

**THE SIKH STUDIES AND
THE BRITISH ADMINISTRATION -
CASE OF M.A. MACAULIFFE**

A THESIS

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CERTIFICATE

**This is to certify that the thesis THE SIKH STUDIES AND THE
BRITISH ADMINISTRATION - CASE OF M.A. MACAULIFFE
embodies the work carried out by Ms Gurbinder Kaur herself under
my guidance / supervision and that the work is worthy and fit for
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DECLARATION

**I hereby affirm that the present work THE SIKH STUDIES AND
THE BRITISH ADMINISTRATION - CASE OF M.A. MACAULIFFE in
the present form of my Ph.D. thesis is exclusively my own work.**

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(Gurbinder Kaur)

Preface

The Origin of Westerners interest in Sikhism might be traced back to 18th century due to their intellectual curiosity and political compulsions. The Sikh studies had their different phases. The Western Sikh studies initially came due to political reasons.

Study of Sikh manners lifestyle became very important when East India Company had become a paramount power in India. This transformation from political interest of Polier, Forster, Brown to general history or Sikh tradition was best depicted by Malcolm at the dawn of 19th Century.

In their next phase the focus remained on Lahore Kingdom, its ruler Maharaja Ranjit Singh and its nobility which has been reflected by H.T. Prinsep. With Cunningham Sikh Studies entered a new phase as he wrote as a professional historian in 1849. Sikh history reminded Cunningham about the rise of Christianity in England during Middle Ages. Indirectly, he proposed the British to handle the Sikhs and the Kingdom of Lahore with great care. Also, he attached a great importance to the original Sikh authors and writings particularly the Bani of the Sikh Gurus and their elaborations by the Sikh scholars. Thus, Hukumnamas, Adi Granth, Dasam Granth, Rahitnamas, writings of Bhai Gurdas and Bhai Mani Singh become very important.

Events of 1857 further enhanced the military and political significance of the Sikhs and Punjab in the eyes of British administrators and statesmen. Trumpp was engaged by the India Office to translate Sikh

Scriptures which he did partially between 1869-1877. The endeavour and more so its failure had become politically significant as Kuka Movement by 1871-72 brought Namdharis into direct confrontation with British Government. Lepel Griffin responded to this situation in his books particularly in his article "Sikhism and Sikhs". His arguments were aimed at being pro-British and pro-Sikh states at the same time which reflected the current thinking of the period.

At this stage because of Western Education and constitutional development, Sikh intelligentsia and educated Sikhs also realized the need to know about their religion and cultural roots. As a result, the Sikh identity issue got sharpened. Leaders of Singh Sabha started looking for a European scholar to correct the wrong done to them by Trumpp. After a hectic search, Mr. Max Arthur Macauliffe, an Irishman, was persuaded to undertake this task on behalf of Sikh community in 1882. M.A. Macauliffe chose to write on Sikh history and tradition out of curiosity but he became one of its important students as well as an upholder.

He had joined Indian Civil Services in 1862. In 1864 he was posted in Punjab and by 1882 reached the grade of Deputy Commissioner. In 1884 he became a Divisional Judge. In 1875, Macauliffe wrote an article The Fair at Sakhi Sarwar in Calcutta Review. From 1880-1881 he wrote 3 articles in Calcutta Review i.e. The Diwali at Amritsar, The Rise of Amritsar and Alterations of the Sikh Religion and The Sikh Religion under Banda and its Present Condition.

The Holy Writings of the Sikhs was read by him before the Aryan Section of the Congress of Orientalists in Paris and published in Asiatic Quarterly Review in 1898. His selected translations of Japji, Rahiras, Anand and Shabad of Guru Amar Das, The Aarti and Sohilla of the Sikhs and Asa Di Var were published between 1897 and 1902. He published *The Life and Teachings of Guru Nanak* in 1903 and also *Life of Guru Teg Bahadur* in 1903.

His lecture *The Sikh Religion* was reintitled and published as *The Sikh Religion and its Advantages to the State* in 1903 in Journal of United Service Club, Simla along with his another lecture *How the Sikhs become a Militant People*. Macauliffe wrote his magnum opus i.e. *The Sikh Religion* in six volumes in three books after sixteen years of hard labour. It was published at Clarendon Press in 1909. In 1910, his *Holy Scriptures of the Sikhs* was published in the Asiatic Quarterly Review.

Macauliffe showed his keen interest in Sikh tradition at a time when the Singh Sabha was entering its vigorous phase by early 1880's.

Macauliffe associated himself with the Singh Sabha to give Sikh educational movement strength and legitimacy. However, the politicalization of identity issue created a problem for the loyalist ideology of Singh Sabha as the competition for jobs and patronage among the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs sharpened and took communal shades. Macauliffe's problem was how to face or reconcile Sikh loyalism to the idea of Indian Nationalism. He wrote consciously for British administrators and statesman and also for the Sikh intelligentsia in order to strengthen the empire and the Sikh middle classes.

This study is going to deal with Macauliffe's role vis-a-vis British Government and Sikh Studies. Being an administrator, Macauliffe resigned his lucrative job. The Govt. also refused to patronize his work during the years 1898-1909. The study of Macauliffe's work, time and period will make social milieu in which he worked very clear to us.

Date :

Place :

(Gurbinder Kaur)

Chapter - 1

ORIGIN OF SIKH STUDIES : HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In one of his lectures in 1961 the famous historian E.H. Carr had stated that one must study the historian before one begins to study his facts. This statement facilitates us to understand the beginning of Sikh Studies by the Western scholars such as Polier, Browne and Forster during the 18th Century. Further, it might be useful to see the growth of these studies by Malcom, Prinsep, Murray, Cunningham, Lepel Griffin, Ernest Trumpp and Macauliffe during the 19th Century.

It needs to be emphasized that as early as the dawn of the seventeenth century, Father Jerome Xavier has referred to the execution of Guru Arjan by the Mughal authorities in 1606.¹ Likewise, it needs to be clarified that by the early 18th century there had emerged a polity among the Sikhs. As to the nature of this polity its earliest form was the leadership and rebellion of Banda Bahadur (1709-1716) against the Mughals. As is well known that in 1716, Johan Surman and Edward Stephenson from Delhi informed the Governor of Fort William about what was happening at Delhi. By their success in the Battle of Plassey in 1757 due to the territorial expansion of East India Company's power began to come closer to the

1 J.S. Grewal, *Contesting Interpretations of Sikh Tradition*, Manohar Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 1998, p. 23.

land of five rivers. For this very reason the significance of Sikh Studies emerged for the British conquerors both in the military and diplomatic arenas. Now their curiosity gave way to necessity. What needs to be distinctly understood was that sometimes, European administrators were in the employment of some courts like Delhi or Awadh which had to fight against the rising Sikh powers. So, even this prompted many European officers in the East India Company to know about the Sikh people. And one such an administrator scholar was Col A.L.H. Polier.

Antoine Louis Henri Polier was born at Lausanne, Switzerland in 1741. He was the younger son of Jacques Henri Polier and with his wife Jeanne Francoise Moreau de Brosses, the family being French Protestants who had emigrated to Switzerland in the mid-sixteenth century.²

Inspite of his advancements and with his French origins Polier was handicapped. He was at this stage denied a rise beyond the rank of major because of his being a French. It was because of this systematic block in his career that Polier agreed to be deputed into the

2 Having arrived in India in 1757 Polier became a Madras Cadet and sought active service under Clive in the English East India Company acting against the French. He served at Masulipatnam in the South and Carnac in Bihar and was then transferred to Bengal in 1761. Later he was appointed Assistant Chief Engineer in charge of constructing Fort William at Calcutta in 1763 with the rank of captain. He got an appointment as the Chief Engineer to the Bengal Presidency in 1764 with a commission and the rank of Captain Lieutenant in the Company's army. He continued in this position for more than two years i.e. from 1764 to 1766. In 1766 he was appointed a major and helped to quell the mutiny of white troops at Munger.

survey department of Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula of Awadh in early 1773. Here in Awadh, Polier regularly supplied the Company with detailed news of the political developments in the region while assisting the survey and trade transactions of the Company. The streak of independence in Polier raised the hackles of several Company's officials at Calcutta. Critics and opponents of Hasting's such as Edmund Burke and Philip Francis pushed strongly for Polier's resignation from the Company and their pressure proved irresistible. And so, Polier resigned from the Company service in Oct. 1775.³ He did however survive deportation from India because of the solid economic stakes he had created for himself in Lucknow.

However, on his arrival at Delhi in 1776 to help Najaf Khan he was attracted once again by political and diplomatic happenings at Delhi, with the result that he wrote several letters to Colonel Ironside giving a succinct account of the contemporary politics in Delhi. The same was published in *Asiatic Annual Register, 1800*.⁴ Polier's interest in the Sikhs can be traced to this period as is shown in the letter which he wrote to his friend colonel Ironside at Belgram in 1776.⁵

3 Ganda Singh (ed.), *Early European Accounts of the Sikhs and History of Origin and Progress of the Sikhs*, (rpt.) Today and Tomorrow's Printers and Publishers, New Delhi, 1974, p. 89.

4 Krishna Dayal Bhargava (ed.), *Browne's Correspondence*, National Archives of India, Delhi 1960, p. 293.

5 Ganda Singh (ed.) *Early European Accounts of the Sikhs*, Indian Studies Past and Present, Calcutta, reprint 1962, p. 56.

According to Prof. Darshan Singh, it seems certain that he was not asked by any official of the Company to collect this information and he did not take any initiative to propagate his knowledge of the Sikhs. Even his paper "*The Siques*" was written at this time. The paper bears no date of writing but from several internal references it appears to have been written in or around the year 1780. George Forster has quoted a long passage about the Sikhs from a memoir in a letter which according to his information was written by Colonel Polier in Delhi, in 1777. The paper it seems was never published but it was preserved in the India Office Library, London. It was with the efforts of Ganda Singh that a photostat copy of the paper was acquired from the Librarian of India Office and its publication arranged along with other earlier accounts of the European writers on Sikhism.⁶

In June 1780, Polier once again entered the employment of the Vazir of Awadh as the Chief Engineer and Architect.⁷ In 1781, he pleaded with Governor General Warren Hastings to be restored into Company's service. It must be reitreated that there was a long lasting friendship between Polier and Warren Hastings since their times in Bengal in 1761. Hence, with Hastings intercession and

6 Ganda Singh, 'The Maratha-Sikh Treaty of 1785', in Himadari Banerjee (ed.), *The Khalsa and the Punjab*, Tulika Books, New Delhi, 2002, pp. 55-69.

7 Krishna Dayal Bhargava (ed.), *Browne's Correspondence*, National Archives of India, Delhi, 1960, pp. 293-94.

recommendations, this was permitted and in 1782, Polier was allowed to stay on initially in Faizabad, later in Lucknow with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel.⁸

Polier had a reasonably good command over the Persian language and an excellent knowledge of Urdu.⁹ His notes in French for a book on Hindu mythology, prepared over years in Awadh, earned him the honour in 1784 of being appointed a member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. He always took keen interest in the affairs of the Society and presented a number of research papers at his various meetings. The first out of them to be thus presented was his paper on the Sikhs called *The Siques or History of the Seeks* on Dec. 20, 1787.

Polier read the paper in 1787 and we know about the so called "The Maratha Sikh Treaty of 1785"¹⁰ which never frutified because of special efforts of officials of East India Company. Actually, on 17th May

8 While In Lucknow Polier developed an interest in collecting manuscripts and paintings. It was here in 1783 under his patronage that miniatures and paintings having distinct European artistic imprint were prepared. He also arranged a part of *Mahabhart*a to be translated into Persian. Finally it was in this period of his life that Polier developed an interest in the Hindu religion. He was the first European to have succeeded in securing a complete set of the *Vedas*. Apart from collecting oriental manuscripts and miniatures during his stint in Awadh, Polier built up a fascinating library in Lucknow where his collection was maintained. The contents of this library, alongwith his other collections were distributed between the Biblicothèque Nationale in Paris, the British Museum in London, the library of King's College at Cambridge, Eton College in London, the Islamic Museum at Berlin and the Bibliotheque Cantonale of Lausanne.

9 Darshan Singh, *Western Perspective on the Sikh Religion*, Sehgal Publishers, New Delhi, 1991, p. 8.

10 Himadri Bannarjee (ed.), *The Khalsa and the Punjab*, Tulika Books, New Delhi, 2002, pp. 55-69.

1782, English and Marathas had signed the treaty of Salbye. At this time the only leader who had a powerful army and had a stature was Mahadji Sindhia but the Governor General of the East India Company was Warren Hastings. According to this treaty, Hastings offered *Sindhia* his friendship by allowing him to have a free hand in the management of the Imperial Affairs at Delhi for which Hastings came to be censured by British and which Mahadji did not fail to make the basis of his future rise.¹¹

After taking control of Shah Alam II's affairs in Delhi, Mahadji wanted himself to befriend Sikhs firstly to reduce the power of Mughal jagirdars and secondly, he wanted to divert the attention of Sikhs from another side. The other side in this part of the country to which the Sikhs could be turned was the state of Oudh under its Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula. This information was given by Lieutenant James Anderson (resident at Mahadji Sindhia's camp) to the hon'ble Macpherson, Governor General on 23rd March 1785.¹² This made Sikhs very important for the English and even smallest degree of knowledge about this community was of utmost importance to them.

At this important juncture we know that Polier was in Awadh and his writings show him to be very critical of the Sikhs. The internal evidences strongly suggest that he took to collecting information about

11 G.S. Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, Phoenix Publications, Bombay, 1968, p. 120.

12 Himadri Bannarjee, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

the Sikhs at his own and wrote it down to recommend to the Nawab of Oudh and the Britishers to extirpate the Sikhs.¹³ He gave the credit of rising Sikh power not to the Sikhs but to the anarchy and weak Mughal Government for the past so many decades. He was worried and was concerned with the disintegration of Mughal power because of the shift or passing away of political power from the Muslims of Delhi to the rising power of the Sikhs in Punjab and the areas connecting Punjab and Delhi, which is clear from the following extract from his letter :

"Such is their way of making war, which can only appear dangerous to the wretched Hindustani troops of these quarters, who tremble as much at the name of a Seik.... but now that they have put on their iron bracelet, fifty of them are enough to keep at bay a whole battalion of the King's forces such as they are."¹⁴

His view was not positive about the Sikhs due to his sympathy with the rising British political territorial power in North India, very close to Delhi.

Infact, Polier was doing three things. In the first instance, he was appeasing Awadh. Secondly, he was criticising and displeasing Sikhs by observing that "If Sikhs were not attacked soon in their own

13 Darshan Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

14 Ganda Singh (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 65.

proper provinces it is much to be feared their tenets and manners will be adopted by all the zemindars of the soubah of Delhi."¹⁵ Thirdly, he was writing for the benefit of Britishers so that relations between British and Awadh should remain balanced as also their attitude while formulating their Awadh policy. He was praising Awadh and wanted to keep it as a buffer state. He wanted his importance recognized and he while writing on the Sikhs was doing so favourably to highlight his own difficult diplomatic task and for this very reason he projected Sikhs to be dangerous for the Awadh and its allies i.e. Britishers.¹⁶

Polier returned to Europe in 1788. He married for the third time at Lausanne in 1791. He was pensioned on Lord Clive's fund with effect from 14th March 1792. On the 9th Feb. 1795 he was assassinated by unidentified robbers. In spite of Polier's paper being full of factual errors and imperfect information of the Sikhs it was useful from the British point of view because they were anxious to acquire as much knowledge about the political system of Sikhs as was possible. The importance of Polier's paper was in its being the first

15 Ganda Singh (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 64.

16 There may be another reason and that can be that Polier was unabashedly loyal to his bosses and had amassed great deal of influence and money in India. Being a French, he managed to retain his job under British East India Company. He knew how to placate his senior administrators. In the end of his paper he mentions that how Sikhs were ultimately going to be defeated by the Europeans thereby, giving a hope to the courts at Delhi and Awadh as also keeping officers of East India Company happy.

European account of the Sikhs. His was an independent view which reflected the mind of Europeans in the 18th century. However, all this exercise was going to change as British Company and its officials wanted first hand knowledge of the Sikh people, and its administrators were formally employed for this very purpose.

One such Company's administrator scholar was Major James Browne. He was born about the year 1744 and in 1765 he had joined East India Company as a cadet at the age of 21. He was commissioned as Ensign on Nov. 10, 1765, became a lieutenant on May 2, 1767 and a captain on June 30, 1771. In 1772, he attracted the attention of Warren Hastings and was appointed his aid-de-camp to become his confident. He was appointed collector of the jungle Terai districts in Garhwal in 1774 and served there till 1780. He also saw active service from 1777 with the 14th Battallion Sepoys in the Maratha wars in the Gohad district. On Jan. 19, 1781 he was promoted to the rank of Major.¹⁷ In Aug., 1792, he was sent to the Imperial Court at Delhi as personal Agent or Envoy of the Governor General of East India company.

Major Browne wrote two tracts which were published in London in 1788 under the common title of *India Tracts*. First one was entitled "*Description of the Jungle Terry Districts*" which he wrote when he was posted in that region. Second one was "*History of the Origin and*

17 Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

Progress of the Sicks" which was written by him in his nearly three years stay at Delhi. This later work is of our importance as this shows Browne's views about the Sikhs as well as British administration's keenness to acquire knowledge about them. In his letter to Major James Browne, Governor General Warren Hastings wrote :

"Your first care must be to collect the materials of a more complete and authentic knowledge you must study the Characters, Connection, Influence, and Power of the several competitors for the possession of the King's favour or the Exercise of his authority, and the state, view and relations of the Independent Chief and States, whose Territories border on his."¹⁸

Sikhs were becoming real threat to the Mughal Imperial possessions by their continuous raids. It must be noticed that the Sikhs had been moving in the Doab since Sep., 1782. Further, in Jan 1783 they approached Anupshahr in the Ganges under the leadership of Baghel Singh and ravaged country in the neighbourhood.¹⁹

As discussed earlier, by 1772 Marathas under Mahadji Sindhia had got an upper hand in the imperial affairs at Delhi. Actually it was mainly through Mahadji Sindhia that Shah Alam II was restored to his capital of Delhi in 1772.²⁰ After this Mahadji got busy in Deccan for

18 Krishna Dayal Bhargava (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 3.

19 Hari Ram Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol. II, Munshiram Manohar Lal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, Ist Edition 1937, IIIrd Revised Edition 1978, Vol. II, p.290.

20 Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

the next ten years. On 6th April, 1782, Mirza Najaf Khan died. He was an able soldier diplomat who managed the Emperor's affairs at Delhi. With his death, there arose a tussle for power at the Court of Emperor Shah Alam at Delhi. The Emperor was too weak a man to control the affairs of the Empire.²¹

All this created a lot of commotion at Calcutta. The Governor General Warren Hasting wished to keep in touch with the political developments at the Mughal Capital so that he could act in time to preserve the interests of the East India Company and to restore the authority of the Emperor from whose ostensible bounty the Company derived its constitutional status in the country. He therefore, decided in Aug. 1782 to send an agent of his to the Imperial Mughal capital.²² Major Browne was given this task with special instructions to keep aloof from the court politics. According to Sardesai, this was not so and Browne interfered in Delhi's court politics which was not liked by the Marathas and those Indian potentates who dreaded British aggression.²³ Browne arrived at Delhi in March 1783 and Hingne, the Maratha ambassador reports on this topic on 5th Feb, 1784 thus :

"Browne had an interview with the emperor, who had been starving for want of funds. Browne offered to supply his immediate monetary needs in return for his acceptance of British support, so that over lordship may become an accomplished fact."

21 G.S. Sardesai, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

22 Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

23 G.S. Sardesai, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

For a time the Emperor was in a dilemma between the Marathas and the British as to whose support he should choose. Ultimately, Emperor Shah Alam entrusted his affairs to Mahadji Sindhia and appointed him as Vakil-i-Mutlaq on Dec. 1 to 3, 1784. During this period James Browne acted in a manner prejudicial to Mahadji and not in conformity with the policy and wishes of his masters.²⁴ This is simply testified by the warning given to Nana Phadnavis by Mahadji Sindhia in Dec. 1784 in the following words:

"My attempt in organizing the Emperor's power and resources and my elevation to the highest post in his gift, have given extreme offence to the British. Brown at Delhi is freely bribing the imperial grandees to remove me from my situation. You must remember how treacherous these Britishers are."²⁵

Browne had a steady correspondence with the Governor-General by which information was relayed to him. He was to gather authentic information about the Sikhs. In Feb. 1785 Warren Hastings handed over the charge of his office and left India. Hastings's departure was followed by 20 months rule by John Mcpherson, senior member of the Council.²⁶ The new Governor General recalled Browne from Delhi in 1785. This soured their relation permanently and it also became a cause of dual that they fought.

24 Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

25 G.S. Sardesai, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

26 See Edward Thompson & G.T. Garret, *Rise & Fulfilment of British Rule in India*, Central Book Depot, Allahabad, 1958, p. 154.

Court of Directors in England were themselves very eager to know each and every step at all levels whether diplomatic or political. All this becomes clear when finally, Browne submitted his work in 1787 to Mr. John Matteux, Chairman of the Honourable Court of Directors. In accordance with Dr. Ganda Singh, this way Browne submitted his work personally to the chairman of the Court in England and not to the British India Company in India. He himself writes very clearly in the beginning of his writing that it was the express wish of the Chairman that he furnish them with an account of the rise and present state of the tribe of people called Sicks.²⁷ This makes it very clear and obvious of the interest of British Government in Sikh affairs which was shown through British East India Company and its officials.

Major James Browne's paper "History of the Origin and Progress of the Sikhs" was based on a Devnagari manuscript which he got abridged in Persian by Budh Singh Arora of Lahore and Lala Ajaib Singh Suraj of Malerkotla. This Persian manuscript was *Risala-i-Nanak Shah*.²⁸ Browne knew Persian and from there he himself translated it into English by adding his own information. Though it contains a number of factual mistakes yet it contains original observations of Browne about the Sikh politics and religion.

27 Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

28 Darshan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

He wrote about the effect of religion in Sikh politics and praises Sikh people for their democratic principles, institutions like Gurmata, *Rakhi system*, Dal Khalsa as also their society. About Sikh religion he wrote that it was a reformed Hinduism.

Browne was the first administrator scholar who understood the inborn relations of Sikh religion and politics and the strength derived therein.²⁹ This had made Sikhs to withstand all the executions and cruelty of the Imperial Government. It is this spirit about which Browne wants his Government to be familiar with and for this he attached great importance to the study of Sikh people as a whole. His list of important Sikh Chiefs, their military resources, their residence, map of their territorial possessions etc were collected with sincere efforts to help his Government to get a clear picture of the Sikhs which was necessary for future policy to be adopted by the British government in India.

Historiographically, Browne's work marked the beginning of modern historical writings on the Sikhs.³⁰ Later historians like Malcolm and Cunningham also used it for writing about the Sikhs. In his piece of work, Browne also gave a clear picture of what was going on in Delhi as well as in the minds of officials of East India Company. He always remained apprehensive of Mahadji Sindhia's ascendancy at Delhi and forewarns the officials at Calcutta as well as in England

29 Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

30 J.S. Grewal, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

about this.³¹ Also, the role of British Government became clear that they were functioning diplomatically at all levels as also about the sense of urgency with which, they wanted to protect the Vizir's territory i.e. Awadh for their own purpose. In the end of his writing, Browne shows his anxiety to protect British possessions in India. His having possession of a copy of the Treaty between Sindhia and Sikhs and then its being sent to Mcpherson then acting Governor General shows British interest and power in the Imperial Capital. Interestingly, this interest was bound to grow further during the days to come.

Browne was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel on Feb. 2, 1788, and he returned to India. He married at Calcutta on Dec. 16, 1789, to Miss Catherine Charlotte Raper, to whom was born their only son, James Edward Browne. Major James Browne died at Dinapore on June 22, 1792 at the age of 48.³²

Warren Hastings had been Governor General in India from 1775 till 1785. He while in office realized the importance of Sikhs which were virtually an enigma to the Europeans. He deployed different officers at different places to get authentic knowledge about the Sikh. He had given this task to Major James Brown at the Court of Delhi. There was one another administrator who was also scholar of Great repute who was asked to furnish details about Sikh people and he was George Forster.

31 Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

George Forster, an adventurer and a scholar was a civil servant of the Madras establishment of the East India Company. It was for his scholarly aptitude that he was selected by Governor General Warren Hastings to proceed to Punjab for collecting authentic information and writings about the Sikhs.³³

Forster left Calcutta on May 23, 1782 for overland journey to England and passed through the North Eastern hilly tracts of the Punjab in Feb., March and April of 1783 in disguise as a Turkish traveler for fear of the Sikhs. Forster recorded everything that he saw in his journey in the form of his letters. In 1783, he wrote a letter from Kashmir to Mr. Gregory at Lucknow telling him about Sikhs.³⁴

This letter shows the interest which Britishers were showing in Sikh affairs. Forster sent this letter with some addition to Commonwealth Relation Office Library (formerly India Office Library) on 9th June, 1785. Forster tried to convey authentic information collected on the basis of his own observation and travels. He time and again refers to his being impartial and objective :

"to the utmost of my abilities, and with a
scrupulous adherence to the spirit of the
Facts which have presented themselves, and

33 Darshan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

34 Mr. Gregory had specifically asked about the Sikhs which is clear from the beginning of the letter "Now my dear Sir, you will be pleased to know that, do not possess a well grounded knowledge of the subject; I cannot deduce, satisfactorily to myself their story from the period in which Nanak, the Institutor of their sect & their Lawgiver, lived. He used his letter XI to furnish details to Mr. Gregory.

which I have carefully avoided to discolour or wrap by any prejudice or political bias, have I discussed the Subjects".³⁵

His letters were published in two volumes in 1798³⁶ at London under the title of "*A Journey from Bengal to England & C.* His Letter XI is especially about Sikhs, though there are occasional references to the Sikhs in his other letters also. For Ganda Singh, it is a fairly objective study of the Sikhs of the eighteenth century and is a mine of useful information.³⁷ He started with the Sikh religion, about the Sikh Gurus and was very clear about the Khalsa of the 10th Guru and non-Khalsa Sikh.

George Forster was a scholar with a deep understanding of history. He had ideas as about the formations of nations. This in-depth knowledge allows him to clearly see that Sikhs were on their way of forming an empire :

"Should any future cause call forth the combined efforts of the Sicques to maintain the existence of empire and religion, we may

35 Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

36 Forster also present the state of affairs in other parts of India with respect to Awadh, Marathas at Poona and Delhi, weakening of Mughal Empire and Tipu Sultan. He can see the crumbling of mighty Mughal Empire from the time of Aurangzeb to the contemporary Mughal ruler Shah Alam II. He commends efforts of British Councils in India filling the vacuum created by the Mughals "with expressing an unfeigned wish, that the Measures which have been adopted for the Regulation of our Government in India, may be successful and permanent, and that the Effects arising from wise and Vigorous Councils may be amply experienced".

37 Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

see some ambitious chief led on by his genius and success, and, absorbing the power of his associates, display, from the ruins of their commonwealth, the standard of monarchy. The page of history is filled with like effects, springing from like causes."³⁸

This prediction of his became true when Ranjit Singh carved an independent kingdom at a later stage. Forster also wrote about the weakness of Sikhs like their internal divisions, their mutual quarrels and so on. One the whole, we can say that one can depend on Forster's account as it has been based on his personal observation. Even though he was asked by his government to write about the Sikhs yet, he showed his intellectual brilliance and personal interest in presenting his view. This impartiality leads to his credibility and creativity.

Times were changing really fast as Sikh were now going under the able control of young Ranjit Singh. By 1799, he with his allies had conquered Lahore and he could be satisfied only after he had conquered whole of Punjab. Simultaneously there was a change in British power also. In 1803, Britishers had occupied Agra and entered Delhi after the defeat of Marathas. Now Sikhs and Britishers became immediate neighbours with Jamuna as their boundary for some time.

38 Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

Soon Satluj was to replace Jamuna as the North Western Frontier line of the British Indian Empire by the Amritsar Treaty in April 1809. Writings of John Malcolm brought a new phase in Sikh studies by this time.³⁹ Malcolm embarked on active service for the first time in 1790's during the renewal of war against Tipu Sultan.⁴⁰

On Dec. 1799, Malcolm sailed for Persian Gulf after being selected to lead the English mission to the court of Persia.⁴¹ Lord Wellesley was highly pleased by his difficult work and its success. In 1803, Malcolm took an active part in the negotiations for peace with Daulat Rao Sindhia after the Maratha war. He visited Calcutta in March 1805 on summons from Wellesley. He was sent on a mission to Sindhia in May 1805.

39 John Malcolm was born at Burnfoot in Dumfriesshire in 1769. He could not get proper formal education because of his father's financial difficulties. But his rich maternal uncle, who was a merchant, brought him to London where he was given basic education. At a very young age, he was commissioned in the army of East India Company where he joined because of his uncle's rapport with the Directors of the Company. In 1783 Malcolm came to Madras when he was just fourteen. Later, his regiment joined the main army of the Nizam of Deccan. He was influenced by the power, grandeur & monetary consideration. He studied the history of India and meditated on the principles responsible for the creation of the British Empire in India and those on which depended its stability. He came back in Madras in 1796, where he acted as Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief. In April 1798 Lord Wellesley became Governor General of India. Malcolm placed his papers written on the native of India before Wellesley in order to gain political employment. On Sept. 10, 1798, he was appointed Assistant to the Resident of Hyderabad. Here he took active part in the Mysore war and settlement of Mysore.

40 John Kaye, *The Life and Correspondence of Major General Sir John Malcolm*, Vol. I, London, 1856, p. 14.

41 George Smith (ed.), *The Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. XII, London, 1886, p. 849.

In the end of year 1805, the defeated Maratha leader Jaswant Rao Holkar fled to Punjab in order to gain help from Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He was pursued by General Lake, who was assisted by John Malcolm in the diplomatic service. The English troops reached on the bank of river Beas on 9th Dec. 1805.⁴² The duty of John Malcolm as political official was to persuade the Sikh Chiefs not to render any help to Holkar. This was Malcolm's first visit to the Punjab and he fully utilized this opportunity by collecting every available information about the history, manners and religion of the Sikhs.⁴³ Malcolm was able to collect a large number of manuscripts. His material included the *Adi Granth*, *Dasam Padshah Ka Granth*, *Vars* of Bhai Gurdas, the *Janamsakhi Bhai Bala*, Bhagat Mal's *Khalsa Nama*, the *Siyarul Mutakhirin* and *Forster's Travels*.⁴⁴ Some of the tracts in Dogri and Punjabi dialects which he collected were translated for him by Dr. John Leydon a trained surgeon and an Orientalist with great command over the Oriental languages.

On 1st Jan., 1806, Ranjit Singh and Britishers signed Treaty of Friendship. John Malcolm signed on this treaty as a representator of Britishers and Fateh Singh Ahluwalia signed on it on behalf of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. It was at this time in Punjab that Malcolm

42 Colonel Malcolm, *Sketch of the Sikhs*, By James Mayes, Greville Street, Halton Garden, London, 1812, Introduction, p. 1.

43 Darshan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

44 Fauja Singh (ed.), *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*, Oriental Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 1978, pp. 17-18.

thought of writing on the Sikhs. At the end of 1806, Malcolm visited Calcutta and stayed there for six months. Now he put his thoughts in practice and his work *Sketch of the Sikhs* was started. As said earlier he made use of literary as well as oral sources. He got help of Dr. Leydon and Atma Ram who was Sikh priest of Nirmala order at Calcutta.⁴⁵ The motivation behind this work was the desire to gratify the curiosity of the European mind about the rising Sikh community as he himself writes in the introduction, thus:

"For although the information I may convey in such an sketch may be very defective, it will be useful at a moment when every information regarding the Sikhs is of importance."

It was his conviction that "the most savage states are those who have most prejudices". Both as writer and an administrator he belonged to the Romantic school and as such had great sympathy and regard for the history, customs and religions of the native people of India.⁴⁶ It was this mode of thinking which helped him to confront the difficulty of contradictory sources on the Sikhs, wherein he decided to give preference to the sources of the Sikh themselves. His argument that:

"It is of the most essential importance to hear what a nation has to say of itself, and the

45 Darshan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

46 Fauja Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

knowledge obtained from such sources has a value, independent of its historical utility. It aids the promotion of social intercourse and leads to the establishment of friendship between nations."⁴⁷

It was in line with this thought that "Treaty of Friendship" in 1806 and later "Treaty of Amritsar" between Maharaja Ranjit Singh and the Company was concluded in 1809.⁴⁸

Malcolm wanted to write a detailed history of the Sikhs but his busy job did not permitted him so he had to write very briefly about the Sikhs. Even in this field he was very clear and as the title suggests it was a brief sketch only. He writes :

"the active nature of my public duties has made it impossible to carry this plan into early execution... of giving from what I actually possessed, a short and hasty sketch of their history, customs and religion."

He hoped that his writing would inspire some other scholar to write a detailed history of the Sikhs. He was genuine in his opinion about the Sikhs and strived to write without any partiality.

Sketch of the Sikhs has three sections namely: (i) religious institutions, usages, manners and character; (ii) Sikhs countries and government; (iii) religion of the Sikhs, In all the three sections glaring inaccuracies are found at several places but they are not unnatural to

47 Malcolm, *op. cit.*, *Introduction*, p. 5.

48 Fauja Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

the situation of a foreigner writing about the Sikhs at that early period. Despite all its shortcomings, it presented to the West a much more comprehensive picture of the Sikhs and their society than was hitherto available.⁴⁹ Malcolm wrote more elaborately than his predecessor European writers. While echoing the opinions of Browne that Sikhism was a reformed Hinduism or that of Polier and Forster that several Hindu elements were present in the contemporary Sikh society, he registered a major step forward by saying that in the course of its development it had acquired a dynamism of its own which gave it a distinct identity, particularly under the distinguished leadership of the last Sikh Prophet, Guru Gobind Singh. He wrote wherever the religion of Guru Gobind Singh prevails, the institutions of Brahma must fall⁵⁰

Malcolm occupied⁵¹ at one time or another, important diplomatic political, military and administrative positions and by dint of merit finally attained the prize post of the governor of Bombay Presidency (Nov. 1828 - Dec. 5, 1830). During his stay at Bombay, he

49 Fauja Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.

50 *Ibid*, pp. 18-19.

51 Malcolm married in July, 1807. In Jan. 1810, he left for Tehran and completed his book *The Political Sketch of India* in 1811 (1809-1811). He visited England in July 1812 and was there for five years. Shortly after his arrival, he was knighted and made K.C.B. in April 1815. The same year i.e. 1815 he published his book *History of Persia*. This proved a great success and Malcolm received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws at Oxford in 1816. Malcolm returned to India in 1817 and participated enthusiastically in the implementation of Lord Hastings's new policy by bringing central India within the fold of the treaties of subordinate cooperation. He was promoted to the rank of Brigadier.

published *Life of Clive*. He entered House of Commons in April 1831. He also fought the elections from Dumfries boroughs but lost them. He actively campaigned for renewal of the company's charter in 1833. He was struck by paralysis and died in London on May 30, 1833.⁵²

Malcolm led a long spell of official life as an administrator, which greatly influenced his mind, his idea of history made for him knowledge of past of a society a pre-requisite for the understanding of its present condition. His book *Sketch of the Sikhs* was an endeavour in this regard. As an administrator he knew that knowledge of Sikhs will affect British policy towards them. They were at a crucial stage in the beginning of 19th century i.e. 1805 when even a little information was greeted with enthusiasm by European especially by company officials.

Foundation of powerful Sikh state with second best army in Asia under Ranjit Singh brought a drastic change in the interest of the Britishers. If they were still interested in collecting information on the Sikhs, it was primarily with the desire of assessing the military potential of the Sikh Kingdom, or in a secondary way, to find new avenues for the expansion of their trade & commerce.⁵³ Writings of Henry Thoby Prinsep makes this change in interest of Britishers very clear. Henry Thoby Prinsep was born on 15th July, 1793 at Thoby Prinsep in England. He was the fourth son of John Prinsep.⁵⁴

52 Fauja Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 22.

54 He commenced his education under a private tutor and at the age of 13 joined Mr. Knox's school at Tunbridge, where he was at once placed in sixth form.⁵⁴ Henry Prinsep joined East India Company as a writer on 20th Dec., 1809 at

Prinsep showed remarkable insights into the revenue affairs. It was at his recommendation that the Government, in order to insure proper payment of land revenue, passed a law known as the Regulation VIII of 1819. Prinsep was appointed Persian Secretary to the Government on 16th Dec., 1820. It was here that Prinsep got permission from Governor General Marquess of Hastings's administration to write *A History of the Political and Military Transactions of India*.⁵⁵ The book is generally considered to be the best and most trustworthy narrative of the events of that time. The original edition was revised and republished in 1824 when the author was on leave in England.⁵⁶

Governor General of India Lord William Bentinck (1828-35) in line with his predecessor sought from his officers employed in the management of the Sikh affairs, "Some general information as to the history and condition of the chiefs and the habits and customs of the sect."⁵⁷ It was in accordance with the wishes of Bentinck that Captain William Murray, the Political Agent at Ambala, and Captain Wade, the

the young age of sixteen. After a training period of two years he was employed in the Judicial Department in 1811. He was appointed in the Secretariat in 1814 and was subsequently promoted to the newly created office of the Superintendent and Remembrance of legal Affairs. Prinsep once again joined the Governor-General's suite during Lord Marquess of Hastings's (1813-1818, 1818-23) tours which embraced the period of Nepal and Pindari Wars and the Third Maratha War (1816).

