

## CHAPTER II.

### HISTORY.

#### SECTION A.—PHYSICAL.

The question whether the Jamná ever, as thought by some geologists as well as archæologists, formed a part of the western water system, is too large to touch upon; but if the Jamná ever did run into the Indian Ocean, the two large and very remarkable bights in the Bángar on which the cities of Karnál and Pánípat stand, and which cut right through and extend to the west of the water-shed, almost certainly mark two intermediate steps in its change to its present course; and the old course must have run along the foot of the Nardak step, where the main canal runs now. But changes in this stream have been, during historical time, confined within the limits of its present Khádar. That it did once flow below the towns of Karnál and Pánípat, in the bed immediately under the Khádar bank now occupied by the Búrhí Nadí, is beyond a doubt. And it is also certain that it did not at once wholly abandon that bed; but that a branch of some importance continued to flow in the old channel till comparatively recent times. In 1398 A.D., Taimúr encamped on the banks of the river of Pánípat on his way from Pánípat to the Jamná; and the Afn Akbarí, written about 1590 A.D., states that "the stream of Sanjnaulí (a village in the Khádar) runs under the town of Karnál." There is a universal tradition that the Búrhí Nadí used to flow regularly in flood times within a comparatively recent period; and within the memory of man the floods have passed from the river above Dhansaulí and run down the old bed as far as Dehli, the last occasion being in 1864 A.D. But the strongest evidence is afforded by the map, which clearly shows that in some parts of its course the river or its branch suddenly changed its course, while in others it gradually retreated. On this part of the Jamná, the villages on the river edge divide alluvion thrown up in front of them by straight lines drawn from the end of their old boundaries to meet the main stream. The result is that, as the general tendency of the stream is to shift eastwards, the boundaries of villages which have had a gradually receding river frontage for any considerable period, run out to the east in long parallel lines. This formation is well marked on the present river frontage; and it is impossible to look at a map showing the village boundaries of the Karnál, Pánípat, Sunpat and Dehli Khádars, without being convinced that exactly the same process has taken place in some places and not in others along the course

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of the Búrhí Nadí or Gandá Nálá, the dry channel of which still runs under the Khádar bank. There are two well-defined blocks of land which are clearly marked off from the rest of the Khádar by the superior stiffness of their soil, and by their sharply-defined river bank. They are:—the block including Atá, Dahrá, Rákasahrá and Ganaur, and that including Barsat, Púndri, Bávail and Korár. Now, these two blocks consist of villages with more or less circular boundaries, while the villages to the west of them show marks of alluvial accretion; and there is little doubt that these former villages were at no *very* distant period on the east bank of the Jamná. This conclusion is borne out by local tradition, which tells us that Ganaur and Barsat, with all the villages about them, formerly lay to the east of the river. Mr. Ibbetson writes as follows:—

“My personal knowledge of the soil of every village in the Khádar, and of the innumerable old channels still to be traced, has convinced me that these two areas have wholly escaped the river action which in comparatively recent times has gone on throughout the remainder of the Khádar; and that here, and here alone, the main river has changed its course suddenly and not gradually. It follows, of course, that the change in that course may have taken place after, and not before, the date of origin of these villages.”

As regards the date of the change, almost the only data we have are the number of generations for which the various Khádar villages are said to have been inhabited. The Pánipat tradition is that the river left the city walls in the times of Búali Qalandar, or about 1300 A.D. The villages over which the river appears to have passed comparatively recently show from 10 to 15 generations in their genealogical trees; those which the river appears to have gone round, from 20 to 30. Of course, even supposing the genealogical tree to be absolutely correct, it by no means follows that all the generations have followed since the foundation of the village, for the community traces back its descent to its common ancestor; and it is always possible, and, in villages settled as offshoots from a neighbouring parent village, almost certain, that the family as it stood at some stage of its descent from him, and not the ancestor alone, emigrated to the new village. Much information on the riverain changes of the Panjáb is to be extracted from the first few pages of Mr. Medlicott's sketch of Panjáb Geology, published in the Provincial volume of this Gazetteer.

The Chautang and  
Nai Nadí.

The existence of numberless abandoned wells throughout the Nardak jungles affords certain proof that the tract was once far less arid than it is now; for extensive irrigation with water at 70 to 90 feet from the surface is impossible, at any rate to Rájputés. The whole country-side say that the Chautang was dug out and straightened by some former Emperor, and used in old days to flow continuously as a canal; and that when the stream became intermittent, the water-level sank and the wells were abandoned. The names of the builders of many of the wells are known; and it would appear that the change dates from not so very many years back. It is noticeable that Nádir Sháh, in January 1739, crossed “a large river” at Taráorí on the Nai Nadí; and the people say that one of the old Emperors built a dam and turned part of the Chautang water into the Nai. The whole matter is intimately connected with the interesting question of where Fíroz Sháh's canal really did run.

This will be the most convenient place to give such information as is available with regard to the earlier famines in these parts. In 1783 A.D., or 1840 S., there was a terrible famine known as the *chāhisa* in which grain rose to 4 seers the rupee, and the horrors of which have been handed down by tradition to the present generation. No efforts were made to relieve the distress, and even rich men died in numbers. In 1803 A.D. or 1860 S., there was a total failure of crops, and great distress, but little mortality. In 1812 A.D., or 1869 S., grain rose to 10 seers per rupee; but great efforts were made to encourage private enterprise and transport, and the mortality was not great. In 1824-25 A.D., or 1881 S.,\* there was a terrible famine. In the former year the crops withered up; in the latter none were sown. No grass sprang up, the cattle died, agricultural operations were suspended, the people fled, and not one-fifth of the revenue was collected, and in many villages none was even demanded. The export of grain to the south, where the distress was even more severe than in the tract itself, helped to raise prices. But there would not appear to have been any very great mortality.

