to assume an importance entirely out of proportion to its worth. More it is interfering with the Raja's arrangements for the collection of grain, which is being sent to southern India, where a serious shortage exists. When the question of saving many people from famine is under consideration the waving of flags should be at best a secondary consideration. No matter how hard you wave the Congress Flag, or any other, it will not fill the empty stomachs of poor starving people in far-off Bengal or Mysore—though it may result to some extent in a waste of cloth and energy! I am one of those who believe

that the Congress Tricolour should be allowed to fly proudly everywhere that it has a right to, but there is a time and a place for everything, even the unfurling of banners.

Up to the present Faridkot has stood entirely aloof from any combination which might have as their object embarrassment of the British Government, and in fact has been a staunch supporter of our administration always. In the future, too, that will be his aim, unless force of circumstances created by us should render such a course impossible. It would be as unpleasant as it would be entirely undesirable to have the Faridkot guns turned on Ferozepore !



## NABHA STATE

Relations between the Political Department and certain members of the Nabha House are perhaps not as good as could be wished for in these days, and much has been said regarding the detention of a Nabha prince as a prisoner in the Punjab Mental Hospital Lahore. Though in the normal way politicians appear to have little sympathy for Princes or their problems this is a case in which they have seen fit to interfere because presumably it seemed a good way of striking at the British Government. The less said, however, the better.

Correctly speaking the Nabha Branch of the "phulkian" family is the senior while that of Patiala is junior, but due to a variety of reasons, mainly gallantry in the field, and the ability on the part of rulers of Patiala to grasp the real essentials of political situations as they arose, Nabha now occupies very much of a second place to the other State. The ruler of Nabha, Raja Jaswant Singh, was not so keen on making friends with the British as were the other Cis-Sutlej Chiefs in the beginning of the nineteenth century, but eventually appears to have done so, and maintained a fairly consistent record of loyalty afterwards. When Maharaja Ranjit Singh attempted the conquest of those territories beyond the Sutlej, Jaswant Singh was his close ally throughout, but at last seems to have realised with others that Ranjit's friendship was often in itself a dangerous thing inasmuch as he

could only hope at best to be a petty feudatory of the great man. Ranjit wished to be complete Lord and master from Delhi to Kabul, and so there was no place for the freedom-loving cis-Sutlej princes in such an administration. Then, as today, to them absolute freedom from outside interference was almost a fetish, then as today, they were always prepared to fight for it. This may have accounted for the fact that the Raja soon turned to the British Government as an ally.

A time was to come, however, when the Nabha Ruler, then Raja Devinder Singh, was to waver in his loyalty to Britain, and this when we suffered such a ghastly defeat, involving the destruction of a whole Army, at Kabul. That he did not turn against us actively was a credit to his good sense and the sounder judgments which prevailed at his darbar. It has ever been so. Whenever British Arms suffer a defeat there will be many persons who think that the English have ceased to be a power in the World, and that it is time to look for new friends. The most recent example of this is to be found after Britain suffered such a decisive defeat at Singapore. Those in the East who were loyal to us after such a great blow to British prestige deserve indeed to be called friends, because all our enemies and those who had served us for their own purposes only were certain that we were finished. It would be as well for such persons ever to remember that Britian does not always win battles, but she rarely loses a war! Unlike races of a more temperamental type the British people do not know when they are beaten—and even if they do they say it doesn't matter

any way, and they fight on just the same. During the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the Nabha Raja remained on the side of the British, profiting by the wise example of his great relation, but after the death of the latter, Nabha seems to have been disposed to joining the Lahore confederacy. At this point it is necessary to express a feeling about the general attitude of Sikh Chiefs towards British supremacy. Frankly it bored them, because of its establishment of security for the weak against the strong. Someone in a letter to the Governor General of those days expressed this as follows! The Lion and Lamb might, through the benevolence of the British Government, drink out of the same vessel, but this state of affairs was only agreeable to the Lamb. Warlike chiefs desired only war when they could obtain profit from preying on the weak. This interesting philosophy was expressed similarly by an European Condottiere once, upon meeting a Franciscan Brother on the road. The latter gave the conventional wish "Peace be on you", and to his surprise received the reply "And may you lose your alms"! The Brother was justly incensed and asked why his good wishes should have had such a churlish reply, whereupon the Soldier of Fortune told him that in fact "Peace" meant to him the loss of his livelihood, and consequently was as undesirable as the loss of alms to the other. Such an attitude might well have expressed the feeling of Raja Devinder Singh who, after all, stood to gain little in peace, but in a warlike alliance with Lahore might acquire additional territory. An alliance with Lahore did not, however, materialise, and we find that

soon the Nabha Darbar was at war with Lahore, some time after the assassination of Maharaja Sher Singh.

Alone of all the Cis-Sutlej Sikhs the Raja of Nabha was almost hostile to the British during the Anglo-Sikh War of 1845/46, and if not actively hostile at least gave no assistance. It is stated that he was an imbecile, and certain it is that abnormality has not been absent from the family, but mainly the control exercised over him by certain Brahmins at his Court may be said to be responsible. One thing is certain, like certain other rulers of even a later date he considered himself to be almost divinely appointed, and was so vain and arrogant that he would not meet even British Governors. We have had the example of another Ruler in later years in another part of India who, though descended from the most morally and physically corrupt line under the sun, would wash his hands after shaking hands with any European. Mahatma Gandhi, and other Reformers of the present day, have done much to remove this false facade of so-called caste superiority, always debasing, rather than exalting, to those who carried it to far extremes.

