

## **Revisiting Punjab's Role in the Revolt of 1857: Resistance, Repression and Exile**

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Indian and British historians have written much regarding the upheaval of 1857, each explaining their own side of the story. As far as the Punjab is concerned, the role played by various princely states was much appreciated by contemporary British officials in their accounts, which was later borrowed by the Indian historians in their own way. The narrative created by the British about Punjabis, particularly the Sikhs, had their own hidden motive, largely to demonstrate to the rest of India that the Sikhs were with them. But the archival files reveal a different side to the story and raise certain pertinent questions such as: if all Punjabis sided with the British during the revolt, why was there a need to formulate various rules relating to Punjabi 'rebels' for their transportation to Andaman and other territories overseas? Punjabi 'rebels' were punished under various repressive acts and whole villages were fined for assisting the 'rebels'. How can one uncritically accept the argument that an independent and a powerful state created under Maharaja Ranjit Singh, which had lost its independent status just eight years earlier, could have whole-heartedly sided with the British? The war still going on against the British, after annexation of Punjab in 1849, to regain their lost independence, was totally ignored and doesn't find any place in British or in accounts of Indian historians. This paper provides archival evidence to rectify some earlier narratives.

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### **Introduction**

There are various issues in Punjab's history which need serious scholarship. After the annexation in 1849, when the Punjabis were struggling to cope up with the prevailing situation single-handedly and raising the banner for regaining and establishing the *Khalsa Raj*, within eight years there occurred the revolt of 1857. Pre-post-independence Indian historians who later took the task of re-writing and re-constructing the history of India faced the issue of the revolt of 1857. Divergent viewpoints came up in interpreting the very nature of the revolt which contradicts themselves at various levels. The 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 1957, forever, transformed the history of 1857, inscribed its significance for post-independence generations, and made it a Indian event in the collective/popular psyche.<sup>1</sup> Apart from re-interpretation of this particular event, the Punjab and Sikhs in particular were blamed for not siding with the mutineers, alleging betrayal of Sikhs/Punjab in the 'first war of independence'. Since then, this issue has raised serious questions of studying and analysing the event objectively to find out the truth and to give due credit and justice to the pure souls who sacrificed their lives.

Before we delve deep into the events of the revolt we need to study the historiography of the revolt of 1857 by Indian historians. We come across divergent and extreme views about the nature of the revolt. With the passage of time as the freedom struggle slowly developed, Indian historiography attempted “a deliberated re-interpretation of Indian history in order to infuse enthusiasm in the fight for freedom. V.D Savarkar renamed the revolt of 1857 as the ‘Indian war of independence’”. Savarkar’s book of the same title is a typical example of the representation of history from an extremely Indian point of view. S.B. Chaudhary’s *Civil Rebellion in the Indian Mutiny 1857-59* asserted that the civil rebellion which accompanied the mutiny gave it the character of a national war of Independence.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, Surindernath Sen also talks about the event in *Eighteen Fifty Seven*, his last major work but he refused to idealise the Mutiny as a ‘national war’ except in two regions, Oudh and Shahabad; at the same time he refused to dismiss it as a mere military uprising.<sup>3</sup> R.C Majumdar in his work on the Great Revolt of 1857 did not treat that event as a national war of independence. He says that the sepoys were inspired more by the hopes of material gain than by national, political or even religious considerations. He further wrote that “the miseries and bloodshed of 1857-58 were not the birth pangs of freedom movement in India, but the dying process of an obsolete aristocracy and centrifugal feudalism of the medieval age”.<sup>4</sup> Talking about effects of the 1857 revolt, under the topic ‘birth of nationalism’ in his book, R.C Majumdar mentions that the intellectuals were, generally speaking, indifferent and even unsympathetic, if not positively hostile, to the movement, and were, therefore, not likely affected by it. He further states that Bengal was least affected by the incidents of 1857-58.<sup>5</sup>

While addressing the question of scale of the event, we find that Bengalis, Marathas, Madrasis and the Malabarais took no part in it. The Rajputs, Jats, Dorgas and Garwalis kept studiously aloof. Educated communities of Bengal and Madras openly condemned the uprising and denounced the mutiny and mutineers. The people of Maharashtra, Bombay, Gujrat, Sindh, and Rajasthan, Sindh, Jammu and Kashmir and North-Western Frontier Province, did not join. The pertinent questions raised by Dr. Ganda Singh in his article ‘The Indian Mutiny of 1857 and the Sikhs’ have not been answered properly.<sup>6</sup> Gautam Bhadra who deals with subaltern studies observes in his ‘Four Rebels of 1857’ that all the principal modes of historiography on the Great Revolt of 1857 whether ‘Indian’ or ‘radical communist’ have, with due elitist prejudice, portrayed the great event as an elitist venture. The ordinary rebel, his role and his perception of alien rule and the contemporary crisis have been left out of historical literature of the Great Revolt.<sup>7</sup>

Although the rebels received the sympathy of people, the country as whole was not behind them. Apart from some honourable exceptions, the rebels were poorly served by their leaders. Most of them failed to realize the significance of the revolt and simply did not do enough.....most of the *taluqdars* tried only to protect their own interests apart from a commonly shared hatred for alien rule, the rebels had no political perspective or a definite vision of the future. They were all prisoners of their own past, fighting primarily to regain their lost

privileges. The rebels showed exemplary courage, dedication and commitment. Thousands of men courted death, fighting for a cause they held dear.<sup>8</sup> The event of 1857 is certainly a watershed in Indian history as it resulted in blood-shed, and the British Indian Army, right from its inception, assumed a new shape. The British changed their overall policy towards Indian aristocracy and landlords to prevent the occurrence of such events in the future. The transfer of power from the East India Company to the British Crown was another significance change.

Historians at the national level have studied the revolt from three angles: the role performed by the Indian rulers/princes; the revolt by the soldiers and the participation of the masses. If we apply same scale while reading the history of Punjab of the time, what is visible prominently in the writings of popular historians is the role played by certain rulers of the princely states. The role of the princely states, which was popularised by the British as well as by Indian historian, does not represent the sentiments of the people of Punjab as a whole. The role of soldiers and the masses is missing in this whole narrative. The broad generalisations made in the whole narrative by Indian historians successfully helped in creating a myth that the Punjab remained unaffected by the great upheaval. But the archival accounts related to this event reveal another side to the story.

The princely states siding with the British had their own political interests. During the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, in 1809, they signed a treaty with the British in which they sought the protection of their states against the increasing advancements of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. In return, they promised help to the British in their hour of need. The role played by these princely states in the Anglo-Sikh wars (1845-46; 1848-49) is also under question. How could any help to the people of Punjab be expected from them during the revolt of 1857? On the other hand, the Princely States were neither the representatives of the whole of Punjab, nor did their loyalties represent the sentiments of the masses and or even people of their own states. Many of the soldiers they sent to help the British, revolted and sided with the 'rebels'. The whole of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Empire was in rebellion whilst the British were projecting them as being very happy under their rule after annexation.

We find many detailed accounts about the revolt of 1857 in Indian states and common man's participation in it, particularly from the northern-central regions. As far as Punjab is concerned, the elitists and highly selective and narrow narratives about 1857 have overshadowed the sacrifices made by common Punjabis. These narratives have been written as history from above rather than below. The volumes of the official Mutiny Records and their mutual correspondence are significant enough to falsify the impression regarding Punjab's role in 1857. These documents and the British officials' own writings reveal the truth about the Punjab. The native sepoy rose against the British at many places in the Punjab: severe restrictions and new laws were imposed on the Punjab and the Punjabis were put under strict surveillance. In fact, whenever and wherever possible, whether in an individual or in a collective capacity, people rose against the British. This all happened in a situation where all sorts

of arms and ammunitions were confiscated from them at the time of annexation; Punjab was an exception with regard to confiscation of arms in the rest of India.

