

Gulab Singh: From Raja to Maharaja

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Abstract: Maharaja Gulab Singh, the architect of Jammu & Kashmir was a remarkable personality of the history of India, who during the adverse time, when princely states were annexed by the East India Company was able to carve out the state. Present paper examines the process of his journey from a petty official to a ruler of a state. The establishment of Jammu and Kashmir State by the treaty of Amritsar in 1846 A.D. have obscured the greatness of Maharaja Gulab Singh as a soldier and statesman. Moreover, his rank as a great statesman was established even way before he became the ruler of the state. He attained eminence in the Lahore Darbar as a great General and diplomat. He was noble, generous and was able to inspire others. Although, he was very ambitious but he always remained loyal to the Lahore Darbar. It was because of the conspiracies at Lahore darbar which made Gulab Singh to think of other alternate but if take the political standards of that time into consideration, he stand out as a great figure of 19th century.

Gulab Singh was born in 1792. He was the son Kishor Singh. He descended in direct line from Raja Dhruv Dev through his third son, Mian Surat Dev. Gulab Singh was the eldest son of Kishor Singh. Regarding Gulab Singh's descent from the Raja Dhruv Dev, Ganeshdas Bادهhra writes, "It should not remained concealed that Raja-i-Rajgan Raja Ranjit Dev and Sri Maharaja Gulab Singh Bahadur belonged to two different lines of the same family of Raja Dhruv Dev, the ruler of Jammu hills."¹ Kishor Singh was a great soldier and he mainly lived on his *jagir* at Andarwah.² Gulab Singh in his early childhood was sent to live with his grand father Zorawar Singh.

Zorawar Singh was a stern old warrior who lived in his *jagir*, Dyawago, at some distance from Jammu. He trained Gulab Singh in all manly arts. As far as his regular education was concerned, there were not sufficient information but certainly he was not illiterate as he could easily read and write.³ It is said that at an early age, he became disciple of Baba Prem Dass, who formerly lived in the village of Surinsar near Purmandal but but later shifted to another village near Kanachak. When Gulab Singh

was still a youth, the political landscape of Punjab underwent a great change. The end of 18th century witnessed the emergence of Ranjit Singh, who was son of Maha Singh of *Sukarchakiya Misl*.⁴ Ranjit Singh was born in 1780 and he was only 12 years old when his father died in 1792 but he already accompanied his father on various expeditions.

Ranjit Singh systematically defeated and destroyed other sikh *misl*s and made himself the ruler of Punjab. Afterwards, he started his career of conquests and contemplating further territorial expansion, looked to Jammu as there were continued political divisions among the Dogras. Taking advantage of the confusion, Ranjit Singh ordered Bhai Hukum Singh to annex Jammu to the Sikh state. Bhai Hukm Singh advanced with a considerable force. The invasion by the Sikhs, briefly united the feuding dogras and they jointly fought against the invaders. Mian Mota who was in charge of the defence of the Jammu, he organised a small force to face the enemies. Gulab Singh, who was only sixteen years old took part in the battle. Although Dogras fought very bravely but were decisively defeated by the mighty Sikh

army. Afterwards Jammu became a part of the Sikh Kingdom.⁵

Soon after this Gulab Singh left home in search of a new life. According to K.M. Panikkar, Gulab Singh wanted to enlist in the army of Shah Shuja, who was the ruler of Kabul but was expelled from Afghanistan by Shah Mahmud who enthroned himself as the ruler of Afghanistan.⁶ When Gulab Singh reached the Indus, his attendants refused to go to Afghanistan. Thereupon he returned to the hills and briefly served under the Raja of Kishtwar.⁷ In 1809, he obtained employment at *Jagir* of Nihal Singh Attariwala, who was a courtier of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Gulab Singh played very important role in quelling the uprising by the local *zamindars* of which the Nihal Singh Attariwala was so impressed with him that he sent him to Lahore for induction into the Sikh army. According to Diwan Kirpa Ram, author of *Gulabnama*, "he joined the royal camp, urdu-e-Mualla, in the year 1867 Bikrami during its halt at the town of Daska two *Krohs* from Sialkot towards the south and by waiting upon the glorious king attracted his favour."⁸