British Administrators of those days were not slow to act against enemies or luke-warm friends. Raja Devinder Singh was deposed and a quarter of Nabha territory forfeited. His son, aged seven, was to govern with a kind of Council to help him in the Administration, while the forfeited territory went to Patiala, Faridkot and Jind. Devinder Singh died later in exile, though not until he had caused his own family considerable trouble in every way possible.

Raja Bharpur Singh was chief of Nabha State at the time of the mutiny and his behaviour was excellent indeed. He occupied Ludhiana, and held the Sutlej crossing against the Mutineers from Jullundur. He provided many troops for escort, and his forces were strongly represented at Delhi. Consequently when the troubles were over he was rewarded in much the same manner as other loyal princes, and succeeded in regaining much of the prestige lost by Devinder Singh twelve years before.

The services of this State in World Wars I & II have not been insignificant, and a considerable standing army is maintained. The area of territory is about one thousand square miles and the population consists mainly of Sikhs and Jats.

*Stet fortune domus !*

## SIKH TOLERANCE TOWARDS OTHER RELIGIONS

“Recognise all human nature as one” —Guru Gobind Singh.

In the course of many years in India I have studied the history of this community, both past and present, with what I hope to be a perfectly open mind. I have seen Sikhs in the villages, in the town and on the farms ; the labourer, the factory-hand, the college student and the business man ; while studying their characteristics and endeavouring to understand their psychology. Pride in their race and their institutions I have found, but never once religious intolerance. Possibly it may be said that this conclusion is based on observations of a one-side nature, and so I will add that I have discussed the Sikh community with many people who could by no means be described as its admirers, and even they never attempted allegations which might have supported such a view.

One of the peculiarities of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's reign was that he governed an area predominantly Muslim ; Dera Ismail Khan, the Western Punjab, the North West Frontier province and finally a section of Afghanistan, but in no history will you find a suggestion that religious persecution took place under his rule. In the same way the administration of all Sikh States has been entirely lacking

in any favouritism at the expense of the Muslim or Hindu communities. Comparisons are generally invidious, but a comparison between two states in Northern India is not entirely out of place at this stage. Until recently the Prime Minister and the Inspector General of Police in Patiala were Muslims, while many other posts of importance were also held by persons from that community. Can anyone imagine a Sikh Chief Minister or commissioner of police in Bawahalpur? I think not.

In the same way many Muslim and Hindu officers held important posts under Ranjit Singh, and afterwards. Leaving out entirely the Europeans in his service, it will be seen that Gulab Singh, who afterwards became Maharaja of Kashmir was a Hindu, and the Faqir brothers became equally important in his reign—one being a minister of State and the other a high officer in Ranjit's army. Fort Gobindgarh, after being rebuilt by the Maharaja, was manned by two thousand men and twenty five guns under a Muslim Officer.

The Sikh religious teachers have always enjoined tolerance, and emphasised the equality of all in the eyes of God. It is an entirely democratic religion and does not acknowledge the barriers of caste; neither does it encourage forcible conversions or the persecution of other sects because of their faith. Consequently there should be little fear on anybody's part that should the Khalsa obtain a majority rule in any part of India, they will interfere in any way with the culture or beliefs of others. History shows no example of such intolerance on their

part, and a close study of the average Sikh will show that he is remarkably broadminded in this respect. He may be filled with the greatest enthusiasm for his own religious beliefs, but he has no desire whatever to interfere with those of anyone else.

In other respects too the Sikhs are remarkably tolerant. Tobacco in any form is anathema to them, but yet you will not find an instance where one objects to others smoking in his vicinity. Prostitution is less among women of this community than any of the other major communities, but you will never find a Sikh pointing the finger of scorn at them on that account.

Taken all in all, therefore, there should be little ground for imagining that any minorities in a future Sikh State would be denied absolute freedom of worship and developing their own culture. If any person thinks so he should disabuse himself because he is suffering from a misapprehension unfair to the Sikhs and moreover one which indicates that he, himself, is not free from baseless prejudice.



## FULL TEXT OF CABINET MISSION PLAN

The following is the full text of the statement issued by the Cabinet Delegation and His Excellency the Viceroy :—

1. On March 15th last just before the despatch of the Cabinet Delegation to India Mr. Attlee, the British Prime Minister, used these words :—

“My colleagues are going to India with the intention of using their utmost endeavours to help her to attain her freedom as speedily and fully as possible. What form of Government is to replace the present regime is for India to decide ; but our desire is to help to set up forthwith the machinry for making that decision.”

“I hope that India and her people may elect to remain within the British Commonwealth. I am certain that they will find great advantages in doing so.”

“But if she does so elect it must be by her own free will. The British Commonwealth and Empire is not bound together by chains of external compulsion. It is a free association of free people. If, on the other hand, she elects for independence, in our view she has a right to do so. It will be for us to help to make the transition as smooth and easy as possible.”

2. Charged in these historic words we—the Cabinet Ministers and the Viceroy—have done our utmost to assist the two main political parties to reach agreement

upon the fundamental issue of the unity or division of India. After prolonged discussions in New Delhi we succeeded in bringing the Congress and the Muslim League together in Conference at Simla. There was a full exchange of views and both parties were prepared to make considerable concessions in order to try and reach a settlement but it ultimately proved impossible to close the remainder of the gap between the parties and so no agreement could be concluded. Since no agreement has been reached we feel that it is our duty to put forward what we consider are the best arrangements possible to ensure a speedy setting up of the new constitution. This statement is made with the full approval of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

3. We have accordingly decided that immediate arrangements should be made whereby Indians may decide the future constitution of India and an Interim Government may be set up at once to carry on the administration of British India until such time as a new Constitution can be brought into being. We have endeavoured to be just to the smaller as well as to the larger sections of the people; and to recommend a solution which will lead to a practicable way of governing the India of the future, and will give a sound basis for defence and a good opportunity for progress in the social, political and economic field.