55 Fauja Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40.

56 Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee (eds.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. V, Oxford, 1921-22, p. 392.

57 G. Khurana, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

Assistant at Ludhiana submitted their voluminous reports.⁵⁸ During his stay among the Sikhs, Murray collected a large amount of written material and oral information from knowledgeable person through his personal contacts. This authentic and first hand information remained unpublished for many years. Prinsep's work on Punjab is primarily based on the material initially collected by Captain Murray.⁵⁹

Although Prinsep's official life was very busy, yet he found time to write. He wrote *The origin of the Sikh power in the Punjab and the Political Life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh with on Account of the Religion, laws and Customs of the Sikhs*. It was published in 1834. This work was written when the Anglo-Russian relations were not very good. This led to the increased sensitivity at the North Western frontier. It made Ranjit Singh and his Sikh empire all the more crucial for the Britishers. Also fear of Ranjit Singh made the Cis-Satluj Sikh chiefs opt for the British protection. Britishers had to make the best use of their diplomatic skills in alienating Maharaja's power as also in checking his growing power towards the East.

As Secretary to the Governor General, Prinsep attended the famous meeting held at Ropar in Oct. 1831 between Bentinck and Ranjit Singh. Thus, he had first hand personal knowledge of and about Ranjit Singh. He gives a graphic picture of the character of the

58 G. Khurana, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36.

59 Darshan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

Sikh chief. He seems to be hostile to Sikh chief and at other places he mentions his illustrious qualities. Contradictions in Prinsep's estimate of Ranjit Singh can be fully explained in terms of contradictions in the personality of Ranjit Singh. Ranjit Singh, no doubt, was a bundle of paradoxes and, it is in fact, this paradoxical character that makes him human.⁶⁰ On the whole, Prinsep's assessment of Ranjit Singh's character is fairly balanced. He though disinterested in the squabbles and petty feuds of the Sikh misls, attempted a careful analysis of the nature of these organizations. Considering the fact that no work written prior to Prinsep shows any acquaintance with the structure of the misls, the contribution of Prinsep in this regard is fundamental and his explanation is illuminating.⁶¹ He had a low opinion of the Sikh troops. He doesn't find any systematic administration of land revenue.⁶²

Prinsep displays his characteristic frankness in commenting on the Anglo Sikh relations. Despite the delicate nature of the subject and the high position held by the author in the Government of India, he does not restrain himself from expressing the views which were opposed to the British official stand. He states frankly that the real purpose of sending presents from the British king to Ranjit Singh

60 G. Khurana, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

61 *Ibid.*, p. 41.

62 H.T. Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab and Political Life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh with an Account of the Religion, Laws and Customs of the Sikhs*, (rpt.) Languages Department, Patiala, 1970, p. 144.

through lieutenant Burnes was to obtain information about the navigation of the Indus⁶³ even though officially it was stated otherwise. Being closely associated with both the British Government and Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Prinsep could and did closely watch and analyze Anglo-Sikh relations (1931-35). He was confident of Sikh rulers fidelity to the Britishers because of the circumstances of the time.

There are certain shortcomings in Prinsep's writings also. Prinsep's weakness lies in his failure to comprehend the latent flame of Sikh religion and the potentials of the Sikh masses, with whom he had no contact.⁶⁴ At times Prinsep takes things for granted without going in the background. At the end of his work Prinsep gives notes based on the work of Khushwaqt Rai's *Tarikh-i-Sikhan*, when a part of Prinsep's own book was already in the press.⁶⁵

63 G. Khurana, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

64 *Ibid.*, p. 50.

65 During his long service Prinsep was brought into close contact with a long succession of Governor Generals including Lord Hastings, Lord Amherst, Lord William Bentinck, Lord Auckland and Lord Ellenborough. In 1865 he wrote autobiographical sketch of his official life. Prinsep was conservative to the backbone. On the education question, Prinsep was strongly opposed to the policy, initiated by Macaulay of substituting English for the classical oriental languages as the medium of instruction. In 1835, Prinsep was appointed a member of Governor General's Council during a temporary vacancy which was made permanent in 1840. He retired from service in 1843 and settled in London. In order to enter Parliament, he contested from four constituencies as a conservative candidate and was elected from Harwich, but was unseated on technical grounds. He was elected member of Court of Directors in 1850 and retained his Directorship even when the Council of India was established in 1858. He retired in 1874 because of deafness and failing sight and died on Feb. 11, 1878. Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 393.

Writings and observations of Prinsep becomes important because he expressed his opinions at the time when Britishers were thinking of taking some action with regard to the Punjab which in their opinion was gradually assuming vital political and diplomatic importance and was fast becoming an integral part of the Central Asian politics.⁶⁶ British intervention in Persia, Sindh, Afghanistan and Punjab including Jammu & Kashmir was to increase by the 1835 and beyond these years.

The decade between 1839 and 1849 became a milestone in the history of Punjab. Within ten years, the mighty Sikh Empire was gone. British created such an atmosphere after the death of Ranjit Singh, which was to become conducive for its annexation by the East India Company whose officials had their eyes on the rich and prosperous State of Punjab which is clear from the following observation made by John William Kaye:

"For many years the bare mention of the possible acquisition of the dominions of Ranjeet Singh kindled a fever of expectancy in the minds of the English in India. Their imaginations grasped the grand idea of a country of inexhaustible wealth, whose annexation to our own territories would supply general remedy for all our financial

66 Fauja Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

diseases and strike the world "deficit" for ever out of the vocabulary of India chancellor of the Exchequer."⁶⁷

Such a blatant truth from the writings of person of Kaye's caliber who was secretary in Political and Secret Department of East India Company leaves no doubt about the intentions of Britishers to annex Punjab and the preparations made therein.

It is at this point of time that Joseph Davey Cunningham's writings on the Sikhs appeared for the first time. His *A History of the Sikhs From the Origin of the Nation to the Battles of Satluj* in 1849 has been regarded as the culmination of almost a century's Western writings on the Sikhs.⁶⁸ J.D. Cunningham has been dealt with by a number of scholars such as Dr. J.S. Grewal, Prof. S.S. Bal, Dr. Fauja Singh, Prof. Darshan Singh and G. Khurana. Besides these Indian scholars Cunningham has also been taken up by Dictionary of National Biography.⁶⁹

Joseph Davey Cunningham was born on June 1812 in Lambeth in a Scottish family.⁷⁰ The members of this family especially, Joseph's father Allen Cunningham possessed a great flair of writing.⁷¹

67 John William Kaye, *The Administration of East India Company*, Kitab Mahel Pvt. Ltd., Allahabad, reprint 1966, p. 457.

68 Darshan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

69 Besides Dictionary of National Biography, Cunningham was presented by John William Kaye as well as Henry Lawrence both as an administrator & a diplomat upto the annexation of Punjab. It needs to be emphasised that *D.N.B.* entry got published as early as 1927 whereas the Indian scholarship both Sikh and Hindu appeared only after 1947.

70 Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. V, Oxford University Press, London, 1921-22, p. 314.

Towards the end of 1837, Lord Auckland impressed by Joseph's⁷² brilliance and efficiency, appointed him Assistant to Colonel Claude Wade, the Political Agent at Ludhiana, partly in his capacity as an engineer, with a view to improvise the defences of the town of Ferozpur.⁷³ In 1838, he was present at interview between Lord Auckland and Maharaja Ranjeet Sikh. In 1839 he accompanied Colonel Wade when he forced through the Khyber Pass and was promoted first Lieutenant on 20th May 1839.⁷⁴ In 1840 he was placed in administrative charge of the Residency of Ludhiana⁷⁵ under G. Russell Clerk who had succeeded Col Wade. Cunningham accompanied Colonel Shelton and his relieving brigade to Peshawar,

71 Joseph was educated at different private schools in London and due to his proficiency and aptitude for mathematics, it was suggested to send him to Cambridge. But due to his father's relations with Sir Walter Scott, a cadetship was procured for him in the East India Company. He proceeded to Addiscombe where his career was very brilliant and got first nomination to Bengal Engineers in 1831. He then went to Cetham where he received highest praise from his instructors. In the end of next year in 1832, he reached Delhi where he joined Sappers and Miners in the Engineering Branch of the Bengal army and immediately got posted to the staff of General Mcleod, the Chief Engineer in the Bengal Presidency. Next he was posted to survey and level in conjunction with other officers, the country immediately westwards of the Bhagartee River with a view to the formation of a navigable canal between Ganges and Hoogly. He had done a commendable job of priming an estimate of this canal besides looking after the construction of an extensive series of buildings at Murshidebad. He did his work so very well that ultimately in 1834 and 1835 he got the sole charge of his work which he complete in the last quarter of 1837 and won great praise from his superiors.

72 S.S. Bal, 'Joseph Davey Cunningham', in Fauja Singh's (ed.) *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*, Oriental Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 1978, p. 87.

73 G. Khurana, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

74 Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee (ed.), Vol. V, p. 315.

75 Darshan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

whence he returned with troops escorting Dost Mohammed Khan under Colonel Wheeler. During the part of 1841 he was in the magisterial charge of the Ferozepur district⁷⁶ and in 1841-42 he was employed in Tibet to solve the problems between Jammu troops and the Chinese.

In the winter of 1842, Cunningham was present at the interview between Lord Ellenborough, Dost Mohammed and the Sikhs. In 1843, he became Assistant to Col Richmond who had succeeded Mr. Clerk as the agent of the Governor-General on the North West Frontier. In 1844 and 1845 he was British agent to the native state of Bahadurgarh.⁷⁷ When the first Sikh War broke out in 1845, Sir Charles Napier ordered Cunningham at once to join his army in Sindh because of his great knowledge of Sikh affairs. For the same reason, Sir High Gough summoned him to join his head quarters in the Cis-Sutlej after Ferozshah but soon after he detached him to accompany Sir Harry Smith with whom he saw skirmishes with the Sikhs at Budhowal and the action of Aliwal. Immediately after Aliwal when the contingent under General Smith joined the main army, he was ordered to join the staff of Sir Henry Hardinge.⁷⁸ In the battle of Sobraon, he was an aide-de-camp to the Governor-General. He was then attached to the headquarters of commander-in-chief untill the

76 J.D. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, Satvic Media Pvt. Ltd., Amritsar, (Reprint) 2005, preface, p. xxiii.

77 Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee (ed.), Vol. V, p. 315.

78 S.S. Bal, 'Joseph Davey Cunningham', *op. cit.*, p. 90.

army broke up at Lahore, when he accompanied Lord Hardinge's camp to the Simla Hills.⁷⁹ He received thanks for his role in the general orders of Sir Harry Smith and also of Lord Henry Hardinge.

Joseph's political role in the war impressed the Governor-General who after it was over asked him to decide the case of Suchet Singh's treasure which was pending since 1844. He hardly took a month to do so but decided it in a way which was not to the liking of the Governor-General. The Governor-General suddenly discovered in Cunningham "a decided partisan of the Sikhs". Nevertheless he gave him a promotion as a captain on 10 Dec. 1845 but packed him off to Bhopal⁸⁰ to serve as a political agent.⁸¹

Cunningham was very fond of reading books and he read books on such subjects as History, Literature, Philosophy, Science, Geography and Geology. It was inevitable that while on the way to developing a philosophy of history, he should have made a critical

79 Darshan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

80 S.S. Bal, 'Joseph Davey Cunningham', *op. cit.*, pp. 90-91.

81 Joseph seems to have expected a promotion in the North Western Agency itself and did not like his shift to Bhopal. However, he made best use of it. In fact after moving to Bhopal he won further laurels as an efficient political figure. Soon after his arrival at Bhopal, he brought about peace in that turbulent state, then under a minor Nawab and his mother carrying on the administration. For this role he subsequently got a commendation certificate from Sir Henry Hardinge. He also prevailed upon the states in Rajputana to follow the example of Bhopal to increase their tributes to the British. This enabled the British to make their contingents in these states effective bodies and to put peace in the whole of central India on an enduring basis. As the head of the British agency in Bhopal, Cunningham took great interest in the archaeological remains lying not only within the territory under Bhopal agency but even beyond it. In Jan., 1848 he wrote to the Resident of Indore to pay attention to the architectural and sculptural remains at Sanchi.

study of Indian history. He made a critical study of some Persian works in all probability both in that language and in translation. As a one who was both interested in history and working in the North Western Agency, Joseph started doing a critical study of the history of the Sikhs. He also made himself familiar with the Adi Granth, Gur Ratnavali and some other Rehatnamas believed to be conferred on the Sikhs by Guru Gobind Singh like Rehatnama of Prahlad and Tankhanama.⁸²

It must be noticed that Cunningham had lived among the Sikh people for a period of nine years and during a very important portion of their history. He had passed through a variety of circumstances with all classes of men and he had at the same time free access to all the public records bearing on the affairs of the frontier. It was after being required in 1844, to draw up reports on the British connexion generally with the states on the Sutlej, and especially on the military resources of the Punjab, that he conceived the idea and felt that he had the means of writing the history of the Sikhs.⁸³

In fact, from 1844 to 1848 he wrote four articles in the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*. These were “*Notes on Moorcrafts travels in Ladakh*”, in 1844, “*Notes on the Antiquities of the Districts within the Bhopal Agency*” in 1847, “*On ruins of Puthree*” in 1848 and “*Notes on*

82 J.D. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, Appendix xx, pp. 34-344.

83 *Ibid.*, Preface, p. xxiv.

the Limits on Perpetual Snow in the Himalayas", in 1848. Further, it took him four years since 1844 to finish his magnum opus : *The History of the Sikhs*, in 1848s which was published in 1849.⁸⁴

J.D. Cunningham aimed at achieving two objectives in writing the *History of the Sikhs*. His main endeavour was to give Sikhism its place in the general history of humanity by showing its connection with the different creeds of India and secondly by impressing upon the people of England the great necessity of attending to mental changes in progress amongst their million of subjects in the East. Thirdly, "a secondary object was to give some account of the connexion of the English with the Sikhs and in part with the Afghans from the time they began to take a direct interest in the affairs of these races and to involve them in the web of their policy for opening the navigation of the Indus and for bringing Turkestan and Khoresen within their commercial influence".⁸⁵ With his intellectual background and the literary tradition of his family, Cunningham was soon lost in a study of Indian and Western religions. While the mathematician in him looked for exactness and his scientific mind craved to be guided by personal observations rather than by the prevailing notions. Thus, what distinguished Cunningham from most of his contemporaries was his sympathetic understanding coupled with the scientific attitude which he brought to bear on the subjects of his study and research.⁸⁶

84 S.S. Bal, *British Policy Towards Punjab*, Calcutta, Nov. 1971, Appendix I, p. 253.

85 J.D. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. xx.

86 G. Khurana, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

Cunningham was determined to base himself on facts so he tried to tap sources of all description – history, chronicles, memoirs and hagiography. Cunningham took to the writings on the Sikhs as a part of his official duty. The affairs of Punjab were far from settled and a collision with the Sikhs was not ruled out. A.F. Richmond, the Agent, N.W. Frontier, on the desire of Ellenborough, the Governor-General, promised to supply specific information about the army and forts of the Punjab and the political conditions including the hill states of that country, on Feb. 13, 1843. Richmond entrusted this duty to J.D. Cunningham, who completed the report on Sept. 11, 1844. Richmond described Cunningham as an expert on the subject and recommended his report to the Governor-General in the most favourable terms. Thus, even before Cunningham took to writing a full-fledged history of the Sikhs, he had come to be recognized as an authority on the affairs of the Punjab.⁸⁷ Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs* is divided into nine chapters.⁸⁸

87 G. Khurana, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

88 The first chapter is of general nature and deals with the country and the people. In the second chapter, the teachings of Guru Nanak have been described in the background of the Indian religious traditions. The third chapter deals with growth of the Sikh faith under the latter gurus, creation of the Khalsa by Guru Gobind Singh and the struggles and execution of Banda Singh. The fourth chapter deals with the history of the Sikhs upto 1784 when the Sikhs having successfully come out of the repressive Mughal regin, established “themselves as an independent people”. The fifth chapter traces the Misl period upto ascendancy of Maharaja Ranjit Singh by 1808-1809. The next two chapters are devoted to the rule of Ranjit Singh upto his death in 1839. The eighth chapter deals upto the death of Wazir Jawahar Singh in 1845. The last chapter entitled “The War with the English” deals with causes and outcome of the First Anglo-Sikh war. Darshan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

Cunningham was essentially a historian of ideas. His understanding of the Sikhs chiefly stemmed from his views on their religion and beliefs. Religion appeared to him to be the springboard of all actions of the Sikhs.⁸⁹ In no other account of the history of the Sikhs they have been described with so much emphasis and cogency in relation to their faith. The role and inspiration of religion in the development of Sikh community as a political power had been noticed by Browne, Polier, Forster, Malcolm but it was reserved for Cunningham to fully work out this relationship.⁹⁰

J.D. Cunningham far from joining his immediate predecessors in glorifying British arms and justifying British policy towards the Sikhs, offered a most serious criticism of the English in their handling of the situation which had arisen in the Punjab after Ranjit Singh's death. In his view, the English had themselves brought about the First Anglo-Sikh war, because the actions of the British Indian Government had convinced the Sikhs of English designs on the Punjab. Though the sincerity of the English was not to be doubted, their "honesty can only be admitted at the expense of their judgment and knowledge of mankind." Cunningham spoke authoritatively and in unequivocal terms. He invoked his eight years residence among all classes of the Sikhs as the means of acquiring "accurate information" and coming to just conclusions.

89 G. Khurana, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

90 Darshan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

Cunningham's assessment of British Indian policy towards the Sikhs was based on his assumption that armed conflict with the Sikhs could have been avoided. He praised the old school who had maintained cordially firm relations with Ranjit Singh. Cunningham firmly holds the view that the war with the Sikhs resulted from the provocation given by the British officials, and was won in collaboration with the self-seeking Sikh chiefs. With his official knowledge and usual insight, Cunningham enumerates the steps taken by the British officials which pronounced a conviction among the Sikh soldiers that their kingdom was threatened. His criticism of Harding and George Broadfoot is particularly severe. Cunningham opined that in British relations with the neighboring states, the character of the British Agent was as much an important factor as the policy itself.⁹¹ Cunningham addressed himself to the British nation. Since the East India Company derived its authority from the whole nation so all its affairs were in the last resort national affairs.

Yet, we find in the contemporary sources that Cunningham's writings were not liked by the British. "The author has written in an anti-English spirit more as a Sikh than a Christian, more as a Punjabee than an Englishman". Sir Henry Lawrence wrote in an unfinished article on Cunningham's *History of The Sikhs*. Needless to say that the book had appeared at the time of annexation of kingdom

91 G. Khurana, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

of Lahore to British India in 1849. *The Times* noted that his heart was with the Sikhs throughout the work. *The Calcutta Review* remarked that he had written his history “for the most part as a Sikh historian would write it.”⁹² Cunningham was criticized at that time not merely for being “the apologist of the Sikhs” in their war with the English but also for treating their religion with sympathy and appreciation.

As a punishment, he was removed from his political appointment and sent back to the regimental duty. The disgrace undoubtedly hastened his death, and soon after his appointment to the Merrut Division of Public works, he died suddenly at Ambala in 1851.⁹³

With Cunningham's book the British historiography on the Sikhs touched its highest watermark hitherto attained.⁹⁴ He was unique among the British historians of the Sikhs to appreciate the role of Sikh ideology in shaping Sikh History.⁹⁵ The *History of the Sikhs* though spoiled bright career of a bright historian, yet it started a debate which continued throughout the nineteenth century.

British administrators and army officers continued to write about the Sikhs after the annexation of kingdom of Lahore in 1849. They were now more interested in the contemporary Sikhs. How to

92 J.S. Grewal, *Essays in Sikh History*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1972, p. 123.

93 J.D. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, 'Biographical Note on the Cunningham Family'. p. xii.

94 G. Khurana, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

95 J.S. Grewal, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

handle them as a subject people and how to use their support and services was their main concern. This concern was dealt with by Lepel. H. Griffin who published four books from 1865 to 1892 along with different articles.⁹⁶ Unlike other administrator historians of the last century, who either wrote in retirement or while they were on furlough Griffin began to contribute to the vast historical information while he was still very young in his service.⁹⁷ Lepel Henry Griffin⁹⁸ was born in 1840.⁹⁹

As already discussed the main concern of British then was to consolidate their conquests by deepening the roots of their own administration. There were three ways, first was elastically represented by the Permanent Settlement of Bengal by which British selected the traditional zamindars or aristocracy of Bengal as their politico-administrator allies. Contrary to this view was Ryotwari system which was evolved in Madras Presidency by which the British choose to seek the help of peasantry or self-cultivating farmers in order to consolidate not only the land management system but also

96 J.S. Grewal, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

97 S.K. Bajaj, 'Lepel H. Griffin', in Fauja Singh's (ed), *Historians of Historiography of the Sikhs*, Oriental Publishers & Distributor, New Delhi, 1978, p. 134.

98 C.E. Buckland, *Dictionary of National Biography*, Gayatri Offset Press, New Delhi, 1971, pp. 80-81.

99 After receiving his early education at Maldens Preparatory school he joined Harrow which he soon left on account of illness. He appeared for the Indian Civil Services Examination in 1859 and got success in it that brought him to the Punjab as an Assistant Commissioner on 17th Nov. 1860. From the date of his joining to July, 1879, continuously for two decades he served the Punjab Government. S.K. Bajaj, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

the British regime as a whole. Third variation was Mahalwari system which was very akin to Ryotwari but certainly distinct from previous or permanent settlement. This British experience also divided the Punjab Administrators such as Henry Lawrence and John Lawrence. Henry Lawrence stood for peasantry and the farmers and their rights whereas John stood for the end of nobility in order to strengthen the British control of the region as it was evident from his policy while he was the Commissioner of Jalandhar doab. Lepel Griffin was close to Henry Lawrence and his approach. Being part of Punjab School of Administrators, Griffin believed that neither education nor English law could provide a sound basis to the British Empire in Punjab. He wrote his *The Punjab Chiefs* in 1865 as was desired by Sir Robert Montgomery-Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab. This has been expressly mentioned by Griffin himself in the preface to the original edition of *The Punjab Chiefs* while preparing historical accounts of the principal families and rulers of the Punjab. Griffin was also not concerned about the history of Punjab rather he selectively selected only those chiefs who were influential whether in terms of rank, wealth, power and status. He himself confesses it thus :

"The intention of the work has been to give picture of the Panjab aristocracy as it exists at the present day. No mention has accordingly has been made of many families, Hindu and Mahomadas, once powerful and

wealthy, which fell before the Sikhs. No mention has been made of many old Sikh families, whose jagirs were seized by Maharaja Ranjit Singh but, as a general rule, only the histories of those men have been written who possess, at the present time rank, wealth or local influence."¹⁰⁰

Lepel Griffin presented the list of only those among nobility and aristocracy which were likely to be incorporated into the administrative machinery and channels including the Governor-Generals' Council.

It was in 1865 itself that *Anjuman-i-Punjab* was established by G.W. Leitner¹⁰¹, the newly appointed Principal of the Government College, Lahore.¹⁰²

Griffin, while building up his theoretical formulation of the Indian Political system, construed that the politico-social system in

100 Sir Lepel H. Griffin, K.C.S.I., *The Punjab Chief*, Vol. I, Civil and Military Gazette Press, Lahore, 1890, Preface, pp. vi-vii.

101 *The Punjab-Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, Part I, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, April, 1992, Serial no. 57.

102 It was to be an educational and literary society which soon became popular with the Europeans, both officials and non-officials as well as the leading Punjabis. Under the patronage of Donald Mcleod, the Punjab Lieutenant-Governor, it got the active support of officials like Aitchison, Lepel Griffin, Pandit Manphool and Harsuk Rai who were the Extra-Assistant Commissioner under the Government of Punjab. This official recognition gave the Anjuman a considerable significance in the eyes of Punjab Chiefs who donated lavishly for its university scheme which originated in 1869 as Panjab University College, Lahore. Ideologically the chief objective of Anjuman was to produce a new literature to diffuse knowledge and socially, it was to be a body of the Europeans and the local aristocracy of land, trade and commerce in the region. Nazer Singh, *Guru Granth Sahib Over to the West*, Commonwealth Publishing, Delhi, 2005, p. 17.

India and position of hereditary aristocracy therein provided a potential political leverage in them to counteract the rising tide of discontent among the educated middle classes. Considering the aristocracy of the Punjab as natural leaders of the society, he advocated to strengthen their position.¹⁰³

In 1869, Griffin got published *The Law of Inheritance to Chiefships as observed by the Sikhs previous to the Annexation of the Punjab* from Lahore. In the next year i.e. 1870 came his book *The Rajas of Punjab*. All these works were highly considered and excellently received and Griffin was made Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government in 1870.¹⁰⁴

Griffin was not writing the history of Punjab or its nobility rather he deliberately chose to describe only the surviving part of aristocracy and obviously only the loyalists could have survived. Griffin's was an exercise in locating the sources of loyalism to the British. His concern for the loyalist aristocrat tended to be Sikh specific. He stressed on the peaceful relationship between the Sikh Rajas in the east of Satluj and British since the dawn of 19th century also. Further, the contrast between the Muslim era and British times was projected whereby the long drawn religious struggle against the Muslim rulers was shown. Indirectly, Griffin suggested that Sikhism

103 S.K. Bajaj, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

104 C.E. Buckland, *op. cit.*, p. 180-181.

was useful to the British Empire which was borne out by the contemporary Sikh polity by which Sikh rulers and aristocracy were actively cooperating with the British administration in its drive for development and modernization through the new education and irrigational schemes. In fact a new image of the Sikh was in the making. The image took away the distinction between a Sikh Nobel and a British loyalist. It is important to note that Griffin wrote at a time when Kukas were fast spreading in and around the region under the Sikh states i.e. 1868-69¹⁰⁵ about which we are going to discuss next. Griffin's conversational powers and sharp intellect with ready wit made him popular in society.¹⁰⁶

Griffin was liked by Lord Lyton (1876-1880), but his successor Lord Ripon (1880-1884) did not appreciate him much and as such, Griffin was posted at Indore in central India as Agent to the Governor-General in 1881 till 1888.¹⁰⁷

105 Nazer Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 21-22.

106 In April 1875, Griffin was appointed as superintendent of the Kapurthala State. In Nov., 1878, he was appointed permanent Chief Secretary of the Punjab. In July 1879 he was made C.S.I. by the Government Griffin's greatest opportunity came in later days of second Afghan War. In Feb. 1880, he was made Chief Political Officer in Afghanistan and negotiated successfully with Abdur Rehman who became Amir of Afghanistan. For him this delicate and difficult negotiations acted as opportunity for he was made K.C.S.I. in May, 1881.

107 It is from here that he wrote a pamphlet of 27 pages titled *Our North West Frontier* from Allahabad in 1881. In 1884 he wrote *The Great Republic* which got published from London. In 1888 was published his *Famous Monuments of Central India*. But, Griffin never liked his posting and ultimately when he was ignored for the post of Lieutenant Governor he got completely dejected and resigned in 1889 on medical grounds. S.K. Bajaj, *op. cit.*, p. 135-36

He got settled in London and immersed himself in literature, finance and politics. He became Chairman of East India Association and in 1894 he wrote *Ranjit Singh* on the request of W.W. Hunter who was incharge of the project *Rulers of India* Series. On March, 1908, Griffin died leaving besides large wealth his wife Maria Elizabeth and his two sons.

Griffin left to us vast literature of that period which otherwise would have remained obscure. Simultaneously, his writings especially on Sikh faith follows the evolving viewpoint of the Britishers with regard to the translation of Sikh Scriptures. Griffin himself relied on Ernest Trumpp's *Adi Granth* published in 1877 on Sikhism. Ernest Trumpp has been taken up by various scholars like N.G. Barrier, J.S. Grewal, Darshan Singh, Nazer Singh, Madanjit Kaur and Buckland.¹⁰⁸

108 Ernest Trumpp was born on 13th March, 1828 in Ilsled in Wurtemberg. He was son of George Trumpp, a peasant and master carpenter and his wife Sera. Ernest was brought up in the atmosphere of Lutheran reformation. He was educated at Heilbrons and later joined the famous Stift, a theological college in Tuebingen. Here he studied Hebrew, Sanskrit and Arabic. He took Lutheran orders and was imprisoned for some time in 1848 for participating in Liberal Movement. After completing his studies at University of Tuebingen, he went to Basel in Switzerland and later to England and taught Greek and Latin in a private school over there. It was here that his accuracy and great talent for grammatical problems attracted the attention of the Church Mission society wherein he was asked to go to India for study of modern Indian languages and to compose grammars and dictionaries for use of future missionaries. Trumpp reached Karachi in 1854 and by 1855 he learnt Sindhi as also Persian. He was soon honoured by Governor of Bombay Mountstuart Elephinstone and in 1856, he was ordained Deacon by Bishop Hardin of Bombay. In the same year he got seriously ill and went to Palestine for treatment. On Oct. 2, 1856, he got married to Pauline Linder, whom he had met at Jerusalem. Immediately they returned to Karachi and on Sept. 21, 1857 a son was born to Trump and his wife died three days later which mode Trump return to Europe in Switzerland and later to Wurtemberg. In 1858 he married again and left

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At about this time i.e. in May 1869, the British Sikh studies entered a new phase when project of translation of Sikh holy book was revived. Actually, the translation idea had originated with R.N. Cust Orientalist scholar & British administrator in London in the wake of

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eruption of the uprising of 1857 which had been approved by the Court of Directors in Aug., 1857, but then nothing was done about it till 1869. Suddenly, the political situation in Punjab was active since 1863 and it had made this study very important. As such by July 1869, on the suggestion of Punjab Government, the British authorities in London started looking for a translator and by Nov. 1869 they¹⁰⁹ had found Ernest Trumpp with good knowledge of Sanskrit, Prakrit and Indian vernaculars and experience as a trained theologian with Christian Mission in India. Trumpp was appointed for four years from Nov. 1869 till 1873 where he was to spend first three years in Europe and last year in India and that also if he found it necessary.¹¹⁰

With an India office subsidy to start with, he started working on the Sikh Holy Books preparing a Sindhi Grammar at first. By May 1870, Trumpp wrote to London officials to let him proceed to India as he had problems with language and also he had failed to see the enormity of the work in hand. He pleaded for increase in salary and by July 1870, he got into new agreement with London whereby he was to leave for India as early as possible. Trumpp landed at Bombay on 10th Dec., 1870 and from there he reached Lahore.¹¹¹

Trumpp was expected to produce translations, if possible of both the Adi Granth and the Dasam Granth. On his arrival in Punjab

109 Nazer Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

110 *Ibid.*, p. 39.

111 N.G. Barrier, 'Trumpp and Macauliffe : Western Students of Sikh History and Religion' in Fauja Singh (ed.), *Historians and Historiography*, Oriental Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 1978, p. 168.

in 1870, Trumpp was made Superintendent of Oriental School at Lahore.

The colonial Punjab especially Lahore at this time was undergoing a lot of changes in terms of politics, society, culture and religious field. Rise of Namdhari movement, founding of *Anjuman-i-Punjab* (1865), establishment of Chief Court at Lahore in 1866, growth of press, middle classes etc. all made society more complex and politics more secretive and multifarious. To understand Punjabis especially Sikhs made Sikh Studies in Guru Granth Sahib very crucial for the Britishers both in Punjab as well as in England.

Trumpp stayed in Punjab for nearly two years but could not get much help from Granthis either at Lahore or Amritsar. As evidence suggests it was his arrogant behaviour, unsympathetic attitude and vilification of the Holy Granth that made him unpopular with the Sikhs. Moreover, he was primarily an Orientalist and also individualistic in his approach. While being busy in the translation of the scriptures Trumpp was a philologist interested more in the origin of vernacular languages particularly Sindhi and Gurmukhi. His treatment of Punjabi and its origin was again strange because he described Gurmukhi language of Guru Granth as old Punjabi. Ultimately his interest in Sindhi predominated his work and got his work narrowed down with regard to Adi Granth. Next he took the onus of popularising Punjabi as a national language in and for the

Punjab. It ultimately proved detrimental to his health. He once again asked for increase in allowance and time in 1871 which had been accepted by Dec. 1871. He reminded that Dasam Granth was yet to be translated. By highlighting, his work Trumpp was underlining the political worth and nature of his undertaking at Lahore.¹¹² The Punjab regime especially its officiating Secretary, L.H. Griffin went at great length to help him to improve his health and work of translation by allotting patronage in terms of time, money and fellowship on Jan. 11, 1872. But, Trumpp along with Holy Books left for Europe (Munich) in the spring of 1872.¹¹³ His suddenness of departure is intriguing.

At Munich, Trumpp received ungrudging support of the Government authorities who placed all the materials available in the India office library at his disposal¹¹⁴ and he gleaned through English, Persian and Punjabi Books and manuscripts. In 1877 after putting seven years of hard work he published his work *Adi Granth* or the *Holy Scriptures of the Sikhs*. It was actually only a portion of his work or the Holy Scriptures. This work is divided into two parts with first part having biographical notes on the Gurus and Bhagats which essentially fall in historical studies of Sikh history. To collect

112 J.S. Grewal, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

113 *Ibid.*, p. 35.

114 A.C. Arora in Fauja Singh (ed.), *Historians and Historiography*, Oriental Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 1978, p. 157.

information regarding historical background of Sikhism he has definitely contributed. Next, his analysis of *Puratan Janamsakhi* as also called *Wallait-Wali-Janamsakhi* is also very important. The survey allows and helps us to reach at the originality of Guru Nanak and his religious ideas. The second part contains translation of only selective compositions. It was selective because Trumpp considered “the Sikh Granth as incoherent and shallow in the extreme”. His views and misrepresentations of the Sikh religion invoked the Singh Sabhaities to raise voice against him. On 5th April, 1899, the Khalsa Diwan wrote to Lord Curzon, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India that how:

“Trumpp has misrepresented our Granth Sahib.... He has spoken in very offensive terms of the language of our sacred volume.... We now pray your Excellency to have a correct translation of our sacred scriptures into English which will be worthy of our religion and our race and which will remove the stigma which Dr. Trumpp sought to attach to us forever.”¹¹⁵

Trumpp himself raised the controversy by preferring *Adi Granth* over *Dasam Granth* thereby excluding martial tradition of Guru

115 Ms Madanjeet Kaur, ‘A Documentary Evidence of the Sikh Reaction at Trumpp’s translation of the *Adi Granth*’ in *Punjab History Conference Proceedings*, Fourteenth Session, March 28-30, 1980, Punjabi University, Patiala, p. 223.

Gobind Singh and his Khalsa. His work gave rise to controversy especially in the Singh Sabhas to which they responded by asking M.A. Macauliffe for the translation of Guru Granth Sahib.

Hard work all through his life and intermittent attacks of fever had made Trumpp very weak. He became totally blind in 1883 and spent last few years of his life in a mental hospital and died in April 1886.

Max Arthur Macauliffe chose to write on Sikh History out of curiosity but became one of its important student as well as a writer. He was born in Ireland but we find two dates regarding his birth. According to Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha in his *Mahankosh* the date of birth is given as 29th Sept., 1837.¹¹⁶ But according to Harbans Singh, Macauliffe was born on 10th September, 1841.¹¹⁷ But the former date can be considered more reliable as Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha had personal and deep friendship with Macauliffe. They were in close contact for many years, both in India and London. He was born at Newcastle West, in the County of Limerick in Ireland.

Macauliffe was educated at New castle School Limerick and then at Spring-Field College and Queens College, Galway.¹¹⁸ He received a broad humanistic education that allowed him to read the

116 Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha, *Gurshabad Ratnakar, Mahankosh*, Sudarshan Press, Amritsar, 1930, p. 2809.

117 Harbans Singh (Ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Sikhism*, Vol. III, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1997, p. 1.

118 Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha, *Ibid.*, p. 2810.

Greek and Latin classics in the original. He could also read French and Italian. In 1862, he was appointed to the Indian Civil Service and was assigned to the Punjab. He arrived in Punjab in 1864.

Nothing much is known about his family. He never married and the only knowledge that we get is from his will that he got executed on 17th October, 1912 i.e. some months prior to his death on 15 March, 1913. His family consisted of his brother John Moran who was Head Inspector of Schools in Ireland. John Moran had two daughters May Lousia and Gissie Moran. Macauliffe's brother-in-law Patrick Gray looked after Macauliffe's private papers as also his personal affairs. One of Macauliffe's niece was based at Prague and other lived in the city of Dublin. He had a god-child Lilian May Walker who was given a large sum of one thousand pounds from Macauliffe's property. This amount far exceeded anything that he had given to his other relations.¹¹⁹

Another close relation was Patrick Fitzpatrick who was Inspector of Schools in Ireland and his wife was Minnie Fitzpatrick. Macauliffe willed his Kelleline Farm and house near New Castle West Co. Limerick in Ireland to this couple and the residue of his estate was to be divided between the children of Fitzpatrick and Doctor Magner. He named many of acquaintances and relations as well as caretakers

119 Darshan Singh (Ed.), *Western Image of the Sikh Religion*, National Book Organization, New Delhi, 1999, Appendices, pp. 409-410.

in his will.¹²⁰ He made provisions in his will for Dan M'Auliffe to be provided with five pounds a month until his death. He lived at 6, Catherine Street, Limerick in Ireland.