Immediately after his appointment, he presented his brother Dhian Singh at the Lahore Darbar. Dhian Singh was appointed on a monthly salary of Rs. 60. Similarly, Kishor Singh, his father was also introduced to Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who appointed him to a civil post. The author of *Gulabnama* says, "sometime after in the year 1869 Bikrami, when Maharaja Ranjit Singh was staying at Rohtas, Raja Dhian Singh through the medium of his lordship waited on that great benefactor and got distinguished at 60 rupees monthly. Mian Sahib Kishor Singh, their respected father also pledged devotion that very day to the cause of the King of the Punjab."⁹

In 1809, Gulab Singh joined Lahore darbar and at that time Maharaja Ranjit Singh had not attained that prominence yet, but he looked upon as only a rising potentate. In 1813, Gulab Singh and his father Kishor Singh took active part in a battle against Fateh Khan of Kabul for the possession of Attock, which they won.¹⁰

Maharaja Ranjit Singh attempted to conquer Kashmir and he himself led a force into the

Kashmir but Sikh army had to retreat because of the strategic failure. Gulab Singh and his company escaped with difficulty. He showed the greatest courage in reassembling his forces and bringing them back safely.¹¹ Maharaja Ranjit Singh was greatly pleased with Gulab Singh and granted him the *jagirs* of Kharoti and Beyol and also promoted him. Diwan Kirpa Ram in *Gulabnama* writes, "soon the star of his Lordship's splendour began to shine in great expeditions and signal achievements. So, the king of Lahore, during his stay at Dinanagar, bestowed upon him the command of 22 horses and the villages of Kharoti, Bhandian and Beol in the form of *Jagir* in acknowledgment of his signal services and valuable endeavours which were exhibited by him."¹²

Diwan Amir Chand, father of Diwan Kripa Ram was appointed as Diwan of the *Jagir*. Afterwards, Gulab Singh continued to rise in favour at the Lahore Darba. He distinguished himself again at the siege of Jullunder and for that he was rewarded with the additional *Jagir* of Chohana and Ramgarh. He was also empowered to raise 200 soldiers.¹³ Raja Kishor Singh, father of Gulab Singh and Raja Suchet Singh, younger brother of Gulab Singh were deputed to reduce Ramagarh but the garrison there refused to surrender and offered resistance. Ramgarh was reduced after some fighting and Zorawar Singh, grandfather of Gulab Singh shifted with his family from Smailpur¹⁴ to Ramgarh.¹⁵

Gulab Singh played very important role in almost all the campaigns that the Maharaja Ranjit Singh carried on. His personal bravery attracted the notice of Ranjit Singh at the siege of Multan.¹⁶ Diwan Kripa Ram mentioned that Maharaja Ranjit Singh proceeded in 1817 to conquer Multan as the ruler of Multan refused to submit. During the siege, one of the Sikh Sardar fell dead and Maharaja Ranjit Singh was very fond of that Sardar. So, he commanded his officers to bring back the dead body but no one had heart to step forward to bring dead body from the very rampart of the fortress. Gulab Singh, who without a word rushed forward and carried off the dead body after much struggle. According to the author of *Gulabnama*, Maharaja Ranjit Singh praised Gulab Singh for his valour.¹⁷ In 1819, he sought and

received Ranjit Singh's permission to crush uprising in the Jammu hills.

The rebellion had been incited by Mian Dido, who claimed to be direct descendant of Ranjit Dev. He gained much popularity by robbing the wealthy and distributing among the poor. Gulab Singh was aware that order in Jammu hills could only be restored after eliminating Mian Dido. Gulab Singh wanted to take him alive as he gave Mian Dido several chances to surrender from time to time.¹⁸

During the time Gulab Singh was occupied with the military expeditions, his younger brother Dhian Singh and Suchet Singh were also promoted for their unstinting loyalty to the Sikh ruler. In 1818, Maharaja Ranjit Singh appointed Dhian Singh to the prestigious office of *deodhiwala*. Gulabnama mentioned, "one of the delightful circumstances which occurred that year was the bestowal of Deodhi on the said Raja Sahib."¹⁹ Early in 1820, Jammu was given to Gulab Singh in *Jagir*. As K.M. Pannikar writes Jammu had always been considered as unruly and difficult province and when administration of the province was offered to Gulab Singh, he represented that it was impossible to collect the revenue as the place had not been completely subdued.²⁰ The request was granted by Maharaja Ranjit Singh as the latter knew that it is necessity to give Gulab Singh proper authority and dignity who had to deal with a formidable foe of the stature of Mian Dido.²¹ So in 1820, Maharaja Ranjit Singh granted Gulab Singh, his father and the two brothers jointly as *Jagir*, the taluqa of Chakla of Jammu alongwith small states of Patti-Bhoti, Bandralta, Chineni etc. Kishtwar.²² But this grant was made on the condition that, first, the grantees were to maintain 400 cavalryman for the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, secondly they were to protect the caravan route to Kashmir and thirdly, they were to either capture or kill or drive him (Mian Dido) across the Sutlej. Gulab Singh and his two younger brothers and their father agreed to abide by these conditions and gave their acceptance. Kishor Singh was given the title of Raja. Gulab Singh immediately left for Jammu and after reaching there tried to force Mian Dido into submission but the latter refused. Mian Dido gave tough resistance to Gulab Singh's entire contingent but at last one of the soldier of