4. It is not intended in this statement to review the voluminous evidence that has been submitted to the Mission; but it is right that we should state that it has shown an almost universal desire, outside the supporters

of the Muslim League, for the unity of India.

5. This consideration did not, however, deter us from examining closely and impartially the possibility of a partition of India, since we were greatly impressed by the very genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find themselves subjected to a perpetual Hindu-majority rule.

This feeling has become so strong and widespread amongst the Muslims that it cannot be allayed by mere paper safeguards. If there is to be internal peace in India it must be secured by measures which will assure to the Muslims a control in all matters vital to their culture, religion, and economic or other interests.

6. We therefore, examined in the first instance the question of a separate and fully independent Sovereign State of Pakistan as claimed by the Muslim League. Such a Pakistan would comprise two areas; one in the north-west consisting of the Provinces of the Punjab, Sind, North-West Frontier, and British Baluchistan; the other in the north-east consisting of the Provinces of Bengal and Assam. The League were prepared to consider adjustment of boundaries at a later stage, but insisted that the principle of Pakistan should first be acknowledged. The argument for a separate State of Pakistan was based, first upon the right of the Muslim majority to decide their method of Government according to their wishes, and secondly, upon the necessity to include substantial areas in which Muslims are in a minority, in order to make Pakistan administratively and economically workable.

The size of the non-Muslim minorities in a Pakistan comprising the whole of the six Provinces enumerated above would be very considerable as the following figures taken from the recent census taken in 1941 shows :—

<b>North-Western Area :—</b>	<b>Muslim.</b>	<b>Non-Muslim.</b>
Punjab	16,217,242	12,201,577
North-West Frontier Province	2,788,797	249,270
Sind	3,208,355	1,316,683
Br. Baluchistan.	438,930	29,701
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	22,653,294	13,840,231
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	62.07%	37.94%
	<hr/>	<hr/>
<b>North-Eastern Area :—</b>		
Bengal	33,005,434	27,301,091
Assam	3,442,479	6,762,254
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	36,447,914	34,063,315
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	51.69%	48.31%

The Muslim minorities in the remainder of British India number some 20 million dispersed amongst a total population of 188 million.

These figures show that the setting up of a separate Sovereign State of Pakistan on the lines claimed by the Muslim League, would not solve the communal minority problem; nor can we see any justification for including within a sovereign Pakistan those districts of the Punjab and of Bengal and Assam in which the population is predominantly non-Muslim. Every argument that can be used in favour of Pakis-

tan, can equally in our view be used in favour of the exclusion of the non-Muslim areas from Pakistan. This point would particularly affect the position of the Sikhs.

7. We therefore considered whether a smaller sovereign Pakistan confined to the Muslim majority areas alone might be a possible basis of compromise. Such a Pakistan is regarded by the Muslim League as quite impracticable because it would entail the exclusion from Pakistan of (a) the whole of the Ambala and Jullundur Divisions in the Punjab; (b) the whole of Assam except the district of Sylhet; and (c) a large part of Western Bengal, including Calcutta, in which city the Muslims form 23.6% of the population. We ourselves are also convinced that any solution which involves a radical partition of the Punjab and Bengal, as this would do, would be contrary to the wishes and interests of a very large proportion of the inhabitants of these Provinces.

Bengal and the Punjab each has its own common language and a long history and tradition. Moreover, any division of the Punjab would of necessity divide the Sikhs leaving substantial bodies of Sikhs on both sides of the boundary. We have therefore been forced to the conclusion that neither a larger nor a smaller Sovereign State of Pakistan would provide an acceptable solution for the communal problem.

8 Apart from the great force of the foregoing arguments there are weighty administrative, economic and military considerations. The whole of the transportation and postal and telegraph systems of India have been

established on the basis of a united India. To disintegrate them would gravely injure both parts of India. The case for a united defence is even stronger. The Indian armed forces have been built up as a whole for the defence of India as a whole, and to break them in two would inflict a deadly blow on the long traditions and high degree of efficiency of the Indian army and would entail the gravest dangers. The Indian Navy and Indian Air Force would become much less effective. The two sections of the suggested Pakistan contain the two most vulnerable frontiers in India and for a successful defence in depth the area of the Pakistan would be insufficient.

9. A further consideration of importance is the greater difficulty which the Indian States would find in associating themselves with a divided British India.

10. Finally there is the geographical fact that the two halves of the proposed Pakistan State are separated by some seven hundred miles and the communications between them both in war and peace would be dependent on the goodwill of Hindustan.

11. We are therefore unable to advise the British Government that the power which at present resides in British hands should be handed over to two entirely separate Sovereign States.

12. This decision does not however blind us to the very real Muslim apprehensions that their culture and political and social life might become submerged in a purely unitary India, in which the Hindus with their greatly superior numbers must be a dominating element.

To meet this the Congress have put forward a scheme under which Provinces would have full autonomy subject only to a minimum of Central subjects, such as Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications.

Under this scheme Provinces, if they wished to take part in economic and administrative planning on a large scale, could cede to the Centre optional subjects in addition to the compulsory ones mentioned above.

13. Such a scheme would, in our view, present considerable constitutional disadvantages and anomalies. It would be very difficult to work a Central Executive and Legislature in which some Ministers, who dealt with Compulsory subjects, were responsible to the whole of India while other Ministers, who dealt with Optional subjects, would be responsible only to those Provinces which had elected to act together in respect of such subjects. This difficulty would be accentuated in the Central Legislature, where it would be necessary to exclude certain members from speaking and voting when subjects with which their Provinces were not concerned were under discussion.