The period from annexation in 1849 and proceeding to 1857 onwards, is very significant for the Punjab. The fight was dual natured; during this time, on the one side, they were fighting to regain their lost independence and on the other side, the 1857 revolt gave them the opportunity to show their aggression against the British. When the revolt broke out, although Punjab was not taken into confidence, Punjab took it as an opportunity. At a time when the scope for any reinforcement was dim in coping with the situation in Punjab, Sir John Lawrence observed and commented:

“dreams floated about, not perhaps, of nationality, or of a restored Sikh commonwealth, but of the possible revival of separate parties like the original Sikh Misl; the idle and vicious everywhere hoped for congenial excitement; chiefs living idly in their country-seats thought once more of mixing in strife”.<sup>9</sup>

In its editorial note *Gadar* writes that ‘it’s a lie that the Sikhs sided with the British during the 1857 revolt. Eight years before the revolt, the Sikhs of Punjab defeated the British bitterly in different battles known as Anglo- Sikh wars. Armless Sikhs after the annexation still fought against the British, the Regiments of Ludhiana, Jalandhar, Ferozpur were ready for rebellion. How could they side with the British?’<sup>10</sup> The feeling against the British did not die down but continued several years later which can be seen when a young Sikh barrister of Amritsar, who was a prominent inmate of the India House in London, was expelled from Cirencester Agricultural College for wearing a mutiny badge in memory of the martyrs of 1857 which he refused to remove at the request of the principal. He was eventually called to the bar in England but the Punjab Chief Court, on a consideration of his past history, refused to allow him to practice as an advocate.<sup>11</sup> Remembering the revolt of 1857 on 19<sup>th</sup> May, 1914 *Gadar* writes that ‘in the revolt all fought together whether Hindu, Sikh or Muslim, and coming *Gadar* would be far better than that, where all Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian, the theist, and atheistic all will fight for freedom.’<sup>12</sup>

On the other hand, according to Shamsul Islam ‘Well-known rich families amongst Hindus and Muslims joined the British campaign against the 1857 rebellion. Rulers of Gwalior, Hyderabad, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Kota, Bhopal, Dhar and many more native states joined hands with the British’.<sup>13</sup> Of the people who blew up the Kashmir Gate, six were British Officers and NCO’s and out of the twenty-four of them, ten were from Punjab and fourteen were from Agra and Oudh.<sup>14</sup> Shamsul Islam further writes in detail about Munshi Jeewan Lal, a *Mir Munshi* (a head clerk), who gives details about the rebellion of the Sikhs and Punjabi regiments in chronological order from 27<sup>th</sup> May, 1857 till 2<sup>nd</sup> September, 1857. On 1<sup>st</sup> June two regiments sent from Patiala joined hands with the rebels. ‘It was reported that the whole of the Patiala force was hostile to the English. The soldiers openly remonstrated with the Maharajah for sympathizing with the English; they reminded him that he had gained nothing by his behaviour

during the Punjab war. On July 29<sup>th</sup> 'Several Sikhs, retainers of the Rajah Narunder Singh, deserted from the English camp and appeared at the Durbar, and they reported that the English were badly off for artillery and horses, but had plenty of guns'. Leaving their sentiments behind about the soldiers who helped the British against the Sikhs/Punjabis at the time of Anglo-Sikh Wars, on August 5<sup>th</sup> 1857, writes Munshi Jeevan Lal, 'Certain Sikhs presented a petition complaining that they were in the habit of attacking the English entrenchments, but had to return, as the *Purbeas* would give them no assistance and would not co-operate; they prayed the King to form a regiment of Sikhs from amongst the regiments of Delhi, and to entrust them with two field guns, that they might attack the English with some chance of success. They were encouraged and told not to despair of victory'.<sup>15</sup> Sohan Singh Josh, in his book and chapter on '1857 *Gadar and after*', gives reference to Marx who saw perspicaciously that some regiments of Sikhs did take part in the rebellion. The Sikhs had been defeated by the British only eight years earlier in 1849 and these regiments saw in the rebellion an opportunity to avenge that defeat and regain some sort of power under the common regime to be set up after the victory.<sup>16</sup>

The 1857 revolt was a severe jolt for the British. They themselves were amazed how India, particularly the Punjab, was saved. They saw the act of God in it. Sir John Lawrence, whom England saw as 'the saviour of India', wrote:

'I am lost in astonishment that any of us are alive. But for the mercy of the God we must have been ruined.' The state of world at that time and England's relations with them particularly France, and Russia could have taken any turn had the results of the revolt would have been negative.<sup>17</sup>

### **I: The Punjab Pre and Post Annexation (1849)**

Before we discuss the Revolt of 1857 in detail we need to know the peculiar situation of Punjab with the rest of India. The rule of Maharaja Ranjit Singh made Punjab a strong and independent state on the North-Western side of the Indian border. This area has always remained very significant due to its geo-political closeness with middle eastern powers. The Sikh Kingdom had an army consisting of nearly 100,000 men. Moreover, it was reorganised on western lines from 1807 onwards by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. By 1811, he had 2,500 foot soldiers organised in six battalions and the number increased yearly.<sup>18</sup> The geographical reach of his Empire included all lands north of Sutlej River, and south of the high valleys of the north-western Himalayas.

The Khalsa Army greatly impressed all those who visited the Court of Lahore; observers were struck by the bearing of the soldiers. Early British observers were duly impressed by physical characteristics of Punjabis and its military tradition polished and harnessed under the Sikh ruler Maharaja Ranjit Singh. From 1845 to 1849, the people of the Punjab fought fierce battles against the British at Mudki, Ferozshah, Aliwal, Sabraon, Multan, Chilianwala and Gujrat. The two closely fought decisive battles, at Ferozshah in December 1845

and Chilianwala in January 1849, gave the British ample evidence of their fighting skills.<sup>19</sup> The Punjab, in its resistance against the British imperialist power for its independence, fought all alone. Had Punjab not been annexed, would the history of India and the political scenario of Europe and the world as a whole have been different? A question for future historians to ponder over.

The Punjab, one of the last major regions incorporated in the British Empire, underwent a dramatic change during colonial rule. After annexation, due to uniqueness of the province, certain measures were taken by Lord Dalhousie; a Board of Administration was set up, the all-powerful military force, comprising some 60,000 soldiers, mostly Sikhs, which the British had inherited was disbanded and some 50,000 soldiers were sent to their homes, and more than 120,000 weapons of all sort, were confiscated. This act was unique to the Punjab as no other state faced such actions. The annexation also saw the emergence of a new military situation for British. The British Empire's geographical and political frontier now brought the British in direct contact with warlike Pathan tribes, so the earlier policy of demilitarisation needed rethinking. The emerging situation forced Dalhousie to recruit Punjabis to service at the frontier. New international developments, such as Russian advancement on the north-western side by the late nineteenth century, made the British to re-read the coming danger and create a powerful military force to face the European power. This made Punjab, to all intent and purpose, the 'Garrison Province of the Raj'.<sup>20</sup>

Economically, the British were squeezing the Punjab. Citing authentic official records Lal Lajpat Rai, on the economic policies of the British, commented that Sikh rule fully recognised private property in land although taxation was heavy, yet in some respect the government gave back with one hand what it had taken with the other. The first effect of the British occupation of Punjab was over assessment. In 1847-48, the land revenue of Punjab was \$820,000. Within three years of British annexation it went up to \$1,060,000.<sup>21</sup> Several cycles of famine and scarcity occurred between the years 1858 to 1879. During this same period, from 1858 to 1879, the British government appointed some small commissions or enquires to find out ways to fight the problem of famines. But each time, recommendations of the enquiry/commission were never implemented and buried by the government. In fact, relief to the victims during this period was very meagre.<sup>22</sup> The British government was unable to develop a more definite policy towards famine. Whenever a famine occurred, a famine commission was appointed but with no concrete results. No full and independent enquiry was made into causes of famines, nor were sufficient remedies proposed for preventing them or mitigating their effects when they did occur.<sup>23</sup>