Macauliffe reached the grade of Deputy Commissioner in 1882. Two years later in 1884, he became a Divisional Judge. He got interested in Sikh religion during his long stay in Punjab. He wrote many articles and was in close touch with the leading Sikh men of his times. This long association influenced his views with regard to the growth of Sikhism during his own times.

The elite job of civil servant brought him to Punjab and his own interest and inclination towards the religion of Sikhs made him resign the same. He dedicated his life to Sikh cause. Macauliffe was an administrator who contributed significantly towards Sikh studies. Thus, it becomes crucial to study and understand complexities and development that took place in the life and work of M.A. Macauliffe. The milieu becomes important in itself along with the developments in Punjab and the involvement of Macauliffe with both – The British Administration and Sikh Studies.

120 Darshan Singh (Ed.), *Western Image of the Sikh Religion*, National Book Organization, New Delhi, 1999, Appendices, p. 409.

Chapter - 2

MACAULIFFE AND HIS CONCERN WITH SIKHISM OR THE SIKHS

Max Arthur Macauliffe has been one of the most famous and known names in the annals of Sikh religion and its history for trying to project Sikh religion in its right perspective. Macauliffe reached Punjab in 1864 A.D. as a young civil servant of the most coveted Indian Civil Service. He had a brilliant career in British Administration yet he decided to leave his job in favour of study of Sikh religion and above all in the translation of Adi Granth.

Being based in Punjab it was impossible for him to remain ignorant of Sikh religion and its ethos. His interest in Sikhism was sparked by attending a Diwali celebration in Amritsar shortly after arriving in Punjab. In his paper "The Holy Writings of the Sikhs" which he read before the Aryan Section of the Congress of Orientalists in Paris in 1897 and published in *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of 1898, he writes:

"Several years ago I attended the Great Diwali fair at Amritsar, and it appeared to me to be worth describing in the Calcutta Review".

He further says :

"In doing so, it became necessary for me to understand something of the Sikh religion. I accordingly read at the time several hymns of the Sikh religion".

Referring to his concern he says :

"I accordingly read at the time several hymns of the Sikh Guru. Having once begun them, I was tempted by the sublimity of their style and the high standard of ethics which they inculcated to continue".¹

It may be noticed that his article "The Diwali at Amritsar: Religion of the Sikhs" had appeared in *Calcutta Review* in 1880. But his first article "The Fair at Sakhi Sarwar" was published in 1875 in *Calcutta Review*. So, it seems that Macauliffe visited Amritsar between 1875 and 1880 A.D. If it was curiosity that led him towards Sikh religion, then it was his contact with Professor Gurmukh Singh of Oriental College of Lahore that fired the zeal and his interest further. Macauliffe was very close to Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha who has mentioned about this inspiration in his Mahankosh.²

The period when Macauliffe developed his interest is very crucial in the history of Sikh religion because it was in the last three decades of 19th century, that many activities were to take place which subsequently shaped the future of Sikh religion, its concepts, rituals, and its progress. It is crucial to study the period and persons who came into contact with Macauliffe because his interest in Sikhism evolved along with his increasing closeness to certain individuals

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1. M.A. Macauliffe, 'The Holy Writings of the Sikhs' in Darshan Singh (ed.), *Western Image of the Sikh Religion*, National Book Organization, New Delhi, 1999, p. 316.
 2. ਭਾਈ ਕਾਨ੍ਹ ਸਿੰਘ ਨਾਭਾ, ਗੁਰਸ਼ਬਦਰਤਨਾਕਰ, ਸੁਦਰਸ਼ਨ ਪ੍ਰੈਸ, ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ, 1930, ਪੰਨਾ 2809-2810

which are as follows (i) Bhai Gurmukh Singh, (ii) Bhai Kahn Singh of Nabha, (iii) Bhai Takht Singh of Ferozpur, (iv) Sir Attar Singh of Bhadaur. Along with the above mentioned individuals it was his association with Singh Sabha in general and Tat Khalsa in particular that his involvement in Sikh studies became more pronounced.

The last quarter of the 19th century in Punjab was marked by a period of intense dynamism, of ideological and religious conflict amidst an increasing polemical atmosphere, as each group within a given religious community, Hindu, Sikh or Muslim sought to project its own concepts and in the process struggled with their own community and beyond. The religious competitiveness between the two communities, Hindus and Sikhs in Punjab, concerned more with their sense of identity than the question of power and dominance.³

Factionalism and belligerence were common in Punjab public life during this time. Between 1870 and 1900 a number of organizations emerged to the province. Out of these the main was the Singh Sabha which was first established in 1873 at Amritsar by some prominent Sikhs which included Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia, Baba Sir Khem Singh Bedi and Kanwar Bikram Singh of Kapurthala. The Amritsar Singh Sabha undertook to (i) restore Sikhism to its pristine purity; (ii) edit and publish historical and religious books; (iii)

3. Sangat Singh, 'Political Development of Sikhs-Search for Identity (1849-1919) in Ganda Singh (ed.), *The Punjab Past and Present*, Vol. XVI-II, Department of Punjab Historical Studies, Punjabi University, Patiala, Oct. 1982, p. 269.

propagate current knowledge using Punjabi as the medium and to start magazines and newspapers in Punjabi; (iv) reform and bring back apostates in Sikh fold; (v) interest the highly placed Englishmen in and insure their association with the educational programme of the Sikhs. The Singh Sabha gained quick support of the literate section of the community and many Sikh scholars and leaders volunteered to join its ranks.⁴ After the Singh Sabha of Amritsar, another Singh Sabha was formed in 1879 at Lahore with Bhai Gurmukh Singh, a Professor at the Oriental College, Lahore, as its secretary.

Professor Gurmukh Singh got job as second teacher in the Hindi Department of Oriental College of Lahore in 1877 after he had completed his education in Lahore itself. Later on he became Assistant Professor. He had studied under the aegis of Kanwar Bikram Singh of Kapurthala. As Kanwar Singh was one of the pioneers in establishing Guru Singh Sabha of Amritsar in 1873, it was natural for Professor Gurmukh Singh to follow suit.⁵

In 1880, Macauliffe saw Diwali at Amritsar and he came in contact with Professor Gurmukh Singh over here.⁶ In order to understand ceremonies and the importance of the Golden Temple, he undertook a study of Sikhism and especially of the hymns of the Gurus. At this time Macauliffe gets acquainted with Sardar Dyal Singh

4. Harbans Singh, 'Origins of the Singh Sabha' in Harbans Singh and N. Gerald Barrier (ed.), *Essays in Honour of Dr. Ganda Singh*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1996, p. 280.

5. Karnail Singh Somal, *ਭਾਈ ਦਿੱਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਗਿਆਨੀ*, Giani Ditt Singh Memorial International Society (Regd.), Sector 15-A, Chandigarh, 2003, p. 26.

6. Rattan Singh Jaggi, *Sikh Panth Vishvakosh*, Vol. 2, p. 13883.

Majithia at Amritsar. It is mentioned in his article "Rise of Amritsar and the Alteration of the Sikh Religions", published in *Calcutta Review* in 1881.⁷ According to Madan Gopal, Dyal Singh's father Lehna Singh Majithia as also his grandfather Desa Singh Majithia were in charge of the Darbar Sahib, Amritsar since Ranjit times.⁸ Dyal Singh Majithia (1848-1898) was a rich Punjabi Sardar who was educated and was a liberal minded person and had earned a lot of money through his enterprising financial business. In one of footnotes, Macauliffe mentions about Kahn Singh Nabha's views which makes it quite clear as how he is being caught up on the process of vitality and study of Sikh religion. Macauliffe was based at Ferozpur which itself was very important for being a place close to Amritsar and Lahore as well as being a gateway between Majha and Malwa region. Malwa region here means Cis-Satluj states of Patiala and Nabha. This central location facilitates Macauliffe's relations with different Singh Sabhas especially that of Lahore, Amritsar, Ferozepur initially and later with Bhasaur very near to Patiala and Nabha. Another article of Macauliffe "The Sikh Religion under Banda Bahadur" was published in 1881 in the *Calcutta Review*. From the above mentioned three articles in a short span of time of one and a half years, the deep interest of the writer with Sikhism became known to Sikhs. He now entered into detailed religious discussions with the Sikh *gyanies* and *intelligentsia*.

7. M.A. Macauliffe, 'Rise of Amritsar and the Alterations of the Sikh Religion', op.cit, p. 251.

8. Madan Gopal (ed.), *Brahmo Samaj And Dyal Singh Majithia*, Uppal Publishing House, New Delhi, 1998, p. 5.

Macauliffe was an administrator and as such could not remain away from political events. When he wrote about Amritsar he did not overlooked political and financial condition of the city. For this he blamed :

"an otiose and apathetic ruler and grasping officials who were by no means a terrestrial parasite."⁹

Who was this bad ruler of Amritsar in 1881? He was Thakur Singh Sandhanwala (1837-87) who was Extra Assistant Commissioner of Amritsar who happened to turn out as sympathetic to the claims of Dalip Singh over Punjab. Macauliffe as the British administrator was quite active in taking note of Sardar Thakur Singh who had been disloyal to the Britishers. Macauliffe was unable to tolerate this and wrote in footnote seven that:

The pitiable condition of this ruler's territories and his clearly proved and deeply rooted disloyalty to the British Government must soon bring into political prominence the question has long such an administration as his will be allowed to crush the energies of the fine people and defertilize the lovely country over which he holds independents way.¹⁰

Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia was the first President of Amritsar Singh Sabha in 1873 and was a distinguished scholar of Persian and Punjabi. But, because of his independent views in favour of dethroned

9. M.A. Macauliffe, Rise of Amritsar and the Alterations of the Sikh Religion', op.cit, p. 251.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 263.

Maharaja Dalip Singh that he was deprived of his position as Extra Assistant Commissioner of Amritsar. In 1883 his estate was placed under a Court of Wards.

The loyalty to British crown at this stage was most visible as also Macauliffe's dislike for Sandhanwalia Sardar even though the Sandhanwalia chief was founder of Singh Sabha and was quite vocal and well wisher of Sikh way of life.

In the mean time Singh Sabhas began to spring at many places like Rawalpindi, Ferozpur, Julundar, Ludhiana, Patiala, Nabha, Faridkot and Kapurthala. A co-ordinating Khalsa Diwan was formed at Amritsar in 1883 A.D. with Baba Khem Singh Bedi as president and Bhai Gurmukh Singh as Chief secretary. It was in this year i.e. 1883, that Professor Gurmukh Singh met Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha at Lahore. Bhai Khan Singh stayed at Dehra Sahib and did Katha in the Gurudwara and Bhai Gurmukh Singh used to go there to understand meanings of difficult words which he needed to teach his students.¹¹ Bhai Kahn Singh and his father Bhai Narayan Singh were much respected Savants of Sikhism not only by the royal houses of Nabha and Patiala but were also known in the whole Punjab as such for their piousness and spiritual living.

Macauliffe had heard a great deal about Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha from different sources and especially from Professor Gurmukh Singh. Now Macauliffe become a divisional Judge 1884 and in 1885

¹¹ Devinder Singh Vidyarthi, *ਭਾਈ ਕਾਨ੍ਹ ਸਿੰਘ ਨਾਭਾ-ਜੀਵਨ ਤੇ ਰਚਨਾ*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1987, p. 63.

he was sent to Rawalpindi. In 1885 A.D. a Darbar was held between Viceroy of India Lord Dufferin (1884-88) and Sultan of Afghanistan Abdur Rehman at Rawalpindi. Maharaja Hira Singh of Nabha went to attend this Durbar and Bhai Kahn Singh had accompanied him.¹² It was here that Macauliffe asked Maharaja Hira Singh to spare Bhai Kahn Singh for himself so that he could be helped in understanding Gurmukhi scripts, mysteries of Gurbani and Sikh history. Bhai Kahn Singh was permitted to stay at Rawalpindi for six months. This friendship between the two lasted throughout their life. Khan Singh's knowledge of English language and western research and history writing was improved by Macauliffe and in turn Macauliffe learned about Sikh Gurbani, Gurus and Sikh religion by this esteemed scholar. Further Macauliffe was accompanied by Bhai Khan Singh Nabha when he went to England to get his *The Sikh Religion* published in six volumes in 1907. Though Macauliffe faced innumerable difficulties and many old friends left him in his adverse circumstances yet Bhai Kahn Singh stood rock solid with his friend. This friendship was fully acknowledged by Macauliffe who bequeathed the royalty from his *magnum opus* to Bhai Kahn Singh in his will.

Macauliffe used to spend considerable time at Nabha as well as at Shimla, Shrinagar, Mussourie, Nainital, Dehradun and Solan in his friend's company to get assistance in or for his articles and translation work.

12 Devinder Singh Vidyarthi, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28

It must be stressed that there was unity among different Singh Sabhas to work for the betterment of Sikhs upto 1884. In 1882, a strong representation was made by Khalsa Diwan Amritsar to introduce Punjabi in the Gurmukhi characters in the primary village schools. Previously in 1877, Punjabi was started to be taught in Oriental College at Lahore by the efforts of G.W. Leitner and Lepel Griffin. To counteract the argument of the opponents that there was no mentionable literature in Punjabi, it was Sir Attar Singh Bhadaur (1833-1896) who produced a formidable list of books and manuscripts in Punjabi from his personal collection which clinched the issue. Sardar Attar Singh was the same person who had translated Rahitnamas of Prahlad Singh and Bhai Nand Lal for the benefit of the British Government. In 1874 he had supplied abstracts of certain texts like Jap Sahib, Akal Ustat, Bachitra Natak, Zafarnamah and the Hakayat section in Persian and Punjabi from the *Dasam Granth* to the Government at their request and also to Ernest Trumpp through them. The united efforts of Punjabi intelligensia and British bureaucracy under Dr. Leitner led to opening of an Oriental College, a University Library, museum, a school of arts, science institution and medical college as well as a literary¹³ society called *Anjuman -i-Punjab*.

13 Khuswant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, Vol. II, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1983, p. 141.

But by 1884, differences between members of Khalsa Diwan Amritsar cropped up which subsequently divided different Singh Sabhas under it on the basis of their alignment. The issue was special privileges enjoyed by Baba Khem Singh Bedi as a descendant of Guru Nanak. He was supported by Mahants, Pujaris and Raja Bikram of Faridkot. But the Lahore Singh Sabha under the leadership of Prof. Gurumukh Singh constituted the radical wing and represented the wave of the future. He neither let unchallenged Baba Khem Singh Bedi's claim to be the Guru of the Sikhs, or his claim to have a seat with cushions in Darbar Sahib, Amritsar, nor did he had any sentiments for Sardar Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia's dream for restoration of Dalip Singh or Sikh Raj. He had a clear perception that, in the present circumstances, seeking co-operation of the government was in the best interests of the Sikh community.¹⁴ This same view was held by Macauliffe also as we know from his early writings. A schism in the Diwan was now inevitable and in 1886 A.D a separate Khalsa Diwan was formed at Lahore with Sardar Attar Singh of Bhadaur as president and Bhai Gurmukh Singh as secretary.

Between 1880 and 1900, a growing band of intellectuals and publicists attempted with marked success to redefine the Sikh faith and to strengthen the self identity of Sikh ideas and institutions. Macauliffe focused his time and limited linguistic abilities on the

14 Sangat Singh, *The Sikhs in History*, Uncommon Books, New Delhi, 2001, p. 140.

study of Sikhism from 1880's onwards. Unlike other western scholars of the day he exhibited humility and caution in claiming authority either in Sikh history, or in Sikh scriptures. Being aware of his shortcomings, he established deep continuing contacts with leading Sikh scholars¹⁵ like Bhai Kahn Singh, Professor Gurmukh Singh, Bhai Ditt Singh in addition to intelligentsia and aristocracy of his times. He studied a number of Indian and related languages in order to master the linguistic complexities of the Guru Granth Sahib, among these he mentions Sanskrit, Prakrit, Arabic, Persian, Turki, Marathi, Gujrati and Punjabi in its various dialects.¹⁶

Although he extensively sought the help of Sikh clergy, he was aware of the fact that there were not many people who understood *Shri Guru Granth Sahib*. At the annual session of the Lahore Singh Sabha in 1886 he said that :

"The Shri Guru Granth Sahib was matchless as a Book of holy teachings, but to his regret, there were not even 50 Sikhs in the whole of Punjab who could interpret it."¹⁷

By 1890's Macauliffe was widely known for his pro-Sikh views. Even though in his initial writings he made liberal use of the writings of his predecessors like Malcolm, Elephinstone, Wilson, Coleman, Cunningham, Dr. Honigberger, Sir William Muir and even Trumpp yet

15 Harbans Lal. 'Max Arthur Macauliffe: The Western Gateway to Study of Sikhism'. in *Studies in Sikhism and Comparative Religion*, Vol. XIV, Number-1, Guru Nanak Foundation, New Delhi, Jan-June 1995, p. 44.

16 Harbans Singh (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Sikhism*, Vol. II, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2001, p. 1.

17 Harbans Lal, 'Max Arthur Macauliffe', op.cit, p. 45.

he used his own knowledge in coming to conclusions. He had read Rhys David, Monier William (a scholar of Sanskrit), John Stuart Mill, Thucydides, Dante, Gibbon Socrates, Max Muller, Michael Scott, Schilagintweit along with *Dabiston-i-Mazahib*, *Siyar-ul-Muttakharin*, *Sakhis*, *Bachitter Natak*, *Rahitnamas* of Prahlad Rai and Nand Lal and *Panth Prakash* of Ratan Singh Bhangu. The Indian works were read by him in English which were translated by associations like *Asiatic Researches* or individuals like Trumpp and Sir Attar Singh Bhadaur.

Macauliffe was very judicious in using different sources. He took pains to read the sources of those writers that he himself was consulting e.g. in his article, "The Rise of Amritsar", he read Captain Troyer's translation of *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* which was used by Cunningham.¹⁸ He knew Sir Attar Singh Bhadaur from his translation as well as personally. Sir Attar Singh was an elected member of *Anjuman -i- Punjab* in 1869 and for his scholarly tastes and for his work towards the cause of education, he was appointed a member of the Senate of the Punjab University College, Lahore in 1870.

He was elected as a member of *Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1869 and in 1880, he became vice-president of *Anjuman-i-Punjab* with Dr. G.W. Leitner as its president. The British authorities often consulted him on matters relating to Sikh affairs, faith and literature. A strong loyalist and sympathiser, Attar Singh helped the British especially at the time of the uprising of the Namdharis and maintained voluntary

18 M.A. Macauliffe, 'Rise of Amritsar and the Alteration of the Sikh Religion', op.cit. p. 254.

surveillance in keeping the Government informed about their activities. He collected and translated *Sau Sakhi* an apocryphal text used by Kukas as predictory of their own triumph and of Maharaja Daleep Singh. For his loyal services he was admitted to knighthood in 1888. Macauliffe being translator of Sikh scriptures and being faithful to British Government had good understanding with Sardar Attar Singh Bhadaur. He also routinely attempted to clarify complex issues, such as explaining the key junctures in the evolution of Sikhism by drawing real or imagined parallels with western tradition.¹⁹ In the words of Macauliffe,

"With all the earnestness of a Christian teacher, Kabir inculcated a sincerity of devotion as distinguished from lip service and idle ceremonial."²⁰

While comparing Sikh religion to be born out of Hindus, Macauliffe says that it was like Islam being born out of Judaism. He writes in his article, "Diwali at Amritsar" that :

"The manner in which Sikhism was constructed out of contemporary Hindu and Buddhistic beliefs supplemented by the exaltation of the guru and the necessity of his meditation may perhaps not inaptly be compared to the process by which the

19 N.G. Barrier, 'Trumpp and Macauliffe: Western Students of Sikh History and Religion', in Dr. Fauja Singh (ed.), *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*, Oriental Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 1978, p. 174.

20. Macauliffe, 'Diwali at Amritsar', in Darshan Singh (ed.), *Western Image of the Sikh Religion*, National Book Organization, New Delhi, 1999, p. 23

prophet of Macca reared the fabric of Islam out of Judaism, Christianity, and the paganism of the Sabeans, crowning the spiritual edifice by his own exaltation to the dignity of God's chosen prophet."

Macauliffe always had strong feelings for Sikh Religion and was aware of corrosion of Sikh values as initiated by Guru Nanak upto Guru Gobind Singh. In his very first writings on Sikhs he was aware of this fact when he writes that original Sikh religion differs from present religion as the religion of Vedas differed from that of the Hindus of Manu.²¹

He always feared that Hindusim was going to finish Sikhism. The use of boa-constrictor as a simile for Hinduism in his article, "The Sikh Religion under Banda and its present Condition" very aptly describes his attachment for Sikh religion which he nurtured till his last breath. When, Macauliffe was posted at the city of Ferozepur as Division Judge in 1892, he cultivated relationship with the local Sikhs and in short time that he was there, he succeeded in gaining their confidence.²²

One of the eminent Sikhs of Ferozpur was Bhai Takht Singh who was a student of Giani Ditt Singh and was a protagonist of female education and social reforms. He spent whole of his life for the cause of education of woman and founded Sikh Kanya Vidyala at Firozepur

21 Macauliffe, 'Diwali at Amritsar', op.cit, p. 42

22 Harbans Lal, 'Max Arthur Macauliffe', op.cit. p. 45.

in 1892.²³ Such was his zeal for Sikhism that he was called “Zinda Shahid” (living Martyr) of Ferozpur.²⁴ He was very active in converting willing people into Sikhism and was closely related to Bhasour Singh Sabha (1893) which was most radical and also to Lahore Khalsa Diwan. The above mentioned developments about the emergence and contribution of Sikh renaissance by the Singh Sabhas is further clear from the efforts of the reformers to win over the concerns of the Government of India. In an address presented by the Sikhs to the Earl of Dufferin the Governor-General on the 16th November, 1888, occurs the following passage :

“The translation made by Dr. Trumpp, who was employed by the India Office for the purpose is bristling with sentences altogether wide of the meaning, so much so that one regrets the useless labour and the large amount of money spent in vain.²⁵”

In February, 1890, *The Echo* reported that a “new English translation of the sacred book of the Sikhs is now being written by Mr. Macauliffe of the Bengal Civil Service.”²⁶

By 1892, Macauliffe completely subscribed to the view that Trumpp's translation was anti-sikh and as such it had hurt the

23. Harjinder Singh Dilgeer, *The Sikh Reference Book*, The Sikh Educational Trust, Canada, 1997, p. 628.

24. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*, Manohar Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 1994, p. 214.

25. Macauliffe, 'Holy Writings of the Sikhs' op.cit.p. 316.

26. See Nazer Singh, *Guru Granth Over to the West*, Commonwealth Publishers, New Delhi, 2005, p. 76.

sentiments of the Sikhs. On February 25, 1892, he told the Punjab authorities that Trumpp's translation might be of some help to "the English students of the Sikh religion, but I am obliged to join the Sikhs in their unanimous condemnation of the translation". He further said that he desired to put his researches into the religion of the Sikhs into some tangible form before his departure to Europe. More over, he confessed that the translation of the whole Granth would not be possible. Macauliffe further disclosed that he had already collected material on the lives of the Bhagats from Alwar, Jaipur and Banaras and in this work he had been helped by Gyani Tara Singh of Patiala. Obviously, Macauliffe in Ferozpur was looking for an opportunity. It is evident from the fact that in his February 25, 1892 letter he expected his research to be of some use to the Patiala Chief who was getting the Guru Granth translated into Punjabi.²⁷ In anticipation of any objection to himself as a translator of the Sikh sacred writings, he wrote as follows in Feb 1892 to the Punjab Government :

"My own views on religious matter being absolutely unsectarian, I would aim at producing a book acceptable to the Sikhs themselves. I hold no brief from any religious denomination, and would describe the Sikh religion as it is without the introduction of any opinions or comments of my own."²⁸

²⁷ Nazer Singh, *Guru Granth Over to the West*, op.cit., p. 74.

²⁸ Macauliffe, *'Holy Writings of the Sikhs'*, p. 320.

At the same time, In Feb, 1892, he sought Government's permission to go on leave partly to complete and publish his work on the Sikhs. On March 14, the Punjab Government informed him that his request could not be granted. In protest, he went on a furlough to Europe. The Furlough was to end in May, 1893²⁹

Till this time Macauliffe was promised by the Khalsa Diwan of Lahore to collect funds for him. Raja Bikram Singh of Faridkot assured him of his salary for six months when he went to Faridkot to meet the Raja. Other Sikh rulers also promised to provide him financial help. Raja Hira Singh of Nabha, Maharaja Rajinder Singh of Patiala, Raja Ranbir Singh of Jind, Tikka Ripudaman Singh of Nabha, Sardar Ranjit Singh of Chachhrauli and the Gaekwar of Baroda were among those who helped him financially, but this help as a whole was not enough. During first six years of his work, he had incurred a debt of Rs. 35,000. This included salaries of those gyanis that were employed by him. The total cost of this project was going to be in the vicinity of Rs. 200,000. Macauliffe fully realized that rendering of Sikh scriptures into English and writing a history of Sikhism was a task that could not be done with his responsibilities of a full time Government administrator. Yet, he could not afford to abandon his employment. He had already lost a large fortune in commercial investments³⁰ Macauliffe had actually suffered huge losses by the failure of Joint stock companies.

29 Nazer Singh, *Guru Granth Over to the West*, op.cit.,p. 76.

30 Harbans Lal, 'Max Arthur Macauliffe' op.cit. p. 45.

But before Macauliffe's furlough could end in May, 1893, he received a letter on 3rd May, 1893 from Singh Sabha of Ferozpur with whom he was very closely related. In the letter, it was stated: "The translation by Dr Trumpp is not reliable, and we regret to see that Government's spending many thousands on it produced no satisfactory result.³¹" On May 4, 1893, he got another letter from Professor Gurmukh Singh, as Secretary of Khalsa Diwan, Lahore in which it was written that how Ferozpur Singh Sabha wanted Macauliffe to act as the translator of Guru Granth Sahib. In his article "The Holy writing of the Sikhs" which was read by Macauliffe before the *Aryan Section of the Congress of Orientalists in Paris, 1897*, and which was later published in April, July and October number of *the Asiatic Quarterly Review* for 1898, he writes:

"The total result appears to be that Dr. Trumpp's translation is rather detrimental than advantageous to the religion of the Sikhs".

He further writes that :

"The Khalsa Diwan knowing this, and also knowing that I had been studying the sacred books of the Sikhs for a long time, sent me, before my return to duty from my last furlough, two written requests to complete my translation of their sacred writings, and I was

31 Macauliffe, 'Holy writing of the Sikhs', op.cit. p. 316.

promised compensation for retirement from the public service, and for the expenses attending my reasearches and the publication of my work."

Macauliffe had a personal meeting with the Secretary of the Diwan i.e. Professor Gurmukh Singh who assured him that the Diwan would work for him in the same manner as it had undertaken the Khalsa College Project. The Foundation of this college in 1892 was the result of very hard work and liberal contribution of elite and full cooperation in this educational enterprise was provided by the British Government. Macauliffe was made to belief that Government's 'aid' and sanction would be secured within one or two months.³² The assurances thus, received made him resigned his prestigious post in 1893, at the age of 51 and in his own words "for several years I have worked almost unremittingly at the task the Sikhs assigned me." ³³

Macauliffe after leaving his job, moved to Amritsar into a hired bungalow at 2 Cantonment Road to avail of the material and talent available at the centre of Sikh Studies. He remained there for three years and like a true scholar, he submitted his each line to native criticism. In the preface of *The Sikh Religion*, page ix that :

"Most translators, when they have completed their renderings, proceed to publish without subjecting their work to native criticism. On

32 National Archives of India, No. 183, June, 1898 in Proceedings Home- Public.

33 Macauliffe, 'The Holy writing of the Sikhs', op.cit. p. 317

this account there are few, if any translations of Oriental works made in Europe, even by the most eminent scholars. Which are accepted by the learned natives of the East. I resolved that mine should be an exception and accordingly submitted every line of my work to the most searching criticism of learned Sikhs. This was done either by rough printed proofs or typed copies. I also published invitations in Sikh newspapers to all it might concern to visit me, inspect and if necessary correct my translation. This entailed a voluminous correspondence which occupied a great amount of time, and inconveniently protracted my residence in India."³⁴

Bhagat Lakshman Singh in his auto biography writes that it was the practice with Macauliffe to send printed proofs of his translation of the Sikh scriptures to select Sikhs residing in different parts of the province with a request for their opinion and critical suggestions. One such proof was received by him. Its criticism was appreciated by Macauliffe who asked him to translate Japji Sahib which was done by Bhagat Balmokand brother of Bhagat Lakshman Singh with the assistance of a highly learned Udasi Sadhu of their City (Rawalpindi). On the receipt of translation Macauliffe sent an

34 M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, S. Chand and Co., New Delhi, 1963, Preface ix.

invitation for the Bhagat Lakshman Singh.³⁵ Bhagat Lakshman was amazed at the gathering of most learned Gyanis (Sikh divines) of the time at Macauliffe's house; for instance Gyani Sardul Singh, Bhai Hazara Singh (father of Sardar Aya Singh who was an Extra Assistant Commissioner), both of Amritsar, Sant Hazara Singh of Gujrat, Mahant Prem Singh of Sialkot, Gyani Badan Singh of Faridkot and three or four more Sikh divines. To this council each and every line was submitted and it was only after receiving their criticism that he adopted it. It took Bhagat Lakshman Singh full one month to attend these sittings. The amount of labour and expense may be judged from the fact that all scriptural texts were similarly dealt with. He was paid one month salary plus his railway fare from Rawalpindi and back.³⁶

Bhagat Lakshman Singh knew that he must have incurred similar expense on most of the learned men he sent for and consulted. His sacrifice and consecration of a whole life to the service of Sikhs and Sikhism filled Bhagat Lakshman Singh with great admiration of Macauliffe.³⁷

Macauliffe frequently visited and lived in Nabha, and spent summers in Mussoorie and Dehradun. He also undertook to master the linguistic skills needed to understand Sikh scriptures. As Nazer Singh maintains that both in 1896 and 1897, Macauliffe, tried to seek

35 Ganda Singh (ed.), *Bhagat Lakshman Singh- Autobiography*, Calcutta, 1965, p. 122.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 122.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 123

Punjab Government's patronage for his work but it was in vain. Between January 1897 and March 1898, he thrice wrote to the Chief Secretary of Punjab Government for this purpose. Each time he assured that he would not produce any thing not acceptable to the Sikhs. He frankly admitted that no help would come his way unless the Government took the lead in this direction. Macauliffe narrated how the chiefs of Patiala and Nabha had turned their back to his scheme. Gurumukh Singh had turned to be an opponent to him. In December 1897, Macauliffe issued a circular letter to the Sikhs. He informed that (1) he had incurred a debt of Rs. 35,000 on account of his researches, (2) spent his considerable time in old age and (3) the work was voluminous as he wanted to supplement his translation with the life sketch of Guru Gobind Singh and the other Bhagats. In his "Holy writings of the Sikhs he wrote that :

"It apparently only now remains for the Indian Government to signify its approval of my labor and I am in hope that such approval will be eventually accorded in order that the Sikhs may be induced to adhere to their promises to me, and that my work may be published. Such is the power of the Indian Government that, without its sanction or recommendation, even independent chiefs with plenary powers of administration feel it

unsafe to undertake anything however praiseworthy in itself; and of this I hold tangible proof in my possession."³⁸

Factually speaking, in March, 1898 the Chief of Nabha did not permit Bhai Khan Singh to join him. Also, Sunder Singh Majithia and the Amritsar Singh Sabha were denied the services of Sardar Sadhu Singh, a forest officer of Chamba State to assist a Sikh committee to examine the new translation.

Bhagat Lakshman Singh in his autobiography writes that Macauliffe had grievances against the Amritsar Sikhs against whom he wrote a satire and even sent it to Bhagat Lakshman Singh to get it published in Bhagat's newspaper. Though he was refused yet Bhagat Lakshman agreed that Macauliffe's treatment was "indeed very shabby." The reason he got to know was that the Amritsar Sikhs wanted to bring out a translation of Sikh scriptures and they were jealous of Mr. Macauliffe.³⁹

In 1898, Macauliffe read his paper "The Holy Writings of the Sikh" in the *Congress of the Orientalists* held in Paris. In this paper he wrote about his own personal interest, the need for Sikh translation, his motives as well as about the problems that he was facing. He wrote about the circumstances which persuaded him to undertake the translation project by the Sikhs themselves. Next he enumerated

38 M.A. Macauliffe, 'Holy Writings of the Sikhs', op.cit, p. 32.

39. Ganda Singh (ed.), *Bhagat Lakshman Singh-Autobiography*, op.cit, p. 124.

various benefits for such an undertaking such as the political advantage, use of translation to English speaking natives, British and the intelligentsia, the shortage of traditional well read and true religious preaches and teachers. Next, he wrote about rapidly altering and diverging of vernacular literature with general language of the Granth Sahib and also that there was no trustworthy translation which was making people revert to superstition because of ignorance of knowledge of their scriptures. Macauliffe said that he wanted to refute several statements made by European writers which were disparaging to the Gurus. He wanted to spread the teachings of Sikhism throughout the world and stressed on the usefulness of his work to the historians and Philologists. He hoped that his translation would be useful for the British administrators to understand their subjects in a better way and indirectly he was going to fulfill the task which Trumpp could not do. He highlighted his own indispensability to the work of translation by stating there were very few people who knew English language and language of the Granth. Even he could do so because of the help provided by some of the most learned men of his times.

In February, 1898, Macauliffe was invited by the custodians of the Darbar Sahib or Golden Temple and an Akhand Path was performed for his success. Later he addressed a gathering from the Akal Takhat and a proposal was made by Colonel Jawala Singh,

Superintendent of the Golden Temple to appoint a committee of learned Sikhs to examine and revive his translation. The Sikh Chiefs were invited to corporate this proposal was seconded by Bhai Basant Singh editor of the *Khalsa Gazette*, Lahore. ⁴⁰

But all this failed to convince the Punjab authorities (1892-1898) which put Macauliffe on the defensive. He was in need of money which was promised to him but it was not forthcoming. On April, 1898, the Punjab Secretary informed Macauliffe about his Government's negative reply in providing help. Thwarted but undaunted, Macauliffe got the Khalsa Diwan of Lahore to present an address to Lord Curzon (1899-1905) the Viceroy and Governor General of India on 5th April, 1899, to denounce the work of Trump. A request was made to the Viceroy to have a correct translation of their sacred scriptures into English and that Macauliffe be commissioned to prepare the translation which could remove the stigma levied by Dr. Trumpp. ⁴¹

Nothing much transpired in terms of financial help either by Government or by Rulers of Nabha and Patiala of lakhs of rupees as promised to him. Small grants kept him alive and covered incidentals but there were inadequate.

40. M.A. Macauliffe, 'Holy Writings of the Sikhs', op.cit., p. 321.

41. Madanjit Kaur, 'A Documentary Evidence of the Sikh Reaction at Trumpps Translation of the Adi Granth in *Punjab History Conference Proceedings*, 1980, 14th Session March, 28-30, Punjab Historical Studies Dept., Punjabi University, Patiala, 1981, p. 223.

Unaware of growing discontent at his tactics, Macauliffe showered the Government with more documents and requests. The translation according to N.G. Barrier in the interim had grown into a much larger compilation of religious writings as well as lives of Gurus and other Sikhs.¹

Macauliffe's approach was fraught with great difficulties. He had to retain a number of Gianis' who communicated with Macauliffe in various Punjabi dialects. From 1901 to 1903, his proofs were read by Bhai Kahn Singh, Diwan Lila Ram, Bhai Dayal, Bhai Hazara Singh, Bhai Sardul Singh, Bhai Ditt Singh, Bhagat Lakshman Singh and others.²

The work on *The Sikh Religion* continued even after innumerable difficulties through the first decade of twentieth century. In 1907, Macauliffe left for England and he was accompanied by Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha. He remained in England for two years to assist Macauliffe in the correction of *The Sikh Religion* and also help him in the printing work. Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha wrote in detail about these two years i.e. 1907 till 1909 in his letters to his family members. These letters were published by Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha's daughter-in-law Rashpal Kaur who edited these under the title "ਭਾਈ ਕਾਨ੍ਹ ਸਿੰਘ ਨਾਭਾ ਦੇ ਅਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ਼ਿਤ ਸਫਰਨਾਮੇ" in 1983. From Bhai Kahn Singh's writings it

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1. N.G. Barrier, 'Trumpp and Macauliffe: Western Students of Sikh History and Religion', op.cit, p. 174.
 2. Harbans Singh, *Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, Vol. II, p. 4.

becomes very clear that Macauliffe worked very hard to get the printing done. Macauliffe was so much engrossed in his work that he did not write any letters to his friends.³

Macauliffe was not keeping well and by September 1907, he wanted to return to India before the close of October because he could not bear the extreme chill of London⁴. Here Macauliffe disclosed about his lineage that how some thousand years ago, Macauliffe's one of the ancestors was a great pirate of the sea. During those days pirate of the sea were very famous and daring.⁵ By October 1907, Macauliffe had to postpone his journey by sea as he had still important work to do in London. By December, Macauliffe was in favour of first going to Calcutta and then to meet the Maharaja of Nabha. He thought that it would not be right to directly reach Nabha along with Bhai Kahn Singh. In December 1907, Macauliffe left for India. From Bombay sea port he went towards the South and then reached Calcutta from where he came to Nabha.