Apart from the difficulty of working such a scheme, we do not consider that it would be fair to deny to other Provinces, which did not desire to take the optional subjects at the Center, the right to form themselves into a group for a similar purpose. This would indeed be no more than the exercise of their autonomous powers in a particular way.

14. Before putting forward our recommendation we turn to deal with the relationship of the Indian States to

British India. It is quite clear that with the attainment of independence by British India, whether inside or outside the British Commonwealth, the relationship which has hitherto existed between the Rulers of the States and the British Crown will no longer be possible. Paramountcy can neither be retained by the British Crown nor transferred to the new Government. This fact has been fully recognised by those whom we interviewed from the States. They have at the same time assured us that the States are ready and willing to co-operate in the new development of India. The precise form which their co-operation will take must be a matter for negotiation during the building up of the new constitutional structure, and it by no means follows that it will be identical for all the States. We have not therefore dealt with the States in the same detail as the Provinces of British India in the paragraphs which follow.

15. We now indicate the nature of a solution which in our view would be just to the essential claims of all parties, and would at the same time be most likely to bring about a stable and practicable form of constitution for all India.

We recommend that the constitution should take the following basic form :—

- (1) There should be a union of all, embracing both British India and the States, which should deal with the following subjects : Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications ; and should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects.



- (2) The Union should have an Executive and a Legislature constituted from British Indian and States' representatives. Any question raising a major communal issue in the Legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting
- (3) All subjects other than the Union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the Provinces.
- (4) The States will retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded to the Union.
- (5) Provinces should be free to form groups with executives and legislatures and each group could determine the Provincial subjects to be taken in common.
- (6) The constitutions of the Union and of the groups should contain a provision whereby any Province could, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for a reconsideration of the terms of the constitution after an initial period of 10 years and at 10 yearly intervals thereafter.

16. It is not our object to lay out the details of a constitution on the above lines, but to set in motion the machinery whereby a constitution can be settled by Indians for Indians.

It has been necessary however for us to make this recommendation as to the broad basis of the future constitution because it became clear to us in the course of our negotiations that not until that had been done was there any hope of getting the two major communities to join in the setting up of the constitution-making

machinery.

17. We now indicate the constitution-making machinery which we propose should be brought into being forthwith in order to enable a new constitution to be worked out.

18. In forming any Assembly to decide a new Constitutional structure the first problem is to obtain as broadbased and accurate a representation of the whole population as is possible. The most satisfactory method obviously would be by election based on adult franchise, but any attempt to introduce such a step now would lead to a wholly unacceptable delay in the formulation of the new Constitution. The only practicable alternative is to utilize the recently elected Provincial Legislative Assemblies as the electing bodies. There are, however, two factors in their composition which make this difficult. First, the numerical strengths of the Provincial Legislative Assemblies do not bear the same proportion to the total population in each Province. Thus, Assam with a population of 10 millions has a Legislative Assembly of 108 members, while Bengal, with a population six times as large has an Assembly of only 250. Secondly owing to the weightage given to minorities by the Communal Award, the strengths of the several communities in each Provincial Legislative Assembly are not in proportion to their numbers in the Province. Thus the number of seats reserved for Muslims in the Bengal Legislative Assembly is only 48 per cent of the total, although they form 55 per cent of the Provincial population. After a most careful consideration of the various methods by which these

inequalities might be corrected, we have come to the conclusion that the fairest and most practicable plan would be—

- (a) To allot to each Province a total number of seats proportional to its population, roughly in the ratio of one to a million, as the nearest substitute for representation by adult suffrage.
- (b) To divide this provincial allocation of seats between the main communities in each Province in proportion of their population.
- (c) To provide that the representatives allotted to each community in a Province shall be elected by the members of that community in its Legislative Assembly.

We think that for these purposes it is sufficient to recognise only three main communities in India: General, Muslim, and Sikh—the “General” community including all persons who are not Muslims or Sikhs. As the smaller minorities would upon the population basis, have little or no representation since they would lose the weightage which assures them seats in the Provincial Legislatures, we have made the arrangements set out in paragraph 20 below to give them a full representation upon all matters of special interest to the minorities.

19. (i) We therefore propose that there shall be elected by each Provincial Legislative Assembly the following numbers of representatives, each part of the Legislature (General, Muslim or Sikhs) electing its own

representatives by the method of proportional representation with the single transferable vote :—

## SECTION A

Province.	General.	Muslim.	Total.
Madras	45	4	49
Bombay	19	2	21
United Provinces	47	8	55
Bihar	31	5	36
Central Provinces	16	1	17
Orissa	9	0	9
<b>Total</b>	<b>167</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>187</b>

## SECTION B

Province.	General.	Muslim.	Sikh.	Total.
Punjab	8	16	4	28
North-West Frontier Province	0	3	0	3
Sind	1	3	0	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>35</b>

Province.	General.	Muslim.	Total.
Bengal.	27	33	60
Assam	7	3	10
<b>Total.</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>70</b>

**Total for British India** ... 292  
**Maximum for Indian States** ... 93

**Total** ... 385

Note—In order to represent the Chief Commissioners' Provinces there will be added to Section A the Member representing Delhi in the Central Legislative Assembly, the Member representing Ajmer-Merwara in the Central Legislative Assembly, and a representative to be elected by the Coorg Legislative Council.

To Section B will be added a representative of British Baluchistan.