## **II: The 1857 Revolt: Outbreaks and British Repressive Reactions**

Just eight years after annexation of Punjab, India saw the occurrence of the revolt of 1857. The reasons for the revolt were many and it affected the life of the Indians profoundly. On 10<sup>th</sup> May 1857, the 11<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Bengal Native Infantry regiment and the 3<sup>rd</sup> Light Cavalry stationed at Meerut, refused to obey

orders of their officers, murdered some of their European officers and fled southward towards Delhi. This revolt by the Bengal Army quickly spread to become a general revolt across north-central India.<sup>24</sup> On the whole, the situation in the Punjab was different from the one which remained in the rest of India. Punjab was lacking leadership. Taking a precautionary measure to save the situation, important leaders who were deemed dangerous to the East India Company, were sent outside the Punjab. They were sent abroad either as exiles or prisoners. Col. H.M Lawrence, while addressing the Governor-General on 1<sup>st</sup> June, 1847, said that removal of the '*Ranee*' from Punjab or even from Lahore would have done much good. As long as she is still in Punjab, there will be intrigue, and while she is in the palace, our means of influencing the young Maharaja's mind will be sadly cramped; in fact if she can poison for eleven hours we can do little good in the twelfth.<sup>25</sup> Later Maharani Jind Kaur was banished to Banaras in 1848, from there she escaped to Nepal and sought asylum from the King on 29<sup>th</sup> April, 1849. Maharaja Duleep Singh was shipped to England in 1854 and spent his entire life there as an English squire and landlord.<sup>26</sup> Sher Singh Attariwala was living under surveillance in Calcutta. Bedi Bikram Singh was interned in his village, Una.<sup>27</sup>

Some of the influential Sikh leaders, in their individual capacity, did fight back. The Foreign Secretary, in his letter no. 20, on 7<sup>th</sup> April 1849 does admit that... 'I have said more than once that the Sikhs have risen in arms against the British'. He further says that 'this is not all, not content with making war themselves upon the British, the Sikh have laboured to induce other states and sovereigns in India to attack us also. There are in the possession of the govt many letters which have been addressed by the Sikh chiefs to the neighbouring powers, Mussulman and Hindu and Sikhs, earnestly inviting their assistance. In every letter the necessity of destroying and expelling the British, they invited Ameer Dost Mohammad Khan from Kabul to their aid'.<sup>28</sup> Bhai Maharaj Singh made every attempt against the British to set up Sikh rule again. During his first phase, Bhai Maharaj Singh, inspired and assisted the powerful anti-British chief like Diwan Mulraj, the Governor of Multan and Rajput chiefs of the Hills, to rise against foreigners. Side by side, he sent emissaries to the Amir of Kabul and various Pathan chiefs in the North-West, imploring their co-operation in the task he was undertaking. The plan was to take Maharaja Duleep Singh away from Lahore Fort and to restart the freedom struggle in his name; to organise a united front of all persons and interests; to neutralize British policy of using local Muslims against the freedom fighter; to approach all important Sikh and Hindu priests and saints from Kandahar in Afghanistan to Malwa in the cis-Sutlej. In their endeavour to win over the confidence of Sikh soldiers who were retained by the British in the armed forces<sup>29</sup>, many influential people in the district of Hoshiarpur supported Bhai Maharaj Singh. In a public gathering at Sham Chaurasi, Bhai Maharaj Singh proclaimed 3rd January 1850 as the date for the uprising. However, this plan was leaked out by an informant. So, he along with twenty one Sikhs, was arrested on 28th December 1849 by the British near Adampur. After his arrest, thousands of Punjabis came to Jalandhar Civil Jail every day to pay their homage which, not surprisingly, alarmed the British. It

was decided to transfer him to the Allahabad Fort, and from there he was transferred to Fort William in Calcutta. According to officials, it was still deemed dangerous to keep him in the country, so it was decided to deport him, along with his companion Kharak Singh to Singapore. The British were so afraid of him that on the orders of the Governor General of India.... 'fetters were only to be removed when the ship will enter the high sea'.<sup>30</sup> Soon after his arrest, Bhai Maharaj was deported to Singapore without offering him the opportunity of defending himself in the court of law.<sup>31</sup> They landed in the Strait-Settlements in 1850 and subsequently other classes of Sikh convicts also began to arrive in Malaya.<sup>32</sup> Bhai Maharaj Singh died in solitary confinement in the Outram Road prison in Singapore in 1856, just a year before the uprising of 1857. His assistant Kharak Singh was transferred to Penang prison in 1857 after rumours circulated among the prisoners that Kharak Singh was planning an uprising in the prison.<sup>33</sup> The first Sikhs to land in the Strait Settlements<sup>34</sup> were convicts, transported there by the British after the Anglo-Sikh wars of the 1840s. Many Sikh commanders were sent to Burma too. Almost two decades later, due to the Kuka rebellion, Guru Baba Ram Singh was sent to British Burma in March, 1872. Eleven others who were arrested along with Baba Ram Singh, were sent to different places and some imprisoned in Aden.<sup>35</sup> All communication was barred among them.<sup>36</sup>

John Lawrence was in Rawalpindi when news came of the first outbreak in Punjab at Ferozepur. In a circular, R. Montgomery, the Judicial Commissioner of the Punjab, directed the Chief Commissioner about the enforcement of the provisions of Acts XI, XIV, XVI, and XVII of 1857 in Punjab.<sup>37</sup> As news reached the government of Punjab, instructions and orders were issued to seize the arms from soldiers. Judicial Commissioner, R. Montgomery instructed Brigadier Corbett, C.B., to prevent the native troops from following the example of their brethren at Meerut and Delhi. So, on 13<sup>th</sup> May, in his presence, 16<sup>th</sup> Native Infantry, 26<sup>th</sup> Native infantry, 49<sup>th</sup> Native infantry, were disarmed, while 8<sup>th</sup> Light cavalry was also dismounted at a later stage.<sup>38</sup> John Lawrence ordered Punjab to be sealed at either end. Several native army regiments in the Punjab showed signs of unrest.

According to J. Cave-Browne, in his *'The Punjab and the Delhi in 1857'*, being a narrative of measures taken by which Punjab was saved and Delhi recovered during the Indian mutiny, wrote:

'The Punjab perfectly quiet' - 'All well in the Punjab'.  
'And so far it told truth. But it told only half the truth; and perhaps less.'

He further elaborates 'the Punjab was quiet; but from the Indus to the Satluj were mines of treason, ready charged, which might explode at any moment.' The areas which were under Maharaja Ranjit Singh were ready to fight back and regain their lost independence at any cost. Rawalpindi, Sialkot, Amritsar, Kangra and Noorpur, Gurdaspur were still retaining arms. According to Cave-Browne:



‘It was clear that the train of treason fired at any point, whole would be in blaze; and little could be done towards extinguishing it. Such was the real state of the Punjab at the end of the June.’

The spirit of revolt was becoming very active. So, it was decided to disarm them. This was done simultaneously at Rawalpindi and Jhelum and in Jhelum 14<sup>th</sup> N.I. mutinied: ‘Success of their resistance was a shock which vibrated through Punjab’.