In 1833 A.D., or 1890 S., the whole country was overwhelmed by the most terrible famine which village tradition can recall, forming the epoch from which old men fix the dates of events. In many villages no land was even ploughed up for the autumn crop; in but few was any seed sown; in none was a crop reaped. What little grass sprang up was eaten by locusts. The cattle died;\* grain rose to 8 seers per rupee, and the people followed their cattle; while crowds of emigrants from the high-lands to the west poured into the district to help the residents to starve. The spring rains were abundant, and where cultivation was possible, an ample yield combined with famine prices more than covered the money loss of the preceding season; but men and cattle alike were wanting to take full advantage of the opportunity. And when the rains of 1834 again failed, the district simply broke down. Large remissions and suspensions of demand were made, large balances accrued on the remainder, the jails were once more filled with defaulters, and villages were again deserted in every direction. On this occasion it was proposed to prohibit the export of grain to the west; but Government sternly refused to allow of "any tampering with the grain market as highly objectionable in principle, and likely to lead to disastrous results."

In 1837 A.D., or 1894 S., the failure of the rains again caused the greatest distress. In the district itself there was nothing more than a severe drought, in itself a sufficiently depressing circumstance. But further south the calamity assumed the proportions of a great famine, so that in some places the people were "driven to move bodily to find food elsewhere;" and the demand for grain thus created drove up prices in Pánípat to famine rates. Wheat was again at 8 to 10 seers per rupee. In 1841 A.D. a terrible epidemic of fever ravaged the whole of the Dehli territory, the mortality being so great that "in many places the crops died for want of persons to look after

\* Mr. John Lawrence says:—"As early as the end of April there was not a blade of grass to be seen for miles, and the surrounding plains were covered with the carcasses of the cattle which had died from starvation. On the canal splendid crops were cut down and sold as fodder to those who could afford to pay for them."

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them," while the Government revenue showed a deficit of Rs. 2,37,000; and in 1843 another of a similar character, but even more terrible, devastated the country. In 1842 the rains failed, but the calamity assumed the proportions of a drought rather than of a famine. In 1851 a drought began, which continued to 1852, almost causing a famine; and the effects upon the crops were "infinitely disastrous." In 1858 A.D., or 1917 S., the rain-fall was scanty; in 1859 it consisted of "only three or four heavy showers;" in 1860 it was less than 6 inches at Karnál. Within two months the price of wheat rose from 23 to 9 seers per rupee, the large export of grain across the Jamná greatly enhancing the demand. Relief works were set on foot, and from January to September 1861, the weak and sickly were fed at an expense to which the famine fund alone contributed Rs. 41,500. In August of the same year, 22,237 souls received relief in this manner. Cholera broke out in the camps, and the mortality was considerable among both men and cattle. In the Nardak two-thirds of the collections were suspended; and between 1860 and 1863 balances of Rs. 43,000 accrued, of which more than Rs. 27,000 had eventually to be remitted.

In 1869 A.D. or 1925 S., a famine again occurred, which was not so general, nor in the lower parts of the district so severe as that of 1860. But in the Nardak and the Kaithal *tahsil* the failure of crops was more complete, and the distress greater; and the terrible mortality among the cattle left far more lasting effects upon the prosperity of the people. In 1868 both crops entirely failed, and in 1869 no rain fell till August, and the autumn harvest was accordingly scanty, while the spring harvest again entirely failed. Relief works of a very extensive nature were again opened, and alms distributed as before. From first to last Rs. 1,71,643 were spent, and 19,90,700 souls fed, the daily average of helpless persons receiving gratuitous relief in April 1862 being Rs. 12,120, in addition to Rs. 1,814 on relief works. Cattle to the number of 65,000 died, and "saved the *Chamárs* and *Chúhrás* from starvation." Of the Nardak in particular, the Deputy Commissioner wrote:—

"Hundreds of people are in a state of semi-starvation, never getting enough to eat from one day to another. Not a leaf is to be seen on the trees that have, while they lasted, made a wretched substitute for fodder for the cattle. Skeletons of cattle in all directions, empty huts, and lean countenances of the people remaining in villages, indicate a state of poverty fully justifying the relief proposed."

The Government, in its review of the famine, stated that it was more severe in Karnál than in any other district of the Panjáb. The suspensions for the district, including the high tract of Kaithal, were Rs. 46,647, Rs. 19,400 out of a demand of Rs. 24,000 being suspended in the Nardak of the Karnál *tahsil* alone in 1869. Nearly 20,000 cattle died in the Nardak alone, and the people have never recovered from the effect of this terrible blow, directed as it was at their most certain source of sustenance.

During the progress of Mr. Ibbetson's Settlement operations a drought, in some respects more destructive, because more prolonged than any of its predecessors, afflicted the Nardak. From 1875 to 1877 the people had not a single good crop. Poor-houses were opened, and relief works set on foot; but mortality was small, and in

fact famine pitch was hardly reached. But the grass famine was terribly complete; and the cattle again suffered fearfully. Large remissions and suspensions were again sanctioned, but the strain on the resources of the people was very severe.

It is curious to note the regularity with which drought or famine years recur, as shown in the following series of years:—1783, 1803, 1812, 1824, 1833, 1842, 1851, 1859, 1869, 1877, 1883.

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## SECTION B.—POLITICAL.