Gulab Singh shot an arrow from a safer distance and killed him. In 1821, Gulab Singh undertook the conquest of Kishtwar. Kishtwar was ruled by Raja Tej Singh and Lakhpat Rai was his *Wazir*. Through a stratagem, he was able to sow the seeds of dissension between them and Kishtwar was conquered. *Wazir* Lakhpat was taken into Gulab Singh's service and he served latter till his death in 1846 with utmost loyalty.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh was so elated with the services of Gulab Singh that he decided to place Jammu solely under the charge of Gulab Singh and with the hereditary title of Raja. Maharaja Ranjit Singh personally travelled to Akhnoor and took up his residence in the fort and made preparation for the ceremony of *Rajtilak*. Gulab Singh who was away on an expedition in the hills was summoned to the royal presence. Maharaja Ranjit Singh enstalled him on the *gadi* and personally performed *Rajtilak*. Diwan Kripa Ram wrote in Gulabnama, "the king enstalled this gem of the diadem of prosperity to the Rajship at an auspicious moment in a glorious house on the bank of the river Chenab under the tree of Jabah-Potah on the 4th of the month of Har (17, June 1822). The King placed a shining saffron mark on his forehead by his own blessed hand."²³

On the same day, Suchet Singh was given the jagir of Ramnagar alongwith the title of raja. However, it was odd that Dhian Singh, who was also in high favour was not given any principality but in April 1828, Maharaja Ranjit Singh gave him the title of Raja-e-Rajgan and also enstalled him as his *Wazir*. In addition to this, he received several territories including the principalities of Poonch in *Jagir*.²⁴ Hira Singh, son of Dhian Singh was given the title of Raja²⁵ and in 1834, Jasrota was granted to him as *Jagir*.

Raja Gulab Singh was only thirty years old when he became raja of Jammu. It was only because of his own merits that he was able to achieve this and came this far. His fame as a warrior had reverberated through the Punjab. He became an important grandee at the Lahore Court. His brothers Raja Dhian Singh and Suchet Singh remained at Lahore and Raja Gulab Singh was permitted to spend his time at Jammu governing

Jagirs of his family and also organising new expeditions into adjoining areas.²⁶ Afterwards, he started visiting Lahore darbar on several occasions or whenever summoned. Raja Gulab Singh gave highest priority to the internal peace and fiscal policy. Highway robbery and murder was very common but Raja Gulab Singh put down all these crime with firm hand.²⁷ He established police stations at a number of places for the protection of the trade and travellers. In the period between 1820 and 1827, Gulab Singh brought under his effective control the numerous principalities lying between Kashmir valley and Jammu except the *Jagir* of his brothers and nephew.²⁸

Raja Gulab Singh took the management of his *Jagir* very seriously and devoted great attention towards it. Other chiefs who held *Jagirs* spent most of their time in Lahore in attendance on Maharaja Ranjit Singh and appointed managers to look after their *Jagirs* who were only concerned to squeeze out the cultivators as much as money as they could and took no interest in their welfare. By 1835, Raja Gulab Singh had become the most important feudatory of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and most important personality at the Lahore Court. Besides his own principality he held in farm some of the most productive lands in the Punjab.²⁹ During this time, he attacked Ladakh and Baltistan.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh died on 27 June 1839 at the age of 59. Even a few months before his death his power had visibly declined and the government of kingdom was in the hands of Raja Dhian Singh. Ranjit Singh was succeeded by his son Kharak Singh. There was anarchy in Lahore darbar because of the ambitions of the leading chiefs. Kharak Singh died on 5 November 1840 and same day his son Nao Nihal Singh also died as a result of an accidental fall of archway under which he passed on his return from the funeral rites of his father. Gulab Singh's eldest son Randhir Singh also died in this accident.³⁰ There was disputes regarding the succession to the throne and ultimately Sher Singh, another son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh succeeded to the throne. Raja Gulab Singh was offered the position of minister under new regime but he was in no mood to take part in the intrigues of Lahore and preferred to return to his dominion. Sher Singh was formally installed as