It had its effect first on Sialkot. The chief of the *khurrul* tribe, Ahmed Khan, was in constant communication with rebels of Delhi and Hansi and with the king of Delhi; the whole clan of khurruls with Ahmed Khan at their head, was in total rebellion.<sup>39</sup> A Council of War was held at Peshawar. General Reed assumed command in Punjab and a movable column was formed at Jhelum ‘ready to move on every point in the Punjab where open mutiny required to be put down’.<sup>40</sup> When the first outbreak occurred in Ferozpur, quick measures were taken to secure the magazine. The Forts at Phillaur, Gobindgarh, Kangra, Attock and Multan were taken over. The situation in the Shimla hill cantonments at Jutogh, Dagshai, and Kasauli caused anxiety. The Gorkha regiments refused to obey their English officers and looted the treasury. The disarmed regiments at Lahore became restive. Men of the 26<sup>th</sup> Native Infantry regiments suddenly attacked their officers and headed northwards along the Ravi. Near Ajnala town, the Kallianwala Khuh tragedy happened. A similar tragedy was enacted on the north-west frontier.<sup>41</sup> In Jalandhar the rebels made their way to Phillaur where they were joined by the 3<sup>rd</sup> Regiment of native infantry and then headed for Delhi, gave effective addition to the rebel army at Delhi for the revolt.<sup>42</sup> According to Cave-Browne, an army, 41,000 strong, eight regiments had revolted and destroyed; twelve had escaped, some with, and some without arms; 15000 men disbanded and sent off to their homes, 6000 remained.<sup>43</sup>

Rebels laid a plot to seize the Forts of Lahore and Ferozepur which contained the treasure and arsenal, the largest in that part of India. According to the British ‘Had these two fallen, the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab must have been for time irrevocably lost, the lives of all Europeans in those regions sacrificed, Delhi could not have been taken, and India must have been *ab initio* re-conquered.’<sup>44</sup> Some other revolts also took place in Punjab during the continuance of the siege of Delhi. The soldiers who belonged to the 12<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Native Infantry revolted at Jhansi.<sup>45</sup> The two wing of this regiment were stationed at Naogunge and Jhansi. The Naogunge turned upon their officers, but they escaped, although one sergeant general was killed. The Jhansi wing murdered their officers. However, twenty-one of them were executed, others sentenced to transportation for life and imprisonment.<sup>46</sup>

Veer Sarvarkar’s write up in the *Gadar* which was published in a weekly series, explains in detail about the revolt of 1857. He writes that in Meerut people sided with the rebels. The army was deployed near the city; it included the 37<sup>th</sup> Ludhiana Sikh Regiment with an arsenal which was under British control. Sensing the army was under the influence of anti-British sentiments, they thought of leaving from there, but due to help rendered by some rich people

of the city, they dropped the idea. One of them, without taking into confidence the Ludhiana Sikh Regiment, reached out to the British and rendered the army's help. By perceiving the Sikh regiments to be on their side, the British thought of taking arms from the regiments. The regiments were called for a parade. Indian soldiers knew what the British plans would be: they will be asked to surrender their arms and will be blown up guns. So instead of surrendering their arms they moved swiftly towards the arsenal and killed the officer Gauze to the ground and another officer, Doughzon, who was moving to take his place, was also shot down by a Sikh soldier; The British now realised that the Sikh soldiers were with the Indian soldiers, they turned their guns towards them but the Sikh soldiers, despite fighting bravely, achieved martyrdom there.<sup>47</sup> The rest of the Sikh soldiers went to different cities of Punjab and started preparing people for the rebellion. Indian soldiers went to Jounpur from Benaras where there was a Sikh army. There, the British started teaching the Sikh army lessons of loyalty but one of the soldiers killed the command officer and attacked the treasury. This made the British run for their safety, but later in the day, on 4<sup>th</sup> June, the British got assistance, so were able to defeat the rebel soldiers.<sup>48</sup>

Savarkar further elaborates that the British wanted to save the central city of Allahabad from clutches of the rebels at any cost. Here, the 16<sup>th</sup> Sikh Regiment was deployed. The British had full confidence that the Sikh army would be with them. The army asked for permission to move on to Delhi so that they could fight against the rebels. The British started praising them and thought of honouring them. Meanwhile, one of the traitors told the other side of the story, saying that these soldiers were actually with the rebels. When the Sikh soldiers got news of leakage of their plan, they quickly arrested two of their fellow soldiers for spreading *Gadar* (Rebellion) and brought them before the British just to take them into confidence - that the army is with them. The British were convinced. At night, the rebels attacked the Fort and the Sikh army refused to help the British. Officer Alexander was killed, the city people also sided with the rebels and the arrested soldiers were released. On 7<sup>th</sup> June in the morning, a treasury of Rs. 30 lakh was confiscated.<sup>49</sup>

During correspondence, the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner for Punjab wrote to the Commissioner and Superintendent of Hissar, on 7<sup>th</sup> August, 1858 that the 29<sup>th</sup> Regiment Native Infantry belonging to Punjab also revolted and escaped.<sup>50</sup> Many revolts happened in the Punjab such as: Ferozpur May 14, a large portion of 45<sup>th</sup> and 57<sup>th</sup> Native Infantry; Hotee Murdan, 21 May, 55<sup>th</sup> Native Infantry; Jullundur, June 7, 6<sup>th</sup> Light Cavalry, 36<sup>th</sup> and 61<sup>st</sup> Native Infantry; Phillaur, June 8, 3<sup>rd</sup> Native Infantry; Jhelum, July 7, part of 14<sup>th</sup> Native Infantry; Sialkot, July 9, wing of 9<sup>th</sup> Light Cavalry and 46<sup>th</sup> Native Infantry; Thanesar, July 14, part of 5<sup>th</sup> Native Infantry. The 'rebel' sepoys were executed and punished under different terms of imprisonment. No less than 523 military executions took place, of which 20 were hangings, 44 blown from guns, and 459 were shot by musketry. This operation was carried out almost throughout Punjab. It was only by such measures that districts were controlled and those trying to escape from the British were quickly grasped.<sup>51</sup> After the fall of Delhi, many of the Sikhs belonging to regiments that had revolted, started returning to

their homes. In the beginning of October, when some Sikhs of the Ludhiana regiment came to their city in the Jullundur district, they were soon detected, tried, convicted and hanged. Montgomery expressed his sentiments on this action as follows:

‘They mutinied in a body, fired on the European soldiers, and charged them. Their just fate is death, and whoever acts thus be the Sikh or be Hindustanee-deserves to die, and I cannot remit the punishment they justly have incurred’.<sup>52</sup>

It was not only soldiers who revolted but the people on a large scale also sided with the rebels. At Sialkot, there was an outbreak in July, a jail was attacked and prisoners released. The *darogah* and police guards did nothing to stop them. The *Darogah* here was a Sikh. When the commission was appointed to punish the captured rebels, the first one to receive extreme punishment was the *darogah* who was hanged. In the Cis-Satluj states, especially in southern districts, people openly participated in the rebellion. To set an example, quick punishments followed after each crime. In Sirsa, when an outbreak occurred in May, Noor Sumund Khan, the Nawab of *Runeea*, being an influential noble of the district, openly took part with the rebels. Government offices and treasure were destroyed and prisoners released. The Nawab proclaimed the King of Delhi as the King of Hindustan and himself the governor of Sirsa. But later he was arrested, tried and convicted. The then Commissioner of Sirsa recommended mercy as there was no direct proof that he himself committed murder. Montgomery, however, had a different perspective:

‘I consider it imperative to make examples of such men as the Nawab. The leaders must feel that vengeance will assuredly overtake them. Mercy in this instance would be weakness, and would encourage others to rebel hereafter. I therefore wish the concurrence of the Chief Commissioner to sentence him, Noor Sumund Khan, Nawab of *Runeea*, to be hanged’.<sup>53</sup>