- (ii) It is the intention that the States should be given in the final Constituent Assembly appropriate representation which would not, on the basis of the calculations adopted for British India, exceed 93, but the method of selection will have to be determined by consultation. The States would in the preliminary stage be represented by a Negotiating Committee.
- (iii) The representatives thus chosen shall meet at New Delhi as soon as possible.
- (iv) A preliminary meeting will be held at which the general order of business will be decided, a Chairman and other officers elected, and an Advisory Committee (see paragraph 20 below) on the rights of citizens minorities, and tribal and excluded areas set up. Thereafter the provincial representatives will divide up into the three sections shown under A, B, and C, in the Table of Representation in sub-paragraph (i) of this paragraph.
- (v) These sections shall proceed to settle the Provincial Constitutions for the Provinces included in each section, and shall also decide whether any

Group Constitution shall be set up for those provinces and if, so, with what provincial subjects the Group should deal. Provinces shall have the power to opt out of the Groups in accordance with the provisions of subclause (viii) below.

- (vi) The representatives of the Sections and the Indian States shall reassemble for the purpose of settling the Union Constitution.
  - (vii) In the Union Constituent Assembly resolutions varying the provisions of paragraph 15 above or raising any major communal issue shall require a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities.
- The Chairman of the Assembly shall decide which (if any) of the resolutions raise major communal issues and shall, if so requested by a majority of the representatives of either of the major communities, consult the Federal Court before giving his decision.
- (viii) As soon as the new constitutional arrangements have come into operation, it shall be open to any Province to elect to come out of any Group in which it has been placed. Such a decision shall be taken by the new legislature of the province after the first general election under the new constitution.

20. The Advisory Committee on the rights of citizens, minorities, and tribal and excluded areas should contain full representation of the interests affected, and their function will be to report to the Union Constituent As-

sembly upon the list of Fundamental Rights, the clauses for the protection of minorities, and a scheme for the administration of the tribal and excluded areas, and to advise whether these rights should be incorporated in the Provincial, Group, or Union constitution.

21. His Excellency the Viceroy will forthwith request the Provincial Legislatures to proceed with the election of their representatives and the States to set up a Negotiating Committee. It is hoped that the process of constitution-making can proceed as rapidly as the complexities of the task permit so that the interim period may be as short as possible.

22. It will be necessary to negotiate a Treaty between the Union Constituent Assembly and the United Kingdom to provide for certain matters arising out of the transfer of power.

23. While the constitution-making proceeds, the administration of India has to be carried on. We attach the greatest importance therefore to the setting up at once of an interim Government having the support of the major political parties. It is essential during the interim period that there should be the maximum of co-operation in carrying through the difficult tasks that face the Government of India. Besides the heavy task of day-to-day administration, there is the grave danger of famine to be countered; there are decisions to be taken in many matters of post-war development which will have a far-reaching effect on India's future; and there are important international conferences in which India has to be represented. For all these purposes a Government having

popular support is necessary. The Viceroy has already started discussions to this end, and hopes soon to form an Interim Government in which all the portfolios, including that of War Member, will be held by Indian leaders having the full confidence of the people. The British Government, recognising the significance of the changes in the Government of India, will give the fullest measure of co-operation to the Government so formed in the accomplishment of its tasks of administration and in bringing about as rapid and smooth a transition as possible.

24. To the leaders and people of India who now have the opportunity of complete independence we would finally say this. We and our Government and countrymen hoped that it would be possible for the Indian people themselves to agree upon the method of framing the new constitution under which they will live. Despite the labours which we have shared with the Indian Parties, and the exercise of much patience and goodwill by all, this has not been possible. We therefore now lay before you proposals which, after listening to all sides and after much earnest thought, we trust will enable you to attain your independence in the shortest time and with the least danger of internal disturbance and conflict. These proposals may not, of course, completely satisfy all parties, but you will recognise with us that at this supreme moment in Indian history statesmanship demands mutual accommodation.

We ask you to consider the alternative to acceptance of these proposals. After all the efforts which we and the



Indian Parties have made together for agreement, we must state that in our view there is small hope of peaceful settlement by agreement of the Indian Parties alone. The alternative would therefore be a grave danger of violence, chaos, and even civil war. The result and duration of such a disturbance cannot be foreseen : but it is certain that it would be a terrible disaster for many millions of men, women and children. This is a possibility which must be regarded by Indian people, our own countrymen and the world as a whole.

We therefore lay these proposals before you in the profound hope that they will be accepted and operated by you in the spirit of accommodation and goodwill in which they are offered. We appeal to all who have the future good of India at heart to extend their vision beyond their own community or interest to the interests of the whole four hundred million of the Indian people.

We hope that the new independent India may choose to be a member of the British Commonwealth. We hope in any event that you will remain in close and friendly association with our people. But these are matters for your own free choice. Whatever that choice may be we look forward with you to your ever increasing prosperity among the great nations of the world, and to a future even more glorious than your past.

## THE AMRITSAR MEETING

The following extracts taken from the Civil and Military Gazette, Lahore, dated 11th June, 1946, describe the historic Panthic meeting held at Amritsar on June 9th and 10th :—

“Amritsar, June 10th.—The Determination.....”

In the same edition the journal published the following under the caption “Dangerous Move” :—

“The text.....”

That the British Government has certainly in the past repeatedly declared the Sikh Community to be worthy of a privileged position is indubitable, but on that account alone it is all the more strange that the Cabinet Mission should have ignored the rights of the Community altogether. It is to be hoped that this neglect represents the policy of the Mission alone, and not a *volte face* on the part of His Majesty's Government which might have regrettable consequences indeed. As for “losing” the position that the Editor talks about most of the Sikhs believe that they cannot “lose” what they have not had, and therefore are left only with the alternative of fighting to gain what they conceive to be their rightful position in the India of the future.

Amritsar, June 10.—The determination of Sikhs to shed the last drop of their blood in order to fight the Cabinet Mission's proposals was expressed by leaders of all Sikh parties and groups at an historic Panthic

Conference which opened here yesterday in Teja Singh Samundri Hall.