In 1908, Macauliffe again left for London in July accompanied by Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha. On 18th July, 1908, a great tragedy was averted on the ship when Macauliffe went inside his cabin only to find that it was on fire due to an electric wire. He shouted and called for help. The ship's officers came immediately and extinguished the fire.

3 Rashpal Kaur (ed.), *ਭਾਈ ਕਾਨ੍ਹ ਸਿੰਘ ਨਾਭਾ ਦੇ ਅਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ਼ਿਤ ਸਫ਼ਰਨਾਮੇ*, Vrijesh Prakashan, Vrijesh Bhawan, Nabha, 1983, p. 80.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 95.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

Had Macauliffe got late by five minutes his whole printing material could have been burned. Macauliffe told Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha that the work of his lifetime's hardwork and passion was saved only because of grace of God.⁴⁷ On reaching London on 31st July, 1908, Macauliffe got busy with his work and spent all his time reading proofs of his magnum opus.⁴⁸ But old age was catching up. He could not tolerate cold and always used to keep fire place burning and used to shut all the windows. This was resented by Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha who was used to fresh air and felt suffocated yet he compromised with Macauliffe due to latter's old age.⁴⁹

Macauliffe wanted to go to his home in Ireland but hard to postpone his trip because of busy and hard work of printing. In 1909 he again reached India with his work.

Thus, after years of strenuous efforts and at the had cost of great expenses, Macauliffe had succeeded in finishing the voluminous manuscript by 1908 and made arrangements for its publication.⁵⁰

The Sikh Religion was published for the first time by Oxford University at Clarendon Press in 1909 in six volumes. Macauliffe's hard work of two decades was ultimately ready but it did not brought happiness to Macauliffe rather his experiences with Sikh leaders and rulers had left him broken. They refused to acknowledge his work

47. Rashpal Kaur, op.cit., p. 135.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 140.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 153.

50. N.G. Barrier, "Trumpp and Macauliffe: Western Students of Sikh History and Religion, op.cit., p. 179.

because the Punjab Government had refused to support him. The Punjab Government and the Government of India refused to sanction the work and the latter's offer of a contribution of small sum of Rs. 5000/- was indignantly rejected as "paltry in the extreme". Sikhs were abound in their praises but fearing the loss of Government patronage the wealthy amongst them held back from financial donations.⁵¹

In 1911, The Sikh Educational Conference presided over by Sir Sunder Singh in Rawalpindi even rejected to sponsor a resolution commending his work. Macauliffe sat in the evening a dejected man eating alone in his hotel room in Rawalpindi cantonment. He had been rejected by the people whom he had given his lifeblood and he would not dine in the hall with the Britishers who shunned his company for having "turned a Sikh".⁵² Macauliffe went back to London but kept on writing to his friends like Bhagat Lakshman Singh. In 1912, he wrote a letter to Bhagat Lakshman Singh about the highhandedness of British official's and betrayal of faith by Sikh clergy, aristocracy, leaders and intelligentsia.

To quote Dr. Gopal Singh, Macauliffe's work was attacked as too sectarian and parochial meant to tear the Hindus from the Sikhs. Others criticised it as being too traditional and couched in an archaic language. Others maintained that it had invented or circulated

51. W.H. Mcleod, *Exploring Sikhism*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2000, p. 262.

52. Harbans Lal, 'Max Arthur Macauliffe in the Journal "*Studies in Sikhism and Comparative Religion*", p. 26.

unauthorized stories in order to inculcate loyalist tendencies among the Sikhs towards the British Government. Mr. Macauliffe was initially much lauded and boosted by Government as well as the Sikhs, but he died as a broken-hearted man, forsaken at the hands of both.⁵³ On 15th March, 1913, Macauliffe breathed his last with Japji Sahib on his lips. Macauliffe was considered a Sikh by British Christians and as such was refused a place in a cemetery. His beliefs and his faith in the texts of Sikhism was a common knowledge. Ultimately, his last rites were performed with great difficulties.

As is usually the case of greatness realized after the death of a Great Personality, the Sikh Educational Conference on 18th March, 1913 at Ambala, passed a resolution appreciating the great services rendered by Max Arthur Macauliffe to the cause of Sikh Religion. Bhagat Lakshman Singh had to convince the Conference's President, Diwan Bahadur Leela Ram Singh of Hyderabad (Sind) to pass a resolution to raise a memorial in Macauliffe's honour. This led to the appointment of a committee members with Bhagat Lakshman Singh as Secretary without any opposition of the Amritsar leaders. But when Bhagat Lakshman Singh appealed for funds to raise a suitable memorial in the shape of a library he got only a small sum of Rs. 3245/- which were raised after three months of hard work. Bhagat

53. Gopal Singh, *A History of the Sikhs People (1469-1988)*, World Book Center, New Delhi, 1988, p. 621.

Lakshman Singh gave the money which after accumulation of interest amounted to five thousand rupees, to Khalsa College, Amritsar.⁵⁴ With this money a "Macauliffe Memorial Gold Medal" was instituted to be awarded each year to the best student in Sikh theology and history at the Khalsa College, Amritsar.

The remarks of *The Times*, London, March 1, 1913 are most apt to sum up Macauliffe's work that "Macauliffe had the satisfaction denied to most men, of knowing before his death that he was leaving behind a monument more enduring than Brass".⁵⁵

54. Ganda Singh (ed.), *Bhagat Lakshman Singh Autobiography*, op.cit., pp. 125-126.

55. Anurag Singh, 'Remembering Max Arthur Macauliffe', *Abstracts of Sikh Studies*, Jan-March 2000, Vol. II, Issue 1, p. 87.

Chapter - 3

MACAULIFFE AND THE BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

Macauliffe's came in contact of British administration when he cleared his Indian Civil Service Exams in 1862 A.D. His association with Punjab and its inhabitants started in 1864, when he arrived here. Both these associations remained an integral part of his life. It was very difficult for him to choose one over to other. Rather, his later part of life was spent in maintaining balance between the two. His duties and loyalty as a bureaucrat of British Government and his own personal convictions towards Sikh religion made his personality a complex one.

Macauliffe's deep understanding of Sikh traditions and concern for the people of Punjab made him immortal in the annals of Sikh religion and history but simultaneously it brought him into conflict with his fellow Englishmen in India as well as in England. Macauliffe's interest in Sikhism was generated somewhere between 1776 and 1780, when he visited Amritsar and saw the great Diwali celebration in the highest temporal seat of Sikh Religion, Form Now onwards much of his time was spent in the study of Sikhism. His duties as an administrator and his interest in Sikh religion brought him in touch with different streams of Punjabi society. He had religious discussions with imminent people such as rulers of various states like Patiala, Nabha, Kapurthala, Faridkot, Boroda etc. along with religious

leaders like Baba Sir Khem Singh Bedi, Sodhis as well as intellectuals like Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha, Bhai Jawahir Singh, Professor Gurmukh Singh and many more such personalities. He knew the loyalists of British Government like Sir Attar Singh Bhadaur and British sympathizers of Punjabis like Dr Leitner, Sir Alfred Lyall and many other prominent administrators.

Western interest in Sikhism had been found in the writings of administrators since the times when Britishers started coming in close contacts with Punjabis. N.G. Barrier clarifies that although curiosity in the life style and religion of the new members of the Empire contributed to the new attitude, the major force behind officially sanctioned scheme was politics. Officials felt that they had to know more about Sikhs in order to deal with them properly. Much discussion focused on the scriptures of Sikhs which were guiding force of Sikh military as well as of people in general.¹ This led to the translation project of Sikh Scripture under Ernest Trumpp. But Trumpp's attitude and work was seen as derogatory and full of gross misrepresentation of their religion by the Sikhs. They made number of representations to different Viceroys of India like Lord Dufferin (1884-1888), and to Lord Curzon (1899-1905) to rectify the mistake done by Trumpp and to sponsor another project of translation.

1. N.G. Barrier, 'Trumpp and Macauliffe: Western Students of Sikh History and Religion', in Dr Fauja Singh (ed), *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*, Oriental Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 1978, pp. 166-167

Macauliffe being a part of the government as well as having a keen interest in Sikh religion was considered most apt for the translation project by the Sikhs. In one of his early writings, 'The sikh Religion under Banda and its present condition' one can see pro-British attitude of macauliffe who never failed to praise the benevolence showered upon Punjabis and Indians as a whole by the British rule. He mentions about an incident which took place at Muslim shrine at Uch in the state of Bhawalpur. When the writer visited the place for first time, he was shouted at but when he went again after some years, the attitude of people had changed. They were now more civilized and polite because now the state of Bhawalpur was under an English administrator. He writes :

"The same thing appears to prevail wherever rule extends. The heat of religious intolerance Seems to abate in the temperate atmosphere of our toleration, if not religious indifference."²

By 1859, the British Administration in Punjab had begun to administer the golden Temple through the loyalist Sardars and Mahants. they continued to do so alter 1863.³

Pashaura Singh and N. Gerald Barrier writes that between the passage of Act XX of 1863 and October 1879, ten cases were instituted by or against the government appointed Manager of the

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2. M.A. Macauliffe, 'The sikh Religion under Banda and its present condition', in Darshan Singh (ed), *Western Image of Sikh Religion*, National Book Organization, New Delhi, 1999, p. 282.
 3. Surinder Singh Johar, *The Heritage of Amritsar*, National Book Shop, Delhi, 2008, p. 109.

Golden Temple. The role of Law Courts emphasizes the extent to which British authority in the Punjab was legal rational in form and substance. The position of the minority of British officials, namely that the British should withdraw from a connection with Sikh shrines and leave the management of shrines to the Sikhs, accorded well with the demands of the Sikh reformist groups whose position became more forcibly and clearly enunciated as one century was about to end and another was on the threshold to arrive.

Macauliffe was an administrator and as such knew very clearly the mindset of his Government and its officials. The British were not free agents, but a cog in a complex set of relationships stretching from the village through the Legislative Council. Balancing detached judgments and decision making with responsiveness to changes and feelings among Indians remained the dual and sometimes conflicting task of Government. To fail in either function could mean a breakdown of administration.⁴

It is a known fact that Imperial Civil Service was the second pillar of British through which it continued to be staffed almost entirely by members of the ruling class. In a bureaucracy like the British Indian Governemnt, the civil servants not only carried out the policy but also played an important role in the determination of the

4. N. Gerald Barrier, 'How to Rule India: Two Documents on the I.C.S. and the Politics of Administration', in Ganda Singh (ed.), Vol. V, Part-II, Serial 10, *Punjab Past and Present*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, Oct 1971, p. 277.

policy itself. Administration of the higher level therefore remained the sole responsibility of the ruling class. The unhappy race relations also tended to restrict the appointment of Indians to the higher posts. Imputed with feelings of racial superiority, the British members of the Civil service disliked the idea of having Indians, however qualified as their superiors.⁵

Macauliffe's approach to Sikhism mirrored a neo-Sikh interpretation associated with the Singh Sabha movement in the Punjab. Concern with Sikhism as a separate religion eventually led to the development of scholarship relating to the texts, customs and the nature of orthodoxy.⁶

While writing his article 'Sources on Sikh Studies', N.G. Barrier clarifies that until 1867, neither the India Office Library nor the British Museum had adequate channels for securing Indian Publications. Reliance on individuals and dealers ended, however with the passage of Act XXV of 1867 (registration of Books & Copyright) that required publishers to submit copies of items printed in India. After that date, India Office Library marked quarterly lists of publications prepared by local administrators, and then desired items were forwarded. In 1889, the British Museum also began to secure

5. Hira Lal Singh, 'Problems and Policies of the British in India 1885-1898', *Asia Historical Series*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1963, Number I, p. II

6. Mark Juergensmeyer and N. Gerald Barrier (ed), *Sikh Studies- Comparative Perspectives on a Changing Tradition*, Berkeley Religious Studies Series, Berkeley, California, 1979, Introduction, pp. 4,9.

books through official channel. Libraries often requested Sikh items from the Punjab Government, especially in the areas of religion and politics. Local authorities in turn occasionally submitted books from the Sikh Princely States.⁷

Since the 1840's, Punjabi values and patterns had to be expressed within a colonial structure. The colonial situation imposed certain conditions (missionary preaching and equality of all before law though British were actually more equal than Indians). While the missionaries sought public debate and were argumentative, they continued to identify themselves and their interests with the British Government. British administrators, both civil and religious, tried to establish British political, military, economic and educational dominance in Punjab.⁸

Macauliffe mentions several objectives of his study. Of particular interest is his idea that Sikh studies could throw light on the state of society in the Middle Ages. Sikh studies could be useful also to the student of comparative theology. The administrators could formulate correct policies on the basis of a better understanding of the Sikh. Above all, knowledge of the excellence of their religion throughout the world could be of political advantage to the Sikhs.

7 N.G. Barrier, 'Sources on Sikh Studies' in Mark Juergensmeyer and N. Gerald Barrier (ed), *Sikh Studies- Comparative Perspectives on a Changing Tradition*, Berkeley Religious Studies Series, Berkeley, California, 1979, pp. 129-211.

8 Emmett Davis, *Press And Politics in British Western Punjab 1836-1947*, Academic Publications, Delhi, 1983, pp. 64-66.

Thus, Macauliffe's work could serve practical as well as academic purposes to the advantage of both the rulers and the ruled⁹. To survive and prosper in colonial Punjab, the Punjabis had to be very careful and cautious. The British ruled the Punjabis and interfered in their lives.

What the Punjabis learned to do to protect their individual and group security was to follow British rules, using European technology and social patterns. The political and religious use of the printing press was part of the Punjabi tendency to employ all modern technology, economics, politics and law to implement (within the limits established by the British. In the multi religious atmosphere of Punjab, it could never be anticipated as to which individual would be attracted to Islam, Christianity or any of the other great traditions as a source of religious heritage. Print also influenced religious troubles by reporting in demographic data in a quantitative ways. The British Government collected census data, including the size of the various religious communities. These data were then published and distributed. It then became possible for religious leaders to rejoice or bemoan the growth or shrinkage of their own or other religious communities. All increases in any one community, of course, usually meant a decline in other communities.¹⁰

9 J.S. Grewal, *Contesting Interpretation of the Sikh Tradition*, Manohar Publishers, New Delhi, 1998, p. 52.

10 Emmett Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 76-79.

James Lyall as Governor (1887-92) had recommended that the Hindu monopoly of Government posts should be broken by favouring suitable applicants until the Hindu-Muslim ratio in Government service bore 'some relation' to their numerical proportions among the upper and middle classes of the population. Lyall's recommendation was at first kept secret. It was based more on a sense of fairplay than on Machiavellian divide and rule policy. It does however, reveal how the colonial state provided new sources of economic competition between elite groups. This process fed into and became intensified with the introduction of representative politics.¹¹

As Harjot Oberoi notes, there existed a fundamental historical legacy from the past, emphasizing a separate Sikh identity, that provided a foundation of social and intellectual support. The British Government and its institutions contributed to a homogeneous Sikh religion. The British helped shape how Sikhs and other Punjabis looked at themselves. Censuses, British ideas about administrative categories, and support for the Khalsa tradition as a critical element for Sikh soldiers reinforced the identify of those supporting the Lahore Singh Sabha.

In the late 1870's and early 1880's the Sikh reformers increasingly turned their energies from the Hindu and non-sectarian associations to organizations that dealt primarily with the Sikh

¹¹ Gurharpal Singh and Ian Talbott (eds.), *Punjabi Identity Continuity and Change*, Manohar Publishers, New Delhi, 1996, p. 14.

problems and were composed mostly of the Sikhs. It is a known fact that Europeans like, Dr. Gottlieb William Leitner (1840-1899) and Colonel William Rice Moreland Halroyal (1835-1913) made early and long lasting contributions to the Punjabi education and literary history. Both worked in official positions in Lahore. They worked extensively and sympathically with the Punjabis, encouraging the formation of cultural societies and composition of literary works in Punjabi languages, Gradually but increasingly, the Punjabis were not only included in most successful cultural association as passive partners but they also tended either to replace such Europeans as Leitner as administrators or to form their own parallel associations. The schools and these various voluntary associations provided excellent training in the use of print. While the Punjabis were learning the technical and administrative skills of the printing press, they and the British also become concerned with the content of printed works¹² The more Westernized leaders of the Lahore Singh Sabha and their followers quickly realized the value of devolping new means of communication and education. They set up tract societies, newspapers, schools and eventually Khalsa college, which trained generations of new Sikh intelligentsia not only in specific skills but also with a strong sense of community service and identity¹³ The Khalsa

12 Emmett Davis, *op. cit.* p. 48.

13 Pashaura Singh and N. Gerald Barrier, *The Transmission of Sikh Heritage in the Diaspora*, Manohar Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 1996, p. 196.

college Establishment Committee was set up with Colonel W.R.M. Holroyd, Director of Public instruction, Punjab, as president, and W. Bell, Principal of Government College, Lahore, as secretary. Frederick Pincott, an eminent Orientalist of London, undertook to help the college movement in England. Among the Sikh constituents of this 121-member committee were Sir Attar Singh Bhadaur, Gurdial Singh Mann of Nabha, Diwan Gurmukh Singh of Patiala, Bhai Khan Singh (tutor to the heir apparent of Nabha state), Professor Gurmukh Singh and Bhai Jawahir Singh. The Committee sought especially the support and help of the Sikh princes.¹⁴

On March 5, 1892, the Lieutenant Governor, Sir James Lyall, who had taken personal interest, laid the foundation stone of the Khalse College at Amritsar. An Englishman, Dr. S.C. Oman was appointed its Principal. The Chief Justice of the Punjab High court, W.H. Rattigen, became president of the college establishment committee which was controlled by the vice-president Sir Attar Singh of Bhadaur and the secretary Jawahir Singh Kapur. The Khalsa college became a symbol of relations of Sikhs with their Christian rulers. Activities at this place showed the way wind was blowing in British favour or it was anti-Government. History of this college very aptly describes the journey of Sikh-British relations from being pro-British to ultimately anti-British. In actual, the policy of educating

¹⁴ Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*, Manohar Publisher and Distributors, New Delhi, 1994. p. 221.

the landed aristocracy and training it for leadership was started by the Lieutenant Governor, Sir Charles Aitchison (1882-87) (Aitchison, an essentially religious man was a consistent and warm supporter of Christian Missions. While in India and after his retirement he was an active member of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society).

The Aitchison Chiefs College at Lahore admitted only sons of Princes and rich zamindars. Extension of the same policy produced in the earlier stages, close collaboration between leaders of the Singh Sabha (drawn almost exclusively from the rich and loyal classes of Sikhs) and the English rulers. It was inevitable that an organization such as the Singh Sabha which had such multifarious activities like education and literary should evolve its own politics as well.¹⁵

It was the Tat Khalsa which ultimately got ascendancy over Sanatan Sikhs after three decades of virtual warfare. The Tat Khalsa gained control of the new print culture and used it effectively to promulgate to their ideas and to collect funds. They reinforced their information network with a mixture of specialized preaching teams and a and a regularized system of district and regional meetings or diwans.

Macauliffe was in close touch with these Diwans whether at Amritsar, Lahore, Ferozpur, Rawalpindi and Bhasaur. The leaders of these Diwans had very good relations with British administrator as

15 Khuswant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, Vol. II, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1983, pp. 142-145.

well as with general public. They understood their survival being based on support provided by English government. The time of Macauliffe's stay in Punjab coincided with a very active phase of Sikh history. This period was responsible for the formation of Sikh identity as well as interpretation of Sikh religion as we know today. It was a period of introspection to weed out all the corrupt practices which were seen to be jeopardizing the exclusivity of Sikhism. The intelligentsia among the Sikhs had realized the futility of bringing about change in their circumstances of reforming Sikh society without the active support of British Government. The project of translation of Sikh Scriptures which was undertaken by Government of Punjab had originated with R.N Cust in 1857 when he was in London. It was based on his conviction that Sikhs could be administered in a better and more effective way if British knew the Sikh Scriptures and their ideology with the active participation of British Government in England had clearly demonstrated about the power and resources which could be utilized and channelized to the betterment of Sikh religion and society. But it was mandatory to get the support of British Government in Punjab on their side which could be possible only if loyalty to the British Crown was amply demonstrated. But, the translation undertaken by Ernest Trumpp could not take off in the right perspective. The scholar in Trumpp was overwhelmed by the years of his conditioning as a Christian missionary.

He failed to understand the purpose behind his translation project which was dictated by British Government in Punjab. The motive to promote peace and reconciliation between the Sikhs and the Company after the revolt of 1857 was completely missed by Ernest Trumpp. Rather, his mode of translation work undertaken with contempt for local caretakers of Sikh Bani and its interpreters resulted in his own condemnation. The work *Adi Granth* when came out after publication antagonized all the sections of Sikh society. The Sikhs felt betrayed and this united the Sikhs from different walks of life, irrespective of difference of opinion with regard to Sikh religion and its ethos.

Actually, the Sikh Studies and British administration underwent different phases. Those phases were purely guided by administrative and political requirements of British Government in Punjab. From being mere observers, the British had come to rule Punjab. The need for a proper and legitimate, political hegemony over the State of Punjab made it necessary for them to understand Sikh people as also their source of inspiration for independence. The birth of Sikh religion and the inculcation of ideas of equality and liberty was legendary. The fight for freedom by Sikhs was a historical fact. The spirit of bravery, independence and unquestioned spiritual and temporal powers and unwavering faith in Guru Granth made the Sikh

scriptures the most important element in Sikh way of life. It was impossible for British administrators to remain aloof from Sikh Studies.

Macauliffe knew Sir Attar Singh Bhadaur who as we know was not only a strong loyalist of the British but was also a person who had an active participation in the translation project of Holy scriptures. As we are going to see in subsequent chapters, the project to have the original translation of Adi Granth and Dasam Granth in English for the European scholarship and British administration came to an end by late 1873. The British Government of Punjab cited the names of some educated and elite Sikhs. One of such a Sikh was Attar Singh of Bhadaur. The Punjab Secretary record in its official correspondence on Dec, 9, 1873 that:

‘I am to add that sardar Attar Singh of Bhadaur, who was likewise Consulted, expressed his opinion that the whole Granth does not merit translation.¹⁶

The Vacuum created by Trumpp's dissociation from Dasam Granth and the Rahitnamas was filled by Sir Attar Singh Bhadaur. On July 14, 1874 he sent the abstract of Dasam Granth to England via the Government of India. He was asked to translate the Jap, Akal Ustat, Bachittar Natak, Sakhian and the first section of Zaffarnama

¹⁶ Nazer Singh, *Guru Granth Over to the West*, Commonwealth Publishers, New Delhi, 2005, p. 58.

into Urdu. The Urdu translation of Zaffarnama and the Rahitnama reached Calcutta in Oct 1874. Those were rendered into English by Captain Jarret and sent to England in January 1875¹⁷. Those works were used by Macauliffe to write his early articles which is clear from his footnotes. By 1876, he completed his whole translation work into Urdu which was not much appreciated by either the Government in Punjab or in England. The Government in London was actually, no longer interested in the translation of Sikh scriptures. Being an administrator in Punjab, Macauliffe was aware of all these developments. He wrote his first article, "The Fair At Sakhi Sarwar" in 1876 itself and by 1880-81, he wrote many articles which demonstrated his interest in Sikh religion, its institutions as well as society. This interest was not hidden from Sikh leaders especially from those who were looking at ways to undone the damage caused by the works of Ernest Trumpp. Eminent persons such as Professor Gurmukh Singh had very amicable relations with Macauliffe in this early phase of his interest in Singh Sabha and its activities. Consciously or unconsciously, Macauliffe was impressed by the tenets of Sikhism. The more he affiliated himself to Sikhism the more firmly he started believing in the wrong done by Ernest Trumpp whose work was regarded by Sikhs as a standing insult.¹⁸

17 Nazer Singh, , *Guru Granth Over to the West*, *op. cit.*, p. 60

18 M.A. Macauliffe, 'The Sikh Religion', in Darshan Singh (ed.), *Western Image of the Sikh Religion*, National Book Organization, New Delhi, 1999, p. 328.

Macauliffe was considered most ideal to rectify the mistake done by Government of Punjab in the form of Ernest Trumpp. Being part of Government machinery and being one of the Europeans with loyalties to the British Government and sympathy for Sikh religion, Macauliffe was considered most apt by the Sikhs to present their religion in its right perspective. When Macauliffe started taking active interest in Sikhism he could never visualize that his loyalties and sympathies could be questioned. The relations between British administration and Sikh leaders were most cordial during the last three decades of 19th century. Even when one can see serious differences and clashes taking place over the ideology and traditions of Sikh religion between the so called old or Sanatan Singh Sabhaites and young or radical or Tat Khalsa protagonists. Yet, their mutual differences failed to shatter or even shake their loyalty to the British. The different Sikh leaders were unanimous in one aspect and that was to gain the support of British Government in Punjab towards their own ideology. The assistance of Punjab administration was considered vital for sustenance and survival. In such a scenario, it was difficult rather impossible to predict that the Sikhs and British could stand against each other. Being a bureaucrat, it was impossible for Macauliffe to go against his own government. His correspondence with the British Government both in Punjab and London as well as his personal letters to eminent personalities and friends, clearly demonstrates that till his

last years he was asking for the acceptance of his work by British Government. Macauliffe's enterprise to work for Sikhism was voluntary and he had Sikh individuals, organizations and committees to help and correct him in his translation work. Being confident of his work, he displayed no inhibitions to mobilize more Indians and Europeans to join him in his translation project.

In the words of Dr. Nazer Singh, "Macauliffe was an insider who had lived with the Sikhs and dealt with the empire. He was fully aware about the issues before the contemporary Sikhs. It was his public spirit that had led him to work on the translation and it was he who was to determine its course and goal."¹⁹ Macauliffe knew as to for whom he was writing and why. He wrote again and again since 1892 to the British Government to get their patronage. But he was denied such an indulgence.²⁰ Macauliffe had a mission in the sense that he wanted to establish that Sikhism was different from all other religions especially Hinduism and most importantly he wanted to bridge the gap between the British and the English educated Sikhs so that a positive political relationship between the empire and the Sikh²¹ community could be consolidated.

Till 1892, Macauliffe had done some translation work with the active assistance of Gyanies and Granthis i.e. those who were traditional interpreters of Sikhism. He had close contacts with officials

19 Nazer Singh, *Guru Granth Over to the West*, p. 71.

20 Macauliffe got his magnum opus *The Sikh Religion* published in 1909, yet he tried to get approval of British Government both in England and Punjab till 1910.

21 Nazer Singh, *Guru Granth Over to the West*, p. 72

working at different levels of Government hierarchy as well as social and religious associations. His familiarity with members of *Anjuman-i-Punjab* and Singh Sabhas gets obvious from his various articles which he had started writing since 1880's itself. The success of Khalsa College project which was an active and concrete proof of close collaboration of Sikh leaders and British administrators at all levels assured Macauliffe about the continuing support that he could get. Professor Gurmukh Singh's promise to channelize all their energy as well as financial support by aristocrats and rulers to make British acknowledge his translation project ultimately, made Macauliffe choose translation project over his job of a bureaucrat. During this time, Macauliffe was under great financial constraints as he had suffered huge losses in his economic enterprises. In his present circumstances he felt to loose nothing. Even though his permission to go on leave to complete his translation work was officially rejected, yet he proceeded on his Furlough to Europe. His leave was to end in May, 1893 and in May, 1893 itself he got a letter from Professor Gurmukh Singh to take up translation project of Guru Granth. Ultimately, Macauliffe left his job rather resigned it. Unmindful by the fast changing circumstances which he was to face in future, he got busy in his work. But soon the reality dawned upon him. Between 1893 and December 1897, he worked hard on the translation. He stayed in Amritsar and visited Nabha and other places in relation to his work. As previously discussed, he undertook his translation job very seriously and incurred huge expenses in maintaining and retaining

the services of true Gyanies and Sikh intelligentsia to assist him in his work. Simultaneously, he kept on writing to Chief Secretary, Punjab to seek Punjab Government's patronage for his work. But all his was in vain. Finally, he read his article "Holy writing of the Sikhs" in 1897 before the Aryan Section of Congress of Orientalists in Paris, in which he tried a every conceivable method to gain approval of Europeans and his own Government. He presented his case that how Dr. Trumpp's work which was officially sanctioned by British Government and India Office was "wide off the meaning –so much so, that one regrets the useless labour and the large amount of money spent in vain."²² He further wrote that how Sikhs were unable to force the Government to correct Dr. Trumpp's work and even the official presentation of their religion by Sikhs before Lord Curzon (Governor General 1897-1905) who was considered a great liberal had failed to redress their grievances. Rather, Lord Curzon had asked the memorialist to get the desired accurate translation of their sacred book done on their own.

Macauliffe cited names of such eminent scholars like Max Muller as also scholar-administrators of Punjab Government like Sir Alfred Lyall and Sir Lepel Griffin who were very happy with the specimens of translations which were sent to them by Macauliffe for their advice. All this was done to get the approval of European readership as well as to impress Government of Punjab towards the great work that was undertaken by him.

22 M.A. Macauliffe, 'The Holy Scriptures of the Sikhs', in Darshan Singh (ed.), *Western Image of the Sikh Religion*, p.382.

He wrote in great detail about the problems he faced especially in terms of money. He had spent a lot of money from his personal account. The financial assistance as promised to him by the Sikh aristocracy was not forth coming. One interesting fact comes to light when we read Macauliffe's correspondence and especially his article: "The Holy Writings of the Sikhs" is that Macauliffe was well-versed with the nature of Sikh leaders. He understood their excessive loyalties to the British Government. He knew that they blindfolded accepted all that was given to them or even that which was denied to them. They merely gave lip service but when it came to take concrete actions, they used to back out. Macauliffe had left his prestigious post only on their assurance of help and assistance but the moment British Government started ignoring or rejecting Maccauliffe's demands, the Sikh leaders also started becoming indifferent to him. To quote in his own language, “

"It apparently only now remains for the Indian Government to signify its approval of my labors and I am in hope that such approval will be eventually according in order that the Sikhs may be induced to adhere to their promises to me, and that my work may be published."²³

23 M.A. Macauliffe, 'The Holy Scriptures of the Sikhs', in Darshan Singh (ed.), *Western Image of the Sikh Religion*, p.322.

Macauliffe was very clear about the power wielded by his Government. This realization was because of different reasons especially due to his own nature of job. He was a bureaucrat in Punjab and his being part of complicated Government machinery and the enormous power wielded by administrators like him and his superiors had supplied him with practical experience of having seen the effects and courses of power and prestige. The following lines written by him for the Congress of Orientalists bear ample testimony of his views. He wrote that

"Such is the power of the Indian Government, that, without its sanction or recommendation, even independent chiefs with plenary powers of administration feel it unsafe to undertake anything however praiseworthy in itself, and of this I hold tangible proof in my possession."²⁴

In order to strengthen his case, Macauliffe gave evidences of various translation projects which was actively supported and financed by British Government in different parts of India. He cited the translation of New Testament into different languages as well as religious epics like Mahabharata and Ramayana by European and Indian scholars. The help provided by Secretary of the State, Government of India, various Local Governments including that of Punjab as well as Directors of Public instructions were mentioned so as to get similar assistance for Macauliffe's own work. Yet, his bold

24 M.A. Macauliffe, 'The Holy Scriptures of the Sikhs', *op. cit.*, p.322.

move to publicly air his grievances failed to bring Punjab Government on his side. The Punjab Secretary conveyed the refusal of Punjab Government to patronize him on April 27, 1898. Rather, it was Macauliffe who was blamed for the situation, in which he had landed himself. The Government had no compassion for him and refused any comparison between Trumpp's translation and the one undertaken by Macauliffe. They levelled charges against him that the project of translation was conceived in an incorrect way. The Government justified that Trumpp's translation was undertaken in the interest of science but Macauliffe's motive were religious and political. How could the Government supposed to be neutral in religious matters work for a particular religion or a religion of a particular section ? Indirectly, the Punjab administration saw Macauliffe's moves as a source of controversy centred on Trumpp's translation but directed against the Government as well.²⁵

Macauliffe had the support of Darbar Sahib, Amritsar and the Amritsar Singh Sabha stood by him. In Feb, 1898 an Akhand Path was performed for the success of his work. It resulted in the constitution of a Committee by the Sikhs at the Akal Takhat to see and certify the correctness of the translation. This committee appealed to the Sikh Chiefs and Sardars to help Macauliffe. It praised the significance of the translation and approved it.

25 Nazer Singh, *Guru Granth Over to the West*, p. 80.

In May, 1898, Macauliffe submitted a Memorandum to the Government of India through the Punjab authorities in which he asked for a grant of Rs. 10,000/- to publish his work. But the Punjab Government did not send his memorandum to the higher authorities. During 1899, Curzon visited both Lahore and Amritsar. Both the Amritsar Singh Sabha and Lahore Khalsa Diwan submitted memorials to him to get prepared correct translation of Sikh scriptures in English and to correct the wrong done by Trumpp. Curzon's advice as we know to both these associations was merely a suggestion to get the translation done on their own.

By 1899, Macauliffe was practically in collision with the British administration. He knew that the Amritsar memorial was against the apathy shown by the Punjab Government towards his scheme. The criticism of Trumpp was embarrassing to the British regime while the talk of advantage to the State or of political advantage to the Sikh had politicized the whole issue like anything.²⁶

As far as Sikhs were concerned, while editorials and letters in Sikh Journals did criticize decisions by scattered British officers and persistently asked for more patronage, on the whole the Sikhs tended to consider themselves as one of the major pillars of British rule. N. Gerald Barrier is of the view that the Sikh perception of imperial rule was like that of other Punjabis, except in two aspects. First, those

26 Nazer Singh, *Guru Granth Over to the West*, pp. 81-82.

who claimed to represent the community (both the aristocrats and middle class leading the singh Sabhas) appreciated that Sikhs were permanently a minority and therefore needed either alliances with non-Sikhs to bolster their influence or firm patronage from the British. The former strategy seemed impossible because of Arya militancy and on going attempts to delineate boundaries with Hindus. The Punjab Government offered a more appealing avenue for strengthening Sikhs in education and employment. Moreover, close connection with the army buttressed loyalty. Sikh exploits of bravery such as occurred at Saragarhi in 1898 were celebrated with tracts and memorials. Anniversaries become occasions for public exchanges of best wishes between the Sikhs and the British. It resulted in a persistent record of support for the British combined with pride in military service and distinction to produce an inflated view of sikh importance and a concomitant over-reliance on Imperial goodwill and rewards.²⁷

The Punjabis shared the assumption that the only way to influence the Government and thereby to assure patronage was through accolades of loyalty and constitutional means. They used resolutions, deputations and demonstrations of public opinion as the primary vehicles for influencing Imperial politics. The differences of

27 N. Gerald Barrier, 'Sikh Politics in British Punjab Prior to the Gurdwara Reform Movement', in Joseph T.O. C'onnell (ed.), *Sikh History and Religion in the Twentieth Century*, Manohar Publication, New Delhi, 1900, p. 174

opinion between the two group of Sikh activists over correct doctrine and strategy were apparent right from the outset. Each grouping mobilized supporters and developed communication links with other urban and eventually rural Sikhs. The controversies raged with great heat and destructiveness for two decades. Eventually however, the Lahore program of strengthening the boundaries and self identity of Sikhs became prominent as other Singh Sabhas began to associate actively²⁸ with the "neo-Sikh" or "Tat Khalsa" perspective. Macauliffe had identified himself completely with the Tat Khalsa. The Tat Khalsa elements were eagerly looking towards him and his translation. A Pro-Tat Khalsa newspaper, *The Khalsa* wrote on 8 March, 1899 that with Macauliffe's translation new Sikh leadership of the English educated could emerge. The Sikh ideas would achieve clarity of meaning and the 'Tat (pure) Khalsa will begin to start a new corner. The Singh Sabha movement had come to an end because by 1899 as whole new leadership had emerged. The neo-Sikhs, centred at Amritsar, were religiously radical in the sense that they believed in the separate identity of the Sikhs. Bound together by the ties of commerce, the Tat Khalsa or the neo-Sikhs yet looked towards the Government for their politics. The Curzon regime (1898-1905) was either indifferent to or suspect of the entire new development in Sikh life.²⁹ Under such

28 N. Gerald Barrier, 'Sikh Politics in British Punjab Prior to the Gurdwara Reform Movement', in Joseph T.O. C'onnell (ed.), *Sikh History and Religion in the Twentieth Century*, p. 171.

29 Nazer Singh, *Guru Granth Over to the West*, p. 80.

circumstances, the Punjab did not send Macauliffe's memorandum. Nothing was done about it till early 1902 when the Secretary of State intervened in the matter. In May 1902 the Punjab administration headed by Charles Riwaz suggested that Macauliffe should be given Rs. 5000/- on two conditions. First, he would raise Rs. 25,000 himself through the subscriptions. In this way he could meet his publication expenditure estimated to be Rs. 30,000 in all. Secondly, he would supply ten copies of his published work to the Government for use. In its letter to Viceroy of India Lord Curzon (1897-1905) on 24th Oct, 1902, the Secretary of State wrote to drop the first condition of Macauliffe himself raising Rs. 25,000/- through the subscriptions. The reason given was that such a step taken by Government might encourage the Punjab Chiefs to help the translation scheme because they might take it as a hint that the Government had approved it. Further, the Government of India in April 1903 raised the demand of copies from ten to forty.