Maharaja on 27 January, 1841 and he was acknowledged by all except Attar Singh Sindhianwala and Ajit Singh Sindhianwala. Raja Dhian Singh was installed in the office of *Wazir* and a rich *Khilat* was bestowed upon him.³¹ All the *Jagirs* and territories belonging to the powerful family of Sindhiwanwala were confiscated to the state and order was issued to arrest Attar Singh and Ajit Singh who fled to British territory across Sutlej. Not long after, Sher Singh himself also came into contact with the British.³² In the meantime, the relations between Maharaja Sher Singh and his *Wazir*, Dhian Singh were now drawing to close and they began to hate each other because of the conspiracies at the Lahore darbar. The Sardars at Lahore darbar who were opposed to dogra brothers poisoned the ear of Maharaja Sher Singh. On 15 September, 1843, the history of Punjab took a violent turn, first Maharaja Sher Singh and then Raja Dhian Singh were murdered in cold blood.³³ Thereafter, Duleep Singh was proclaimed as Maharaja and Raja Hira Singh, son of Dhian Singh became Prime Minister.

After the situation settled down, Gulab Singh reached Lahore on 10 November 1843 and honourably received and was requested to take up the post of Prime Minister but the latter refused to be involved into the whirlpool of Sikh politics.³⁴ So, he returned to Jammu taking Suchet Singh with him. But he left some of his troops at Shahdara under Diwan Hari Chand for Hira Singh, which Gulab Singh think might soon require help. Hira Singh, within short time restored order, suppressed all rebellions and even had the authority of Lahore recognised by Raja Gulab Singh,³⁵ but he was killed on 21 December, 1844.

After the death of Hira Singh, destinies of Lahore darbar were controlled by Rani Jindan and her Paramour, Lal Singh. They now sent an army to crush Gulab Singh under the pretext that Raja Hira Singh's property should be surrendered to Lahore darbar and also demanded three crore of rupees from Raja Gulab Singh. Raja Gulab Singh had been keeping a close watch over the development at Lahore. Meanwhile, the Sikh government sent a force to capture a large treasure hidden by Gulab Singh at Jasrota fort. So, Raja Gulab Singh dispatched a force under Jawahar Singh to Jasrota.

Meanwhile, Jawahar Singh beat the Sikh forces and escaped to Jammu.³⁶ Lahore Darbar was enraged and made a resolute decision to invade Jammu. The Sikh troops were encamped south of Jammu but Gulab Singh was aware that it was futile to fight with them as it only might bring the rest of Khalsa army from Lahore to Jammu. Raja Gulab Singh acted very wisely and diplomatically and to avert the danger he opened the negotiation. He stayed in Lahore till August 1845. On 8 November 1845, Lal Singh assumed the post of Prime Minister and Tej Singh was appointed commander-in-chief of the Sikh army.

Events leading to Anglo-Sikh war:

The East India company had maintained the most amicable relations with the Sikh state until the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Britishers respected and admired the Maharaja Ranjit Singh throughout his rule and they made no attempt to encroach his territories³⁷ and Maharaja on the other hand also reciprocated in the same way. He extended his aid to Britishers when they invaded Afghanistan in 1839. Britishers treated Punjab as a buffer state between the Sutlej boundary and the turbulent Afghan. As long as Maharaja Ranjit Singh lived, he maintained the trust of Britishers but after the Maharaja's death the situation began to alter. As early as June 1845, the Governor Henry Hardinge expressed his determination to maintain Sikh government as long as possible. This declaration of policy being repealed in September and in October.³⁸ Both Governor General and Commander-in-Chief (Sir Hugh Rose) maintaining the opinion even up to 14 of December that the Sikhs would not cross the Sutlej.³⁹