Four concrete decisions, which seem to have been reached so far but not formally announced, were hinted at by two or three speakers.

One is the formation of a council of action representative of all groups and parties to direct the whole campaign (morcha) whatever form it might take, with Jathedar Udham Singh Nagoke, M.L.A. (Panthic) as its first dictator or president.

The second is the recruitment of at least two lakhs of volunteers to participate in the morcha. This number is equal to that which joined the Indian Army during the war.

The third is an appeal to Sikh Government or other servants unable to make any other sacrifice to contribute at least a month's salary to this morcha. And fourth is a pledge to be signed before the Akal Takht by those joining the morcha to face death in order to secure relief.

The Teja Singh Hall was packed by over a thousand Sikh leaders representative of Akalis, Congress Sikhs, Nirmalas, Chief Khalsa Diwan, Singh Sabhas, District Akali Jathas from all over the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Delhi, the United Provinces and other places. Jathedar Mohan Singh, head of the Akal Takht, who had invited this conference with its historic religious background, since in past critical occasions such conferences have been similarly summoned, was unanimously voted to the chair. Proceedings opened with the reading of the Granth Sahib and the offer of

prayer.

Those present included Master Tara Singh, Sardar Baldev Singh, the Punjab Minister; His Holiness Maharaja Pratap Singh Namdhari, the Guru of Bhainisahib, Sant Nidhan Singh Alam, Sarmukh Singh Chamak, President of the Central Ramgarhia Federation; Inder Singh and Shivdev Shingh, Congress M.L.As; Mangal Singh, M.L.A. (Central), S. Ujjal Singh, S. Joginder Singh, S. Jagjit Singh Amann, Panthic M.L.As; Sardar Bahadur Jodh Singh.

### SIKHS BETRAYED

Sardar Ishar Singh Majhail, M.L.A. (Panthic), described with tears in his eyes how the British Cabinet Mission had let down the Sikhs and, as a self-respecting community, they could only right the wrong by sacrifices. He expressed determination of Sikhs to end the British raj or the the Community would be wiped out. He was sure that the British might could not check their coming 'morcha'. They could not accept Muslim slavery.

Babu Labh Singh, President of the Shromani Akali Dal thought that the Panth's fate would be decided soon as they could only save their existence with blood. He hinted that they would have to take an irrevocable pledge before the Akal Takht.

Master Tara Singh, who spoke towards the end of the conference, received a tremendous ovation amid shouts of Sat Sri Akal. He spoke feelingly, trembling with rage, saying that this was no time for dissension.

It was not his duty to approach other parties or groups, though they had done so because they were in mourning and in the grip of a terrible calamity which should unite fighting brothers. He said that Englishmen should realise that the Sikhs can do more harm than Muslims if enraged. Then alone will they concede their rights. 'There are only two ways : either we finish the British raj or be finished ourselves.' He declared that leaders would not be united but he wanted the masses to be united. In the end he appealed to Sikhs for unity.

Jathedar Udham Singh Nagoke, M.L.A., who spoke last, wanted to know if the Sikhs who had offered two lakhs of soldiers to the Indian Army in order to save the British could offer a like number, if not more, to protect themselves. In 1849 Sikh rule had been ended with treachery, but now before 1949 they wanted to end the British rule with their sacrifices.

He regarded the Cabinet Mission's proposals as a challenge of the British Government and the Sikhs have accepted it. He said that mere jail going would not help. They would have to die. He asserted: "We do not want to fight Hindus and Muslims. With Hindus we have no differences, but the relationship of blood and with Muslims that of neighbourhood. Our differences will be settled with the British. We expect Hindus and Muslims to help to finish the British. To the Congress I appeal that its ideal of freedom can only be achieved if communalism goes away. These Cabinet Mission's proposals are based on communalism and it is for the Congress to come out in defence of its principles.

He reminded Sikhs of their past traditions, quoting from Sikh history and scriptures, and said even if they sacrificed two lakhs of men they would get ten lakhs of converts who would be impressed by their sacrifices. To the Sikh public he appealed for the gift of one month's salary, as the morcha would require a tremendous amount of money.

To Akalis he appealed for sacrifices otherwise they would have to discard the black turban.

Nirinjan Singh Gill, of the I.N.A. said that the Singapore opportunity of 1942 had come their way again and he expressed the readiness of his comrades to make the supreme sacrifices at the behest of the Panth and the country. He declared that he and Mohan Singh, who had pledged the country's freedom in a Singapore temple, would once again repeat the pledge to secure the same object.

Bawa Harkrishan Singh principal of Khalsa College, Gujranwala, Sardar Bahadur Johd Singh, representing the Chief Khalsa Dewan (moderate Sikhs); Sarmukh Singh Chamak, Nidhan Singh Alam, Namdhari, Dyal Singh, head of Nirmala Sikhs; Puran Singh Nihang, Joginder Singh Mann, M.L.A., Jagjit Singh Mann, M.L.A., Channan Singh, Amar Singh, of the Students' Federation; Baag Singh, Bawa Bachitter Singh (Delhi) and Pritam Singh (Sargouha) delivered vigorous speeches assuring the Panth of their full support in this matter, expressing their delight at Panthic unity and stressing the need for discipline.

## MONDAY'S PROCEEDINGS

The Amritsar correspondent of "The Civil and Military Gazette" writes :

The second session of the historic Panthic Conference opened on Monday at 11 a.m, with Jathedar Mohan Singh of the Akal Takht (acting as Stage Secretary) conducting the proceedings of the conference in the presence of the Guru Granth Sahib. An enthusiastic crowd listened to the main resolutions and the speeches of Sikh leaders with rapt attention through loudspeakers fitted outside the office of the S.G.P.C.