From April 1903 till June 1905, there was no word on this issue. According to a recent work, the Government of India made three enquiries in the matter from the Punjab administration between June 1905 and January 1907. In 1905, it was told that Macauliffe had not drawn the money. In Oct, 1906, it was informed by the Punjab Government that Macauliffe was not sure about the publication of his work. He was not clear if the work was to be published in English or

Punjabi. In January, 1907, Macauliffe requested the Punjab Government to forward his memorandum of 25th May 1898 to Government of India that was lying with the former. The Punjab Government outrightly rejected his request.³⁰ The internal functioning of the Indian Government involved a constant balance of formalized constraints with informal means of communication and linkages throughout the bureaucratic system. Laws, rules and traditions established the fixed point within which all administrators had to operate. The British needed to ensure a flow of authority and command downward, and adequate information of feedback upward from subordinates, hence constant concern with precedents about who and what were to be involved in communication, and an increasingly bureaucratized set of notes and correspondence. The printing press reinforced this proliferation of documents. The degree of autonomy within various units of Government (district office, provincial Government and the centre) or departments kept on changing. Rules and regulations could be used to ensure subordinates following a precise order but, conversely the formalities and loopholes within the system could be manipulated in way that the lower officers maintained a degree of flexibility and power. Furthermore, the heads of Government depended upon subordinates for information, which could be withheld or manipulated for local advantage.

30 Nazer Singh, *Guru Granth Over to the West*, op. cit., p. 82.

According to N.G. Barrier, files, reports, notes and minutes formed the framework within which information was disseminated and command exercised. To stop with the formal dimensions of bureaucratic action, however, would mean ignoring the interactions and informal mechanisms that kept the oft-times cumbersome machine going. The built-in conflicts between level of Government and the awkwardness of proceeding along fixed lines came to a head most frequently in crises situations. In attempting to co-ordinate intelligence gathering or banning of particular tracts, for example the Government of India continuously had to contend with rivalries, conflict over spheres of interest, and local power.³¹

The bureaucracy constituted a political system within which individual struggled for control of resources and values. The former included salary, rank and leave privileges. The latter involved setting policies and implementing the ideas of a person or a group. Struggles were common, and while carefully shielded from the outside public, those in authority were aware of the manoeuvres and ramifications. Administration in India turns out to be more decentralized than one would suspect on the basis of official accounts and autobiographies. Personalities and concern with career also played a significant role in

31 Nazer Singh, *Guru Granth Over to the West*, op. cit., p. 201.

the operation of the bureaucracy. Individuals picked their way through the administrative units, hopping from one perch to another, balancing principle with a keen awareness of the value of being on the right side in a given dispute.³²

The British had programmes and doctrinaire notions that came out again and again in discussions and legislation. The British acted upon their perceptions of Indian society, views and understanding that varied with time and region. Officers constantly were constrained by the quality of accurate information available to them. Further, personalities and factions influenced many decisions. The groupings might revolve around adherence to a philosophy, personal or material contacts, or less tangible factors. Finally, pressures at the Imperial level (either from London or the Government of India) influenced decisions and set the parameters within which maneuvering had to take place. Economic constraints, for example, did impinge regularly on deliberations by officials. The British were committed to keeping the bureaucratic system afloat. This meant minimizing or at least channeling internal dissent among administrators and at the same time maintaining law and order with Indian society. Although 'impartiality' and "maintaining order" increasingly came to be viewed by the bureaucracy as the last major justification for a continued British presence.

32 N.G. Barrier, 'The British Raj in India: The Process Politics of Imperial Rule', in Robert I. Crane and N.G. Barrier (ed), *British Imperial Policy in India and Sri Lanka 1858-1912*, p. 201.

Macauliffe had to face similar blocks in his life. His request to Punjab Government was a signal for the renewal of the fight he and his Sikh supporters had been engaged in since 1897. The fight had assumed a new proportion. In early 1907, Tikka Ripudaman Singh of Nabha gave the notice of asking the following question in the Council of the Governor General to be met on 1st March, 1907.

“Will the Government be pleased to make reparation, and if so, of what nature, to the Sikhs for the insults offered to their Gurus, their sacred books, and their religion by a German missionary appointed by the India Office in 1869?”

The question was disallowed on the ground that it was not in public interest. It was thought by the Government that the question was raised on Macauliffe’s behest. It was either drafted or inspired by him. The Government’s decision was conveyed to the Tikka on 27th Feb, 1907. ³³

The Government hardened its attitude toward Macauliffe and his supporters. But Macauliffe kept on sending more requests to the Government along with formal documents claiming personal expenses of over two lakhs. Macauliffe came down hard on the political significance of support. He wrote that:

“I need not dilate on the value of the Sikh soldiers now and ever since the annexation of the Punjab, or own the political danger of

33 Nazer Singh, *Guru Granth Over to the West*, pp. 82-83.

withholding from them the reparation which it cannot be doubted is due for the misrepresentations of their sacred volume in the only official translation that has ever been made."

Neither the Punjab nor the Indian Government appreciated the only slightly veiled threats and the implications in Macauliffe's persistent letters. The former official's character and underlying motives came under close scrutiny. The Punjab Government also shifted its position, arguing that since Macauliffe now planned to publish commentary on the scriptures and history, too an intimate association might be dangerous, they felt.³⁴

On 5th March 1907, Macauliffe made a new memorandum to the Government. It was sent by the Punjab to Government of India on March 6, 1907. Stressing the literary aspect of his work this time with a greater vigour, Macauliffe wrote that, "My work in its present form need not be regarded as a religious one at all, nor is it peculiarly Sikh work." Macauliffe took help of so called religious prophecies in order to get help. He closed his memorandum with a personal religious note. It said that it was Guru Arjan's injunction that Granth should be translated into foreign languages so as to spread its teaching in the whole world and Macauliffe was merely acting according to those instructions.

34 N.G. Barrier, 'Trumpp and Macauliffe: Western Students of Sikh History and Religion', in Dr Fauja Singh (ed), *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*, pp. 181-182.

This time the Government was not so hostile to Macauliffe's move. It considered even to raise the demand from Rs. 10,000 into Rs. 15000.³⁵ This advance was for the payment for copies of the translation. Yet it did not sanctioned anything immediately. As if to delay the matter, Government of India asked the Punjab Government to make an assessment of the Sikh opinion in this regard. It further asked that what guarantee was there if translation would be completed. Some in the Government following the lead of Sir Macworth Young, opposed the grant on the grounds of Government's religious neutrality.

On 6th May, 1908, the Government of India was informed by the Punjab that Macauliffe had given his material for publication to the Clarendon Press, Oxford. He did not need any grant but would welcome a personal honorarium. Its amount might be \$ 500. As to the Sikhs, their educated part, particularly "the Neo-Sikh school of thought", would find the translation useful for itself. In fact, the translation had been made 'from their point of view'. Also, Kahn Singh of Nabha was with Macauliffe to guide the translator and the printers. He was sent by Nabha state on its expense. Moreover, the publication was not the translation of the scriptures as such but a history of the Sikh Gurus and other Saints and about them there can be hardly any controversy, said the Punjab Government.

35 Nazer Singh, *Guru Granth Over to the West*, p. 84.

On March 6, 1908 the matter was again referred to the Secretary of State for India. Finally, Lord Morley, the Secretary of State, ordered the sum reduced to Rs. 5000/-³⁶ On December 23, 1908, Macauliffe told H.S. Stuart that this INTRODUCTION and PREFACE were read by A.C. Lyall. Macauliffe's letter of 26th Feb, 1909 to H.S. Stuart informed that his work would come out in April, 1909. He requested him to send 'assistance' and assured that the help would not be disclosed through the preface.

The Government of India thought of its former commitment and had reoffered Rs. 5000/- but at the same time, the Governor General publicly refused to give official sanction to the publication. Macauliffe reacted violently and rejected the offer out of hand, claiming that the British position indicated disfavor. By 1908, Macauliffe had finished a voluminous manuscript and made arrangements for its publication by Oxford University. In 1909, *The Sikh Religion, Its Guurs, Sacred writings and Authors* consisting of the lives of the Gurus, their followers and contemporaries as well as extensive translations from the Granth was published. The successful completion of a project stretching backward by almost two decades should have evoked happiness, but it did not.

After examining copies of the book, the Government of India had no regrets over its handling of the matter. The publication according

36 Harbans Singh, *The Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, Vol III, Punjabi University, Patiala 1997, p. 2

to official observers, was not scholarly and probably would not affect the Sikhs either positively or negatively. Fifty copies were purchased for distribution in government offices and for the Regimental libraries.

It is a historical fact that the coolness of the British Government towards Macauliffe's work ultimately influenced even many Sikhs. In 1911, the Sikh Educational Conference in Rawalpindi rejected a resolution commending his work. It broke his heart. The people for whom he worked hard had rejected him and the people whom he belonged to i.e. Europeans and Christian had started thinking him to be outside their community. His living was that of a Sikh and even after his death, he was refused burial for having given up religion of his forefathers long ago. According to Bhai Kahn Singh there was great debate among the community he was living with regard to Macauliffe's religion and his rights to burial in the community cemetery. As Macauliffe was considered a Sikh and labelled as "turned Sikh", the urban Christian community put up resistance to permit Macauliffe's body to be buried in the local cemetery as the place was considered to be meant for Christians and not for those who opted out of the faith as did Macauliffe. This happening offered further evidence that Macauliffe's conversion to Sikhism was widely known among the neighbourhood community in England as it was

known to the Sikhs in India.³⁷ He was considered a Sikh in Europe and this is testified by the simple fact that minutes before his death, he was reciting Japuji.

It becomes important to mention that Macauliffe's work could have been accomplished forty years earlier had the Secretary of the State had entrusted the work of translations of Sikh Scriptures to a genuine scholar. It could have utilized the huge amount of money in proper way. Macauliffe had done a great service to the Sikh studies and Sikh Community as a whole and for that he definitely deserved a better dealing with more dignity and respect.

37 Harbans Lal, 'Max Arthur Macauliffe: The Western Gateway to study of Sikhism', in *Studies in Sikhism and Comparative Religion*, Vol. XIV, Number I, Guru Nanak Foundation, New Delhi, Jan-June 1995, p. 53.

Chapter - 4

CONSTRUCTION OF SIKH RELIGION (1805-1909)

It is a known fact that politics and religion can never be separated in Sikh religion. This fact becomes all the more glaring when we start writing about the Sikh religion from European and especially British's point of view. The interest of European scholars and historians was primarily because of unique religion and dress as well as appearance of the Sikhs. Some of those writers could understand the natives of Punjab and others had their own prejudices and narrow views about them. We can afford an appreciation to these writers because they helped in the growth of Sikh Studies by the 19th century.

It was only in last two decades of eighteenth century that we could find something substantial written on and about religion of Sikhs.¹ The first account as mentioned in the previous chapter was grossly wrong in understanding Sikh religion. Polier could not differentiate between Hindu and Sikhs. About the intitation ceremony of Amrit he writes :

"Their (Sikhs) mode of initiating their converts
is by making them drink out of a pan in
which the feet of those present have been

¹ S.J.E.R. Hambye, 'A Contemporary Jesuit Document on Guru Arjan's Dev's Martyrdom', in Harbans Singh and N.G. Barrier (ed.), *Punjab Past and Present : Essays in Honour of Dr. Ganda Singh*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1976, pp. 113-118.

washed.... they also steep in it, particularly for a Musalman, the tusks or bones of a boar and add some blood of that animal to it."²

Polier had read his paper in Feb, 1787 and the same year was written another treatise on Sikhs i.e. *The History of the Origin and Progress of the Sikhs* by Major James Brawne. Polier and Browne differed in their views about Sikh Religion in the sense that Polier does not think very highly of Sikhism but Browne having better knowledge and considers Sikh religion to be form of reformed Hinduism. Browne writes :

"The doctrine on which their sect is founded was introduced by Gooroo Nanak, about two hundred and fifty years go, and appears to bear that kind of relation to the Hindoo religion which the Protestant does to the Romish, retaining all the essential principles, but being abridged of most of its ceremonies, as well as of the subordinate objects of veneration."³

Browne could see that Sikhs derived their political strength from their religion. These both were inseparable in Social life. In Browne's own words :

"They (Sikhs) made the distinction of their sect a political as much as religious principle, rendering the admission into it easy to all,

2 Ganda Singh (ed.), *Early European Accounts of the Sikhs, Indian Studies Past and Present*, Calcutta, (reprint), 1962, p. 63. p. 63.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

and the immediate temporal advantages of protection and independence, as great and as evident as possible; while they at the same time levied contributions upon all their neighbours who refused to come into their fraternity."⁴

Polier and Browne were acquitted with the Sikhs more as a political power than as a religious community, but at the same time they were aware of the fact that it is the results of a gradual process of growth having its beginning in the teaching of Guru Nanak.⁵

Another contemporary of Polier and Browne was George Forster. Forster was very much appreciative of Guru Nanak's undaunted courage "for instituting and establishing a new sect". He could see the difference between Sikhs and Hindu with regard to caste system, worship of images as also their places of worship which in case of Sikhs were plain and divested of every ornament and figure.

Even in Sikh religion, Foster thought Sikhs nation to be composed of two different sects i.e. one belonging to Guru Nanak and other to Guru Gobind Singh on the basis of appearance of Sikh. He writes in the first volume of his travelogue :

"The Sicque nation is composed of two distinct sects, or orders of people, those who compose the most ancient ones are

⁴ Ganda Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁵ Darshan Singh, *Western Perspective on the Sikh Religions*, Sehgal Publishers, New Delhi, 1991, p. 109.

denominated Khualash, and adhere with little deviation, to the institution of Nanak, and the eight succeeding priests; in obedience to which, the Khualasah sect are usually occupied in civil and domestic duties. They cut off their hair of their heads and beards and in their manners and appearance resemble the ordinary classes of the Hindoos. The modern order of the Sicques, intitled Khalsa, was founded by Govind Singh; who, deviating from the ordinances of his predecessors, imparted a strong military spirit to his adherents, whose zealous attachment enabled him to indulge the bent of a fierce and turbulent temper."⁶

From his personal observance, Foster came to praise high spirited Sikh people and how each Sikh prized his independence and spirit of liberty. The Sikhs disclaimed any earthly Master and claimed to be servant only of his Prophet. He mentioned that not only Hindu but Muslims also converted into Sikhism though in less numbers. "The Nation of Seicks may be said to have wholly sprung from Hindu converts, not but many Mussulman have been admitted amongst them, yet they constitute a small portion of the whole people and are immediately distinguished from the Hindu Seicks, as well in the difference of Manner, as in the dissimilarity of features."⁷

⁶ Ganda Singh, (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 76-88.

⁷ Ganda Singh, (ed.), *Early European Accounts of the Sikhs and the History of the origin and Progress of the Sikh*, (rpt.), Today and Tomorrow's Printers and Publishers, New Delhi, 1974, p. 219.

It was Malcolm who wrote in detail about the religion of the Sikhs. He started right from Guru Nanak and continued it upto his contemporary times. He considered Guru Nanak to be a reformer who wanted to conciliate both Hindus and Muslims.⁸ He may be "considered more in the light of a reformer than of a subverted of the Hindu religion."⁹ He wrongly interprets the austerities of Guru Nanak's life with that of Hindus. He deemed religion of Guru Nanak to be the religion of peace.¹⁰ He made great use of prevalent stories about first Guru's life from Janamsakhis.

Malcolm doesn't give much written space to the subsequent eight Gurus except mentioning that it was matter of self defence that brought a change in Guru Hargobind's policy. He gave maximum space to the tenth Guru as also to the revolutionary changes brought by him which completely separated Sikh religion from Hinduism. A great deal of stress has been laid on the use of Hindu Mythology which has been grossly misinterpreted in the context of Sikh religion. He even provided translation of verses of both Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh to stress the impact of Hinduism as also to the sense of piousness attached to the cow.

His writing shows that his contemporary Sikhs gave equal importance to *Adi Granth* and *Dasam Granth* and gives details to what the *Dasam Granth* did contain.¹¹ He accepts his lack of expertise

8 Colonel Malcolm, *Sketch of the Sikhs*, Jones Mayes, Grcville Steet, London, 1812, pp. 144-145.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 144-145.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 159.

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 189-190.

needed to understand the *Adi Granth* which is quite unlike his other European predecessors. Malcolm's work is important in another way also as we get to know about antagonism of Hindu high castes towards Sikh religion which later on tried to engulf Sikhism in its fold. He described about followers of first and the last Sikh Gurus. He talked about Shahid and Nirmalas and writes that "Nirmalas and Shahid, who read the sacred writing, may hereafter introduce some changes in those usages which the Sikhs revere".¹²

Malcolm describes at great lengths about the Akalis, their dress, way of living, and their principles as also to their doctiorial powers in the religious ceremonies at Amritsar which was temporal power of the Sikhs.¹³ He mentions about the importance given to the descendents of Nanak and even mentions his own witness to one incident wherein several principal chiefs requested Lord Lake on his entering in Punjab in 1805 to leave and protect "Nanak Pautra" from any molestation even in most violent wars.¹⁴

The initiation ceremony of Pahul was described by him in details. For the first time we get to know about the Rehat maryada to be followed by a person who had taken Pahul that how relations with divergent seats of power of Dhirmalias, Masands, Ram Rais, destroyers of their own daughters and Bhadani i.e. those who shaved their head and beards was strictly prohibited. This gives credence that

12 Colonel Malcolm, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

13 *Ibid.*, pp. 116-119, 195.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 135.

how strongly Guru Gobind Singh was against any future misinterpretation and misuse of Guruship and the Bani.¹⁵ He also mentioned that there was no acknowledgement of any leader after Guru Gobind's demise. The Khalsa were very dedicated to their religion and throughout their deathly struggle to save their religion they never wavered even for once. They believed in equality and as Malcolm writes in the end :

"It is probable that the spirit of equality, which has been hitherto considered as the vital principle of the Khalsa or common wealth, and which makes all Sikhs so reluctant to own either a temporal or spiritual leader, will tend greatly to preserve their institutions from invasion."¹⁶

This observation of Malcolm as history proved later on in actual happened to be true as Sikh religion not only preserved itself rather has also been able to create an independent identity in face of worst crises till date.

Next, we get to know about the Sikh religion from Captain Murray's and Prinsep's writings though it is not in much detail. From Prinsep we get to know that Maharaja Ranjit Singh believed in Sikh faith and Akalis especially Akali Poohla Singh was respected in society. But he was also restrained where it became necessary by the

15 Colonel Malcolm, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-184.

16 *Ibid.*, pp. 195-196.

Maharaja who found it rather difficult to control these zealots. Rather, their energy was suitably diverted in conquering those areas which proved to be tough for Maharaja Ranjit Singh. From Prinsep's writing we get to know one very important aspect of Sikh religion that it was at this time going under the influence of Hinduism. Though Maharaja was a part of Sikh community yet "he was indeed superstitious in the extreme, readily conceiving fancies in respect to his destiny and fortunes, and never failing to consult astrologers before entering upon any important undertaking". We know that the Guru-Mata was entirely discontinued after 1805 as it was already considered weak.

It was actually writings of Captain W. Murray which throws light on the society and religion of the Sikhs of his times (1830's). Witchcraft and spells and all sorts of superstitions were followed by chiefs of different Sikh states 'Good and bad omens, lucky and unlucky days, and particular hours of the day and night for commencing a journey and returning home, are carefully observed by the Sikhs.'¹⁷

Murray observed that the descendants of Guru Nanak called Nanakputrahs enjoyed certain exemptions and were less subjected to molestation from custom house importunity than others. This sanctity was going to be challenged by the reformers in Sikh religion in future Cunningham wrote :

17 H.T. Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab and Political Life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh with an Account of the Religion, Laws and Customs of the Sikh*, (rpt.), Language Department, Patiala, 1970, p. 152-153.

"Ramanand and Gorakh had preached religious equality, and Chaitan had respected that faith levelled caste. Kabir had denounced images, and Vallabh had taught that effectual devotion was compatible with the ordinary duties of the world. But these good and able men appear to have been so impressed with the nothingness of this life, that they deemed the amelioration of man's social condition to be unworthy of a thought. They perfected forms of dissent rather than planted the germs of nations and their sects remain to this day as they left them. It was observed for Nanak to perceive the true foundations which enabled his successor Gobind to fire the minds of his Countrymen with a new nationality, and to give practical effect to the doctrine that the lowest is equal with the highest, in race as in creed, in political right as in religious hopes."¹⁸

These above said words by Joseph D. Cunningham in his *History of the Sikhs*, tells a lot about the academic excellence of the author who had widely read The Bible, Strauss, Thirlweel, Hallam, Gibbon, Richard and Ranke, Actually, it was Cunningham who gave a detailed historical background of the religion and society of Punjab

18 J.D. Cunningham, *A History Of The Sikhs From The Origin Of The Nation To The Battles Of The Satluj* 1st Published 1849, (rpt.) Low Price Publications, Delhi, 1997, p. 34.

prior to and during the times of Guru Nanak. He wrote that, Guru Nanak disclaimed miraculous powers, asceticism and rather stressed on faith, grace and good works by all.¹⁹

Cunningham traces the growth of Sikh religion as also noticed the "first fertile seeds of dissent"²⁰, after the death of Guru Arjan. He could see the gradual modification of Sikhism from the start to the sixth Guru Hargobind and ultimately to the period of Guru Gobind Singh. He says :

"Nanak disengaged his little society of worshippers from Hindu idolatry and Muhammedan superstition and placed them free on a broad basis of religious and moral purity; Amar Das presented the infant community from declining into a sect of quietists or ascetics; Arjun gave his increasing followers a written rule of conduct and a civil organization, Har Gobind added the use of arms and a military system; and Gobind Singh bestowed upon them a distinct political existence. No further legislation was required, a firm persuasion had been elaborated and a vague feeling had acquired consistence as an active principle."²¹

19 J.D. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 49.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 80.

In Cunningham's own words :

"the last apostle of the Sikhs did not live to see his own ends accomplished, but he effectually roused the dormant energies of a vanquished people, and filled them with a lofty although fitful longing for social freedom and national ascendancy. A living spirit possesses the whole Sikh people and the impress of Gobind has not only elevated and altered the constitution of their minds, but has operated materially and given amplitude to their physical frames. In religious faith and wordly aspirations, Sikhs are wholly different from other Indians, and they are bound together by a community of inward sentiment and of outward object unknown elsewhere."²²

He says that the peaceful or quietists in Sikhism were divided into number of sects and the terms kept on changing their meanings and sometime some terms were entirely stopped. He writes that even in his times, the peaceful Sikhs of the first teacher were still to be everywhere met with in the cities of India, although the war-like Singhs of a Tenth King have become predominant in the Punjab and have scattered themselves as soldiers from Kabul to the South of India.²³

²² J.D. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 75-76.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

Cunningham observes about the current contemporary position of Sikh Religion and its impact. He says that the enthusiasm of Sikhs is still active and a living principle. They are persuaded that God himself is present with them, that he supports them in all their endeavours and that sooner or later he will confound their enemies for his own glory. This feeling of the Sikhs people deserves the attention of the English, both as a civilized nation and as a paramount government.²⁴ Cunningham saw in Sikhism the chief motive force of Sikh history. He himself was a good Christian and time compared Sikhism and Christianity and its part in Europe.

In his Appendix XVII and Appendix XVIII, Cunningham gives details about the *Adi Granth* and *Dasam Granth*. He refers to their contents and holds his contemporary view that *Dasam Granth* contains only some works of Guru Gobind Singh especially *Vichitar Natak* but longer portion is said to have been composed by Guru's four scribes. Also, it is written in the Hindi dialect of Gangetic provinces and in the Punjabi character, excepting the concluding portion which is in Persian language though the alphabets continues to be in Gurmukhi. He also describes *Rahetnama* and *Tankha Nama* of Gobind Singh. He gives a short summary of different sects or orders or denominations in Sikhism as well as a genealogical table of the Sikh Gurus.

24 J.D. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 11-12.

He maintains that it was this realization that there was direct link between religion and politics which was to play a major role in the politics of Punjab especially the Sikhs over the next three decades. All this resulted in the official work of Ernest Trumpp. The decades between 1850's and 1870's saw a great deal of activities in Punjab. The emergence of the Nirankari activities, Kuka Movement, Arya Samaj, Brahmo Samaj, Singh Sabha played in the realm of religion and politics.²⁵ Our understanding of the Punjab's pre-modern history has been greatly influenced by accounts drawn from the colonial era. The picture of the Punjab which emerges from such colonial histories is one of instability violence and a long established tradition of communal animosity. Such a portrayal was not of course 'innocent'. The benefit of Pax Britannica could be contrasted with the chaos which preceded it. Divide and rule strategies could also be assisted by such historical readings with their emphasis on clearly defined and mutually antagonistic communities based on religion.²⁶ Colonial histories were not of course regarded as propaganda but as a part of corpus of scientific knowledge produced by the rational bureaucratic state.²⁷ It was Griffin, the bureaucrat who used census of 1855, 1868, 1881 and 1891 and compared the growth of followers of Sikhism. He said that their number increased or decreased or the inconsistency was according to the privileges enjoyed by the Sikhs as under Khalsa

25 Ian Talbot, *Punjab and The Raj 1849-1947*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1998.

26 Gurharpal Singh and Ian Talbot (eds.), *Punjabi Identity Continuity and Change*, Manohar Publishers, New Delhi, 1996, p. 8.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

Raj of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. There was another factor and that was confusion regarding the Nanaki Sikhs, who do not adopt the surname of the Singh as has done by the followers of the tenth Guru Govind." Griffin used Mr. Denzil Ibbetson's census report of 1881 for certain statistics and deductions therefrom in his book *Ranjit Singh*.²⁸

After the inclusion of the missionary clause in the Company's Charter in 1813, the Empire has been opened to the missionaries. The first regular mission in Punjab was opened in 1834 at Ludhiana by John Lowrie.²⁹ With the abrogation of Sikh rule in 1849, the Mission extended its work to Lahore. Two of its members, C.W. Forman and John Newton, were set apart for this duty and sent to Lahore immediately. English and vernacular scholars as well as welfare institution like hospital and orphanages followed in Amritsar. The headquarters of the Sikh religion became another important seat of Church enterprise. In 1852, T.H. Fitzpatrick & Robert Clark, the first missionaries of the Church of England arrived in Punjab.³⁰ In Punjab at this time, the loss of political power (1849) had its concomitant impact on the Sikh faith and ecclesiastical polity. Sikhism was greatly weakened by the exodus of a large body of people who had adopted the Sikh form during the period of Sikh ascendancy for worldly gains, and whose allegiance to its principles and traditions was tenuous.³¹

28 L.H. Griffin, *Ranjit Singh*, S. Chand and Co., Bombay, Reprint 1967, pp. 23-24.

29 Darshan Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

30 Prof. Harban Singh, 'Origin of the Singh Sabha' in *The Punjab Past and Present*, Vol. VII, Part-I, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, April 1973, p. 26.

31 Sangat Singh, *The Sikhs In History – A Millennium Study*, Uncommon Books, New Delhi, 2001, p. 133.

The British worked out in 1855 that the Sikhs, who constituted 10 million during Ranjit Singh's time, accounted for only 200,000 in a population of 3 million in the Lahore Division of Punjab. According to 1868 census, they numbered 1.14 million for the whole of Punjab including the cis-Satluj princely states, Sikhism, in the words of Census Commissioner, Denzil Ibbetson, was on the decline.³²

The Punjab Administration Report of 1851-52 surmised that of the old Khalsa, the followers of Guru Nanak would hold their ground while those of Guru Gobind Singh style "the Singhs or Lions" would lose it. The conversion into Christianity of the deposed minor Maharaja Daleep Singh in 1853 sent shock waves to an already enfeebled community. The census of 1855 in the Punjab enumerated the Sikhs as a sect of the Hindus. The English right from the annexation of Punjab regarded the Sikhs shrines as fulcrums of power and authority. They used Gurdwaras apart from Sikh aristocracy as channels of communication and individual control of the Sikhs. They continued their Dharmarth (grants) and in some cases virtually controlled their administration. This legitimised the position of managers, leading families and other groups or organisations.

The British followed the precedent of Ranjit Singh, in appointing a incharge for the Golden Temple, Amritsar, to justify their appointing a incharge of the shrine.³³ The Government through Jodh Singh,

32 Sangat Singh, *op.cit.*, p. 133.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 134.

Extra Assistant Commissioner, effectively maintained direct management of the temple.³⁴ The British modified the arrangement in 1859 by drawing up a *dastur-ul-amal* (regulation of administration) which provided them a more informal and covert connection with the Golden Temple administration. It provides for appointment of a Sarbrah or manager who was to be assisted by an advisory committee of nine baptised Sikhs and the sole proprietor of this sacred institution was made Guru Ramdas with nobody else having any title to proprietorship. This right of proprietorship ultimately proved beneficial to the Sikhs as it paved the way for taking over the shrine by the Panth under its direct management.

In 1857, the Sikhs could have aspired to regain power but had no leader. The members of erstwhile ruling power were either dead, imprisoned or deported. Maharaja Dalip Singh was no longer a follower of Sikhism. The rank and file of Sikh army disillusioned by betrayal had no faith left in its aristocracy. On the other hand, the English rulers, who had, atleast outwardly, reposed faith in them and recruited members of this community in the forces, had treated them with respect and caution, permitting them to retain symbols of their religion – beard and turbans and observe practices of the Khalsa.³⁵

34 Sangat Singh, *op.cit.*, p. 134.

35 Shyamala Bhatia, 'Punjab in 1857 : Perceptions of Some Englishmen' in Dr. Navjot Singh (ed.), *Rethinking 1857 And The-Punjab*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, p. 168..

Recruitment to the army was made, keeping in view, the qualities of fine physique and a military background and tradition by the British.³⁶

The Sikh rulers in Cis-Satluj states (as also a large body of Indian rulers including Scindia, Nizam and a host of others) sided with the English and played a significant role in the fall of Delhi which broke the backbone of the revolt. In the post-1857 milieu, the Sikhs were right on the top, and gradually emerged as a major factor in the Indian army. This made the British to renew their interest in an understanding of the new members of Raj. The various research studies sponsored, as well as report of the Christian missionaries, helped to pin-point the distinctive characters of the Khalsa. The Army Regulation's emphasis on baptism for the Sikh soldiers greatly helped to buttress the position of Sikhism.³⁷ Griffin in his book *Ranjit Singh* he writes :

"If the rulers of India be wise they will in every way encourage and stimulate the military spirit of the Sikhs and employ them on active service on every opportunity, whether the campaign to be in Europe, Asia or Africa..... The numbers of home army of England are so small and its organisation so faulty and

36 Gurdarshan Singh Dhillon, 'The Sikhs and the British - 1849-1920', in Jasbir Singh Mann and Kharak Singh (eds.), *Recent Researches in Sikhism*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1992, 1st Edition, p. 187.

37 Sangat Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

inelastic, that India must obviously be prepared to defend herself against attack from without, and for this defence, the fighting population of the Punjab and notably the Sikhs, will be sufficient if reserves are formed in time."³⁸

Griffin is all praise for military spirit of the Sikhs and wants it to be used for the purpose of Britishers.³⁹

The British confidence in the Sikh loyalty is reflected in the fact that special weightage was given to the Sikhs in the Imperial Army and the Punjab Police. The proportion of the Sikhs in the Imperial Army was almost double than what was warranted by their numerical strength. The British Government maintained strict religious discipline in the Sikhs regiments in order to keep the martial favour of the Khalsa alive.⁴⁰

Religion even affected the Government in England. English considered the excessive missionary activities to be largely responsible for the upheaval in India. The Tory party of conservatives as well as its Press began to attack and criticize the policies of Whig party i.e. the liberals. Obviously, the Whig party and its press began a mighty campaign of justifying their past policies. The conservatives (Tory)

38 L.H. Griffin, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-35.

39 He cites the example of 1857 wherein "value of the Sikh to the British Government was shown in the mutiny, when the Rajas of Trans and Cis-Sutlej, Patiala, Nabha, Jind and Kapurthala, on the very first alarm and writing to discover whether the omens were auspicious or hostile, placed themselves at the head of their troops and marched to Delhi to fight against the enemies of the English Government". *Ibid.*, p. 35.

40 H.S. Bhatia and S.R. Bakshi (eds.), *Political Ideology of The Sikhs*, Deep and Deep Publication Pvt., Ltd., New Delhi, 2000, p. 51.

were immediately joined by the Irish nationalist, the Chartists, the Labour Press and the moralists of the British society. It was thought that the people of India had begun to identify the missionaries with the Company's government. The Company's government was so much convinced of the contribution of the missionaries in bringing the unrest and revolt by exciting the religious prejudices of the people of India, that it applied censorship to the native as well as the Anglo-Indian Press.⁴¹

John Lawrence, who was one of the triumvirate which ruled the Punjab after it was annexed to Britain, was a zealous patron of Christian proselytization. He contributed towards the mission fund a sum of Rs. 500 annually out of his own pocket. Other English officers followed his example. It was his ambition to see the conquest of the Sikhs dominions followed by large-scale conversions to Christianity.⁴² An unintended spinoff of missionary activities in Punjab was the determined move by Sikhs, Hindu and Muslims to rediscover and re-emphasize the essentials of their own faiths.⁴³

The last three decades of the nineteenth century, after the heightened feelings of political excitement due to the Kuka rebellion Punjab witnessed a period of sudden political activity, with an

41 Shiv Gajrani, 'Writing on 1857 : Dominance of Imperialist approach', in Dr. Navtej Singh (ed.), *Rethinking 1857 And The Punjab*, *op. cit.*, 20008, p. 181.

42 Harbans Singh, *Heritage of Sikhs*, Manohar Publications, New Delhi, p. 229.

43 Shiv Gajrani, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-182.

atmosphere of calm and comparative peace. The tone and temper of Sikh politics, at all time of its history, has been marked for its self-assertion although the degree of self-assertion has varied from time to time. The Sikhs at this time, like the members of the other communities, felt that they must first set their house in order before they could become capable of political struggle. They refrained from entering into political controversies and deliberately avoided participation in any agitation which might embitter their relations with the rulers. The example of the Kukas before them was to be ignored. Rather they realized that they should avoid politics and on no account should loose the good will of the government which was need of the hour for their socio-religious reforms. Advent of Christian missionaries and spread of Western education and science had posed a serious challenge to age-old Indian customs, belief and traditions. It was this reason that prompted the reformers of the mid-nineteenth century to devote their foremost attention to socio-religious reforms. The British Government was also keen to befriend the Sikhs in order to wean them away from the influence of refractory Kuka elements. It refrained from adopting any such policy as would antagonize the Sikhs, arouse their military instinct and thus remind them of their lost glory. The British authorities were anxious to win the loyalty of Sikhs.

So, we can see a cordial trend in the Anglo-Sikh relations after the Revolt of 1857. The British Government was grateful to the Sikhs for the valuable help rendered by the Sikh chiefs and Sardars during the crucial days of the Revolt. As a matter of policy for the future, the British started patronising the Sikhs, particularly in the Armed forces. They were keen to divert the attention of Sikh people from politics to religious and social reform.⁴⁴

Infact, in the post-uprising years, the circumstances were much less favourable for any anti-British movement. The British could muster the entire local leadership against the Kukas and the Maharaja's associates. The Lambardars, Zaildars, Jagirdars and the leading ruler of native states, who were largely Sikhs, were the supporters of the British Government. They believed that they could prosper under the British patronage.⁴⁵ Patronage for perceived "natural leaders" of the Punjab, those identified and cultivated as supporters of the colonial government, played a vital role in early decisions about who would fill the new positions and places of powers.⁴⁶

The emergence of the Sikh gentry was not accidental but a result of the British, policies and programme pursued in the post-'mutiny' period. The official hierarchy began to take administrative

44 H.S. Bhatia and S.R. Bakshi, *op.cit.*, pp. 40-43.

45 Joginder Singh. *The Sikh Resurgence*, National Book Organization, New Delhi, p. 10.

46 N. Gerald Barrier, 'Sikh Politics in British Punjab Prior to the Gurdwara Reform Movement' in Joseph T.O. C'onnell (ed.), *Sikh History in the Twentieth Century*, Manohar Publication, New Delhi, 1990, p. 162.

measures with a view to consolidate the Raj. One of the resolutions of the government after the 'mutiny' of 1857 was to revive the feudal order. Conciliating and rewarding the princes and landed classes, the attempt was now made to integrate them with the official order.