On 8 December, large detachments of Sikh troops made their appearance on the right bank of the Sutlej and the influx continued in great number. Sikhs crossed the Sutlej as they had become convinced that the British Government intended to annex the Punjab.⁴⁰ As soon as the war broke out, Lahore government ordered Raja Gulab Singh to proceed to Peshawar and hold the frontier. In reply Raja Gulab Singh advised the Rani not to Court disaster by waging war against the British, who had given no cause of offence⁴¹ and therefore, guard yourself cautiously against such

an intention and never plant your foot on that country (of the British).⁴²

When the campaign was going on, the Sikhs unanimously demanded his return to Lahore. On 27 January 1846, he was installed as Prime Minister. He tried to settle the issue between the Sikhs and the Britishers diplomatically. On 10 February 1846, battle of Sobraon was fought and this was the most fiercely contested battle that the English had fought. After this Gulab Singh was given full power to negotiate with the British. However, the necessity of conciliating Gulab Singh was realised by the Britishers because his (Gulab Singh's) army was intact and if he had decided to put his sources and force at the disposal of Lahore Government, the issue would have again become doubtful. So, Gulab Singh started negotiation on behalf of Lahore darbar with the Britishers and was able to secure for his sovereign what was in circumstances a reasonably moderate treaty. This treaty recognised Duleep Singh as ruler but required that the territories between Beas and Sutlej should be handed over to the British and that Rs. 1,50,000,000 should be paid as war indemnity.

The conditions were agreed by Raja Gulab Singh on 20 February 1846 but his success infuriated Lal Singh who persuaded the regent to withdraw Gulab Singh's authority and to appoint him (Lal Singh) as *Wazir*. According to K.M. Pannikar, it was then Gulab Singh realised precariousness of his position. He had not accepted the British proposal of independence where Governor-General had promised to grant him the hilly district together with the country of Kashmir on a condition that Raja Gulab Singh would separate himself from the grant of Punjab. In the meantime, as a result of the conpricacies of Lal Singh, Gulab Singh was deprived of the post of Wazir. Lal Singh, newly appointed wazir showed Lahore darbar's inability to pay war indemnity of 1,500,000 as negotiated between Britishers and Gulab Singh. So, he offered to hand over Jammu and Kashmir as his idea was to deprive Gulab Singh of his dominion and also to give Britishers two options either of holding Kashmir or of accepting less indemnity. However, the Britishers at this point of time were not interested in reduced war indemnity. Gulab Singh

agreed to pay money and Governor General agreed to recognise him as an independent sovereign. So, the treaty of Lahore was officially signed on 9 March, 1846, had a clause to the following effect : In consideration of services rendered by Raja Gulab Singh, the Maharaja (Daleep Singh) hereby agrees to recognise the independent sovereignty of Raja Gulab Singh, in such territories and districts in the hills as may be made over to send raja Gulab Singh by separate agreement between himself and the British Government. Six days later on 15 March 1846, Gulab Singh was formally invested with the title of Maharaja and separate treaty was envisaged under article 12 of the treaty of Lahore was also concluded with him at Amritsar known as treaty of Amritsar. According to the treaty of Amritsar, British Government transfer and make over, forever, in independent possession, to Maharaja Gulab Singh and heir males of his body, all the hilly or mountains country with its dependencies situated to the Eastward of the river Indus and Westward to the river Ravi including Chamba and excluding Lahol, being part of the territories ceded to the British Government by the Lahore state according to the provisions of article IV of the treaty of Lahore dated: 9 March 1846. In consideration of the transfer, Maharaja Gulab Singh will pay the sum of 75,000,000 of rupees to British Government in two instalments, Rupees 50,000,000 to be paid on the ratification of this treaty and Rupees 25,000,000 on or before the 1st October of the current year. Maharaja Gulab Singh acknowledged the supremacy of the British Government.

It is seen from the preceding pages that Maharaja Gulab Singh was one of the most remarkable personality of 19th century. He started his career as a petty official in Maharaja Ranjit Singh's army and was able to establish himself as sovereign. He was credited with the achievement of extending geographical boundaries of India. He was very skilful commander and a brave soldier. The second quarter of 19th century was a time when East India Company was annexing princely states on the plea of doctrine of lapse but it was Maharaja Gulab Singh who was able to carve out the state of Jammu and Kashmir through his diplomacy and skill . Sir Henry Lawrence gave the estimate of the

character of Maharaja Gulab Singh. He wrote that I have no doubt that Maharaja Gulab Singh is a man of indifferent character, but if we look for perfection from native chiefs we shall look in vain, He has many virtues that few of them possess viz, courage,energy and personal purity⁴³.

¹ G.D. Badhera, *Rajdarshni*, Tr. By Dr. S.D.S. Charak, Jammu, 2016, P.203

² *Eight miles from modern town of Samba*.