Thirteen followers of the Nawab of *Runeea* were declared guilty of rebellion and instrumental in the plunder of the district Hissar.<sup>54</sup> In the districts of Hansi and Hissar, Mooneer Beg and Hookum Chand, the chief banker, a very influential person and Faqueer Chand and his nephew, aged twenty, wrote a petition to the King of Delhi and offered their services. The letter, however, was only recovered after the fall of the Delhi, and they were, at once, arrested, tried and hanged. However, due to the plea that Faqueer Chand had only written the letter at his uncle’s dictation, his sentence was mitigated to imprisonment for five years. On the sentence of Faqueer Chand, Mr. Richetts appealed to the Judicial Commissioner, and said:

‘I sentence the prisoner Faqueer Chand to be hanged by neck until death; and I request that you will report to me the day on which the sentence had been carried out’.<sup>55</sup>

### III: Punishing the Rebels: Sending Prisoners Overseas

Village headmen who helped the rebels were given imprisonment with hard labour and iron for the term of ten years and the village as whole was fined to pay 1000/Rs under Act X of 1858. The headmen included Boodram, Bhola, Bhujun and many more.<sup>56</sup> In Hissar, many influential people such as Mohamad Azeem, Shahzada and two of his companions assumed authority and acted as representatives of the Emperor of Delhi. They used their influence to aid and support the rebels. They were charged with treason and were imprisoned for life in banishment with confiscation of their property.<sup>57</sup> Many of these long term prisoners from Hissar, of the Delhi territory, were sent to Ferozpur and the rest were transferred to Agra central prison.<sup>58</sup>

Edward Thornton, Judicial Commissioner of Punjab while expressing his opinion to the Commissioner and Superintendent of Hissar Division on 3<sup>rd</sup> June, 1858 mentions: ‘These men should be sentenced to imprisonment for life, in banishment with labour and iron’.

In one case, Government v/s Murdan Ali and thirteen others, were charged with treason, and for sending a petition to the King of Delhi, asking for assistance to oppose the troops of the Government. Murdan Ali was the *lambardar* of *Bullrale* village in the district of Hissar. He was authorised by twelve others on 23<sup>rd</sup> July, 1857 to write a petition on their behalf. Apart from Murdan Ali, other prominent persons of the village were Peer Buksh, Durgahee Khan, Roostum Khan, Owdsh Khan, Hoshoor Khan, Cheema, Shahzad Khan, Mukhum Khan, Sundul Khan, Sunoul Khan, Dauah Khan, Lukkhu Khan.<sup>59</sup> Many residents of Rohtak who revolted against the government were sent to Andamans.<sup>60</sup> Many towns of the Punjab, particularly Ambala, Panipat, and Thanesar, Ranghar and the Gujjar tribes also revolted and created problem for the administration.<sup>61</sup>

The Deputy Commissioner Sirsa, J.H. Oliver, in conversation with E.L. Brandreth, Commissioner Hissar, revealed that those 24 prisoners who were instrumental in promoting revolt in the town of Sirsa and were involved in burning down the treasury house where custom records were kept, including burning Mr. Hilliard’s bungalow, forcing him to escape from the town, had been sentenced: 6 persons for 10 years punishment, 1 person for 14 years punishment and 17 given imprisonment for life with a recommendation to transport them to the Andamans. The Muslim peasantry had sided with the rebels.<sup>62</sup> Although many of those who revolted were in government service, they still choose to side with the rebels.<sup>63</sup> Many of the prisoners managed to escape from the Andamans but some of them were later re-arrested on the mainland.<sup>64</sup> Others might have drifted towards nearby Islands.

In 1882, Major Pitcher noted that many of them, who had returned from the Andamans, further proceeded to other islands such as Mauritius to avoid

punishments.<sup>65</sup> Some of the freed 'rebels' started working as military personnel under the petty chiefs. While requesting Sikhs to join his army, Raja of Brook told the British officials how some 50 Punjab 'rebels' who were sent to the Andaman Island by the British government, had served under him. These 'rebels' received wages from \$6 to \$10 monthly, and were provided uniforms, accommodation and equipment. Many other community people came to serve him but he requested only for the Sikhs.<sup>66</sup> The Geoghegan's report on Coolie Emigration from India shows that from 1842 till 1870s the peak years of emigration was 1858. In 1857 total migration was 20,805, which more than doubled to 43,838 in 1858, and remained at 43,057 in 1859 and 31,493 in 1860. The emigration from India occurred towards Mauritius, Trinidad, British Guiana, Grenada, St. Lucia, Jamaica, St. Kitts and Natal during these years.<sup>67</sup> There may have been some pull factors but the widespread disturbance in India, the oppression and suppression due to the revolt of 1857 would have been the major cause of enormous leap in emigration as suggested by scholars.

To make up losses due to the revolt of 1857, the principle adopted was that 'the land of the five rivers' should pay its own expenses, the expenditure, the cost of civil and military establishment etc, should be covered by revenue. As Cave-Browne stated: 'If Punjabis would indulge in rebellion, they should at least pay for the indulgence.'

The Gogaira district, Ludhiana, Sialkot, even Delhi, Rohtak, Hissar and Hansi were called upon to provide compensation for all the injuries which their rebellion had inflicted and for the loss of property. This penalty was apart from the penal fines, or other legal penalties. Local authorities were assigned this task. In towns, compensation was extracted by house tax, and in villages too, in case of failure, it was to be fixed on land, the sole aim was to obtain the amount.<sup>68</sup>

Meanwhile, a plan was created in May by Mr. Barnes to deal with the financial crisis caused by the revolt of 1857. By the month of July, many treasures were lost and the North-West had all gone. So, he opened a scheme of loans not only from the native chiefs of the Cis-Satluj but the whole of Punjab was called out to cooperate with the finances. So, a loan of 6 per cent was opened by the Chief Commissioner of Punjab, to be repaid within twelve months. Colonel Edwards, the Commissioner of Peshawar called a meeting of the mercantile classes at his residence. However, the bankers and the merchants were not willing to spare their money. So, they were fined five lakh rupees for wasting two precious hours of the Commissioner's time and were instructed to deposit the amount at once. In this way, five lakhs were raised. Several petty chiefs and sirdars were threatened to assist otherwise their *jagirs* will be forfeited; this strategy was applied throughout the Punjab. In this way, forty-two lakhs were 'contributed' altogether. The whole amount was repaid within twelve months and contributions by chiefs were transferred into government securities.<sup>69</sup>

To ease out the situation, Punjabis who participated in the revolt of 1857 as soldiers and as civilians were sent out of Punjab and beyond sea. On 21<sup>st</sup> May 1858, in a circular from the Under Secretary to Government of India to the Chief

Commissioner of Punjab mentions that: 'it had been determined to send all mutineers and 'rebels convicts' to Port Blair in the Andaman'.<sup>70</sup>

In another letter from the Judicial Commissioner of Punjab to the Session Judge, Hissar, it is mentioned that transportation beyond sea:

"it is hoped will prove a more effective deterrent from crime than imprisonment in the country and on that account the legislative en-ruled section 59 of the Indian Penal Code".<sup>71</sup>

Similarly, the Deputy Commissioner of Sirsa mentioned a list of nearly 24 convicts sentenced to transportation for crimes of rebellion, and another 64 sentenced for 10 years were sent to Ferozepore and Agra jails.<sup>72</sup> In another correspondence, some 27 government employees who helped the 'rebels' were sent beyond sea. Some of them were sent to Andaman.<sup>73</sup> The Judicial Commissioner Punjab, in a letter dated 9<sup>th</sup> November 1858 to Commissioner and Superintendent Lahore intimated that:

Such persons when dispatched from the jail of the Delhi division and from those of Rohtak and Jujjar in the Hissar division to be forwarded via Agra. But from all other districts within the Punjab, all persons as well as mutineers, henceforth were to be sent via Karachi.<sup>74</sup>

Rules and the Routes were framed with regards to the transportation of prisoners beyond sea. Some of the rules were as follows:

All prisoners in the Punjab and its dependencies under sentence to transportation used to be forwarded to Karachi by river Steamers, the despatch to be made early in the month of October. The Lahore Central Jail during the winter months was the first rendezvous for the prisoners from the Northern portion of the Punjab. Multan was the final rendezvous previous to embarkation by the Steamer. To prevent any transportable prisoners remaining unnecessarily in a Punjab Jail, a despatch of every available prisoner was made on the 1<sup>st</sup> of March, and by the end of that month the whole used to be shipped off.<sup>75</sup>

Dr. James Pattison Walker was selected as the first Superintendent of Penal Settlement at Port Blair. Along with him, some 200 convicts left Calcutta on 4<sup>th</sup> March, 1858 by Company's Steam Frigate '*Semiramis*' and reached Port Blair on 10<sup>th</sup> March, 1858. Thereafter, 216 persons from the Punjab were brought to Karachi (now in Pakistan) to be taken to Andaman. They were sent on the Ship *Roman Emperor* in April, 1858.<sup>76</sup> In 1859, in a correspondence, it is revealed that out of 28 convicts 13 were transported beyond sea and rest to Andamans. According to government officials these were ex-Government employees and instead of assisting their employer, they took an active part in

the plunder of government buildings and property.<sup>77</sup> As number of 'rebel convicts' was increasing, a lot of space was needed to accommodate the coming 'convicts'. The Commissioner of Punjab informed the session judge of Hissar that there is an unlimited amount of accommodation for any number of convicts at Port Blair and on the other hand jail accommodation of the province is limited.<sup>78</sup>

To secure future identification of transported convicts, Dr Dallas proposed that all convicts, before transportation to Andaman be tattooed in Alipur Jail. On 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1874, A.M. Dallas, Inspector-General of Prisons, Punjab suggested to the Secretary of Government of Punjab that each province should have its convicts marked in a separate way, and each convict should have his own serial number. Thus, for the Punjab, Ram Singh, no 3 on the list for 1874, would be marked P/3/74. This number should match with the descriptive roll.<sup>79</sup> How the inhuman way 'rebels' were branded before transportation is revealed in a correspondence between E.I Honiton, Judicial Commissioner for Panipat with E.L. Brandreth, Commissioner and Superintendent Hissar Division, on 11<sup>th</sup> September 1858. In it, it states that for carrying out orders of the government contained in Act XXXII of 1857, followed up by notification in the Punjab Gazette of the 24<sup>th</sup> July, the operation of branding mutineers and deserters, in one of the districts, was performed with a hot iron and it was so badly applied that it produced large and dangerous sloughs and unnecessary pain was inflicted on individuals branded. It further instructed that for branding, the letter shall not be less than an inch long; and such letters and other marks shall be made upon the skin with some ink, gunpowder or other preparation.<sup>80</sup> The ordeal did not end here, as on arrival in the Andaman, political prisoners were treated in a very inhumane ways. As a reaction to this inhumane treatment, on 1<sup>st</sup> April 1859, a group of 500 Punjabi prisoners assaulted Dr Walker but he survived the attack.<sup>81</sup> It was later suggested that the labour of these prisoners was very profitable and as there was water on all sides, this acted as a sort of guard over them; they should be used to cut jungles, and they might either become wood cutters or cultivators.<sup>82</sup>

On the other side, the condition in Straits was getting worse due to the arrival of Indian convicts; the British government took the decision in 1866 to remove all Indian convicts still in jail, to the Andaman Islands which was carried out on 8<sup>th</sup> May 1873.<sup>83</sup> There was no law authorising the Government of India to receive any prisoner from Singapore except those sentenced prior to the separation of the Straits Settlements from British India. Hence a request was made to Parliament to enact such a law, till then transferable subjects were nearly 100 and the additional number to be sent year by year was probably about 50.<sup>84</sup>

According to Sandhu, the number of Punjabi convicts entering the Straits Settlements, which acted as penal stations, is uncertain, but three-quarters of the Punjabi convicts are estimated to have been those sentenced to transportation for life, the rest being those serving terms ranging from seven to twenty-five years. It was likely that hundreds of discharged Indian convicts, instead of returning to India, were settling down in the Straits Settlements including a few

Sikhs too.<sup>85</sup> In the 1860s, as many as 200 to 300 discharged prisoners were settling down in the Straits-Settlements annually.<sup>86</sup> Those who were sentenced ten to fourteen years and for life were sent to Andaman and Burma. Those ex-convicts who returned to India found it difficult to fit in to their old community, especially due to there being strict watch over them by the government. They could not manage to lead a free life and many decided to slip into the Straits to start a new life.<sup>87</sup>

There were around 7,000 'mutineers' in the Andaman in 1869 and as the number was so great, it was decided that only life convicts should be sent onwards. According to correspondence between T.W Smyth, Registrar of the Chief Court of Punjab and all the Commissioners dated 5<sup>th</sup> February 1869 it is stated 'In Andaman the number of prisoners would exceed by 1871 to 7,400'.<sup>88</sup>

In 1877, a proposal for the release of certain political prisoners confined in the British Burma was made. The file contains a list of some of the political prisoners who were arrested after the revolt of 1857. This included some names related to members of the ex-royal family and prominent among them were; son of the last Mughal ruler Bahadur Shah Zafar, Dewan Bukhat, who was captured during the seizure of Delhi and sent to Rangoon on pension 6000. Another was Shah Abbas, arrested during seizure of Delhi and sent to Rangoon on pension 900. Another family member, Kajuck Sultan, remained in hiding until 1865 but was later located and arrested and sent to Rangoon, with a pension of 900. The favourite wife of ex-King Bahadur Shah Zafar, was sent to Rangoon in 1858, arrested for being one of the prime movers of the mutiny, with a pension of 4800.<sup>89</sup> Among these, there is also name of one of the Sikh commanders, Karam Singh, who was confined in Moulmein jail from 1861. Three Kuka prisoners, Jowahar Singh, Lukha Singh and Brahma Singh, were held in Kyauktan jail after the rebellion. After completion of their term of imprisonment, Punjabis were not given the opportunities to earn their livelihood in a respectable manner. Such convicted persons were not admitted into government employment, nor received government contracts.<sup>90</sup>

#### IV: Some Conclusions

There are many areas of modern history of Punjab which are still waiting for serious academic scrutiny. Before we analyse the events, nature and scale of the 1857 revolt, we have to keep in mind the situation in Punjab after its annexation in 1849 and the years preceding 1857. When Punjabis were fighting to regain their lost independence, a few years later the revolt of 1857 occurred, and this gave Punjabis the opportunity to fight against the British and to show their aggression against the unjustified and immoral occupation. In this struggle, the Punjabis were fighting single handily. Although Punjab was totally disarmed, the British believed they were fighting to establish Sikh *misls* during the 1857 revolt. The central leadership was either arrested or sent overseas and many were interned in their native villages. Many were striking back to re-establish *Khalsa Raj* and prominent among them was Bhai Maharaj Singh. Many Sikh commanders were sent to Burma after the two Anglo-Sikh wars. This area needs



further research as it has been neglected by academics. The available data clearly show that Punjabis were punished in great numbers, and the branding of convicts was executed in a very inhuman way. Many were sent as convicts to serve life sentences in the Andaman and to the Strait-settlements. Those who saw the situation unsuitable and tried to avoid punishment, ventured out to the Strait-settlements and started working under local chieftains. This paper has attempted to discuss the conditions prevailing at the time and open up scope for other researchers to study further, by finding and scrutinising archival materials in Punjab, India and abroad, on the 20-30 years of history leading to the annexation of Punjab in 1849 and the uprising of 1857 and its aftermath. So those who escaped punishment and started their new lives somewhere far away from their native land within India and overseas, need to be identified and included in the narrative. To ship rebels overseas many rules and regulations were enacted. All were treated equally as far as punishment was concerned and many individuals who fought against the British in their personal capacity were hanged for their participation in the revolt. The British did not differentiate between Indian rebels and Punjabi rebels. In many instances, the whole village was fined for supporting rebels. Loans were raised from the whole of Punjab to compensate for the loss occurred. The British clearly asserted that if the land of five rivers can participate in the revolt they will have to pay the expenses occurred in putting down the revolt.