At the Darbar held by Governor-General he made known the intentions of his government to invest outstanding chiefs and jagirdars with the 'judicial, revenue and police jurisdiction and further to 'consolidate their jagirs'. Accordingly in 1860, for the first time selected chiefs and jagirdars were made Honorary Magistrates.⁴⁷

To avoid the impression of direct interference with indigenous customs, the British administrators encouraged the Punjabis themselves to undertake reform. The most important association for this purpose, the *Anjuman-i-Punjab* was founded in 1865. It had a great impact on Sikh society. It proved to be the training ground for the leader like Khem Singh Bedi, Attar Singh Bhadaur, and Professor Gurmukh Singh. The Punjabis founded their own associations, following the example of the Brahmo Samaj in which Dyal Singh Majithia played a very prominent role.⁴⁸

Under the patronage of Donald Mcleod, the Punjab Lieutenant Governor the Anjuman-i-Punjab got the active support of officials like Atchison and L. Griffin, Pandit Manphool and Harsukh Rai. This

47 Joginder Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

48 J.S. Grewal, *Historical Perspective on Sikh Identity*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1997, p. 37.

official recognition gave the Anjuman a considerable significance in the eyes of Punjab chiefs who donated lavishly for its University Scheme.⁴⁹

Leitner's *Anjuman-i-Punjab* become the informal Manager of the educational complex consisting of Oriental College, the Punjab University College and the Government College, Lahore. All these three institutions had a common complex in the Government College Lahore headed by G.W. Leitner.

Although British administration in the Punjab never was monolithic and encompassed a variety of viewpoints and policies, several key assumptions influences how the government functioned. These grew in part from the real or perceived dangers resulting from the 'warlike' traits of the local population and the border situation, and also reflected how the early administrators saw themselves and the people they ruled.⁵⁰ While British rule reinforced the communal tendencies spreading quickly after the 1870's, religious identity and patterns were already important elements in Punjab political culture prior to colonial conquest. Despite mixing of social and religious traditions locally, Muslims and Hindu (along with Sikhs) had maintained boundaries separating them from others and reinforcing sectarian identification. Each had religious cities and shrines, along

49 *Punjab Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, Part-I, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, April 1992, p. 36.

50 N. Gerald Barrier, 'Sikh Politics in British Punjab Prior to the Gurdwara Reform Movement' in Joseph T.O. C'onnell (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 161,

with festivals, traditions of worship, educational institutions and patterns of pilgrimage. The demarcation between Hindu and Sikhs was not clear.⁵¹

There were many streams flowing in and out of Sikhism. Some were to be channelized properly and others were to be closed so that the development of Sikhism could be given a concrete shape. The problem was that whom to accept and what to reject. It is at this crucial juncture that Singh Sabha Movement came. Most of the men who met in Amritsar and Lahore to form the first Sabhas in 1873 and 1879 came from the Sikh elite who had "buttressed traditional status with British preferment". They were reacting to a perceived attack on their inherited traditions, and these traditions were to be defended in whatever ways might seem appropriate. The traditions were derived from their pre-British past, reflecting the earlier acceptance of a dominant Khalsa. The chosen method of defence involved educational influence and use of available technology, and this pattern became increasingly evident as the movement progressed.⁵² A striking characteristic of newly educated Punjabi's was their tendency to identify with a religious community rather than with the Western

51 N. Gerald Barrier, 'Sikh Politics in British Punjab Prior to the Gurdwara Reform Movement' in Joseph T.O. C'onnell (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 161.

52 J.S. Grewal, *Historical Perspective on Sikh Identity*, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

educated class as a whole.⁵³ Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims responded to a number of diverse pressures after annexation by organizing and joining communal associations.⁵⁴

Feeling the necessity of better knowing the Sikh tradition so that it could be able to handle the community rightly, the Government had hired the services of Ernest Trumpp to make available the Sikhs scriptures in English. In Trumpp's opinion the Sikhs were hopelessly ignorant of their tradition. He proposed a remedy to overcome this by saying that Punjabi in the Gurmukhi should be developed 'as the national language of Punjab'. It was Leitner who introduced Panjabi at the Oriental College in 1877-78.⁵⁵ It was also a class where Guru Granth Sahib was taught. It was done inspite of the opposition by the education authorities. However, this opposition soon got neutralized. Interestingly, the man who performed this task was Griffin.

British administration had an interest in Sikhs Studies purely from the view point of getting some kind of help in furthering their own rule and also in justifying their policies. No study of the Sikhs

53 Ikram Ali Malik, *History of the Punjab 1799-47*, Neeraj Publishing House, Delhi, Rpt., 1983, p. 246.

54 Hindus frequently affiliated with the Arya Samaj, a revivalist movement stressing social reform and education, Muslims formed societies or Anjumans which sponsored cultural activities and social improvement projects, and Sikhs belonged to Singh Sabhas which denounced apostasy and championed Punjabi as an administrative language. The development of Punjabi had acquired some urgency for the British administration in the wake of the rise of Namdhari movement among the Sikhs of Punjab in the 1860s.

55 Nazer Singh, "Note on the Anjuman-i-Punjab, Aligari Movement, Brhamo Samaj, Indian Association, Arya Samaj andSingh Sabha in the context of colonial Education in the Punjab 1865-1885, in *The Punjab Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, Part I, April 1992, Serial No. 51, p. 39.

ever wavered from its central axis i.e. the Sikh scripture *Guru Granth Sahib* as it came to occupy the most important and crucial element in giving legitimacy to the ruler. This was very obvious during the rule of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1799-1839) and Britishers were quite wise to know this at a very early stage. The Sikhs got their ideological strength from their religion especially *Guru Granth Sahib* and it was this ideological independence which was to be used actually as a diplomatic device to isolate the Sikhs.⁵⁶

The revolt of 1857 actually gave birth to the idea of translation of Sikh Scripture under Robert Needham Cust an important Punjab administrator and an equally important Evangelical/Christian who strongly advocated John Lawrance's "Christian policy". After coming from England he consulted D.F. Mcleod, an another Evangelist Punjab administrator in this connection.⁵⁷ The Court of Directors approved the translation project in August 1857. Cust was aware of the significance of translation as a mode of recreating a tradition as was clear to him from the translation of Bible. By 1859 as Commissioner of Amritsar he reported to his government that Sikhism had no future. By denying a future to Sikh religion, he raised the question of fulfillment of Guru Nanak's mission through British rule and Christianity.⁵⁸

56. Nazer Singh, *Delhi and Punjab Essays in History and Historiography*, Sehgal Book Distributors, New Delhi, 1995, p. 3.

57. Nazer Singh, *Guru Granth Over to the West*, Commonwealth Publishers, New Delhi, 2005, p. 34.

58. Nazer Singh, *Op. cit*, p. 36.

As Nazer Singh very rightly points out that translation was to avoid any debate or controversy over theological issues. It was to arm the scholar-reformer with the first hand information of the translated Gurbani. It was very clear that only Western scholarship should be associated with this task. It all aimed at showing the Sikh people about their deviation from their scriptures.

But, this project of translation was not taken up till May 1869 when the Punjab administration inquired about it from the authorities in London. In case it was not possible to get it done in England, it was suggested that it could be done in Punjab itself. At this the Home government in London appointed Ernest Trumpp to do the translation work in four years from 1869 onwards. Out of these three years were to be spent in Europe and the rest one year was given to complete the work in Punjab and that also if it was necessary. Already, the *Adi Granth in Kartarpuri Bir* and the *Dasam Granth* had been sent to England.

The urgency in 1869 was shown because of the rising of Namdhari Guru Baba Ram Singh. The famous historian Ganda Singh writes that the British administration in Punjab had thorough police reports on the activities of Kukas and especially about the scriptural knowledge of *Adi Granth* in the *Damdama Bir*. Already the *Damdama Bir* of the *Adi Granth* was given eminence over *Kartarpuri Bir* of *Adi Granth*. In the year 1859-60 at Lahore we can see that on one hand D.F. Mcleod accepted, the *Kartarpuri Bir* and on the other hand

Munshi Harsukh Rai, a printer patronized by British had lithographed Damdama Bir at Kohinoor Press as the authentic Holy Granth. In 1868, Damdama Bir was printed at Matbai Aftab Press⁵⁹ by its proprietor Diwan Buta Singh who was a great Kuka and a political suspect in the eyes of British Government.

Thus, by 1870's Adi Granth had entered the Punjab public and political life. The political situation of 1857 along with the religious movements i.e. Namdhari and Nirankari made the British Government to get more information of Sikh religion. The British Administration in the form of D.F. Mcleod and L.H. Griffin both Punjab officials and active members of Anjuman-i-Punjab took help of G.W. Leitner (president of Anjuman-i-Punjab and founder of Punjab University College at Lahore in 1869 A.D.), John Newton (a great Christian informer for the police and member of Ludhiana Mission), Ernest Trumpp, Shardha Ram Philouri (writer of *Sikhian De Raj De Vithia* and a follower of Macleod) and Sardar Attar Singh. All of these men were active at Lahore to popularize western education to enhance the legitimacy of British rule and to create new history works.⁶⁰ The Sikh nobility and aristocracy along with Mahants, priests at Amritsar, fully supported this endeavour at the start but slowly Ernest Trumpp was able to alienate most of them because of his haughty attitude. Trumpp considered the Granth as having :

59. Harjot Oberoi, *The Construction of Religious Boundaries : Culture, Identity and Diversity in the Sikh Tradition*, Oxford Press, Delhi, 1997, p. 275.

60. Nazer Singh, *Guru Granth Over to the West*, Commonwealth Publishers, New Delhi, 2005, p.16.

"no knowledge either of the old grammatical forms or of the obsolete words: they had not even a clear insight into the real doctrines of the Granth."⁶¹

He considered Sikhs to have lost all their learning.⁶² In the preface itself he wrote *The Sikh Granth is a very big volume... but incoherent and shallow in the extreme.*⁶³

Ernest Trumpp used different sources for his translation. He got an old manuscript from India Office Library which was signed by Guru Arjun himself. This was presented by H.T. Colebrooke who himself was unaware of this first Janamsakhi from which later versions with lot of interpolation took place.⁶⁴ The first he marked as Janamsakhi A and the later one as Janamsakhi B. Janamsakhi B is the translation of the Janamsakhi prevalent in the Punjab at that time and published at Lahore in 1871 and also preserved in the India office library.⁶⁵ The greatest contribution of Trumpp was that he gave us a method in reading old i.e. puratan janamsakhi/Wilayat Vali Janamsakhi and new janamsakhis on the basis of language, names etc.

61. Ernest Trumpp, *The Adi Granth or the Holy Scriptures of the Sikhs*, WMH Allen and Co., Munich, 1877, preface, p. vi.

62. *Ibid.*, p. vi.

63. *Ibid.*, p. vii.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

65. Darshan Singh, *Survey of the Western Writings of the Sikh Religion*, Sehgal Publishers, New Delhi, 1991, p. 31.

While doing his work, Trumpp gives us a clear picture of history of Sikh religion in the making especially during 1870's. Trumpp being a German and his rigorous training as a linguist and above all as a missionary⁶⁶ is very well versed with the effect of philosophy and religion in the social life. Very clearly he hints at the negligible importance of sacredness of cow in the Sikh religion.⁶⁷ This is in direct context of Namdharis of Rawalpindi where cow killing had become a major issue especially in the relations of Sikhs and Hindu versus Muslims. Very subtlety he is clarifying this notion for his government. We know that Trumpp used publications printed at Medical Hall Press in Benaras in 1873 and at Indian Public Opinion Press at Lahore in 1876. The cow incidents had taken place in 1871 A.D. With contours of the religion still not clear and the fundamentals still being debated, Trumpp knew that Sikhism was a house divided against itself.⁶⁸

Trumpp consulted various works in his translation project such as Muhsin Fani's *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, Malcolm's *Sketch of the Sikhs* (1809). M.Gregor's *History of the Sikhs*, 2 Volume (1846), Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs* (1849), Shardha Ram Philouris *Sikhan De Raj Di Vithiya, Siyar-ul-Mutaakhirin, Rahetnamas of Prahlad* and Bhai Nand Lal. *Sikh Reports* as translated by Sardar Attar Singh

66. Ganda Singh (ed.), *Punjab Past and Present*, Vol. XVI, Part-II, Department of Punjab Historical Studies, Punjabi University, Patiala, Oct. 1982, p. 266.

67. Ernest Trumpp, *The Adi Granth or the Holy Scriptures of the Sikhs*, *op.cit.*, p. 139.

68. Sangat Singh, *The Sikhs in History*, Uncommon Books, New Delhi, 4th Edition, 2001, p. 136.

Bhadour (1873 and 1876)⁶⁹. He took help of Atma Singh, a Nirmala Sadhu of the Amritsar establishment.⁷⁰ He was also assisted by Hindu Munshis and got occasional advice from members of Anjuman-i-Punjab.⁷¹

Trumpp did not bother to study the more reliable works of Bhai Gurdas, Bhai Mani Singh in order to understand Sikh Scriptures. Obsessed with the notions of highly materialistic speculative philosophies of his age, he vainly endeavours to find a speculative and scientific philosophy in the composition of the Sikh Gurus and as such the Granth appears to him "most shallow".⁷² Everywhere he uses derogatory terms for the Gurus and Sikh theology as such. He writes Gurus to be not learned men⁷³ to love money⁷⁴ and many other things which ultimately provoked the Sikh revivalists. It further added fuel to the already strained relations of Singh Sabhas and Arya Samajis on the publication of Trumpp's work *Adi Granth* in 1877 A.D. This affected the so called pillars of British administration i.e. Sikh intelligent, landed gentry, aristocracy and pujaris, mahants and Sikh priests. Opening up of theology of Sikhism and its interpretations were also not liked by British administrators especially Cust and Mcleod.

69. Ernest Trumpp, *The Adi Granth or the Holy Scriptures of the Sikhs*, *op.cit.*, pp. xciv-xxxv

70. Ernest Trumpp's 'Sketch of the Religion of the Sikhs', in Darshan Singh (ed.), *Western Image of Sikh Religion*, National Book Organization, New Delhi, 1999, p. 154.

71. N.G. Barriers, 'Trumpp and Macauliffe: Western Students of Sikh History and Religion', in Fauja Singh (ed.), *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*, Oriental Publications and Distributors, New Delhi, 1978, pp. 169-170.

72. A.C. Arora, 'Ernest Trump' in Dr. Fauja Singh (ed.), *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*, Oriental Publications and Distributors, New Delhi, 1978, p. 162.

73. Ernest Trumpp, *The Adi Granth or the Holy Scriptures of the Sikhs*, *op.cit.*, p. xxxviii.

74. *Ibid.*, p. xxxiv.

They had wanted merely translation of the Sikh scriptures which they could use in making their own interpretations so that they could derive political and military benefits out of it. The administrators used this work to erode the credibility of Kukas by differentiating the two Granths i.e. Adi Granth and Dasam Granth. This project also made Cunningham important as he was the first one to emphasize the importance of both the Granths in Sikhism. Trumpp completely ignored Dasam Granth and also denied originality to the Sikh theology.⁷⁵

Thus, the first translation of Guru Granth Sahib which was done by a Ernest Trumpp at the expense and under the auspices of the Old India office gave mortal offence to the Sikhs. His work was considered unidiomatic and the Sikh leaders especially those affiliated to Singh Sabhas of Amritsar and Lahore wanted someone from administrative background to correct the wrong done by the government of Punjab as well as by London government. In such circumstances, Macauliffe being an administrator and having genuine interest in Sikhism was considered the ideal choice. Macauliffe wrote many articles regarding Sikhism and finally he published his work of translation of Guru Granth Sahib in 1909. As the work of translation neared completion, Macauliffe faced the question of how to present it to the English-speaking world. To print the translation of the Guru Granth Sahib in its original order would make it difficult to

75. Nazer Singh, *Guru Granth Over to the West*, op. cit, p. 38.

understand for those who were unfamiliar with its historical setting. Also, some of Macauliffe's older, orthodox Sikh friends feared that the scripture would not be shown the reverence due to it when placed in the hands of those unfamiliar to Sikh piety.

Macauliffe found a happy alternative that dealt with both these problems in the final form of the Sikh Religion. He interspersed the history of the Gurus with passages from the Scripture. The unfolding of life of the Gurus and the Sikh community became the context for understanding the scriptures. His Vol. I deals with Guru Nanak and the originating events of the Sikh religion. Vol II deals with Guru Angad, Guru Amar Das and Guru Ram Das. Vol III is given over to Guru Arjan, while Vol IV tells of Guru Hargobind, Guru Har Rai, Guru Har Krishan and Guru Teg Bahadur. Vol V is devoted to Guru Gobind Singh. Vol VI departs from his chronological order to present the earlier Bhagats whose hymns help make up the Guru Granth Sahib. Macauliffe undertook his work with the realization that Sikhism was virtually an unknown religion.⁷⁶ In his preface to *The Sikh Religion* he wrote,

"I bring from the East what is heretically an unknown religion. The Sikhs are distinguished throughout the world as great military people, but there is little known even to professional scholars regarding their religion."

76. Harbans Singh, *The Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, Vol. III, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1996, p. 4

Macauliffe's view regarding Sikh tenets evolved with time. In his earlier essays he considered Guru Nanak to be a reformer. He kept Guru Nanak and Bhagat Kabir on the same pedestal. He used western thoughts and names of European philosophers in order to clarify complex issues. The religion of Guru Nanak according to him was heavily influenced by Bhakti movement as also by Buddhism. According to him Nanak did not demarcate with any distinctness the borderland between pantheism and theism. Rather, he was deeply sensible of the extravagances of some of the religious orders of his time and encouraged the secularization of religion. He taught that a man who married, attended to his secular avocations, and neglected not at the same time the duties of this religion, was as surely pursuing the noble path as the 'cenobite and anchorite'.

In his first article, 'The Diwali at Amritsar', Macauliffe mentions one of the age old controversy in Sikh religion regarding the meat eating taste. He sided with meat eating sections and wrote, "while wine and intoxicating drugs were, according to the practice of most Oriental religions, forbidden by Nanak, he compromised with the custom of the Jats of his country regarding the use of meat".

Macauliffe made liberal use of stories whether myth or reality while narrating the growth of Sikh religion under different Gurus. Historically, he mentions various dates like foundation of the sacred reservoir in 1576 as well as the details regarding Harimandir Sahib

while writing his article, "The Rise of Amritsar and the Alteration of the Sikh Religion." As the title suggests, it deals with formation of city and its progress under different Gurus especially Guru Ram Das, Guru Arjan and Guru Hargobind as also changes brought in it. The "meekness and passive submission of the religion of Nanak were changed under Har Gobind into independence and heroic activity. The establishment of Gurumata or council of the Sikhs was done to give strength, consistency and harmony to his political deliberations. He traced the lineage of Guru Har Rai, Guru Harkrishan and Guru Teg Bahadur especially latter travels. The maximum space was devoted to tenth Guru Gobind Singh who gave a separate identity to Sikhism. The ceremony of initiation to the Sikh faith was changed into Amrit taking and all caste distinction were abolished. Initially, Macauliffe considered that Sikhism was heavily influenced by Islam.⁷⁷

In its article, "The Sikh Religion under Banda and its present Condition" the history of Sikhism is traced since the time when Banda Bahadur met Guru Gobind Singh. Banda's battles at Bagarwanda, Kaithal, Scharkanda, Kartarpur, Samana, Sadaura, Banur, Ropar and his biggest battle at Sarhind along with its events and effects is discussed in detail. His views about Banda's character presents a clear picture of what Sikhs thought of him during 18th and 19th

77. M.A. Macauliffe, 'Rise of Amritsar And the Alteration of Sikh Religion, in Darshan Singh (ed), *Western Image of Sikh Religion National Book Organization*, New Delhi, 1999, pp. 259-261.

century. Banda's portrayal in negativity has continued till contemporary times. He avoided writing in great detail about Sikh wars or Sikh struggle for political supremacy after the death of 'Gobind and Banda'.⁷⁸

He notices the difference between Sikhs of Guru Nanak and Singhs of Guru Gobind. The further division of Singhs in three classes i.e., Akalis, Nihangs and Nirmalas is mentioned, in great detail. Even in 1881, Macauliffe is conscious of the marriage of Akalis in the Anand Karaj style. It is in this article that Macauliffe uses the term "boa constrictor" for Hinduism which by embracing Sikhism of Guru Nanak was ultimately going to assimilate and destroy it.

The articles, "The Holy writings of the Sikhs" and "The Sikh Religion and its Advantages to the State" were read before the Aryan Section of Congress of Orientalists in Paris in 1897 and at the United Service Club at Simla in 1903 respectively. It traces journey of Sikh religion along with Macauliffe's own journey as translator of Sikh Scriptures. Another article "How the Sikhs Became a Militant people" was published in Paris in 1905 and traces the circumstances which made it a religion of warriors. Here he presented the Tat Khalsa concept of a heroic determination. The account found in this article is also more descriptive than analytical. According to Macauliffe military characteristics of the Sikhs were inseparable part of the teachings of

78. M.A. Macauliffe, "The Sikh Religion under Banda and its present condition, in Darshan Singh (ed), *Western Image of Sikh Religion National Book Organization*, New Delhi, 1999, p. 276.

the Sikh Gurus. 'Guru Gobind Singhs' organization of the community on military lines were in no way deviation from the precepts and teachings of Guru Nanak'.⁷⁹ He writes Guru Angad, the second Guru of the Sikhs, was the very essence of humility and obedience. Notwithstanding this, however, he inculcated and upheld military devotion and self sacrifice.⁸⁰ He further quotes:

"One of Guru Arjun's last injunctions to his son, Guru Har Gobind, was to sit fully armed on his throne and maintain an army to the best of his ability."⁸¹

Even Guru Gobind Singh injected his Sikhs to bear arms and live according to their means. The evolution of the Sikh community was a process of a natural growth of the teachings and the institutions established by Guru Nanak the founder of Sikhism. All the elements of the tradition existed in the vision of Guru Nanak but they become manifest only when there were reasons for it in the history. Macauliffe takes great pain to trace the course of Sikh persecutions by the Muslims and the gradual turning from unsuccessful efforts at peaceful negotiation to the power of the sword.

Without engaging in the difficult theological subtleties to which criticism is inevitably led, Macauliffe gave us a sympathetic presentation of the many aspects of Sikh belief in God and Nirvana

79. Darshan Singh, *Western Perspective on the Sikh Religion*, Sehgal Publishers service, New Delhi, 1991, p. 114

80. Macauliffe, 'How the Sikhs become Militant people,' in Darshan Singh (ed), *Western Image of Sikh Religion National Book Organization*, New Delhi, 1999, p. 358.

81. *Ibid*, p. 360

and impressed upon us the faith which these teachings have inspired over the centuries. He brought to the foreground the Sikh emphasis upon spirit, whether in cosmogony or in the moral life to be lived in this world. He clarified the concept of Guru and the anti-formalistic thrust of Sikh ethics. Having traced the change and continuity in the succession of Gurus, he drew attention to the fact that Sikhism's original founder, Guru Nanak, was not himself a mere successor but the recipient of what is called in the west a "divine revelation".⁸²

Macauliffe adopted a particular pattern of organisation and style when presenting the lives and teachings of the Gurus. First and foremost was the goal of telling a good story with as much drama and flurry as possible. Popular tales about each Guru were pieced together in clear fashion, interspersed with prayers and scripture from the Granth. Identification of material and the location of specific quotations often were not given. Except for very sporadic breaks in the narrative, Macauliffe preferred to let the Gurus speak for themselves⁸³

Macauliffe's attitude towards his sources is quite interesting. He was not uncritical but he tended to select evidence in support of what he regarded as the orthodox position. The Khalsa had no regard

82. Stephen Dunning, 'The Sikh Religion: An Examination of some of the Western Studies,' in Sardar Singh Bhatia and Anand Spencer (ed), *The Sikh Tradition: A Continuing Reality*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1999, p. 260

83. N.G. Barrier, 'Trumpp and Macauliffe : Western Students of Sikh history and Religion', in Fauja Singh (ed), *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs*, Oriental Publishers and Distribution, New Delhi, 1978, p. 183.

for pirs and miracle - workers, whether Hindu or Musalman. Actually, this view was held by Tat Khalsa scholars. Macauliffe argues that Bhagauti in the writings of Guru Gobind Singh meant the sword and not the Goddess. The sword was further equated with God because the sword, like God, subdued enemies. Guru Gobind Singh used Sanskrit literature for translation in order to inspire bravery and valour. Macauliffe accepts Bhai Ditt Singh's view that these translations could at the same time demonstrate that Hindu sacred writings were inferior to the compositions of the Gurus.⁸⁴

Macauliffe relates the incident in which Guru Gobind Singh 'departed bodily to heaven'. Probably the contemporary Sikhs had no objection to this idea. He includes post-eventum prophecies in his narrative without showing any skepticism. The Sikhs believed in those prophecies and it suited his purposes as well. In order to highlight the importance of his own works he cites the example of Singh Sabha of Amritsar which had addressed Macauliffe thus:

"As the holy Guru Teg Bahadur foretold that men would come from beyond seas to assist the Sikhs, so Macauliffe have been rendering Sikhs mental and bodily assistance."⁸⁵

Macauliffe's references to the *Adi Granth* appear to reflect the orthodox Sikh position. Guru Gobind Singh dictated the Granth Sahib to Bhai Mani Singh at Talwandi Sabo, adding for the first time

84. J.S. Grewal, *Contesting Interpretation of Sikh Traditions*, Manohar Publishers, New Delhi, 1998, p. 50.

85. M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, S. Chand and Co., New Delhi, 1963, Preface, p. xiii

the hymns and Shaloks of Guru Teg Bahadur and his own shalok.⁸⁶ There were two other recension of the *Granth Sahib*. One written by Bhai Gurdas and the other associated with Bhai Banno. The former was still at Kartarpur in the Jalandhar district and the latter was at Mangat in the district of Gujarat. However, the recession prepared under superintendence of Guru Gobind Singh, which was the most complete, was destroyed or taken away as booty by Ahmad Shah Durrani when he despoiled the Golden Temple.⁸⁷ Presumably, this was the recension that Guru Gobind Singh had opened just before his death, placed five paise and a coconut before it and solemnly bowed to it as his successor.

Macauliffe was aware that the authenticity of the *Dasam Granth* was being debated by the contemporary Sikhs. In his view it was compiled by Bhai Mani Singh in 1734 from 'various materials'. Macauliffe's references to its contents indicate that he accepted the authenticity of the Jap, the Bachitter Natak, the Zafarnama, the Akal Ustat, and the Thirty-Three Sawaiyes, but he was not sure about the translations from Sanskrit works.⁸⁸

Macauliffe had no hesitation in supporting the British policy of baptizing the Sikh recruits according to the rite prescribed by Guru Gobind Singh in spite of the professed civil policy of religious neutrality.' It shows that Sikh and especially Khalsa appearance was

86. J.S. Grewal, *Contesting Interpretation of Sikh Traditions*, p. 50

87. M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, S. Chand and Co, New Delhi, 1963, Vol V, p. 223.

88. J.S. Grewal, *Contesting Interpretation of Sikh Traditions*, p. 51.

not only much appreciated rather, it was actively promoted by English as 'martial class. Another hot contemporary topic of the day was identity issue amongst Sikhs, Hindus and Muslim alike. Language was one medium which could give a separate identity and thus there was lot of controversy regarding language amongst Punjabi, English, Urdu & Hindi. Punjabi could be recognized as an official or optional official language of the Punjab as a most powerful means of preserving the Sikh Religion.

Macauliffe not only engaged himself in translating and interpreting the Guru's hymns and their history, but also engaged himself in a host of ancillary activities, social and educational that yield information, on the zeal he possessed to reform the community practices as much as he could. Thus, as an Englishman, he was a part of the Singh Sabha movement as much as other reformers born in Punjab.⁸⁹ According to Bhagat Lakshman Singh, "It was at Macauliffe's instance that the Lahore Sikhs celebrated the second centenary of the installation of the Khalsa Panth as a heir of the Guru. Macauliffe himself contributed rupees 100 towards expenses on his behalf."⁹⁰

89 . Harbans Lal, 'Max Arthur Macauliffe : The Western Gateway to Study of Sikhism, in *Studies in Sikhism and Comparative Religion*, Vol XIV, Number-1, Guru Nanak Foundation, New Delhi, Jan-June 1995. p. 50.

90. Ganda Singh (ed), *Bhagat Lakshman Singh- Autobiography*, The Sikh Cultural Centre, Calcutta, 1965, p 123.

The main aim of Macauliffe was to present before the world an accurate account of the scriptures of the Sikhs and their tradition. This task naturally included the refutation of the disparaging statements of the earlier European scholars regarding the Sikh Gurus and their religion and the correction of those misrepresentations.⁹¹

Sikhism, according to Macauliffe, thus, was a divinely instituted faith. He further maintains that in addition to its divine origin, Sikhism was an unadulterated and original faith as far as its belief system and religious practices are concerned.⁹² It is apt to conclude Macauliffe's view regarding Sikhism as also his study pertaining to Sikhs in his own words:⁹³

"To sum up some of the moral and political merits of the Sikh religion is that it prohibits idolatry, hypocrisy, caste exclusiveness, the concremation of widows, the use of wine and other intoxicants, tobacco-smoking, infanticide, slavery, pilgrimages to the sacred rivers and tanks of the Hindus; and it inculcated loyalty, gratitude for all favours received, philanthropy, justice, impartiality, truth, honesty, and all the moral and domestic virtues known to the holiest citizen of any country."

91. Darshan Singh, *Western Perspective on the Sikh Religion*, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

92. *Ibid.*, p. 94.

93. M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, (rpt.) S. Chand and Co., New Delhi, 1963, Preface, p. xxiii

CHAPTER – 5

CONSTRUCTION OF SIKH HISTORY UPTO AND BY MACAULIFFE

The British first noticed the Sikhs who after having brought Punjab under their control were now making incursions in the Ganga-Jamuna Doab. The Sikhs were perceived as a political threat by British East India company and its officials. It was under Governor General Warren Hastings (1773-85) that efforts were made to understand Sikhs and their history so that they could be understood properly and dealt with accordingly. The first European to do so was Antoine Louis Henri Polier who wrote his paper *The Siques* in 1780.¹ Ganda Singh had dealt with him.

Polier confuses of appearing in arms to Guru Gobind Singh and not to Guru Hargobind. He thought Sikhs to have come from the ranks of zemindars or tribe called Jatts which in his view belonged to one of the lowest of Hindus. The Sikhs had become powerful during the time of Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah, though slowly. They admitted followers from the lowest and most abject castes as also Muslims.²

Further, he mistook Guru Gobind Singh for Banda Bahadur when Polier mentioned Banda Singh's fight during the time of Mughal Emperor Farrukh Siyar. However, he writes about Great Holocaust of

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1. Ganda Singh (ed.), *Early European Accounts of the Sikhs*, Indian Studies Past and Present, Calcutta, reprint, 1962, p. 55.
 2. *Ibid.*

1762 where more than ten thousand Sikhs were killed by Ahmed Shah Abdali. He mentions about the circumstances that gave birth to Misls as also their working. But he takes the credit away from the Sikhs of their conquest of Punjab rather, he is sure that only because of weak ruler under the later Mughals and friends of Sikhs like Kaura Mal in the provinces of Lahore that Sikhs could become powerful. He uses words like gallant great and many other words of praise for Mughal rulers, Governors officials as well as had sympathy for Ahmed Shah Abdali.

Viewing the Sikhs as he did as a menace to the constituted authority and to peace, he advocated immediate adoption of strong measures to curb their power.³ In Polier's words:

"If they (Sikhs) are not attacked soon in their own proper provinces, it is much to be feared that their tenets and manners will be adopted by all the Zemindars of the Soubeh of Delhi and part of Agra."

Polier's anti-Sikh prejudices may be due to his stay at Lucknow. Which we have referred to in Chapter – I. In the end of his paper he uses the prevalent prophesy of the Guru regarding the coming of the European from the west. Historically, this prophesy tells that advent of Europeans was a known phenomenon much before the Britishers had thought upon the conquest of Punjab.⁴

3. Fauja Singh (ed), *Historians and Historiography of the Sikhs* Oriental Publication, New Delhi, 1978, pp. 10-11.

4. Fauja Singh, *op.cit.*, pp. 12.

He mentions about the "Council" or "Diet" of the Sikhs in which all the decisions were taken unanimously in a democratic set up even though he wrongly calls this council as "Goormotta" i.e. Gurmata. All the Sikhs chiefs whether big or small were equal and independent and any Sikh soldier could leave any chief and join one of his own choice. He computes the total force of Sikhs comprised of about 200,000 horses as also about the weaknesses of this large force.⁵

Polier also gives details of the Sikh Chiefs and their Rakhi System prevalent amongst the social and political life of the Sikhs. He writes about the simple food used by the Sikhs, use of intoxicants as well as abhorrence for the use of tobacco. Poliers paper touches mostly all aspects of Sikh history though very briefly and is sometimes very wrong in his description yet this writing especially on the current period of 1780's is very valuable.

But it is the *History of the Origin and Progress of the Sikhs* by James Browne that gives a detailed description as the title suggests of Sikh history. He starts from Guru Nanak and mention names of his successors and gives in detail about the martyrdom of Guru Teg Bahadur and birth of Khalsa by Guru Gobind Singh. In all this description there are many mistakes. In the introduction of his book itself Browne shows his knowledge of history and its utility therein. He narrates the formation of Sikh religion thus

5. Ganda Singh, *op.cit*, p. 61.

"At first the sect was merely speculative, quit offensive and warmed; they were first persecuted by the barbarous bigotry of Auranzeb; and persecution as will always be the case, gave strength to that which it meant to destroy; the Sikhs from necessity confederated together and finding that their peaceable deportment did not secures them from oppression, they took up arms to defend themselves against a tyrannical government and will always happen where the common rights of humanity are violated, a hero arose, whose courage and ability directed the efforts of his injured followers to just though severe revenge. As the progress of these events is related in the history...the...the Sikhs continued to acquire strength."⁶

He gives details about the captivity of two younger sons of Guru Gobind Singh and his mother as also their martyrdom. These deaths were ultimately avenged by Banda Bahadur and his Sikh army. Banda was himself captured and tortured to death. Browne gives a clear picture of the anarchy and years of hardships in the Punjab under different Mughal governors. It was this persecution that made Sikhs more strong and resilient to establish their power and that itself

6 James Browne, 'History of the Origin and Progress of the Sikhs', in Ganda Singh (ed.), *Early European Accounts of the Sikh*, (rpt.), Indian Studies Past and Present, Calcutta, reprint, 1962, Introduction, p. 14.

manifested firstly in the formation of Jathas, then in their collective endeavour of General "Diet" at Amritsar. He gives description about the striking of coins of Sikhs which was surely a sign of independence.⁷

Browne also gives clear picture of the political scenario in Punjab with Mughals, Marathas as well as Ahmed Shah Abdali's depredations of Punjab and its prosperity. His description of Rakhee system and its sanctity therein is also very near the truth. This above mentioned history was abridged by James Browne from the Persian Manuscript and thus as is natural it suffers in translation from wrong interpretation of facts, prejudiced view etc. From the period 1704 he wrote his own observations which clarifies to us about the gradual expeditions undertaken by the Sikhs in the Ganga-Jamuna Doab and we know it was precisely for this reason that James Browne had been asked by Governor General Warren Hastings to give him a clear account of the past of the Sikhs as well as their current position.

One great thing that Browne has done was the dates that accompanied his paper. Though here again he was not always accurate yet it gave history of Sikhs some exactness. He was himself greatly impressed by Sikhs as he came into their direct contact. He collected list of Sikh Chiefs of his period along with their respective military resources and places of residence, their territorial possessions as also briefly about their social customs and institutions.

7. Ganda Singh, *op.cit.* p. 40-41.,

Browne praises brave demeanour of the few Sikhs he happened to meet and speak to during his tenure of office at Delhi and what he learnt about them from other sources seem to have created upon his mind a most favourable impression about them.⁸

He also appreciates the administration of Sikhs chiefs of their principalities. He praises Sikh people or the manufacture of the arms which were best in Hindustan. In the last paragraph of his introduction he made certain observations which as history showed proved right in the context of history of Sikhs as well as their becoming formidable for both Mughals and especially for British. He writes:

"that a sect which contained in its original principles so much internal vigour, as sustained it against the bloody persecution of a great strength on every opportunity which occurred, and at length enabled it so far to subdue all opposition, as to acquire an entire and undisturbed dominion over some of the finest provinces of the empire, from where it makes incursions into others, holding out protection to all who join and destruction to all who oppose it; a sect, which makes religion and politics unite in its aggrandizement and renders the entrance into it so easy to all who desire to become

8 Fauja Singh (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 6.

members of it, cannot fail to extend itself very far, and in the end to be exceedingly formidable to all its neighbours.⁹

Another European who was a keen observer of men and things and has recorded his impressions about the Sikhs was George Forster. In his "A Journey from Bengal to England and C" in 1783 he gives a fast moving account of Sikh history from Guru Nanak. His work written for his contemporary importance is not only significant in the sense that we get comparatively clear picture of late eightieth century but also it is without any bias and prejudice in the mind of the writer. Even though he is factually wrong like place of Guru Nanak's birth Amritsar being burial place of first Guru yet, Forster praises Guru Nanak for being daring, courageous and rigorously abstinent for establishing a new sect. He gives graphic description of a Sikh. He then proceeds on the turbulent period of Sikh History under Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah which made Sikhs all the more resolute to exploit the period of lawlessness and establish therein their own control.¹⁰

9. James Browne, "History of the Origin and Progress of the Sikh, *op.cit*, Introduction, pp. 18-19.

10 Forster's account is more about his present times which historically is very important. He considered Sikhs to be high spirited people which could come only by the spirit of liberty and independence of their religion and community. He saw government of the Sikhs to be an aristocratical. Army of the Sikhs consisted of mainly cavalry and not much importance was given to artillery. It was only awkwardly managed and so ill attended to that little benefit is derived from it. He praises horses of Sikh army as well as their weapons and clothes which in his view were far better than he has ever seen in most parts of Hindustan. He closely watched their mode of attack and defence and also lack of discipline in Sikhs. Simultaneously, he praises Sikhs thus

Unlike his predecessor Forster does not ask his European brethren to extirpate the Sikhs but nevertheless he was scared of them. He had a keen sense of history by which he could see seeds sown for a future Sikh Empire under some ambitious Sikhs Chief. This ultimately took place under Maharaja Ranjit Singh's genius.