The great plain of which the district forms a part, lying, as it does, at the very door of Hindústán, has from the time of the Mahábhárat to the establishment of English rule been the battle-field of India. But the portion with which we have to do is so near to the capital of Dehli, that whenever and for so long as the empire which centered in that city existed as more than a name; the political fortunes of Karnál were practically identical with those of Dehli itself. Thus all that will be attempted here is to relate so much of its political history as is distinct from that of the Imperial city, and to notice briefly the historical events which took place within the tract itself. The tribal history of the tract is given in Chapter III.

General remarks.

The objects of antiquarian interest existing in the tract are few in number and of little importance. The most curious of them is the old shrine of Sitá Máí, at the village of that name in the Nardak. It is built in the ordinary form of a Hindu temple, of which Mr. Fergusson gives many examples in his hand-book of Indian Architecture. It is of brick; but the curious feature is the elaborate ornamentation which covers the whole shrine, the pattern of which is formed by deep lines in the individual bricks which seem to have been made before the bricks were burnt, so that the forms they were to take must have been separately fixed for each brick. A large part of the shrine was pulled down and thrown into the tank by some iconoclast Emperor; and though the bricks have been got out and the shrine rebuilt with them yet they have been put together without any regard to the original pattern. The broken finial, part of which has been recovered, is of a curious shape if it was originally made for a Hindu temple, as it is more suggestive of Buddhist symbolism. The shrine is said to mark the spot where the earth swallowed up Sitá in answer to her appeal for a proof of her purity. The shrine of Qalandar Sáhíb at Pánípat possesses two slabs of touchstone of very unusual size. It was built by Khizi Khán and Shádi Khán, sons of the Emperor Ala-ul-dín Ghorí. Pánípat possesses several buildings dating from early Afghán times; and the Kábul Bágh mosque built by Bábar will be mentioned below.

Antiquities.

*Minárs* which mark the course of the old Trunk Road are still standing at intervals of about two miles. And the ruins of the hostleries (*saráís*) at Gharaundá and Simbhalka are still in existence, the former being a very fine and striking specimen of early Mughal architecture. It was built by Khán Fíroz in the reign of Sháh Jaghán about 1632 A.D. The contrast between the huge brick gates which

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were then necessary for the protection of travellers, and the slight structures which now suffice for the same purpose, speaks volumes as to the state of the country at the respective periods.

Karnál is included in the *Brahmárshidesá*, or land of divine sages, the sacred river Suruswatí being at Thánesar, only 20 miles north of Karnál, and the Drishádwati, if that is the Chautáng, cutting the district into two nearly equal parts. All the north-western portion, comprising most of what is called the Nardak, is included in the *Kurúkshetrá* or field of the great battle described in the Mahábhárat and caused by the refusal of the Kurús to give up the five *pats*, of which Pánípat was one. In fact Nardak is properly but another name for the Kurúkshetrá, though it is wrongfully but conveniently extended, by local custom, to a certain conterminous area to which it does not properly apply. The word is said to mean ruthless (*nir* without, *dáya* pity—Sanskrit); and the story goes that the Kurús and Pándus, being relations, sought for a place to fight where the inhabitants should be specially hard-hearted, and chose this spot because there they found a man cutting off his son's head with which to dam his water-course. But Huen Tsang says that the Nardak was known as the Happy Land when he visited it, and this would seem to point to *áruk* or pain, as the second factor in the word. The limits of the Nardak and the antiquities of the tract are elaborately discussed by General Cunningham in his *Archæological Survey Reports*, II, 212 to 226, and XIV, 86 to 106, and *Ancient Geography*, 329 to 336.\*

The southern boundary of the Kurúkshetrá is the Naí Nadí, which cuts off the western corner of the Karnál *pargana*h, and reappears in the south-west corner, where, at the village of Sínk, or south-west corner of the Kurúkshetrá, Tarku Jakhsh is said to be situated; and all that lies beyond this line is included under the general term *arab* or non-Nardak, or is called *dher*, meaning vast. The Nardak itself is also called *ran* or battle-field, and the term is locally applied to any barren soil, as they say that such soil marks the spots where the sparks from the weapons of the combatants fell. The scenes of many of the incidents narrated in the Mahábhárat are still pointed out by the people, and the whole area is full of *tíraths* or holy tanks. It was at the village of Bastali (*Viás Asthal*) that the sage Viás lived who wrote the Vedá that bears his name; and there that the Ganges flowed underground into his well to save him the trouble of going to the river to bathe, bringing with it his *lotá* and loin cloth which he had left in the river, to convince him that the water was really Ganges-water. The well is still there to shame the sceptic. It was at Gondar that Gotam Rishi caused the spots in the moon, and gave Indra his 1,000 eyes. It was in the Párásir tank at Bahlolpur that the warrior Daryodhan hid, till Krishná's jeers brought him unwillingly out to fight; and this is still the most celebrated of the

\* On this subject Mr. Ibbetson, remarks:—"With all due deference to so distinguished an authority, I cannot help thinking that General Cunningham raises some unnecessary difficulties. Huen Tsang's words may surely be taken to mean that the *radius*, and not the *circumference*, of the Happy Land was 200 li. And Manu surely states that the Kurúkshetrá is not included in the Brahmávarṭá. I think General Cunningham's reading of the text would exclude some of the holy places which he himself includes in the Nardak."

*traths* of this part. The local legends are far too numerous and lengthy to give here; they have been collected into a little book called *Kurúshetrá Darpan*, compiled in 1854 by Munshi Kálí Rái, Extra Assistant Settlement Officer of Thánesar, and printed at the Koh-i-núr Press, Lahore.