³ M.L. Kapoor, *History of Jammu and Kashmir, the making of the state*. P.50-51

⁴ It is term used to refer to major Sikh Confederacies that sought to expand Sikh rule across the Punjab in the 18th century. They were 12 in number. These *misl*s were functioning under their respective leaders.

⁵ Bawa Satinder Singh, *The Jammu Fox*, Southern Illinois University Press, London and Amsterdam, 1974, P.5

⁶ K. M. Panikar, *Gulab Singh (792-1858), the founder of Kashmir*, P.6

⁷ Bawa Satinder Singh, *The Jammu Fox*, Southern Illinois University Press, London and Amsterdam, 1974, P.6

⁸ Diwan Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama*, Tr. Dr. S.D.S. Charak, Gulshan Books Kashmir, 2016, P.55

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Diwan Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama*, Tr. Dr. S.D.S. Charak, Gulshan Books Kashmir, 2016, P.57-58

¹¹ Ibid, P.67

¹² Ibid. P.69

¹³ Ibid. P.78

¹⁴ *Smailpur was the ancestral Jagiri of Zorawar Singh situated about 11 miles east of Jammu*

¹⁵ Diwan Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama*, Tr. Dr. S.D.S. Charak, Gulshan Books Kashmir, 2016, P.74

¹⁶ K. M. Panikar, *Gulab Singh (792-1858), the founder of Kashmir*, P.12

¹⁷ Diwan Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama*, Tr. Dr. S.D.S. Charak, Gulshan Books Kashmir, 2016 P.76

¹⁸ Bawa Satinder Singh, *The Jammu Fox*, Southern Illinois University Press, London and Amsterdam, 1974, P.8

¹⁹ Diwan Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama*, Tr. Dr. S.D.S. Charak, Gulshan Books Kashmir, 2016, P.86

²⁰ K. M. Panikar, *Gulab Singh (792-1858), the founder of Kashmir*, P.15

²¹ Diwan Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama*, Tr. Dr. S.D.S. Charak, Gulshan Books Kashmir, 2016, P.93

²² M.L. Kapoor, *History of Jammu and Kashmir State*, Kashmir History Publications, Jammu, 1980, P.55

²³ Diwan Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama*, Tr. Dr. S.D.S. Charak, Gulshan Books Kashmir, 2016, P.115

²⁴ Diwan Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama*, Tr. Dr. S.D.S. Charak, Gulshan Books Kashmir, 2016, P.156

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- ²⁵ Diwan Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama*, Tr. Dr. S.D.S. Charak, Gulshan Books Kashmir, 2016, P.258, P.5
- ²⁶ Bawa Satinder Singh, *The Jammu Fox*, Southern Illinois University Press, London and Amsterdam, 1974, P.11
- ²⁷ Frederick Drew, *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories; a Geographical Account*, Edward Stanford, London, 1875, P.13
- ²⁸ Poonch was the *Jagir* of Dhian Singh, Ramnagar was the *Jagir* of Suchet Singh & Jasrota was the *Jagir* of Hira Singh.
- ²⁹ K. M. Panikar, *Gulab Singh (792-1858), the founder of Kashmir*, P.22
- ³⁰ Ibid. P.24
- ³¹ Muhammad Latief, *History of Punjab*, Uresia Publishing House, New Delhi, 1964, P.507
- ³² M.L. Kapoor, *History of Jammu and Kashmir State*, Kashmir History Publications, Jammu, 1980, P.119
- ³³ Ibid. P.145
- ³⁴ K. M. Panikar, *Gulab Singh (792-1858), the founder of Kashmir*, P.36
- ³⁵ Ibid. P.38
- ³⁶ Bawa Satinder Singh, *The Jammu Fox*, Southern Illinois University Press, London and Amsterdam, 1974, P.77
- ³⁷ Ibid. P.87
- ³⁸ Muhammad Latief, *History of Punjab*, Uresia Publishing House, New Delhi, 1964, P.539
- ³⁹ Ibid.
- ⁴⁰ K. M. Panikar, *Gulab Singh (792-1858), the founder of Kashmir*, P.53
- ⁴¹ Diwan Kirpa Ram, *Gulabnama*, Tr. Dr. S.D.S. Charak, Gulshan Books Kashmir, 2016, P.298
- ⁴² Ibid.
- ⁴³ Sir Herbert Benjamin Edwards and Herman Merivale, *Life of Sir Henry Lawrence, Vol-II*, Smith, Elder & Co., London, 1872, P.61