With the rise of a powerful Sikh Empire under Ranjit Singh in the beginning of nineteenth century, there came a drastic change in the British attitude towards Sikhs. They were on a lookout for an opportunity that could bind the British political power with the political power of the Sikhs in a friendly way. Now history of Sikhs assumed far greater importance and non-availability of reliable information was noticed. It was here that John Malcolm started writing his book *Sketch of the Sikhs* i.e. the very next year of the signing of Treaty of Friendship" between Maharaja Ranjit Singh and British East India Company in 1805. This book got published in 1809 and this was the same year in which "Treaty of Amritsar" took place. Malcolm was in diplomatic circles and so study of history of Sikhs was important to him to understand and work thereupon as he writes in his own work "to guide our judgement through the difficult, and we may say, the awful task of governing the vast dominions".¹¹ Malcolm

11 G. Khurana, *British Historiography on the Sikh Power in Punjab*, Allied Publishers Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1985, p. 23.

was fully aware of the high norms required of a work of history and had the highest regard for facts. A historical work according to him, had to be "not specious theory, but an accumulation of facts."¹² We have already referred to the composition of his book in our Chapter-I.

His first two chapters are important to us with regard to history of the Sikhs. This goes into the detail of promotion of Sikh history right from the time of Guru Nanak and continues till his contemporary time of 19 century. He mentions about the Janamsakhis of Guru Nanak with all the prevalent stories. He presents a clear picture of a continuous evolution of Sikh history right from Guru Nanak till the establishment of rule of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He stresses upon the unity of Sikh Gurus from Guru Nanak to Guru Har Govind. He did so purely on the basis of their merit and capabilities. Subsequently, he does not miss the antagonistic feeling and anti Guru activities being pursued by those who were sidelined from the venerated position of Guruship.

At many places Malcolm is grossly wrong and at other times he mentions the prevalent views with regard to prevalence of Sikh way of life. At some other places he mentions certain things which he considers untrue on the basis of Sikh historical facts.¹³

¹² G. Khurana, op.cit, pp. 22-23.

¹³ Colonel Malcolm, *Sketch of The Sikhs*, James Mayes, Greville Street, London, 1812, Footnote, p. 36.

Malcolm is wrong in giving too much emphasis on the prayer of Hindu dieties especially by Guru Gobind Singh to which he devotes ample pages.¹⁴ Time and again he quotes writings of Bhai Gurdas Singh Bhalla in narrating the mission of Guru Gobind.

Historically, Malcolm's work is important with regard to the difficult times faced by the Sikhs and growth of their political system after the demise of Guru Gobind Singh. He narrates in depth the atrocities committed on the Sikhs during and after the struggle of Banda Bahadur.¹⁵ The crucial period preceding the formation of Misls is given sufficient space.¹⁶ His mentioning of rise of Sikhs, the increase in their number, conversion of a number of proselytes, dedication of Sikhs to their religion, causes of their unity, rise of important leaders either due to their greater number of followers, higher reputation or to the possession of wealth or lands and joining of forces of all leaders in face of great danger¹⁷ is crucial in understanding the formative years of Sikh Misls.

Malcolm tries to understand the Sikh soldiers and their leaders who are praised for their astonishing activity and invincible perseverance. He uses two terms of "Khalsa" and "Khalasa" for the Sikhs.¹⁸

14 Colonel Malcolm, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 85.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 89.

17 *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90, 94.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 117.

He elaborates on Gurmata, Dal Khalsa, as also their downfall during second generation of the Misl Sardars.¹⁹ He mentions fall in the importance of Gurmata which is very important and a fact in the history of Sikh religion. He gives reasons for this important institution to wane gradually and ultimately its abolition by Maharaja Ranjit Singh.²⁰ It had failed to serve its purpose of uniting different chiefs. Moreover Ranjit Singh was rising as one strong political power of the Sikhs who could little afford to ignore the religious power of Gurmata.²¹ We also get to know that different Sikh chiefs-were fighting continues wars amongst themselves as well as taking help from outside either of Marathas or Mughals to secure their territories by the end of 17th century. Being a part of the British administration he explicitly mentions his employer's positions that how 'British Commander abstained from all interference in such disputes.'²² Malcolm has described in detail the proceedings of the Gurmata and its significance for the Sikhs.²³

Malcolm is the first and only Western Scholar who has given an elaborate procedure of performing Gurmatta, but his presentation contain contradictions so far as the presence of Dasam Granth along with Guru Granth Sahib is concerned.

19 Colonel Malcolm, *op.cit.*, p. 107-139.

20 *Ibid*, p. 107.

21 *Ibid*, p. 107.

22 *Ibid*, p. 105.

23 Kulwinder Singh Bajwa, *Essays on the Punjab History*, Commonwealth Publishers Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, 2009, pp. 77-86.

However, regarding the status of the Sikh scriptures all the 19th century Western scholars under review, except Malcolm, agree that Guru Granth is the only scripture to which Sikh accord the status of the Guru. These writers do not observe any preference to Dasam Granth over Guru Granth as has been done by Malcolm. In fact Malcolm through his *Sketch of the Sikhs* wanted to promote imperial interests which he did by creating a dichotomy between the followers of Guru Nanak and the followers of Guru Gobind Singh by introducing Dasam Granth to provide instigation to the mission of Guru Gobind.²⁴

Malcolm keenly observes his contemporary surroundings and politically is very conscious of that. He names different Sikh chiefs as wells as their territories under them. He was right in assessing the ruin of Misls inherent in the system itself which as history proved was finished by Misls own product i.e. Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Politically, Malcolm was more interested in the martial capacity of the Sikhs. He describes arms and armaments used by Sikh soldiers as also to the formation of Ranjit Singh's army. His historical sense is greatly evident while depicting the formation of army of Ranjit Singh and its shortcomings. Ultimately, his predictions that "the first serious check it meets, will probably cause its dissolution"²⁵ was proved to be right in the wake of Anglo-Sikh wars.

²⁴ Kulwinder Singh Bajwa, *op.cit*, p. 77-86

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

Malcolm uses accurate dates while narrating sequence of events through out his writings which has immense value for the historians of Sikh history. He had good knowledge of surrounding geographical areas of Khalsa Raj. He states about the trade and importance of the city of Amritsar. Being in Company's service he naturally makes comparisons of the lives of Muslims living in Sikh territory and those in British territory there by praising his own Government for being liberal and important. We know that by 1805 A.D. i.e. by Malcolm times the need and compulsion of knowledge of Sikh history as well as their current situation was being urgently realized by the Britishers in order to serve their political interests.

In 1834, Henry Prinsep got published his book *Origin of the Religion, Laws and Customs of the Sikhs*. Now Punjab was not ruled by different small chiefs whether Muslims, Sikhs or Hindus rather it had been shaped as Khalsa Raj under Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Prinsep started his narration after Ahmad Shah Abdali's invasion when different Misls were being formed. He gives various reasons for the rise of Sikh chiefs as also the causes which led to their being united by common interest and circumstances.²⁶ Prinsep mentions joining of forces of Sikh's, Maratha's and Adina Beg's forces against Ahmad Shah Abdali's son, the causes of these joint exercise being political and not religious.

26 H.T. Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab and Political Life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh with on account of the Religion Laws, Customs of the Sikhs*, Language Department Punjab, 1970, p. 3.

Prinsep gives graphic details about the origin, geographical domains, chiefs and possession of each Misl. He tried to understand the working of Misl system and his knowledge of European history comes handy when understanding this period of Punjab history which was full of struggle as well as chaos.²⁷ Every Sikh soldier was free, independent and sovereign in his dealings with others in the misls. This led to the governing of provinces of Lahore and Sarhind by more than seventy thousand sovereigns.²⁸ The use of terms such as *Sarbat Khalsa*, *Rakhe*, *Dal Khalsa Ji*, *Misldari*, *Tabadari* and *Jagirdari* that were in use in that period have been sufficiently elaborated. These terms and their meanings as given by Prinsep have been accepted more or less by the subsequent historians of Punjab. More focus of Prinsep's work has been on Ranjit Singh and the rise of his Sukerchakia misl under his grandfather and especially under his father Maha Singh. Maha Singh's rise, his wars, his marriage, birth of his son and his death has been provided sufficient space. In writing his book he made best use of Captain Murray's and Captain Wade's work yet he considered Captain Murray's observation to be more authoritative. But he doesn't fail to notice and mention those things which were emitted or went unnoticed by Murray but observed by Captain Wade.²⁹

27 H.T. Prinsep, *Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab and Political Life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh with an account of the Religion Laws, Customs of the Sikhs*, Language Department Punjab, 1970, p. 29

28 *Ibid.*, 29.

29 *Ibid.*, footnotes, pp. 31-32, 41.

To construct history of the Sikhs during Ranjit Singh's time is of great importance as now British government's hand could be seen clearly guiding its writers. The ascendancy of Lahore Darbar and its Chief brought them into the focus of Britishers. The Maharaja considered himself lawful heir to all the territories of the various small Sikh principalities and his expeditions across the Satluj had frightened the rulers of Patiala, Nabha, Jind and other smaller principalities. They appealed to the British East India Company for political protection. Thereby, it started the war of diplomacy between Lahore and British Government. Britishers in 1808 at Delhi had impressed upon the chiefs of Cis-Satluj that they would not let the Lahore ruler to usurp their territories. They were now keenly studying Maharaja Ranjit Singh. On his part the Maharaja was displaying his practical wisdom not to antagonize the British. He had once seen the supremacy of small disciplined British force being very effective and his keenness was now more on making himself powerful. He knew that little lawlessness or anarchy was going to be seen as an opportunity by the Company to interfere in the affairs of Lahore Darbar³⁰ and in this mode of thinking Ranjit Singh was proved right after his death.

In 1809 the Maharaja and East India Company entered into the Treaty of Amritsar thereby limiting Ranjit Singh's boundaries of the Lahore Darbar upto Satluj. Now Britishers started participating freely

30 H.T. Prinsep, *op.cit.*, p. 56.

in the administration of the chiefs who had come under their protectorate and also started settling disputes between different chiefs thereby acting as their overlord. Company even deposed the Raja of Patiala. This incident aroused the suspicion in the minds of people. From Prinsep's work we could see that all those who ran from Ranjit Singh due to one reason or another always ended up with the Britishers as they were provided shelter by them. Thus, somehow friendship with Ranjit Singh was always belied.³¹

Prinsep's work throws great deal of light with regard to the company's plan regarding and the Indus. Britishers knew that Maharaja Ranjit Singh was interested in Sindh and so made use of diplomacy and shrewdity in dealing with this affair and this was clearly supported by the British Government in England. In 1828, Ranjit Singh had sent a shawl tent to the King of England through Lord Amherest. In return they sent a team of cart horses, four mares and one stallion saying that the gift was appropriate for the Maharaja who loved horses which were received by Maharaja in July 1829. But as Prinsep writes"

"It was resolved to make the transmission of this present, a means of obtaining encryption in regard to the Indu, and the facilities, or the contrary, it might offer to navigation."³²

31 H.T. Prinsep, *op.cit*, p.81.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 121.

By October, 1829. The Maharaja and Governor General Lord William Bentinck met each other at Ropar. This meeting has been minutely described by Prinsep as an eyewitness. Great deal of preparation was done by both sides to strengthen their friendship. But here also, Britishers outwitted the Maharaja with regard to Sindh. In the words of Prinsep:

On the very day before his highness arrived at Ropar; instructions had been issued to lieutenant-colonial Pottinger to prepare for a mission to Sindh, with a view to the negotiation of a commercial treaty, having for its object, to open the navigation of the Indus to the trade of Europe, and of India, The negotiation of a commercial treaty, was repeated with each of three Independent Mirs.....The object of entering upon this negotiation, at the particular juncture, was perhaps, in some measure political, having reference to the necessity of being prepared against the possibility of designs on the part of Russia, should she succeed in establishing her influence in Persia, The Governor-General, however, was not prepared to make any award or display of such notices.³³

The truth about Indus and Sindh and the actual motives of Britishers falsifies the claims made by them to cover their economical and political designs in this area and slowly but surely they were

33 H.T. Prinsep, *op.cit*, pp.132-133.

going to surround Lahore Darbar's territory from all the sides. It is a known fact that British always acted with an eye on the future aspects of their actions and treaties.

It was during this time that we can clearly see vilification of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, his family courtiers administration that had started. Shortcomings of Lahore Darbar were greatly magnified and rumors were accepted as facts. Leaders like Akali Phoola Singh, Hari Singh Nalwa have been charged of committing atrocities and cruelties on Muslim population. But many times Prinsep has used his keen observation and intellect at coming at conclusions. He describes ascendancy of Dogra chiefs, Jamedar Khushal Singh etc. in the Lahore Darbar along with the description of their nature.³⁴ He could foresee the strain in the relations of heir-apparent Kharak Singh and officials at the Lahore Darbar and wrote that it was going to be injurious when the prince was going to succeed his father.³⁵ Maximum attention was paid to Ranjit Singh's nature and his character. He writes that though uneducated yet he was a keen listener, observer and quick decision taker. His memory was excellent with a lively imagination and was personally very brave, with love for horses but he was also selfish, sensual and licentious. He tells that the Maharaja suffered from various physical ailments yet maintained a very active life. Ranjit Singh followed Sikh faith and had Guru

³⁴ H.T. Prinsep, *op.cit*, p.117.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

Granth Sahib read and consulted whenever he took any important decision and was also liberal in his charities to Faqirs and men of reputed sanctity. He was a bundle of paradox and as such was difficult to understand. Yet Prinsep makes an observation which proved to be highly accurate. He mentions :

"Thus the whole person and authority centres in the single individual whom fortune and his own abilities placed at the head of affair, and upon his being removed from the scene, unless there be another to fill his place, with equal energy, and command over the attachment and affections of his dependents, which it is to be feared, is not the character of Kharak Singh, everything must necessarily fall into confusion."³⁶

After the death of Maharaja in 1839, the Britishers were now on a look out to get an opportunity to interfere in their internal affairs. The instability at the Lahore Darbar, the geographical position of the Sikh Kingdom, the Anglo-Sikh war and the general problems of determining the British Indian Frontier in the North-West kept the Sikh in the centre of British Indian politics until 1849 when their truncated kingdom was annexed to the British Empire.³⁷ It was at this time that *History of the Sikhs From the Origin of the Nation to the*

³⁶ H.T. Prinsep, *op.cit*, p.145.

³⁷ J.S. Grewal, *Essays in Sikh History: From Guru Nanak to Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1972, p. 128.

Battles of the Sutlej by J.D. Cunningham got published and this book generated so much controversy that it was not allowed to be published in India for many years.

Cunningham saw Sikhism as the Chief motive force of Sikh history. Cunningham marked the stages by which the core of Nanak's religious and moral reformation was given a social and political orientation by the subsequent nine Gurus. The tenth Guru

“resolved upon awakening his followers to a new life, and upon giving precision and aim to the broad and general institutions of Nanak. In the heart of a powerful empire he set himself to the task of subverting it, and from the midst of social degradation and religious corruption, he called up simplicity of manners, singleness of purpose, and enthusiasm of desire”.³⁸

The gradual spread of the Sikh religion in the Punjab led to the establishment of state within a state. This development led to their repression by the Mughal Empire which further brought changes in the Sikh, system. By the time of Guru Gobind Singh, the Sikhs had become a definite fighting force.

Next Cunningham examines and discusses at length the ideals and institutions which kept the Sikhs together during the greater part of the 18th century in the face of overwhelming odds. Every Sikh was

38 J.D. Cunningham, *History Of The Sikhs From The Origin Of The Nation To The Battles Of The Sutlej*, 1st Published 1849, (rpt.) S.Chand and Company, New Delhi, 1981, p. 60.

free, and each was a substantive member of the common wealth but their means, their abilities and their opportunities were various and unequal and this led them into a theocratic confederate feudalism. This misl system was moved only by the principle of community of faith and war like array, the devotion to steel of Gobind being their material instrument.³⁹

It was left to Maharaja Ranjit Singh to grasp the impulse given by Nanak and Gobind and to turn the parading spirit of the people toward the fulfillment of his own material ambition.⁴⁰ He appeared to be an absolute monarch in the midst of willing and obedient subjects. But he knew that he merely directed into a particular channel a power which he could neither destroy nor control, and that to prevent the Sikhs turning upon himself, or contending with one another, he must regularly engage them in conquest and remote warfare. The first political system of the emancipated Sikhs had crumbled to pieces, partly through its own defects, partly owing, to its contact with a well ordered and civilized government and partly in consequence of the ascendancy of one superior mind. Ranjit Singh never thought his own or the Sikh sway was to be confined to the Punjab and his only wish was to lead armies as far as faith in the Khalsa and confidence in his skill would take brave and believing men.⁴¹

39 J.D. Cunningham, *op.cit*, p. 94.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 153.

41 *Ibid.*, p. 153.

Cunningham writes about the administration of Lahore Durbar that neither the task of wise legislation in one harmonious empire suited the Maharaja's genius nor that of the Sikh nation. The Maharaja did not trouble himself with the niceties of administration. The system as such is common to all feudal governments, and it gives much scope to individual ambition and tends to produce independence of character.

The Maharaja's territorial expansion brought him into contact with the Cis-Sutluj States, which went under English protection. The relations of Cis-Satluj States with the Britishers itself led to the perplexities of the British authorities regarding the rights of supremacy and operation of international laws.⁴² Their interference in the neighborhood of Lahore Durbar was aimed at becoming more powerful. The Maharaja had full knowledge about this and he brought drastic changes in his army and at length fully succeeded in making the Sikhs regular infantry and artillery soldiers as also of introducing European discipline in the rank.

An important historical fact that we get to know about the British army was that at this time i.e. Cunningham's time about sixty three percent of the efficient fighting forces of the Indian Army came from the Punjab. The Brahman element has also been greatly reduced.⁴³

42 J.D. Cunningham, *op.cit*, p. 128.

43 *Ibid*, Footnote, p. 155.

In 1831 a meeting between Ranjit Singh and Governor General took place with both parties desiring different aims. The Maharaja wanted that Kharak Singh should be recognized his heir and British wanted to sign a treaty with the Amirs of Sindh and opening of Indus river for navigational purposes.⁴⁴ But the Sikh Maharaja saying that their commerce interfered with his policy yet again yielded and left his plans of seizing Shikarpur. At many other instances also, we see that Maharaja Ranjit Singh yielded for example in the case of Sindh and Afghanistan.⁴⁵ Yet he loyally observed his treaty of Friendship with the Britishers till his death in 1839.

The death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh was the signal for the outbreak of a series of palace revolutions.⁴⁶ The disorder culminated in the crossing of the Satluj by the Sikh forces and the consequent outbreak of the first Sikh War. It was Cunningham's chapter entitled. "The war with the English." that has proved to be the most controversial and crucial part of the book. His criticism of attitude of certain officials towards Lahore Durbar as well as his own sympathetic understanding of Sikh people and their religion caused immense damage to the illustrious career of Cunningham in the Political service.⁴⁷

44 J.D. Cunningham, *op.cit*, p. 175.

45 *Ibid*, pp. 185-198.

46 H.L. O, Garret, 'Introduction Note', in J.D. Cunningham, *History Of The Sikhs From The Origin Of The Nation To The Battles Of The Sutlej*, *op. cit.*, p. ix.

47 Harbans Singh and N.G. Barrier (eds.), *Essays in Honour of Ganda Singh*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1996, p. 14.

For writing the book he was removed from political service for which he had worked so diligently. His dedication towards his work can be seen from the fact that in his twelve years of job he didn't took any leave even for a single day. Cunningham firmly holds the view that the war with the Sikhs, resulted from the provocation given by the British officials, and was won in collaboration with the self-seeking Sikh chiefs. With his official knowledge and usual insight, Cunningham enumerates the steps taken by the British officials which produced a conviction among the Sikh soldiers that their kingdom was threatened. His criticism of Hardinge and George Broadfoot is particularly severe. Cunningham is of the opinion that in British relations with the neighbouring states, the character of the British agent was as much an important factor as the policy itself.⁴⁸ He wrote that by 1845, the Sikh Army and its 'Panchas' had become a political force in the Sikh state but they didn't want any war. It was the selfish leaders of the State, who wanted the troublesome army to be destroyed and to secure for themselves a beneficial arrangement. The leaders succeeded in their plan because the Governor General Hardinge was tactless and his agent on the frontier Major Broadfoot was provocative in his actions and gave the impression that the British were preparing for an offensive.⁴⁹

48 G. Khurana, *op.cit.*, p. 141.

49 J.D. Cunningham, *Op.cit.*, pp. 286-289

Cunningham's primary aim in building up that thesis was to point out the mistakes committed by Hardinge and Broadfoot to the reading public in England. He seems to have convinced himself that when read by the British public, particularly by the high ups, his thesis would make them demand a new Punjab Policy. He might very well have thought that his last chapter would force the British Government to deliberate on it much before the end of the temporary arrangements effected by Hardinge, first by the Treaty of Lahore and then by that of Bhairawal.⁵⁰

Within four months of its publication, Cunningham was removed from his political service. One can clearly see British administration working very closely in England and India on the issue of *History of the Sikhs*. Hardinge was a prominent Peelite who strongly supported Russels's Ministry in England. When he read the book he was offended and knew that the book will come handy to their opponents the Tory Party who was already against their actions vis-à-vis Punjab affairs. He asked well known writer J.W. Kaye to write a detailed review of the book in the *Calcutta Review* and also asked Henry Lawrence, the British Resident at Lahore to amend the 'reviews' by the journals editor only if necessary for the consumption of British servicemen in India.⁵¹

50 K.S. Bedi and S.S. Bal (eds.), *Essays on History, Literature, Arts and Culture*, Atma Ram and Sons, New Delhi, 1970, p. 129.

51 J.D. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

John Russell wrote that Cunningham had used secret documents in his political capacity and also he had not shown the concerned chapters in written form while taking the Court's permission to use such documents. His removal was personally sought after by Hobhouse through Dalhousie.

For two years, Joseph Cunningham tried in vain to gain his lost reputation as he was mortified at being labeled as some one who could use any means to gain his personal profits. But all this went in vain and the bold historian of the *History of Punjab* died a broken hearted man in Ambala even before he attained his fortieth year.

One can very clearly see the working of British administration sometimes in their direct but mostly through indirect means. The best means that was used was their administrator-cum-scholars who could be used to form public opinion in Punjab as well as in England. Diplomacy at its best can be seen in the works of Henry Lepel Griffin who elicited great admiration by none other than two famous Governor Generals⁵² i.e. Lord Northbrook (1872-1876) and Lord Lytton (1876-1880) for his diplomatic skill and literary taste.⁵³

52 Fauja Singh (ed.), *History and Historiography of Punjab*, op.cit., p. 137-145.

53 In all his works Griffin tried to provide justification of British expansion in Punjab. He belonged to Punjab school of administrators and thus always supported members of aristocratic families to be inducted in the elite civil-services. He advocated over centralised administrative structure based on just, sympathetic and efficient bureaucracy. Like all ultra-conservative imperialists, he supported the maintenance of dynastic rule in the princely states, strengthening of aristocracy in the hierarchical society and suppression of the educated middle class which was gradually corroding the existing socio-political system.

In his book *Ranjit Singh* his partiality towards British is proven beyond doubts. He writes that English displayed admirable temperance in the hour of victory in the Anglo-Sikh wars and they were very generous to the vanquished i.e. Sikh army or army of the Lahore Durbar. Griffin always projected Sikhs Marathas and Bengalis as different and was of the firm opinion that they never belonged or considered themselves as belonging to one nationality rather they were and will always remain separate from each other.

Griffin in his writings clearly demonstrates that Britishers were in full knowledge of the plans of Ranjit Singh to be accepted as a Sovereign ruler of the whole of Sikh people. Ranjit Singh entered into the Treaty of Amritsar in 1809 most reluctantly. There were internal quarrels of the Maharaja with his family especially mother-in-law Sada Kaur over this topic. Griffin has made best use of Colonel Ochterlony's and Mr Metcalfe's correspondence with the British Government to tell what passed exactly from British point of view.⁵⁴

His own acknowledgement in his own words is as follows :

"He (Ochterlony) was to watch the movements of the Maharaja; to obtain information regarding his power, resources and the disposition of the Chiefs subordinate to him; to be careful to bind the Government by no promises to the Maharaja, and on the other

54 Henry Lepel Griffin, *The Rajas of Punjab*, Language Department, Punjab, (rpt.) 1970, p. 117.

hand, to close with no offers of assistance or demands for protection from disaffected Chiefs in the Punjab proper; though he was to allow them to understand that, at some future time, their services might be acceptable."⁵⁵

Griffin thus, says that British had very cleverly made much deliberated plans to annex Punjab but it all depended upon the time and circumstances which they were willing to wait for and create to suit them.

Griffin has portrayed Patiala, Nabha and Jind to be very weak as they were demanding the suzerainty of British East India Company. They greatly feared Ranjit Singh and Britishers were clearly biding their time and waiting for the right opportunity. They were always very submissive to the demands made by the Britishers. The British Government got vast tracts of land, more than a hundred miles long from the Maharaja of Patiala by justifying its transfer. Also the Britishers knew by 1845 A.D. that in case of war with the State of Lahore which they were certain of, the Houses of Patiala Nabha and Jind would take different sides. An interesting point that Griffin makes it that even though the chiefs of Patiala and Jind knew that their interests were bound up with those of English yet, they had their sympathies were with Lahore. After the 1st Anglo Sikh War, Griffin writes :

55 Henry Lepel Griffin, *The Rajas of Punjab*, op. cit., p. 114.

"Nor had the majority of the Chiefs shown their loyalty in 1845 in any more copious manner than in not joining the enemy. Gratitude they did not understand and to show them any special consideration at the close of the campaign was unnecessary. Several most important measures were then adopted by the Govt like abolition of all police jurisdiction in most of the states. Abolition of transit and custom duties and most important to accept a commutation for the personal service of the chief and his contingent."⁵⁶

The only states exempted from the action of these reforms were Patiala, Jind, Faridkot, Malerkotla, Chichrowli, Buria, Kalsia (Raikot), Mamdot and Nabha was treated exceptionally and part of its punishment was abolition of all transit duties except that of Nabha town. According to the declaration of June 1849, with the exception of the nine states above mentioned all the Chiefs ceased to hold sovereign power and had to lose all civil criminal and fiscal jurisdictions. The interference of British Government in affair of Punjab can be judged from the definition of *sovereignty* given by Griffin about which he writes that :

"Full sovereignty as far as Sanads are concerned is a conventional term which signifies such independence as is compatible

56 Henry Lepel Griffin, *The Rajas of Punjab*, *op.cit.*, p. 191.

with the claim which the British Government asserts to general control, active loyalty, and regard to all engagements which have not be expressly modified or cancelled."⁵⁷

One can not get better example of British Government's interference in the affair of Punjab. After the annexation of Punjab on March 29, 1849, the machinery of Government was set in motion by the appointment of a Board of Administration.⁵⁸ It led to three members and all were specialists in their own fields. Henry Lawrence, the president was soldier-statesman, John Lawrence and Charles Mansel was one of oldest financiers in India. The whole province was divided into seven divisions called Commissionerships. These divisions were further divided into twenty seven districts according to convenience.⁵⁹ At this time Lord Dalhousie was the Governor General and as Lord of Administration he was very clear on how to subjugate the warlike people of Punjab. Along with the suppression of the Maharaja and his mother the ruination of the entire aristocracy was planned. Lord Dalhousie and John Lawrence were completely in tune with each other leaving Henry Lawrence who had to resign ultimately. On Feb 04, 1853, the Board of Administration was abolished. Administration was placed in the hands of John Lawrence with practically no change in the working machinery. The British

⁵⁷ Henry Lepel Griffin, *The Rajas of Punjab*, op.cit, p. 242.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p. 85.

⁵⁹ Kirpal Chander Yadav, 'British Policy Towards Sikhs, 1849-57' in Harbans Singh and N.G. Barrier (ed.), *Essays in Honour of Ganda Singh*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1996, p. 185.

Government had no faith in the Sikhs. Very soon came the year 1857 which had all the means to set the whole country on fire. The situation in 1857 actually terrified the British Government. They wanted to recruit the Sikhs but militarily it was dangerous to recruit them. The Sikh loyalty could not be taken for granted and on the other hand the urgency of the time made it expedient to do so.⁶⁰

Sir John Lawrence was a worried man in Punjab. How for he could rely on the forces of Rajas of Punjab who themselves gave no guarantee of their army's conduct. The Sikhs were slipping by. He had noticed the change coming over the Sikhs.⁶¹

Frederic Cooper writes in his book *Crisis in Punjab from the 10th May until the fall of Delhi* that "to have ever acted on the defensive would have ruined our prestige".⁶²

To cope with the grim situation in which the British were placed at that time, John Lawrence, Lieutenant Governor of Punjab took several measures to maintain law and order in Punjab. To begin with he decided to disband the *purbia* soldiers stationed in various cantonments of Punjab. A proclamation for general recruitment, proclaiming to pay the same amount which Maharaja Ranjit Singh used to pay to his disciplined troops was made.⁶³

60 Dr. Bir Good Gill, '1857 : The Punjab Situation', in Dr Navtej Singh (ed.), *Rethinking of 1857 And The Punjab*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2008, p. 88.

61 *Ibid*, p. 89.

62 Fredric Cooper, *Crises in Punjab From the 10th May Until the Fall of Delhi*, 1st Published 1858, (rpt.) Summer Prakashan, Chandigarh, 1977, p. 13.

63 K.S. Bajwa, '1857 : In Vernacular Literature', in Dr. Navtej Singh (ed.), *Rethinking 1857 and the Punjab*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2008, p. 144.

The English had begun to face financial problems in early days of the revolt. The Government asked their friends to help the rulers financially and the Rajas of Patiala, Nabha, Jind etc. readily gave loans to the English. Thus we can also see that how the change had come over the attitude of Cis-Satluj States.⁶⁴ In fact, John Lawrence followed the policy of disarming the regular army.⁶⁵ He stated:

"Trust the irregulars and the natives of the Punjab, but utterly distrust the regular army. Raise fresh regiments. If mutiny breaks forth into action destroy them, if possible on the spot. If they take to flight raise the native population against them and hunt them down. Find out the Sikh Chiefs and use their natural hatred of the Hindustanis on your side at once."⁶⁶

The British used astute mixture of stick and carrot policy. The rising was checked with the help of local elites. The alacrity's astuteness of John Lawrence brought the disaffected elements under control. He had disarmed the Hindustani sepoys without waiting for

64 We know that the acquired Lahore Raj was quickly brought under strict administration. The aim was not only to safeguard the hard won province but also to ensure that it would start contributing to imperial revenue. To curb mortal instincts and to eliminate the chances of insurrection, demilitarization was assiduously carried out. Now in 1857, British Government deliberately tried to revive the ill feelings that already existed between the Punjabis and Hindustanis called purbias, then held responsible for the defeat of Khalsa Darbar forces. Now forces of Punjab were to take revenge of same in 1857. Also, the English administrators had even if outwardly reposed faith in Sikh community as martial race had treated them with respect and caution permitting them to retain symbols of their religion-beard and turbans and observe practices of Khalsa. John Lawrence now raised the local levies against the Hindustanis.

65 Sukhdev Singh Sohal, 'Dance of Death at Ajnala; Rising, Repression and Retribution, in Navtej Singh (ed.), *Rethinking 1857 and the Punjab*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 2008, p. 158.

66 Ibid., p. 20.

them to break out. The Sikhs who would have aspired to regain power but had no leader. The member of erstwhile ruling power were either dead, imprisoned or deported. We know that the British Lt. Governor of Punjab, Sir Robert Montgomery (1859-1865) wished to produce a volume documenting facts about the rulers, big landlords, clans in the province who supported the East Indian Company's military campaign to crush the 1857 Mutiny. The officer who was thus assigned this task was none other than the senior official Lepel H. Griffin who produced a volume titled *Punjab Chiefs* in 1865. According to this exhaustive work on Punjab he noticed ruling princes or landlord families which had openly helped the British military campaign against rebels of 1857.⁶⁷ The book also contain details of large scale rebellion of Sikh troops of the British army stationed at Beneras. However much the British tried to underplay the rising disturbances in different parts of the region, their own military preparedness, their call on princes and chieftains to provide them assistance and pay them it reflects their panic, their need and their fear of loosing Punjab. Reorganization in the army set up, playing one against the other, making out of proportion statements to credit and discredit princes, forces and individuals were all part of their divide and rule policy.⁶⁸

It is here that we see the Kuka or Namdhari movement assuming importance in the eyes of British Government. Origin of

⁶⁷ Shams-ul-Islam, 'Sikhs and 1857 : Myths and Facts', in Dr. Navtej Singh (ed.), op.cit, p. 69.

⁶⁸ Amrit Varsha Gandhi, ' Punjab in 1857' in Dr. Navtej Singh (ed.), op.cit, p. 100.

resistance of Namdhari Sikhs to the colonial rule can be traced to their Guru Ram Singh's bid for the basis of alternative polity in terms of forming 'Sant Khalsa', which was distinct from the contemporary Khalsa (of Lahore Kingdom). At the same time, he did not see distinction between morally corrupt Khalsa and the British. For him both were *melechhas*, responsible for destroying the Khalsa Raj. After initiating the Sikhs to the Sant Khalsa he evolved specific code of conduct which could inculcate the moral spirit in them. He also evolved suba system⁶⁹, mode of communication and traditional strategy of mobilizing his followers.⁷⁰

The Punjab Government alarmed by secret activities of Namdhari ordered their two senior most officers to prepare detailed reports regarding the Namdhari organization and its aim. One of them, Lt Colonel G. McAndrew set a wave of fear and indignation in the minds of British officers. Dr. Joginder Singh in his article "Uprising of 1857 and kuka Movement- An Analysis of Their links" mentions that one of the informers of police surveillance informed Capt. Millar, Cantonment Magistrate, Jalandhar, on 18th June, 1863 that Namdhari Guru knew that cartridges, prepared in the same way

69 Joginder Singh, 'Uprising of 1857 and Kuka Movements, in Navtej Singh (ed.), op.cit, pp. 124-128.

70 Namdhari Guru made some efforts to build up political links with the native rulers of neighbouring states. He thought that Kuka Sikhs could be given some military training. About 200 to 250 Namdharis were given training and Maharaja of Kashmir also promised to help them. The Anti-British ruler of Nepal was also approached considerably by Baba Ram Singh as a future political ally.

as in 1857 were again about to be distributed and caps also filled with the same obnoxious stuff. In fact, the Namdhari Guru with his followers won over the sympathies of the Sikhs and Hindus irrespective of their religious affiliations over the issue of kine-killing. The British Government apprehended that this issue could broaden the scope of Namdhari struggle against the British. In January 1872. L. Cowen, Officiating Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana blew forty nine Kukas with guns at Malerkotla over looking the advice of restrain by T.D. Forsyth, Commissioner of Ambala division. The Namdhari Guru Ram Singh was deported. Even then their struggle continued and assumed dangerous overtones when Dalip Singh proclaimed himself the Maharaja of Kingdom of Lahore in 1887. British Government was very vigilant to allow all this to happen and also it was helped by the powerful landed gentry and priestly class. It were the Sikh Sardars, Bedis, Sodhis like BikramSingh Ahluwalia, Sardar Dyal Singh Majithia who justified the act of Cowan. We see that L.H Griffin, officiating Secretary to the Government of Punjab fully supported his Government's view point that the intentions of Kukas were political rather than religious. It was in some degree that we can see the urgency that was felt for the founding of Singh Sabha Movement in 1873. The propagation of Singh Sabha ideology had overtaken Kukaism in the last quarter of 19th century.⁷¹

71 W.H. Mcleod, *Sikhs of the Khalsa: A History of the Khalsa Rahit*, Oxford University Press,

Though the publication of Trumpp's translation was five years away in 1872, yet his activity had emboldened his non-Sikh collaborators to openly attack Sikhism and castigate Sikh Gurus. It was partially these unbecoming attacks on Guru Nanak and partially the onslaught of Christian missionaries in securing converts from Sikh youth, that led to formation of Amritsar Singh Sabha in 1873. The Singh Sabha instantly caught the imagination of the literate sections of the Sikh community. The majority of its members, however, belonged to upper class. The emergence of a western style political system in the Punjab reflected both traditional and modern elements.⁷²

When Punjab communities re-examined their histories and reassessed who they were and what they wanted in the environment accompanying British rule, their respective legacies become accentuated and influenced their political roles⁷³

The modern components of the political culture derived in large part from Punjabi interaction with the ideas and institutions

New Delhi, 2005, p. 121.

72. Local and regional magnates controlling land and access to shrines continued to be seen as legitimate leaders by those linked by marriage, caste or tribal affiliation and dependence/authority relationships. Their prominence was reinforced by patronage and close association with the new Government. Also present was a tendency for Punjabis to divide along religious cleavages existed within the Hindu, Sikh and Muslim communities. Inter communal differences were commonly understood and affected public life. Moreover, years of struggle, local conflict and competition for converts had left a sense of destruction and insecurity. In the case of Sikhs this was reinforced by a tradition of martyrdom and sense of lost empire.