The enormous number of Indo-Scythian coins (of a type which has not yet been described) which are found at Pohlar on the Suruswatí, 10 miles north of Kaithal, would seem to show that these parts were about the Christian Era, included in the Indo-Scythian Empire; and Saffdon, on the border of the district, is still pointed out as the site of the great slaughter of snakes (or Scythians with a snake *totem*) mentioned in the Mahábhárat. About 400 A.D. the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian, and again in 635, his successor Huen Tsang, traversed the district. At the time of the latter's visit it was included in the kingdom of Thánesar. The curious form in which legend of the Mahábhárat is given by the traveller is most interesting. It is not improbable that the Gominda monastery described by him, and identified by General Cunningham with the village of Gunána, is now represented by the monastery of Síta Máí described below, and only four miles from Gunána.

In 1011 A.D. Mahmúd Ghaznavi sacked Thánesar, only 20 miles from Karnál, but made peace with the Dehli Rájá and returned without coming further south. In 1017 A.D. he plundered Mathra. In 1039 A.D. his son, Sultán Masaúd, annexed this part of the country, leaving a governor at Sunpat to administer it in his name; but it was re-conquered by the Hindus four years later. In 1191 A.D. Muhammad Bin Sám Ghorí was wounded and his army utterly routed by Rái Pitorá at Narainá, seven miles from Karnál and three from Taráori. This village is situated in the Nardak, on the Naf Nadí. The Rakshi, or at any rate the stream now known by that name, is artificially joined with the Chautang at Ladwa in the *tahsil* of Pípli by a cut, and below that its natural bed is silted up and carries little water. Elliot and Cunningham gave Naraina as on the Rakshi. The stream east of Butana is locally known by this name, which may account for the inaccuracy. Next year the Sultán returned, found Rái Pitorá encamped on the same spot, defeated and killed him in the battle which ensued, and conquered Dehli. This battle finally substituted Muhammadan for Hindu rule throughout the Dehli territory, Kutbuldín Aibek being left at Dehli as the representative of the Ghorí monarch, and being made independent by Ghiásudín Ghorí in 1205 A.D. under the title of Sultán.

On the death of Kutbuldín in 1210 A.D., his Indian possessions were divided into four provinces, Dehli and its environs falling to the share of Sultán Shamsuldín Altamash. The province of Lahore was given to Tájuldín Yeldáz; and in 1215 the two fell out about their common boundary, and in a battle, again fought at the same village of Naraina, Tájuldín was killed. In 1390 A.D. Prince Humáyún, afterwards Sultán Aláuldín Sikandar Sháh, who was in command of the army of his father Sultán Násiruldín Muhammad Bin Fíroz, pitched his camp at Pánípat and plundered the environs of Dehli, which was in the possession of the rebel Abu Bakr Tughlak. The latter marched out and defeated him at Pasíná, a small Khádar

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village some seven miles south of Pánípat, built on the deserted site of a very large village which is still said by the people to have been destroyed in a great battle. There were 4,000 cavalry engaged on one side alone on this occasion. In the early years of Mahmúd Sháh's reign (1394 to 1396 A.D.) the pretender Násiruldín Nasrat Sháh held the fiefs (*ikta*) of Sambhal, Pánípat, Jhajjar and Rohtak, the Emperor being almost confined to the capital. In 1397 Mulla Iqbál Khán, one of Mahmúd's Generals, and Governor of the Fort of Siri, drove Násiruldín by treachery from his head-quarters at Fíroz-ábád; and the latter took refuge with Tátár Khán who had been Prime Minister to Ghiásuldín Tughlak II. Iqbál Khán then seized upon Mahmúd's person, and practically ruled in his name. Meanwhile Tátár Khán had encamped at Pánípat, and Iqbál Khán marched against him; whereupon Tátár Khán, leaving his baggage and materials of war at Pánípat, reached Dehli by forced marches and laid siege to it. Iqbál Khán then invested Pánípat, and took it in three days, upon hearing which Tátár Khán raised the siege of Dehli and fled to Gujráat.

Invasion of Tamer-  
lane.

When Taimúr Sháh invaded India, he marched through the district on his way to Dehli. His route is very fully described in his autobiography, and also in the Zafar Námah: and it is easy to trace it throughout, except between Múnak (Akálgarh) and Kaithal. It is almost certain that he crossed the Suruswatí and Ghagar by bridges at Polar Mazra and Gula the remains of which still exist as noticed in Chapter I, page 6. From Kaithal he marched through Asandh to Tughlakpur, which was said to be inhabited by fire-worshippers. Price identifies this place with Safídon. But it is almost certainly Sálwan; the words "the people of this place who also called Sálún," being probably a misreading for "*which* is also called Sálwan." From Sálwan he marched, the front of his army extending for more than 20 miles, to Pánípat, which he reached on 3rd December 1798 A.D. The people had deserted the town in obedience to orders from Dehli; but he found there 10,000 heavy maunds, equal to 160,000 standard maunds, of wheat, which he seized. Next day he marched six *kos* and encamped on the banks of "the river of Pánípat, which was on the road." This can have been no other than a branch of the Jamná, then flowing under the town in the channel of the *Búrhi Naulí* or old stream. He then marched *viá* Kanhi Gazin to Palla on the Jamná in the Dehli *tahsil*, while a detachment harried the country round and brought in supplies. Seven days later he defeated Sultán Mahmúd at Dehli. Ferishtah says that Taimúr returned by Pánípat; but this seems to be a mistake for Bágpat.

Anarchy previous  
to the Mughal  
dynasty.