Another very important feature of to-day's session was that even Congress Sikhs who had for reasons best known to them kept away from yesterday's session of the conference came in at about 12 noon headed by the President, Amritsar District Congress Committee (Rural), Sardar Darshan Singh Pheruman, and Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir.

The main resolution condemning the British Cabinet Mission's proposals, moved by Sardar Bahadur Ujjal Singh and seconded by Giani Kartar Singh, M.L.A., was passed unanimously. The resolution is as follows :

"This representative gathering of Sikhs assembled in Amritsar has given anxious and earnest consideration to the recommendations of the Cabinet Mission read with subsequent elucidation and is of the opinion that these recommendations will perpetuate the slavery of the country rather than promote the independence of India.

"The recommendations are particularly unjust to Sikhs regard being had *inter alia* to the matters specified

hereunder :

(a) That the Cabinet Mission while recognising that the establishment of Pakistan would in particular affect adversely the position of Sikhs have yet by compulsory grouping of provinces made recommendations which in the words of Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, "make it possible for Muslims to secure all the advantages of Pakistan without incurring the danger inherent in it."

(b) That the Cabinet Mission while admitting that the cultural, political and social life of Muslims might become submerged in a purely unitary India in which Hindus with their greatly superior numbers must be a dominant element—and this in spite of the fact that Muslims are 9 crores in population and constitute a majority in several provinces of India—have deliberately blinded themselves to the same danger to a greater degree to Sikhs under Muslim domination which is thought to be aggravated by the proposed constitution. Needless to add that even under the existing constitution Sikhs have been reduced to a position of complete helplessness which had already exasperated them to the verge of revolt.

(c) That while admitting that the Punjab is the "homeland" of Sikhs, the Cabinet Mission has by its recommendations liquidated the position of Sikhs in their homeland.

(d) That the Advisory Committee set up in Paragraph 20 of the Cabinet Mission's statement is wholly ineffective to safeguard the just rights of Sikhs.



(e) That while the Cabinet Mission made provisions for the protection of the rights and interests of Hindus and Muslims on major communal issues they have made no such provision for the protection of the rights and interests of Sikhs in the Union or the provincial sphere.

“Therefore this Panthic gathering expresses strong condemnation of the recommendations of the Cabinet Mission and declares that they are wholly unacceptable to Sikhs. This gathering further affirms that no constitution will be acceptable to Sikhs which does not meet their just demands and is settled without their consent.

### COUNCIL OF ACTION APPOINTED

The second resolution which signifies that Sikhs are bound to give a tough fight to the British Government in case the proposals of the British Cabinet Mission are not modified according to their wishes and will continue the struggle until their demands are conceded, appointed a Council of Action with the famous I.N.A. leader Mr. Narinjan Singh Gill as “Dictator” and giving him powers to nominate six other members. The resolution runs as follows :

“Resolved that a Council of Action be constituted with Mr. Narinjan Singh as head. He is further empowered to nominate the personnel of the Council up to a total maximum of 7 members including himself.”

The third resolution stated ; “This Panthic gathering appoints a Pratinidhi (representative) Panthic Board of the following persons :—

Master Tara Singh, Mr. Narinjan Singh Gill of the I.N.A., S. B. Principal Jodh Singh of 'Khalsa College, Sardar Baldev Singh, Development Minister, Punjab, Jathedar Udham Singh Nagoke, M.L.A., Sardar Sarmukh Singh Chamak, President Ramgarhia Federation, Sant Nidhan Singh Alam of the Namdhari Darbar, Giani Kartar Singh, M.L.A., Bawa Harkishen Singh, Principal, Khalsa College, Gujranwala, Babu Labh Singh, President, S. A. Dal, Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir Member, Working Committee P.P. Congress Committee, Sardar Basant Singh Mogha. Colonel Raghbir Singh, a former Minister of Patiala, a representative of the Chief Khalsa Diwan, a representative of Nirmala Sikhs, a representative of Nihang Sikhs, the Board to have power to coopt to a total strength of 25 members.

"This Committee will work for Panthic solidarity and will explore all avenues for realisation of the Sikh objective."

The fourth resolution laid down procedure for collection of funds and lodging a vigorous protest against the proposals of the British Cabinet Mission.

It stated: "This Conference requests all Panthic Jathas and Singh Sabhas to arrange in all Gurdwaras the Bhog of Guru Granth Sahib whether Akhand Path or otherwise in all sacred places and shrines on Sunday, June 23, and offer prayers to the Almighty to protect Sikhs at this critical stage and enable them to come out successful through this crisis by making sacrifices and by remaining united.

"Besides at these Diwans appeals should be made to

Sikhs to contribute their mite, *i.e.*, a minimum of Re. 1 per head. According to this programme collections will be made from all Sikhs. Keeping in view the difficult times ahead of us, this Conference thinks it necessary to appeal to Sikhs to create perfect unity in their ranks

“For this purpose in every village and town a Khalsa Council of five Sikhs should be established which should settle disputes between Sikhs and achieve unity and thus enable them to fight the coming danger with their full strength.”