73. N. Gerald Barrier, 'Sikh Politics in British Punjab prior to the Gurudwara Reform Movement' in Joseph T.O. C'onnell (ed), *Sikh History and Religion in the Twentieth Century*, Manohar Publications, New Delhi, 1900, p. 67.

introduced by Western rule. The structure of politics changed. The British became the source of decisions about resources and access to power. They introduced new areas of competition that encouraged a different kind of thinking about politics, such as the need to form associations, the development of improved communications and in general the search for effective means of focusing opinion, and mobilizing support. Although the colonial power relied extensively on traditional or natural leaders and distrusted agitation among emerging urban elites, its very presence encouraged competition and new forms of political organization. Moreover, English ideas about politics, culture and religion helped shape the new milieu. Exposure to Western ideology and history widened the world view of Punjabis. Old and new, thus, were mixed in the evolving political patterns.⁷⁴

The 'new men' adapted Western forms of organization and tactics. Their concerns tended to be limited and local, generally involving matters of economic or religious significance. The convincing of Macauliffe to work for Sikhs and his own personal interest was an endeavour in this regard by the Singh Sabhas. They communicated among themselves and with the British through accepted mechanisms such as petitions, correspondence and the print media.⁷⁵

74. N. Gerald Barrier, 'Sikh Politics in British Punjab prior to the Gurudwara Reform Movement' in Joseph T.O. C'onnell (ed), *op. cit.*, p. 163.

75. Peter Churchill, 'Muslim Societies of the Punjab (1860-1890)' *Punjab Past and Present*, Vol VII, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1974, pp. 69-91.

Besides exhibiting characteristics found in other parts of India, the political culture of the Punjab had a parochial style and imagery that often cut Punjabis off from other Indians and at the same time endangered local co operation. Also important was the frontier orientations with value placed on physical strength and a tradition of conflict. There was also a shared view of law personal or institutional struggles related to British authority. Accepting the official view of the government as the *ma-bap*, the parental source of justice and all important patronage, Punjab politicians emphasized their own loyalty and attachment to the Raj.⁷⁶

Politics and religious revitalization frequently were inseparable in the last decades of the century. Some alliances across caste and religious lines did occur either through the auspices of a central association or in response to a particularly threatening situation. Also, divisions within communal organizations often were as heated as those between religious sects because of the struggle to gain control over institutions and to be seen as the legitimate authority. Nevertheless, most of the politics in the urban areas revolved around the tendency of many Western-educated Punjabis to identify with loosely defined religious groups rather than with a common class. The various programs reinforced identification complete with visions of a heroic past, a dangerous present and a future that required

76. N. Gerald Barrier, 'Sikh Politics in British Punjab prior to the Gurudwara Reform Movement' in Joseph T.O. C'onnell (ed), *op. cit.*, p. 170.

extensive mobilization of community resources. Macauliffe has noticed the impact of Hinduism on Sikh religion.⁷⁷ Local politicians carefully avoided confrontation or pressuring the British. Rather, they used resolutions, deputations and demonstrations of public opinion as the primary vehicles for influencing imperial politics. It is a known fact that Singh Sabha became a movement with Bhai Gurmukh Singh, Professor Oriental College Lahore, as its moving spirit. In 1879, he formed Singh Sabha at Lahore which was more democratic in character than the one in Amritsar.

Prof Gurmukh Singh had a clear perception of Sikhism as enunciated by the Sikh Gurus and was determined to restore it to its original shape, without any compromise with Hinduism. Macauliffe was a good friend of Professor Gurmukh Singh who used to participate in meetings as well as intellectual discussions with the Sikh intelligentsia. Macauliffe and Professor Gurmukh Singh constituted the radical wing and represented the wave of the future. Prof. Gurmukh Singh would neither let unchallenged Baba Khem Singh Bedi's claim to be Guru of Sikhs or his claim to a seat with cushion in Darbar Sahib, Amritsar. Similarly, Macauliffe had no sentiments for Sardar Thakur Singh Sandhanwalia's dream for restoration of Sikh Raj.⁷⁸ He wanted to put Sardar Thakur Singh

77. M.A. Macauliffe, 'The Sikh Religion Under Banda and its present Condition', in Darshan Singh (ed), *Western image of Sikh Religion*, National Book organization, New Delhi, 1999 p. 283.

78. M.A. Macauliffe, 'Rise of Amritsar and the Alteration of the Sikh Religion', in Darshan Singh (ed), *Western image of Sikh Religion*, National Book organization, New Delhi, 1999 p. 251.

Sandhanwalia's estate under Courts of Wards. Actually, the Punjab Laws Act of 1872, provided the Government to bring chiefly estates within the jurisdiction of the courts of wards⁷⁹, which gave Deputy Commissioners considerable scope for intervention in the affairs of these estates.⁸⁰

Macauliffe was an administrator and as such his heart always prone to the Britishers. He along with the leaders of Singh Sabha had a clear perception that in the present circumstances, seeking cooperation of the government was in the best interests of the Sikh community. The warming up of the Singh Sabha activity was discernible by a decision to establish Khalsa Diwan at Amritsar which came into being in 1883 to oversee the functioning of over three dozen Singh Sabhas. There was however, differences over the constitution of the Khalsa Diwan which resulted in a break, with Lahore Singh Sabha spearheading a Khalsa Diwan at Lahore with a membership of all except three of the Singh Sabhas affiliated to it. Suffice it to say that Lahore Singh Sabha become the focal point of Sikh reform movement and was instrumental in convincing Macauliffe at Ferozpur to leave his job of an administrator and to do translation of Sikh Scriptures. In 1890's it relentlessly pursued the objective of defending the Sikh faith

79. Andrew. J. Major, *Return to Empire*, Sterling Publishers Pvt Ltd, New, Delhi, 1996, p. 213-220.

80. As Court of Wards, the Deputy Commissioner was empowered to take charge of the management of the estates of females minors, idiots, lunatics and inheritors considered otherwise to be unfit for direct management. In the case of minors (under the age of 18) the jurisdiction of the Court of Wards extended to education of wards.

from hostile onslaughts, and propagation of the faith in its unadulterated form by patriotic updes, and by pen which led to lots of publications, and by organizing Singh Sabhas to have history committee to make community conscious of its caste.⁸¹

The British Government at this time was also ready to encourage freedom of thought, ideas of reforms on modern lines and even social revolt so long as these did not touch the dangerous ground of politics. The Government appreciated the division of people's attention from politics to religious and social reform. It refrained from adopting any such policy as would further antagonize the Sikhs, arouse their military instincts and remind them of their last glory

Sir Richard Temple suggests that it would be unwise unnecessarily to provoke the Sikhs regarding minor issues, lest the inflammable material should explode against them. Accordingly, it would be naïve for any historian not to understand the British policies and the course of events or ignore the assessment of the Chief British actors of the time. Sir Richard Temple's expression of British Policy is extremely revealing of the British mind. So far as the Sikhs were concerned they very well understood the natural and logical basis of that policy, namely, that while the British would not mind helping and

81. Sangat Singh, 'Political Development of Sikhs-Search for identity (1849-1919)', in Ganda Singh (ed), *Punjab Past and Present*, Vol XVI, Part – II, Publication Bureau, Punjab University, Patiala, October 1982, p. 268.

placating the Sikhs on minor and non essential issues, they would never tolerate any sufferance of their political interests.⁸²

The Sikhs faced onslaught from three side – from within, from Arya Samajists and from the Christian missionaries. The leaders of radical Singh Sabha of Lahore were conscious of the laudable objectives of the earlier Nirankari and Namdhari movements and had seen how the two movements had deviated from the centre of Sikhism by reverting to the institution of personal Guru, which was divisive and against the injunctions of Guru Gobind Singh who had abolished the personal Guruship and had passed it on to the Adi Granth. Macauliffe stresses on this fact time and again and propagates the supremacy of Adi Granth and its importance in the life of Sikhs.⁸³

Trumpp did an unforeseen but signal service to the Sikh community by providing an over view that stressed the inconsistencies with the current Sikh practices and its predominant Hindu character. His analyses were either seen as an evidence against Sikh attempts to assert a distinct identity, or as an attack that had to be confronted and proven wrong.⁸⁴ An intensification of the religious controversy lead to the emergence of pamphlets and small tracts as a vehicle of attacking and defending or preaching the various doctrines. All this

82. Gurdarshan Singh Dhillon, 'The Sikhs and the British (1849-1920)', in Jasbir Singh Mann and Kharak Singh (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 195-196.

83. M.A. Macauliffe, 'How the Sikhs Became a Militant People', in Darshan Singh (ed), *Western image of Sikh Religion*, National Book organization, New Delhi, 1999 p. 378.

84. Sangat Singh, 'Political Development of Sikhs-Search for identity (1849-1919)', *op. cit.*, p. 272.

culminated in the establishment of the Khalsa Tract Society with head quarters at Amritsar in 1894 under the auspices of Bhai Kaur Singh, which channelised the production and distribution of small, priceless volumes of theology, religion, history, philosophy, social practices and topics of current interest. This was also to serve as a counter to the preaching of Christian missionaries.⁸⁵

There was a measure of limited cooperation in the realm of *Shuddhi* along with growing Sikh-Arya controversies which changed due to schism in Arya Samaj into moderates and radicals. The radical Sikhs instituted a pork for converts from Islam but radical Aryans insisted rigidly on vegetarianism. Macauliffe mentions age old controversy of having meat or not as a Sikh. He was in favour of use of meat which according to him was never condemned by Guru Nanak.⁸⁶

During the last decade of the 19th century, the question of Sikh identity was posed with greater frequency and the camp educated Sikh increasingly sought a place for themselves within a distinctly Sikh world. Publication of *Sikh Hindu Hai* in 1899 by Arya Samajists Lala Thakur Das and Bawa Narain Singh led to publication of Bhai Khan Singh Nabha's famous tract "Hum Hindu Nahin". It analysed the separateness of Hindus and Sikhs and laid the basis for Sikh claims to a separate identity. This tract became the rallying point for

85. Sangat Singh, 'Political Development of Sikhs-Search for identity (1849-1919)', *op. cit.*, p. 272.

86. M.A. Macauliffe, 'The Diwali At Amritsar', in Darshan Singh (ed), *Western image of Sikh Religion*, National Book organization, New Delhi, 1999 p. 238

the Sikhs who had versus from Guru Granth and words of the gurus to assert their separate identity.

Macauliffe mentions one another controversy which was raging during his time and that was regarding language. During 1901 and 1903 the Sikhs debated with radical Aryas on the meaning of Sikhism, on their separateness from Hindus, and on the alleged job discrimination by the government as economic competitiveness between educated Sikhs and Hindus added fuel to the existing communal competition. It also led to language controversy with radical Hindus identifying themselves with Hindi in Dev Nagri script and the Sikhs with Panjabi in Gurmukhi script. In his preface to *The Sikh Religion* Macauliffe raises a strong voice in favour of Panjabi when he says that :

"Now the Panjab has become more enlightened, the remonstrances have grown louder and it remains to be seen whether any Lieutenant Governor will take the trouble or have the courage to made Panjabi an alternative language for the Panjab and thus confer a lasting forum not only on the Sikhs but on all natives of land of five rivers, whose medium of communication it is from the berth. At any rate, there appears nothing to hinder the Native State of the Panjab from making Punjabi their official language."⁸⁷

87. M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, S. Chand and Co, New Delhi, 1963 Preface, pp. XXIV-XXV

In 1901 Chief Khalsa Diwan was formed by Sundar Singh Majithia as leader of Amritsar Singh Sabha. Lahore Singh Sabha had weakened by this time due to death of people at the helm of its affairs like Professor Gurumukh Singh, Giani Ditt Singh and Sardar Attar S. Bhadaur. The Diwan had a formal constitution and its aim included promoting the welfare of the Khalsa Panth, propagating the teachings of gurbani, disseminating information about traditions and authentic sources and safe guiding the political rights of the Sikh. Several leaders continued from the most active Singh Sabhas, such as Vir Singh, Mohan Singh Vaid, Takhat Singh and Teja Singh Bhasaur. Sunder Singh Majithia had major input into the Chief Khalsa Diwan as he did with local journals and Khalsa College.⁸⁸ In 1905, the manager Arun Singh of the Golden Temple ordered the removal of Hindu idols from the precincts of of the Golden Temple, thereby putting an end to the performance of Hindu rituals in that area.⁸⁹

According to the legacy of earlier Singh Sabhas, the Chief Khalsa Diwan utilized two newspapers,- the *Khalsa Samachar* in Gurmukhi and the English language *Khalsa Advocate* started in 1903 to disseminate reports and spark public awareness. The Diwan also had some success in improving the political situation of the Sikhs as the British began to transfer power to the Indian population. Appreciating the permanent minority status of Sikhs, the leaders

88. N. Gerald Barrier, 'Sikh Politics in British Punjab prior to the Gurudwara Reform Movement' in Joseph T.O. C'onnell (ed), *op. cit.*, p. 175.

89. Sangat Singh, 'Political Development of Sikhs-Search for identity (1849-1919)', in Ganda Singh (ed), *op. cit.*, p. 275.

pursued a dual policy of cooperating with the government in order to assure or extend patronage as well as defending Sikh interests in public matters and constitutional discussions. Examples included having more Sikh holidays on the Punjab official calendar, the expansion of Punjabi in educational and bureaucratic networks, the acceptance of turbans and *kirpans* in many public areas⁹⁰ and setting up of "Khalsa Bradari" for leveling of class distinction by the Sikhs from backward classes in 1907. In 1908, Tikka Ripudaman Singh of Nabha introduced Anand Marriage Bill in the legislative Council. It was the first case of Sikh mobilization. The Diwan came to be seen as a major if not the most important Sikh organization by Sikhs and British rulers alike.

Sikhs had been discussing the formation of an educational conference since 1903. Later in 1908, when the government took over the administration of Khalsa College, Amritsar, the Chief Khalsa Diwan laid foundations of Sikh Educational Conference, which did a pioneer work in establishing schools for better education of the community. It left a school being, wherever the annual function of the Sikh Educational conference was held.⁹¹ The Diwan enjoyed the greatest prestige among Sikhs from 1902 upto 1914⁹²

90. N.G. Barrier, 'The Formulation and Transmission of Sikh Tradition: Competing Organizations and Ideology 1902-1925' in Pashaura Singh and N.G. Barrier (ed), *The Transmission of Sikh Heritage in the Diaspora*, Manohar Publication, Delhi, 1996.

91. Sangat Singh, 'Political Development of Sikhs-Search for identity (1849-1919)', in Ganda Singh (ed), *op. cit.*, p. 276.

92. Prof Teja Singh, 'The Singh Sabha Movement', in Ganda Singh (ed), *The Singh Sabha and other Socio-Religious Movements*, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala 1997, p. 40

Increasingly aware of their vulnerability as a permanent minority, Sikhs pressed for more patronage and weightage on the basis of a record of loyalty and contributions to the army and economy. Much of the rhetoric of course was designed to pressure and keep Sikh interests in the limelight. Right from 1905, the beginning of period of self-assertion, the Sikhs found themselves in conflict with the government despite the efforts by the Chief Khalsa Diwan to charter a middle course and adopt a flexible attitude. The unrest in Canal Colonies, symbolized by Sardar Ajit Singh's soul stirring "Pagri Samblal Jatta" in 1907 and the unrest following the partition of Bengal affected the Sikh youth, including the students of Khalsa College, Amritsar. This resulted in take over of Khalsa college's management by the Government. in 1908.

Challenges to the Chief Khalsa Diwan came from many sides. Some Sikhs involved in revolutionary or extremist politics questioned the strategy of working with the British and chose instead developing mass anti-colonial movements such as the attacks on colonial irrigation policies in 1907, the Ghadar Party in America, on open defiance of British authority over emotional issues such as damage to Rikabgenj Gurudwara in New Delhi in 1913.⁹³

93. N.G. Barrier, 'The Formulation and Transmission of Sikh Tradition: Competing Organizations and Ideology 1902-1925' in Pashaura Singh and N.G. Barrier (ed), *The Transmission of Sikh Heritage in the Diaspora*, Manohar Publication, Delhi, 1996

The increased political awareness⁹⁴ of a range of Sikh organization and groups, however, put mounting pressure on C.K.D leadership to achieve more and at a faster pace. Their authority also tended to be questioned from another direction. In 1909, for example, the District Commissioner of Amritsar decided that Singh Sabha members could not be managers or granthis at the Golden Temple. The Chief Khalsa Diwan and the Sikh press perceived this as an official insensitivity and a gross interference in Sikh domestic affairs.⁹⁵ Had they known the depth of distrust within Criminal Investigation Department and Punjab police, they would have been for more upset.

The Sikh political attitude was in the process of evolution following the Morley-Minto Council reforms of 1909 and the grant of separate representation and weightage to the Muslims, The Sikhs asked for similar concessions. The Chief Chalsa Diwan representative justified special representation for the Sikhs not on the basis of their population but their military contribution to the empire. Despite Governor's support to Diwan's claim, nothing came out of the move.

By the end of the first decade of 20th century, the Sikhs were in high spirits and on the high road to emerge as a vital community. The publication in 1909 of Macauliffe's *The Sikh Religion*, which received

94 The Chief Khalsa Diwan continued to deal with each new political problem by using the strategies that had met with success in the past-public meetings, resolutions, demonstrations, use of journals and tracts to mobilize support and personal or official negotiations with the British. Its leaders saw themselves in a broken role, trying to mediate difference and facilitate communication.

95. *Khalsa Samachar*, Aug 26, 1909, p. 2

accolades in England and over time become a major work on Sikhism, was late by at least half a decade, if not more. Macauliffe affirmed that Sikhism was a separate religion, but still in danger of reabsorption by Hinduism. He wrote that Hinduism had embraced Sikhism in its fold and the “still comparatively young religion is making a vigorous struggle, but its ultimate destruction is, it is apprehended, inevitable with out state support. By this time, the Sikhs had outgrown the earlier phase of attempts to defend the intellectual tenets of their faith.”⁹⁶

Macauliffe attended the Sikh Educational Conference at Rawalpindi in 1910. No body went to receive him at the Railway station, and the promoters of the conference refused to include a Resolution, saying that his research work was worthy of Sikhs consideration. Broken in health and more in spirits on account of debt incurred in publication of the volumes, he left for England where he died as a dejected man in 1913. The Chief Khalsa Diwan did not wanted to alienate the goodwill of British government at any cost.⁹⁷

Any large meetings, such as the Diwan held by the Lahore Singh Sabha in Oct, 1910, automatically became suspect. The British

96. D. Petrie, 'Memorandum on Recent Developments in Sikh Politics (1911)' in *Punjab Past and Present*, Vol. IV, Part-II, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, Oct 1970, pp.

97. Actually, the 1907 disturbances had shaken the Punjab government. One result was a tendency to see conspiracy and danger behind any sustained public activity. The daily and weekly reports on the Punjab are filled with tales and warning. According to N.G. Barrier, though much of the information is skewed, inaccurate and worthless, but the British relied on informants and an intelligence system and often acted upon misconceptions. In a much quoted evaluation of Sikh politics, Petrie blends fact, fiction and conjecture into a web of conspiracy.⁹⁷ Scattered speeches and tract material are laced together to suggest a Tat Khalsa threat to the government.

did have information and some insight into the various factions among Sikhs, but the underlying theme was that of a once loyal community slipping into sedition.

The secret memorandum prepared by D. Petrie, Assistant Director of Criminal Intelligence Department in Aug 1911 surveying “Recent Developments in Sikh Politics” during the last six decades was an important document.⁹⁸ It indicated his concern at the growth of the neo-Sikh movement, which he regarded as “thoroughly disloyal”. The Director, Criminal Intelligence, C.R. Cleveland, toned down Petrie’s observations in his comments of Oct 1911 that Mr. Petrie has disclaimed infallibility and permanence of the conclusions which his labour has led him “and that their modern development are specially difficult to understand and appraise aright.” Unable to sort out various components in neo-Sikh aggressiveness, the authorities kept their fingers crossed.⁹⁹

Thus, we see that confidential correspondence and bureaucratic decisions reflected a sense that Sikhs could be dangerous and somehow must be contained and controlled.¹⁰⁰ There was a drastic change from the earlier times when accommodation with the British was considered a logical and strategic move by Sikhs. That required compromise and political maneuvering, with confrontation and

98. D. Petrie, ‘Memorandum on Recent Developments in Sikh Politics (1911)’, *op. cit.*

99. Sangat Singh, *The Sikhs in History, Uncommon Books*, New Delhi, 2001, p. 155

100. N.G. Barrier, ‘Authority, Politics and Contemporary Sikhism’, in Pashaura Singh and N.G. Barrier (ed), *Sikhism and History*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2004, p, 196.

conflict only as a last resort. In the formative stages of Punjab Politics such an approach had worked reasonably well, but with the shifting of British priorities and the emergence of a new set of constitutional and public arrangements after 1909 the change was quite glaring in the relations between British Government and the Sikhs. The national movement, rise of Akali Dal and Shiromani Gurdwara Prabhandak Committee were soon to come in the forefront of religious and political agitations. All these were to change history of Punjab completely.

CONCLUSION

British came to annex Punjab in 1849 but their contact with Sikhs dated back to 17th century. Writings of Polier, Browne and Forster give us glimpses of British Governments interests in Sikhs and Punjab. Polier's paper, "History of the Seeks" in 1787 throws light on the conditions of Punjab prior to formation of misls as well as the reliability of British Government on its officials in formulating their Indian policies.

Browne was the first administrator scholar who understood the inborn relations of the Sikhs to religion and politics and the strength derived therein. He presented this relation in 1788 in his work *History of the Origin and Progress of the Sikhs*.

By the end of 18th century, Punjab under different Sikh misls was fast getting shaped as the great Sikh empire under Maharaja Ranjit Singh came into existence. It was the work of an administrator in the person of John Malcolm which put Sikh studies into prominence. Malcolm's *Sketch of the Sikhs* in 1809 showed the importance of Sikh Scriptures in the political life of the Sikhs. The presence of powerful Sikh kingdom under Maharaja Ranjit Singh was a cause of grave concern to the British officials and Government as such. Efforts in all earnest ways were made to weaken and encircle the Sikh Raj. Malcolm was an experienced administrator who could be relied upon by the British to fulfill their diplomatic mission in or for the kingdom of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

The untimely death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (June 1839) gave an opportunity to annex Sikh dominions into British Indian Empire. Even before 1849 the writings of different Europeans of this period aimed at legitimizing the British Policy towards intervention in Punjab or its annexation. The work of H.T. Prinsep another administrator under the title, *The Origin of the Sikhs Power in the Punjab and the Political life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh with an account of the Religion, Laws and Customs of the Sikhs* in 1834 clarifies the motives of the writer and his superiors in itself. It was the Bentinck era (1828-35) followed by Lord Dalhousie (1848-56).

But with the arrival of J.D. Cunningham's *A History of the Sikhs From The Origin Of The Nation To The Battles Of The Sutlej* in 1849 A.D., British imperialistic veil was removed. The British could not bear to stand their true motivations being exposed by a person who belonged to their own fraternity. The result was expulsion of Cunningham from his job. Actually, he had addressed himself to the British nation and had opined that in British relation with the neighbouring Indian states, the character of Agent was as much an important factor as the policy itself. He was unique among the British historians of the Sikhs to appreciate the role of Sikh ideology in shaping Sikh History.

Britishers after 1857 were more concerned about contemporary Sikhs especially in getting their support and services as the subject people. Henry Lepel Griffin's work *The Punjab Chiefs* in 1865 and

Rajas of Punjab in 1870 discusses the efforts made by Punjab School of Administrators to deepen their own rule in Punjab. Efforts of G.W. Leitner in the foundation of *Anjuman-i-Punjab* in 1865 and educational actions through Oriental College at Lahore (1876), Panjab University College, Lahore (1869) which later got changed to Panjab University (1882), Forman Christian College, the Atchinson Chiefs College at Lahore were aimed at this development and ultimately, the Punjab University signified the efforts made by administrators in Punjab to win over loyalty of surviving aristocracy and the elite to the British Government. But the Namdhari uprising in Punjab in 1860's and 1870's created a hurdle in this great political game plan of the Britishers. To handle Kukas, it became crucial for the British to understand the fountainhead of their inspiration in the classical Sikh literature.

The importance of Sikh Scriptures now again became more pronounced. This gave birth to translation project of Holy Granths of the Sikhs. This idea of translation of Sikh scriptures was originated with R.N. Cust while he was in London in 1857. After coming to India, he proposed this idea through D.F. McLeod to the Government of India. McLeod's proposals were accepted and both the *Adi Granth* and *Dasam Granth* were acquired by the British to get them translated into a European language. Consequently, the Holy Sikh books were sent to England in 1859 by the Government of India.

The Project in itself follows the evolving viewpoint of administration vis-a-vis Sikhs. It was only in 1869 that E. Trumpp was employed to get the Sikh Scriptures translated into English language. But this publication of *Adi Granth* in 1877 become a catalyst in the formation of Singh Sabha and ultimately the involvement of M.A. Macauliffe in the Sikh Studies. The Sikhs created an uproar over the derogatory remarks by Ernest Trumpp through the Singh Sabha movement. The Singh Sabhas wanted someone from the British administration who would translate their scriptures in true light of Sikh ethos and principles. Hence Macauliffe was chosen for this task.

Macauliffe's own interest in Sikh religion once sparked by the Great Diwali of Amritsar in 1880's kept burning till the end of his life. His writings over three decades between 1880 and 1909 happened to be the most crucial phase of Sikh studies. Moreover, in the last quarter of 19th Century and beginning of 20th Century, English knowing intelligentsia in Lahore and Amritsar become aware of Sikh identity issues. As a result of this both Sikh politics and history writing acquired a new role by 1893.

Macauliffe's various articles such 'Diwali at Amritsar' (1880), 'Rise of Amritsar and the Alterations of the Sikh Religion' (1881), 'The Sikh Religion under Banda and its present condition' (1881), 'Holy Writings of the Sikhs' (1898), 'The Sikh Religion : A Symposium'

(1903), 'How the Sikhs became a Militant People' (1905), 'The Holy Scriptures of the Sikh' (1910) and ultimately his magnum opus *The Sikh Religion* in six volumes in 1909. A.D. traces his journey in relation to Sikhism and its modern interpretations.

The evolvement of his own self along the lines of Singh Sabha ideologies made him quite critical and vocal against Earnest Trumpp. His own letters to British Government signifies the hurt caused to Sikh people by Trumpp's translation. He feared how such a translation should be kept at 'considerable distance' from one's study and felt that his 'useless labour and the large amount of money was spent in vain'.

The different memorandums given by Singh Sabhas especially that of 1888 to Lord Dufferin (1884-1889) and in 1899 to Lord Curzon (1899-1905) highlights the mistakes which knowingly and unknowingly were committed by translation project undertaken by Trumpp under the aegis of British Government (1869-1877). These also shows the devotion of Macauliffe

Time and again requests were made by Sikh representatives to get British Government's approval for the translation to be done under Macauliffe. Unlike other western scholars of the day, Macauliffe exhibited humility and caution in claiming authority either in Sikh history or in Sikh scriptures. Being aware of his shortcomings, he established deep continuing contacts with leading Sikh scholars like

Bhai Kahan Singh, Professor Gurmukh Singh and Bhai Ditt Singh in addition to intelligentsia and aristocracy of his times. He studied a number of Indian and related languages in order to master the linguistic complexities of the Guru Granth Sahib. He was aware of the fact that there were not many people during his time who understood exegesis of the Sikh Scriptures.

Macauliffe used every source very judiciously. He used to send printed proofs of his translation of Sikh scripture to selective Sikhs in different parts of the province with a request for their opinion and critical suggestions. His house used to be a meeting ground of eminent Sikh theologians and exponents of Sikh teachings. Macauliffe submitted his every line to the criticism of this council. Only the best and most plausible of all the translations were chosen by him. It was exerting and time consuming with lots of expenditure involved, yet, Macauliffe cared only for the authentic and true meanings and their translation.

Macauliffe considered Guru Nanak as the true founder of a new religion and thus gave notion of independence to the identity of believers of Sikhism as being distinct from Hinduism. In his article "Diwali at Amritsar" he writes "the manner in which Sikhism was constructed out of contemporary Hindus and Buddhistic beliefs supplemented by the exaltation of the Gurus.... may perhaps not inaptly compared to the process by which the prophet of Makka reared the fabric of Islam out of Judaism, Christianity, and the paganism of the Sabeans".

On the contemporary and most important issue of Sikh beings distinct from Hindus he says that the Sikhism differs from Hinduism "as the age of Manu differs from that of the present Hindus or as Religion of the prophet of Makka differs from that of Hinduized Musalmans of India."

According to Macauliffe, military characteristics of the Sikhs were inseparable part of teachings of Sikh Guru and Guru Gobind Singh's organization of the community on military lines were in no any deviation from the precepts and teachings of Guru Nanak. The evolution of the Sikh community was a process of natural growth of the teachings and the institutions established by Guru Nanak the founder of Sikhism. All the elements of Sikh tradition existed in the vision of Guru Nanak but they become manifest only when there were reasons for it in the history.

Macauliffe adopted a particular pattern of organisation and style when presenting the lives and teachings of the Gurus. Popular tales about each Guru were pieced together in clear fashion, interspersed with prayers and scriptures from the Granth.

Macauliffe being once a part of administrative machinery and having good relations with Sikh and British intelligentsia, tried to understand the various issues which were hotly debated in those times. The controversies surrounding meat eating, use of Punjabi language, Dasam Granth were mentioned by him in his writings. They

were not only mentioned rather usually his own view was strongly put forward. Being sympathetic and close to Tat Khalsa, his views were naturally influenced by the Singh Sabha ideology.

Macauliffe realized that he could not do justice to his work of translation due to himself being a full time government administrator. He resigned his job in 1893 after he was convinced that he would be monetarily compensated for his financial loss. Further the Singh Sabha leaders assured him of British Government's aid and sanction within one or two months.

This clarifies Macauliff's reliance on his own Government for approval. He routinely attempted to clarify complex issues, such as an explanation of the key junctures in the evolution of Sikhism by drawing real or imagined parallels with Western tradition. He steadfastly remained loyal towards British administration and his own government.

Macauliffe had no hesitation in supporting the British policy of baptizing the Sikh recruits according to the rite prescribed by Guru Gobind Singh in spite of the professed civil policy of 'religious neutrality'. It shows that Sikhs and especially Khalsa appearance was not only much appreciated rather, it was actively promoted by the English as a 'martial class'.

Macauliffe tried in vain to gain the sanction of his own Government in Punjab as well as that of Government of India towards the benefits of his enterprise. He enlisted a number of advantages

which his project could reap for administrators in the political field. These were very explicitly mentioned in his article "The Holy Writing of Sikhs" which he read before the *Aryan Section of the Congress of Orientalists in Paris in 1897* and later published in *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of 1898. The benefits were as follows :

- (i) it is going to be politically advantages to the British,
- (ii) use of translation to English speaking natives, Britishers as well as intelligentsia,
- (iii) the shortage of traditional well read and true religious preachers and teachers might be overcome.
- (iv) the rapidly altering and diverging of vernacular literature with general language of the Granth Sahib.
- (v) absence of any trustworthy translation which had made people revert to superstition in ignorance of knowledge of one's scriptures.
- (vi) his translation might led to its translations into Punjabi and Hindi. All this would made the message of the Granth accessible to the masses.
- (vii) the translation would practically introduce a new religion to the world.
- (viii) the work was going to assist historians and philologists.
- (ix) the knowledge of Sikh tradition was an acknowledged administrative practice and need of the British.

Inspite all his endeavours to please his government towards his cause, he failed to enlist their support. His own financial difficulties and disillusionment with Government as well as Sikh intelligentsia and leaders put him on the defensive. Nothing much transpired in terms of financial help either by Government or by Rulers of Nabha and Patiala of lakhs of rupees as promised to him. Small grants kept him alive and covered incidentals but these were grossly inadequate. In march 1898, the Chief of Nabha did not even permit Bhai Kahan Singh to join him. So much so that Sundar Singh Majithia and Amritsar Singh Sabha denied him services of Sardar Sadhu Singh in his translation work. Unaware of growing discontent at his tactics, Macauliffe showered the Government with more documents and requests. He complained to his friends about the indifferences of Sikh elite as well as British Government.

In 1907, Macauliffe left for England and after two trips to that place along with Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha he was ready with translation which now encompassed lives of Gurus and those of other Sikhs whose writings were present in the Granth Sahib. He returned to India in 1909. On his return trip to India, the cabin of Macauliffe caught fire and had it not been the quick and prompt action taken by the staff on the ship, his whole, work spanning two decades would have been lost. Years of hard work had ultimately paid in the form of "The Sikh Religion" which was published for the first time by Oxford

University at Clarendon Press in 1909 in six Volume. But the completion of such work of great importance failed to bring any happiness to Macauliffe. Rather his experiences with Sikh leaders and rulers had left him heart broken. They refused to acknowledge his work because the Punjab Government had refused to support Macauliffe. The Punjab Government and the Government of India refused to sanction the published work and the latter's offer of a contribution of small sum of Rs. 5000/- was indigently rejected by him as paltry in the extreme. Sikhs were loud in their praises but fearing the loss of Government patronage, the wealthy amongst them held back from financial donation to him.

Macauliffe's zeal and enthusiasm for his work and convictions becomes quite apparent when he completed his work of translation of Adi Granth along with lives of Gurus and important Bhagats under many adverse circumstances. He spent a huge amount of money from his own personal account which made him financially very weak. Above all, he did not allowed his ill health and old age to come in his way of work. He did not marry and considered Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha as his family and even bequeathed his property to Bhai Bhagwan Singh Ji (only child of Bhai Kahn Singh), though this was refused by the eminent savant of Sikh theology.

Yet, Macauliffe's work was attacked as too sectarian and parochial meant to tear the Hindus from the Sikhs. Others criticised it as being too traditional and couched in an archaic language. Others

said that it had invented or circulated unauthorized stories in order to include loyalist tendencies among the Sikhs towards the British Government.

Macauliffe went back to England and died there on 15th March, 1913. He died as a Sikh yet his death failed to elicit a befitting tribute from those very people for whom he gave his lifetime. Even the recognition that he received posthoumsly in 1913 at Sikh Educational Conference at Amabala was grossly inadequate and insufficient for the great labour undertaken by M.A. Macauliffe to introduce Sikhism as a Religion to the whole world.

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ABSTRACT

The origin of westerner's interest in Sikhism can be traced back to 17th century. The Sikh studies had their different phases. The Western Sikh studies initially came due to political reasons because Sikhs had become politically very important in North India. British soon came in contact with them and so curiosity gave way to necessity especially when East India Company became paramount power in India.

Max Arthur Macauliffe choose to write on Sikh history out of curiosity but become one of its important student as well as its writer. In 1875, Macauliffe wrote an article entitled, "The Fair at Sakhi Sarwar" in *Calcutta Review*. From 1880-81, he wrote 3 articles in *Calcutta Review* i.e. "The Diwali at Amritsar" in 1880, "The Rise of Amritsar and Alterations of the Sikh Religion" in 1881 and "The Sikh Religion under Banda and its Present Condition" in 1881.

The "Holy Writings of the Sikhs" was read before the Aryan Section of the Congress of Orientalists in Paris in 1897 and it was published in April, July and October numbers of the Asiatic Quarterly Review for 1898.

Simultaneously, he also did translation work. "The Sikh Religion" was delivered as a lecture at the United Service Club, Shimla in July 1903 and was later published in their *Journal of the United Service Club, Shimla* in 1903. It was reentitled as "The Sikh Religion and its Advantages of the State". He gave another lecture in 1903 entitled, "How the Sikhs became a Militant people" after his previous lecture in Shimla itself. It was also published by *Journal of United Service Club, Shimla* in 1903.

Macauliffe wrote his magnum opus i.e. *The Sikh Religion* in six volumes in three books after sixteen years of hard labour. It was published at Clarendon Press in 1909. This work had an immense affect on the evolution of Sikh identity and politics. In October, 1910,

his "Holy Scripture of the Sikh" was published in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*.

My study deals with British administration and their concern with Sikh Studies with special emphasis on M.A. Macauliffe – the author of "The Sikh Religion". Macauliffe showed his keen interest in Sikh religion at a time when the Singh Sabha was entering its vigorous phase by early 1880's. Being an administrator, Macauliffe resigned his lucrative job. The Government refused to patronize his work during the years 1898-1909. The very people i.e. the Sikhs for whom Macauliffe had worked for came to criticize him. The study of Macauliffe's work, time and period will make social milieu in which he worked very clear to us. The chapterisation of my thesis is as follows :

Chapter – 1

Origin of Sikh Studies : Historical Background

Chapter – 2

Macauliffe and His Concern With Sikhism or the Sikhs

Chapter – 3

Macauliffe and the British Administration

Chapter – 4

Construction of Sikh History upto and by Macauliffe

Chapter – 5

Construction of Sikh Religion (1805-1909)

My thesis is an endeavour to understand the relations between British Administration and Sikh Studies with special emphasis on M.A. Macauliffe.

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