In the anarchy that followed the departure of the invader, and in the subsequent struggle between the Saiyads and the Lodís, Karnál was entirely separated from Dehli, and belonged, first, to the ruler of Samáná, and eventually to the Lodí rulers of the Panjáb. During the reign of Bahlol Lodí, his son Prince Nizám Khán, afterwards Sikandar Lodí, seized Pánípat and held it as *jágír* without permission. He made it his head-quarters, and his force there included 1,500 cavalry. Karnál and Pánípat were on the high road from Sirhind and Fírozpúr to Dehli; and from the time of Taimúr



to that of Akbar, or for 150 years, armies were constantly passing through the tract, and battles, more or less important, being fought in it.

In 1525 A.D. Aláuldín Alim Khán was sent by Bábar with a Mughal army against his nephew Sultán Ibráhm Lodi, and was joined at Indrí by Mián Sulimán, a Pírzádah of Pánípat, with additional forces. Being defeated near Dehli, he retreated to Pánípat, where he tricked his friend Sulimán out of three or four *lakhs* and went on his way. He shortly afterwards rejoined Bábar; and next year the Mughal army marched on Dehli. Leaving Ambálá, Bábar marched *viâ* Sháhábád to the Jamná near Aláhar in *tahsíl* Pípli, and thence followed the river bank to Karnál. There he heard that Aláuldín, whom he had sent on towards Dehli, had been defeated by Ibráhm, and that the latter had advanced to Ganaur. Mounting his horse at the Gharaunda *sarái*, Bábar led his army to Pánípat, which he selected for the battle-field, as the town would cover one of his flanks. He arrayed his army about two *kos* to the east of the city, with his right flank resting on the walls. Ibráhm Lodi took up a position at the same distance to the south-west of the city, and for a week nothing more than skirmishes occurred. At length, on 21st April 1526 A. D., Ibráhm Lodi's forces advanced to the attack, were utterly routed, and were pursued by Bábar's army to Dehli, while the conqueror remained encamped for a week to the west of Pánípat. He considered the spot a fortunate one, treated the people well, and made Sultán Muhammad Anglulí, who had assisted him with troops, Governor of Pánípat.

In this battle Ibráhm Lodi was slain, and his tomb lies between the *tahsíl* and the city of Pánípat. The District Committee about the year 1866 erected a tomb or plain platform over it, with a short Urdú inscription in order to rescue the site from oblivion, (see Chapter VI. S. v., Pánípat). It was one of Shér Sháh's dying regrets that he had never fulfilled his intention of erecting a tomb to the fallen monarch. In this battle, too, was killed, while fighting in Bábar's army, Sanghar, the founder of the Phúlkián family of Patiálá, and Vikramádityá, the last of the Tomara dynasty of Gwálior. The battle is fully described by several authorities, Ferishtah's descriptions differing materially from that of Bábar himself. After the battle Bábar built a garden with a mosque and tank on the spot; and some years later, when Humáyún defeated Salem Sháh some four miles north of Pánípat he added a masonry platform and called it *Chobátra Fatah Mubárik*. These buildings and the garden still exist under the name of Kábul or Kábil Bâgh.\* The building bears an inscription containing the words "Binái Rabi ul Awwal 934 Hij." In 1529 the Mándhar Rájput of the Nardak rebelled under their chief Mohan, and defeated the royal troops. Bábar then burnt the rebel villages. Later on, during the struggle which led to the expulsion of Humáyún, Fatah Khán Ját, Governor of the Panjáb, rebelled and laid the country waste as far south as Pánípat.

\* Some say that Bábar said the spot was "*Kábil Bâgh*," fit for a garden; others, that he planned the garden on the pattern customary in Kábul. Bábar had a wife called Kábuli Begam; and Sir E. Colebrooks says her name may possibly be derived from the name of a species of myrobalan (J. R. A. S. xiii. 279).

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Pánipat.

When Humáyún died at Dehli, the young Akbar, who was then in the Panjáb, marched at once under the guardianship of Bahrám Sháh to meet the Afghán army under the great Hindu general, Hímu, who was advancing from Dehli. Passing through Thánesar, he arrayed his army 10 miles north of Karnál, and then marched to Pánipat, two *kos* to the west of which city Hímu was encamped. After a week's skirmishing, Akbar sent a detachment round the city to take Hímu in the rear, and advanced to the attack. The result was the death of Hímu and the total route of the Afgháns. Next day Akbar marched to Dehli, which he entered without opposition. The battle took place on 20th November 1555 (5th November 1556?) and is fully described by the Emperor Jahángír and by Ferishta.

## Mughal dynasty

During the early years of the Mughal dynasty\* the empire was so firmly established at Dehli that the district can hardly be said to have possessed a separate history. In 1573 Ibráhím Husén Mirzah, Governor of Barodá, rebelled and plundered Pánipat, Karnál, and the surrounding country. And again in 1606, Prince Khusro revolted and passed up this way from Dehli, plundering and pillaging as he went. When he reached Pánipat he was joined by Abdul Rahím; and Diláwar Ali Khán, who was at Pánipat with an imperial force retreated before them to Lahore. Jahángír himself shortly followed in pursuit, and moralised upon the success which Pánipat had always brought to his family. He then ordered the Friday devotion to be always held in the mosque of Kábul Bágh which Bábar had built; and this custom was continued till the Mahrattás occupied the mosque in the last battle of Pánipat. For more than two centuries the country enjoyed peace under the Mughals, the Western Jamná Canal was constructed, the Grand Trunk Road was put in repairs, *saráis* were erected at every stage, and a *minár* and a well made at every *kos* for the use of travellers. The *minárs* (brick pillars 24 feet high) and wells still exist; but the *saráis* of Sambhálká and Gharaundá are in ruins, while that of Karnál has disappeared.