Although the current paper has tried to bring some evidence which was not discussed before, there remains much to be done. There are various areas that need exploring, to find out more about participation of Punjabis, the loss life and property. Archival material needs to be scrutinized to discover how news of the revolt spread in Punjab. We need more information on how rebel activities were organised, who the local leaders were and how they managed to fight when they were totally disarmed at the time of annexation. We know that not even a simple wooden stick was allowed to be kept in their homes. This situation was unique to Punjab as no other state was disarmed in such a thorough way. We also need to know more about the role of disbanded soldiers as they were living in their villages after annexation. We know little about the role of local preachers in awakening people to take advantage of the opportunity offered to them. All these and many more questions require answers as these have been long neglected regarding Punjab. Many myths will perhaps disappear once evidence is presented by scholars and the history of Punjab of this critical time period is re-written.

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## Notes

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- <sup>1</sup> Navtej Singh, (Ed), *Rethinking 1857 and the Punjab*, (Patiala: Punjabi University, 2008), p, IX.
- <sup>2</sup> E. Sreedharan, (Ed) *A Textbook of Historiography 500 BC to Ad 2000*, (New Delhi: Orient Black Swan, 2014), p. 432.
- <sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 459.
- <sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 467.
- <sup>5</sup> R. C. Majumdar, (General Editor), *The History and Culture of Indian People British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance*, Part X (Part II), (Bombay: Bhartiya Vidya Bhawan, 1991), p. 468.
- <sup>6</sup> Navtej Singh, (Ed), *Rethinking 1857 and the Punjab*, pp. 101-107, 109-116.
- <sup>7</sup> E. Sreedharan, *A Textbook of Historiography 500 BC to Ad 2000*, pp. 495-96.
- <sup>8</sup> Bipan Chandra, Mridula Mukherjee et al, *Indian's Struggle for Independence*, (Delhi: Penguin India, 2016), pp. 38-39.
- <sup>9</sup> Rev. J. Cave-Browne, *The Punjab and the Delhi in 1857, being a narrative by which the Punjab was saved and Delhi recovered during the Indian mutiny*, Vol. II, (New Delhi: Languages Department Punjab, 1970), p.128.
- <sup>10</sup> *Gadar*, 19th May, 1914, p. 2. (Translated from Gurmukhi to English)
- <sup>11</sup> C. R. Cleveland, *Recent Development in Sikh Power*, Memorandum, Criminal Intelligence Department, 6<sup>th</sup> October, 1911, Delhi, p.8.
- <sup>12</sup> *Gadar*, 19<sup>th</sup> May, 1914, p.3 (Translated from Gurmukhi to English).
- <sup>13</sup> Shamsul Islam, 'Sikhs and 1857: Myths and Facts', WW. Academia.edu, Downloaded on 4<sup>th</sup> September, 2018. pp. 27, 34.
- <sup>14</sup> Bipan Chandra, *Indian's Struggle for Independence*, p. 38.
- <sup>15</sup> Shamsul Islam, 'Sikhs and 1857: Myths and Facts', pp. 27-34.
- <sup>16</sup> Sohan Singh Josh, *Hindustan Gadar Party: A Short History*, (Jalandhar: Desh Bhagat Yadgar Committee, 2007), p. 24.

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- <sup>17</sup> Rev. J. Cave-Browne, *The Punjab and the Delhi in 1857*, pp. 308- 312.
- <sup>18</sup> D. Brief, 'The Punjab and Recruitment to the Indian Army 1846-1918,' Unpublished M.Litt. Dissertation, St. Antony College, Oxford, 1978, pp.1-5.
- <sup>19</sup> Ibid., pp.1-5.
- <sup>20</sup> Tan Tai Yong, *The Garrison State: The Military, Government and Society in Colonial Punjab, 1849-1947*, (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2005), pp. 35-38, 67-69.
- <sup>21</sup> Lajpat Rai, *England's Debt to India: A historical Narrative of Britain's Fiscal Policy in India*, (New York, B.W. Huebsch, 1917), pp. 223-224.
- <sup>22</sup> Navtej Singh, 'Famine in Punjab', Panjab University, Unpublished Ph. D Thesis, (Chandigarh: Panjab University, 1986), pp. 53, 187, 302.
- <sup>23</sup> *Report of the Sixteenth Indian National Congress*, Lahore, 1900, p. 31.
- <sup>24</sup> Tan Tai Yong, *The Garrison State*, p. 40.
- <sup>25</sup> Nahar Singh, *Documents Relating to Bhai Maharaj Singh*, The Sikh History Source Material Search. Association, (Ludhiana: Gurdwara Karamsar, Punjab, 1968), pp. 2-3.
- <sup>26</sup> Gopal Singh, *History of the Sikh people 1469-1978*, (New Delhi: World Sikh University Press, 1955), pp. 575-76.
- <sup>27</sup> Khushwant Singh, *A History of The Sikhs 1839-1964*, Vol. II, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1966), p.101.
- <sup>28</sup> Nahar Singh, *Documents Relating to Bhai Maharaj Singh*, *op. cit.*, pp.46-47.
- <sup>29</sup> Ibid., XXVIII-XXIX.
- <sup>30</sup> Harinder Singh, 'Bhai Maharaj Singh Freedom Fighter for the Panjab,' Sikhri.com
- <sup>31</sup> Nahar Singh, *Documents Relating to Bhai Maharaj Singh*, pp. XXIX.
- <sup>32</sup> Kernail Singh Sandhu, 'The Sikh Immigration into Malaya, during British Rule', Ganda Singh, (ed.), *The Punjab, Past, Present*, Vol. X, Part I-II, (Patiala: Punjabi University, 1993), pp. 436-37.
- <sup>33</sup> Jeswant Kaur 'The Sikh in Malaya: Then and Now,' paper presented at

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the Conference on 'The Indian Diaspora with Special Focus on the State of Punjab,' 2008, CRRID, Chandigarh.

- <sup>34</sup> *The Indian Encyclopedia Britannica*, 2002, Volume 27, p.752. In 1786 the English East India Company acquired Penang (or Pinang) Island, off Malaya's north-west coast, from the Sultan of Kedah. Sir Stamford Raffles occupied Singapore Island off the Southern tip of the Peninsula in 1819, acquiring trading right in 1824. The British obtained Malacca from the Dutch in 1824 and thereafter governed the three major ports of the Strait of Malacca which were collectively named as the Straits-Settlements. The British colonial office took direct control in 1867. Straits-Settlements (Singapore-Penang-Malacca) served as a dumping ground for the Indian convicts.
- <sup>35</sup> *Home Department, Judicial*, July, 1876, B, File no. 177/ 179.
- <sup>36</sup> *Home Department, Judicial*, June, 1877, File no. 333-338.
- <sup>37</sup> Principal Matters, Hissar Division, Vol. 37, 1<sup>st</sup> August, 1857, Circular no. 78.
- <sup>38</sup> *Mutiny Records Report II*, (Lahore: Punjab Government Press, 1911), p.198. According to Montgomery 'Had the disarming not been effective it is quite impossible to say what might have happened within 36 hours.'
- <sup>39</sup> Rev. J. Cave-Browne, *The Punjab and the Delhi in 1857*, pp. 47-48, 52.
- <sup>40</sup> Khushwant Singh, *A History of The Sikhs*, p. 104.
- <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 105-108. See also, *The Tribune*, 25<sup>th</sup>, 26<sup>th</sup> July, 2009. A platoon of more than 300 soldiers stationed at Lahore rebelled against the British government by leaving their barracks. History reveals that the soldiers bravely crossed the nearby flooded river Ravi and reached the adjoining Ajnala town. However, acting on a tip-off, Fredric Cooper, Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar, ordered that all of them be put in a cage-like room of the old Tehsil Ajanala where almost 200 soldiers died of asphyxiation. The rest of them were brutally shot the

next morning and their bodies were thrown into the Kalliwanwala Khuh. The incident dates to June 3, 1857. In March 2014 there was a formal digging of this well and it immediately raised the issue of its interpretation – regarding who these mutineers were, Punjabis or Poorbias?