## CURTAIN

While it is possible that this volume may not entirely escape the notice of members of the Sikh community I would nevertheless like to emphasise that, from beginning to end, no portion of it has been written primarily for their perusal. The reason will be obvious: Every Sikh who deserves to be called by that name already knows the facts enumerated and does not need to be reminded of them. Further, the Sikhs today are not concerned with arguments, but with sound practical politics. Neither is it intended that Muslims should waste their time reading conclusions based on facts with which even fourth class students are familiar. My intentions, therefore, have little to do at present with convincing either of these communities, but with the others who must eventually help to decide the most important questions of Pakistan and Khalistan. I am referring to the British People and the Congress Party, neither of whom I feel sure, has any desire to see the Punjab bathed in a sea of blood, as must inevitably be the case if the present serious debacle is allowed to continue. When this publication comes into print I hope to be on the high seas *enroute* to the United Kingdom, but I shall carry away memories of a lovable people, Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs and others in this troublesome province. Above all I shall carry away memories of courtesy and hospitality at the hands of

ordinary people, in the villages, on the farms and in the towns. Having been vouchsafed the opportunity of meeting them as few Europeans do, I have learnt to love them all irrespective of caste or creed, and because the burden of civil war must inevitably fall heaviest on the Common Man, I appeal to those in a position to do so to take every step necessary in order to prevent the loathsome spectre of civil war from spreading its shadow over the land.

Whatever members of other parties may do or say, the ultimate responsibility for settlement of the problem must rest with us, the British, and our neglect to discharge that responsibility will be nothing less than a betrayal of the Sikh Nation, and resultant bloodshed. British officials there are many who agree that the Sikhs have not been given a fair deal, but these have to remain mute in relation to politics, and very few non-officials are fully acquainted with the facts of the case at all. Those who are, will agree with me that the Cabinet Mission committed a grievous mistake in neglecting to cater for the political aspirations of the Khalsa, and affirm that a very dangerous situation indeed has been created by this neglect. If this great Community does not realise its aims by fair and constitutional means, then the majority of its members are prepared to wade in a sea of blood if necessary to attain them. How anyone, even remotely familiar with Sikh psychology could have neglected to consider this important factor when preparing a plan of territorial independence for India is beyond understanding. The

only conclusion that can be reached, therefore, is that the members of the British Cabinet were misled as to the true facts of the case; and treated the Sikhs as they would the Parsees, the Anglo-Indians, or the Scheduled castes. That no greater error in statesmanship could be made will be obvious at once to persons who have studied the history, past and present, of the Sikhs. Someone has said that it is never quite safe to ignore the lessons of history, yet that is precisely what has been done in this instance by politicians who, even if they knew little of the real India, or its languages or its peoples, are expected to be at least conversant with its history. Few will deny the brilliance of Sir Stafford Cripps, or the good intentions of Lord Pethick-Lawrence, but unfortunately neither of these undoubted assets count as anything compared with experience and an intimate knowledge of conditions in India.

Recently a young Sikh used the following remark when speaking to me on the subject of Khalistan: "If and when the British go we will once again create Sikh Rule over the whole Punjab, we are armed and are prepared to suffer to this end if necessary". The actual words "*Apni hukumat tamam Punjab par phir qaim karenge*" were used—not to be it noted just "Punjab", but *all* the Punjab, and that is the view held by practically every Sikh one meets. There may be slight differences of opinion as to the *extent* of Khalistan, or its boundaries, but that there will have to be a Sikh State, at whatever cost, is the firm belief of all.

Sometimes in the past the Congress Party has

interfered in matters not altogether its concern, but in relation to this most important matter its members appear to be so busy with their own point of view concerning the future of India, that they have little time to take note of anyone else's. That the Congress is solidly against partition of the country is of course well known, but it should also be clear to Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders that there are times when you have to take a realistic view of important problems, even though that view may not be strictly in line with your own or your party policy. That this is one of the occasions when such a view is required should be clear, because unless you can cramp the potentialities and realities of Pakistan contained in the Cabinet Mission's plans and, persuade or compel the Muslims to live under what they imagine to be Hindu domination, then you will have to grant the Sikhs Khalistan to remove *their* fear of Muslim domination. Neither of the alternatives is easy, and a settlement is only possible through a pooling of statesmanship on the part of the British and the Congress. The Muslim and Sikh points of view are too far apart to allow for compromise; they always have been and regretfully though I say it, they are likely to remain so for the present. There is a similar situation in Northern Ireland, and only the interference of a strong third party can settle the Catholic and Protestant squabbles. Where is, however, the great difference that Northern Ireland is not at present being granted independence, and consequently the

rival parties are being kept from each other's throats. Withdraw British control tomorrow and Belfast will be a shambles.

No system of representation at the Centre is likely to satisfy the Sikhs if they are to live in an autonomous area which, call it what you like, will be Pakistan *de facto*. No one should, therefore, waste his time on that solution of the problem, because it would not be at all in line with the present trend of Sikh aspirations, and will only defer a real solution, with the possibility of worsening relations in Central, Southern and Eastern Punjab. It has been suggested elsewhere that a Commission should assemble to go into the whole question, and submit its recommendations to the Cabinet Mission. This seems to be the only practicable method of approaching a problem which the Mission itself, with or without the advice of the Congress, does not appear to be able to decide. It is hoped therefore that some such step will be taken while it is yet possible to avoid the endless bloodshed and misery which otherwise will be rampant on the face of this unhappy land.



## SIKH RECIPIENTS OF THE VICTORIA CROSS

1. Naik Chatter Singh, 16th Punjab Regiment,  
21-6-1916.
2. Risaldar Gobind Singh, 16th Light Cavalry,  
11-1-1918.
3. Sub: Major (Now Captain) Isher Singh, 15th  
Punjab Regt. 11-4-1921.
4. Major Bhagat Singh, Sappers and Miners,  
16-6-1941.
5. Havaldar Parkash Singh, 8th Punjab Regt.  
6-1-1943.
6. Naik Nand Singh, 11th Sikh Regiment, 14-3-44.
7. Naik Gian Singh, 15th Punjab Regiment, 1945.
8. Lieutenant Karamjit Singh, 15th Punjab  
Regiment, 1945.

*“Forti et fidei nihil difficile”*

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