Territorial divisions  
under the Mughals.

In the *Ain Akbari* we have the first record of the administrative divisions of the district. From very early times Pánipat formed a separate fief or "*ikta*," which probably included the Karnál *parganah*; and in fact Karnál is never mentioned in the early histories, and apparently was a place of little importance till towards the close of the Pathán dynasty. In Akbar's time the whole district was included in *Súbah* Dehli, and the greater part of it in *Sarkár* Dehli, of the seven *Dastúrs* comprised in which *Dastúr* Pánipat was one, with 10 *parganahs* as follows:—Pánipat, Karnál, Safidon, Kutána, Chhaprauli, Tándá, Bháwan, Ganaur, Jhinjhána, Kándlá, and Gangir Khera. But the *Dastúr* of Gobána in *Sarkár* Hissár may have included, and *parganah* Suapat in *Dastúr* Dehli, *parganah* Thánesar in the *Dastúr* of that name and in *Sarkár* Sirhind, and the *Dastúr* of Indri in *Sarkár* Saháranpúr, almost certainly did include some part of the district. In the fourth year of Farrúkhsír, that monarch is said to have

\* It is generally said that this dynasty, really Turks, were called Mughals, because to the Indian every foreigner was a Mughal, just as every Indian is still a Moor to the British private. It is a curious fact that native officials are commonly called Turks by the villagers of these parts. If Munshis, perhaps all Hindus, are in the village rest-house, one villager will tell another—"Turk log chopát méa báithe hue hain."—"There are Turks in the rest-house."

separated the *parganah* about Sambhálkà from Pánípat as a royal demesne for his own private expenses. It was not then known as Sambhálkà; and when we took the country that name was only applied to a few villages held by a *jágir*dár living at Sambhálkà. But there was a large *parganah* of Jaurásí in which Sambhálkà was included and which was also the head-quarters of a *thappá*; and as this Jaurásí is divided into Jaurásí *sarf khàs* and Jaurásí *khálsá*, and as the Pánípat *parganah* is said to have consisted of 16½ *thappàs*, it is almost certain that what Farrákhsír did was to separate one *chaurásí* for his private expenses or *sarf khàs*. As a fact, though this and many other similar groups of villages similarly assigned for specific purposes were often called *parganahs*, yet the old *káníngos'* records, between 1750 and 1806 at any rate, show only the two original *parganahs* of Karnál and Pánípat.

Towards the end of the 17th century the Dehli Empire was fast falling to decay, and the Sikhs rising to power. In 1709 Bandá Bairágí, some time the chosen disciple of Gurú Govind, raised his standard in these parts, and, collecting an army of Sikhs, occupied the whole of the country west of the Jamná. He laid the whole neighbourhood waste and especially the neighbourhood of Karnál, where he killed the *faujdar* and massacred the inhabitants. He was defeated by Bahádur Sháh near Pánípat in 1710, but escaped to found Gurdáspur. In 1729 a charge on *parganah* Karnál of five *lakhs* of *dám* was granted to Diláwar Ali Khán Aurangábádí, whose ancestors had formerly held the *parganah* in *jágir*.

In 1738 Nádír Sháh, enraged at not being recognised by the Dehli court, invaded India. On 8th January 1739 he reached Sirhind, where he learned that Muhammad Sháh with an enormous army occupied a strongly fortified camp at Karnál. Nádír Sháh marched on to Taráorí, on which, it being a fortified town, he had to turn his guns before it would open its gates to him. Here he learned from some prisoners he had made that the approach to Karnál from the direction of Taráorí was through dense jungle, and exceedingly difficult; and that Muhammad Sháh had no room to move in, being encamped in a small plain which was hardly sufficient for his camp, and surrounded on three sides by thick woods. He accordingly resolved to take the enemy in flank from the south-east. On the 15th January he left Taráorí, and marching round by the banks of the Jamná to the back of the city, advanced to a position close to the Dehli camp; meanwhile he sent Prince Nasr Ullá Mirzah with a considerable force to a spot north of the canal and close to Karnál. All this time Muhammad Sháh was not even aware that Nádír Sháh was in the neighbourhood. Just at this time a detachment which had been sent to oppose Saádat Khán, the Viceroy of Oudh, who was marching from Pánípat with reinforcements, and missing the enemy had followed him up to Karnál, came to close quarters with him. Nádír Sháh and Prince Nasr Ullá at once marched to the support of their detachment, which was the first intimation the imperial army had of their presence. The engagement which followed was not decisive. But the army of Muhammad Sháh, which had already been encamped for three months at Karnál and had suffered greatly from want of supplies, was now cut off from the open country in the rear, and food

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became so scarce that a seer of flour could not be bought for four rupees. Thus Muhammad Sháh was starved into submission, and on the 13th of February yielded to the invader, who led him in his train to Dehli. The operations are very minutely described in the Nádir Námah. Sir William Jones, in his French translation, speaks much of "Darián Hamún" close to Karnál, and between it and the Jamná. Mr. Ibbetson suggests that the words may be *daryá hamín*, and refer to the canal, which had already been described as a large river. In 1748 Ahmad Sháh was met at Pánípat by the royal paraphernalia and the news of the death of Muhammad Sháh, and there and then formally assumed the royal titles. In 1756 the Wazír Gháziuldín brought Alaungír II a virtual prisoner to Pánípat, and thus caused a mutiny in the army, the Wazír being dragged through the streets of the city. A horrible massacre followed the outbreak.

Third Battle of  
Pánípat.