42 *Mutiny Records Report II*, p. 345.

43 Rev. J. Cave-Browne, *The Punjab and the Delhi in 1857*, p. 263.

44 *Mutiny Records Report II*, pp. 229-230.

45 Ambala Division, Press listed, Military Department, 23<sup>rd</sup> December, 1858, File no. 1.

46 Rev. J. Cave-Browne, *The Punjab and the Delhi in 1857*, pp. 279-80.

47 *Gadar*, 21st April, 1914, p.8 (Translated from Gurmukhi to English).

48 *Gadar*, 28th April, 1914, p.8(Translated, from Gurmukhi to English).

49 *Ibid.*

50 Principal Matters, Hissar Division, 7<sup>th</sup> August, 1858, no 558.

51 *Mutiny Records Report II*, pp.178-180, 208, 236.

52 Rev. J. Cave-Browne, *The Punjab and the Delhi in 1857*, pp. 278-79.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 275.

54 Principal Matters, Hissar Division, 13<sup>th</sup> May, 1858, no 1780.

55 Rev. J. Cave-Browne, *The Punjab and the Delhi in 1857*, p. 277.

56 Principal Matters, Hissar Division, 20<sup>th</sup> April, 1858, Circular no. 1473.

57 Principal Matters, Hissar Division, 14<sup>th</sup> April, 1858, no. 1399.

58 Principal Matters, Hissar Division, 1<sup>st</sup> June 1858, no. 2051.

59 Principal Matters, Hissar Division, 3<sup>rd</sup> June, 1858, no. 2080.

60 Principal Matters, Hissar Division, 25<sup>th</sup> March, 1859, no. 241.

61 Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, Vol. II, p. 105.

62 Principal Matters, Hissar Division, 29<sup>th</sup> May, 1859, no 243

63 Principal Matters, Hissar Division, 31<sup>st</sup> May, 1859, no 403.

64 Principal Matters, Hissar Division, 18<sup>th</sup> May, 1874, no, 2155.

65 *Revenue and Agriculture Department, Emigration*, 1883, File no 5, Proceeding no. 9 -15.

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- <sup>66</sup> *Foreign Department, Political, A*, March 1876, no. 560-568.
- <sup>67</sup> *Geoghegans Report on Coolie Emigration from India*, 1874, p.80
- <sup>68</sup> Rev, J. Cave-Browne, *The Punjab and the Delhi in 1857*, pp. 249-51.
- <sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.284-87. Roughly the total loan amount contributed from several divisions: Peshawar more than Four lakh, from Multan and Derajat about two and a half lakhs; from Lahore, including that city, Amritsar and Sialkot nearly eleven lakhs; Jalandhar Doab about three lakhs; and from the Cis-Satluj States, involving, Ambala, Ludhiana, Ferozpur, about eighteen and a half lakhs.
- <sup>70</sup> Principal Matters, Hissar Division, 21<sup>st</sup> May, 1858, Circular no. 41.
- <sup>71</sup> Principal Matters, Hissar Division, 25<sup>th</sup> May, 1863, Letter no. 1586.
- <sup>72</sup> Principal Matters, Hissar Division. From Deputy Commissioner Sirsa to Commissioner Hissar, 29<sup>th</sup> May 1859, Letter no. 243.
- <sup>73</sup> Principal Matter, Hissar Division, 31<sup>st</sup> May, 1859, Letter no. 403.
- <sup>74</sup> Principal Matter, Hissar Division, 9<sup>th</sup> November, 1858, Circular no. 108-4641.
- <sup>75</sup> Principal Matters, Hissar Division, R. N. Cust, Judicial Commissioner for Punjab, 10<sup>th</sup> September, 1863, leaf No. 295-300. Some other rules were: The Commissioner of Delhi will send the prisoners of the Delhi Jail to Rohtak then will move on Hissar, Sirsa, and Googaira, picking up the prisoners of each jail; from Googaira the convey will move on to Multan. The prisoners from the Jails of Bunoo and Dera Ishmael Khan to proceed in boats to Dera Gazee Khan, and thence to Multan. The Shahpur prisoners by boat be sent to Ghaut of the Chenab near Jhung, and then to Multan. The prisoners from the Jail of Kohat and Peshawar to Rawalpindi then will move on Jhelum, Gujarat and Gujranwala, picking up the prisoners of each Jail. From Gujranwala the convey will move on to Lahore. The transportable prisoners of the Sialkot prisoners to be sent to Gujranwala and of the Gurdaspur Jail to Amritsar. The Kangra prisoners to be forwarded to Jalandhar and Ferozpur be forwarded to Lahore. The Commissioner of Ambala Jail,

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to be forwarded on to Ludhiana and Jalandhar, from there to proceed to Amritsar, and then to Lahore. At each Station the convey will be increased by the addition of prisoners awaiting transportation. By the 1<sup>st</sup> of November, all the transportable prisoners of the province should be assembled in the Multan and Lahore Jail. To prevent the Jail at Multan being dangerously crowded, the superintendent of Lahore Central Jail will dispatch no convey to Multan; without intimation of there being available accommodation. The Lahore Central Jail, therefore, during the winter months, be a first rendezvous for the prisoners from the Northern portion of the Punjab. There will be two dispatches each month, until the whole body had been disposed of.

<sup>76</sup> S. N. Aggarwal, *Heroes of the Cellular Jail*, (Patiala: Punjabi University, 1995), p. 21.

<sup>77</sup> Principal Matters, Hissar Division, 31<sup>st</sup> May, 1859, letter no. 403.

<sup>78</sup> Principal Matters, Hissar Division, 25<sup>th</sup> May, 1863, no. 1586.

<sup>79</sup> Principal Matter, Hissar Division, 11<sup>th</sup> September, 1858, Letter no. 74/364.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> S.N. Aggarwal, *Heroes of the Cellular Jail*, pp. 27-28.

<sup>82</sup> Native Newspapers Punjab December 1869-70, Report on the Native Newspapers Punjab, N.W.F.P, Oudh, Central Provinces, *The Ukhbar Benaras*, 10<sup>th</sup> December, 1870, Benaras, p. 69.

<sup>83</sup> Kernail Singh Sandhu, 'The Sikh Immigration into Malaya during British Rule', p. 437.

<sup>84</sup> Home Department, Judicial, October, 1876, File no. 154-157.

<sup>85</sup> Kernail Singh Sandhu, 'The Sikh Immigration into Malaya during British Rule', p. 437.

<sup>86</sup> Kernail Singh Sandhu, *Indians in Malaya: Some Aspects of their Immigration and Settlement, 1786-1957*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 134-136.

<sup>87</sup> Principal Matters, Hissar Division, Vol. no. 37, Circular no. 101, 17<sup>th</sup>

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September, 1862.

<sup>88</sup> Principal Matters, Hissar Division, 5<sup>th</sup> February, 1869, Circular no. II. 627.

<sup>89</sup> *Home Department, Judicial*, March, 1877, B, File no. 105/109.

<sup>90</sup> Principal Matters, Hissar Division, 17<sup>th</sup> September, 1862. From R. H. Curt, Judicial Commissioner Punjab to all the Commissioners, Superintendent Lahore, Letter no 45, September, 1862, Circular no. 101, no. 4312.