From this time to the establishment of English rule, a time of horror followed which is still vividly remembered by the people, and was fittingly ushered in by the greatest of all the battles of Pánípat. In the rainy season of 1760, Sedásheo the Mahrattá Bháo marched upon Kunjpurá, an Afghán town close to Karnál, which was then strongly fortified, and at which 20,000 Afghán troops were then encamped. He put the whole of them to the sword, and pillaged the country round. Ahmad Sháh, who was in the Doáb, was unable to cross the Jamná in time to prevent this disaster; but at length he forded the river near Bágpat and advanced against the enemy, who, encamped at the time at the village of Pasíná Kalán, where the battle of 1390 A.D. had been fought, retreated to Pánípat. There the Mahrattás strongly fortified themselves; and the line of their entrenchments can still be traced on the plain between Risálú and Pánípat. The Duránís encamped close in front of them on the plains north of Risálú and Ujáon: and for five months the two armies, numbering more than 400,000 souls, remained engaged in fruitless negotiation and constant skirmishes. The accounts of the horrors of that time given by the people are very striking. The whole country round was devastated by the opposing hordes, and the inhabitants fled, insomuch that the people say that, besides the town, only the three villages of Phurlak, Dáhá and Bálá were inhabited at the time of the actual battle. The Durání army had free access to their camp on all sides, while they gradually confined the Mahrattás more and more to their entrenchments. The latter had long ago consumed all the provisions obtainable at Pánípat; at length supplies wholly failed; and on the 6th January 1761 the Bháo advanced to action. The battle is fully described by several authors. The Mahrattás were utterly routed and many of them were driven into the town of Pánípat, whence next morning the conqueror brought them out, distributed the women and children, and massacred the men in cold blood. The fugitives were followed all over the country, and killed wherever they were overtaken. It is said that 200,000 Mahrattás were slain in this battle. The people still point out the spot where the Bháo stood to watch the fight, marked by an old mango tree which has only lately disappeared. They say that the Mahrattá General of artillery, one Bahrám Ghorí, had been insulted by the young Bháo, and in revenge put no balls in his guns, otherwise the

Giljás, as they call the Ghilzáf followers of Ahmad Sháh, would certainly have been beaten; and that the Mahrattá fugitives were so utterly demoralised that the Ját women beat them with baskets, made them get off their horses, and plundered them royally. \*

No sooner had the Mahrattás temporarily disappeared than the Sikhs appeared on the scene of action. In 1763 they defeated Zan Khán, the Duráni Governor of Sirhind, and took possession of the whole of Sirhind as far south as Pánípat. "Tradition still describes how the Sikhs dispersed as soon as the battle was won; and how, riding night and day, each horseman hurled his belt, his scabbard, his articles of dress, his accoutrements, till he was almost naked, into successive villages to mark them as his." Rájá Gopál Singh on this occasion seized Jínd, Saífón, Pánípat and Karnál, though he was not yet strong enough to hold them; but in 1772 he was confirmed in his possessions up to within a few miles north of Pánípat and west of Karnál, as a tributary of the Delhi Emperor. At the same time Rájá Gurdit Singh seized Ládwa and Shámgarh up to within a few miles north of Karnál. Recalled by those events, Ahmad Sháh once more appeared, for the last time, in Hindústán in 1767, and, conquering the Sikhs in several battles, marched as far as Pánípat; but as soon as he disappeared, the Sikhs again resumed their hold of the country. In 1774 Rahímdád Khán, Governor of Hánsí, attacked Jínd; but was defeated with heavy loss, while Gajpat Singh again seized Karnál. In 1777; Najaf Khán, the Imperial Wazír, marched in person to restore his authority. The Sikhs invited the aid of Zábta Khán, a Rohillá Chief, who had rebelled; and joining their force with him, encountered the Imperial army at Pánípat, and fought a battle said to have been only less terrible than that of 1761. No marked advantage remained with either side; and by a treaty then concluded between the Rájás and the Emperor, the Sikhs relinquished their conquests in Karnál and its neighbourhood, excepting seven villages which Gajpat Singh was allowed to keep, and which probably included Sherá, Májrá Játán, Dharmgarh, Bál Játán, and Balá.

But the treaty was not observed; and in 1779 a last attempt was made by the Delhi court to recover its lost territory. In November of that year Prince Farkhundah Bakht and Nawáb Majíduldaulah marched out at the head of a large army, 20,000 strong, and met some of the minor Sikhs at Karnál. He made terms with these chieftains, who were jealous of the growing power of Patiálá, and the combined forces marched upon that state. While negotiations were in progress, reinforcements advanced from Lahore, the Karnál contingent deserted, bribery was resorted to, and the Imperialists retired precipitately to Pánípat. About this time Dharm Ráo held the southern portion of the district on the part of the Mahrattás, and was temporarily on good terms with the petty Sikh chiefs north of Karnál. In 1785 he marched, at the invitation of the Phúlkián chiefs, against Kaithal and Ambálá; and after some successes, and after exacting the stipulated tribute, withdrew to his head-quarters at Karnál. In 1786 Rájá Gajpat Singh of Jínd died, and was succeeded by his son Rájá Bhág Singh. In 1787 Begam Samarú was operating against the Sikhs at Pánípat, when

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recalled to the capital by Ghulám Qádir's attack upon Dehli. In 1788 Amba Ráo united with Zábta Khán's son to make an incursion, and was again joined by minor Sikhs at Karnál, and levied a contribution on Kaithal.

In 1789 Scindia, having killed Ghulám Qádir and reinstated Sháh Alao, marched from Dehli to Thánesar and thence to Patiálá, restored order more or less in the country west of the Jamná, and brought the Patiálá Díwán back with him as far as Karnál as a hostage. In 1794 a large Mahrattá force under Antá Ráo crossed the Jamná. Jínd and Kaithal tendered their homage; but the Patiálá troops surprised the army in a night attack, and Antá Ráo retired to Karnál. In 1795 the Mahrattás once again marched north, and defeating Rájá Bhág Singh at Karnál, finally wrested that city from him and made it over to George Thomas, who took part in the fight. He had, however, obtained the *jágir* of Jhajjar, and making himself master of Hissár, harried the neighbouring Sikh territories; meanwhile Rájá Gurdit Singh, of Ládwa, obtained possession of Karnál. In 1798 Begam Samrú was stationed with her forces at Pánípat to protect the western frontier during the struggle with Jaipúr. In 1799 Scindia sent General Perron, to whom the *parganah* of Pánípat had been granted, to bring the Sikhs to order. He recruited at Karnál, where the Nawáb of Kunjpurá joined him; but matters were settled amicably, and the army returned *via* Pánípat, where they were joined by Begam Samrú, and took advantage of the opportunity to chastise Naulthá and other large villages for not having paid their revenue to Perron's Collector. In 1801 Thomas made a foray through Karnál and Pánípat, and then retreated to Hánsí. The Sikhs asked the Mahrattás for help against him; and Scindia, on the Sikhs promising to become his subsidiaries and pay him five *laks* of rupees, sent General Perron against him. In the battle that followed Thomas lost all his conquests, retired to British territory and shortly afterwards died. Safidon and Dhátrat were then made over again to Jínd by the Mahrattás. The people of Bhagol in the north of Chilia still tell how Thomas carried off hostages from their town and only released them when ransomed by the Bhái of Kaithal.

Conquest by the  
English.

On the 11th September 1803, Lord Lake defeated the Mahrattás at the battle of Dehli; and on the 30th December, Daulat Ráo Scindia, by the Treaty of Sirji Anjangan, ceded his territories in the north of India to the allies; while the Partition Treaty of Poona, dated five months later, gave the provinces about Dehli, from that time known as the conquered provinces, to the English. Immediately after the battle of Dehli Begam Samrú made her submission to General Lake; and the Rájás of Jínd and Kaithal were hardly less prompt. Their advances were favourably received; and in January 1805 they joined their forces with ours. The other Sikh chiefs, including Ládwa and Thánesar, had actually fought against us at Dehli, and for a whole year they constantly displayed active hostility, till they were finally routed by Colonel Burn at the end of 1804. In March 1805 an amnesty was proclaimed to all the Sikhs on condition of peaceable behaviour; but Rájá Gurdit Singh of Ládwa was expressly excluded from this amnesty, and in

April of the same year the English forces marched upon his fort of Karnal and captured it.\*

So ended that terrible time called by the people *Singásháhi ká Rám-Raula* or *Bhógardi*, the "Sikh hurly-burly," or the "Mahrattá anarchy." Its horrors still live vividly in the memory of the villagers. The Sikhs never really established their grasp over the country south of Pánipat; and they held what they did possess only as feudatories of the Mahrattás. But the whole period was a constant contest between the two powers; and the tract formed a sort of no-man's-land between their territories, and, coveted by both and protected by neither, was practically the prey of the strongest and most audacious free-booter of the day whether hailing from the Panjáb or the Deccan, for nobody cared to spare for to-morrow what he might only possess for to-day. Even as early as 1760, Nádir Sháh had to approach Dehli by way of the Doáb, as owing to the constant passage to and fro of the Mahrattá troops, the country was so desolated that supplies were unprocurable; and 40 years later, when we took over the district, it was estimated that "more than four-fifths was overrun by forest, and its inhabitants either removed or exterminated." The arrangement of the villages in groups of small hamlets, sprung from, and still holding sub-feudal relations with, the large parent village, made the concentration of the population in a few strongholds natural and easy; and out of 221 villages in *parganah* Karnal the inhabitants of 178 had been wholly driven from their homes and fields. The royal canal had long dried up, and thick forest had taken the place of cultivation, and afforded shelter to thieves, vagabonds and beasts of prey. In 1827 Mr. Archer remarked that "only a very few years had elapsed since this part of the country was inhabited wholly by wild beasts." Deserted sites all along the old main road still tell how even the strongest villagers had to abandon the spot where their fathers had lived for centuries, and make to themselves new homes on sites less patent to the eyes of marauding bands. Every village was protected by brick forts and surrounded by a deep ditch and a wall of some sort; every group of villages was at deadly enmity with its neighbours; and there are several instances where two contiguous villages, in memory of a blood feud dating from the Mahrattá times, refuse to this day to drink each other's water, though otherwise on friendly terms. In 1820 the Civil Commissioner reported, and the Governor-General endorsed his conclusion, that "the native administration took no concern in criminal justice or police, any further than as its interference in those respects might be made subservient to its immediate pecuniary gains; and that the village communities, while they held the property of their own society sacred, habitually committed depredations and aggressions on other villages or on travellers, and generally shared the plunder they obtained with the ruling power or principal local authority. Revenue administration there was none; the cultivator followed the plough with a sword in his hand; the Collector came at the head

\* According to the schedule attached to the Treaty of Sirji Anjangan, the tract under the Mahrattás was held as follows:—Karnal, annual value Rs. 14,000, by Seth Singh S'ah; Barsat, Faridpur, Rs. 35,000, by General Perron; Pánipat Rs. 99,478, by Bábáji Seladiá; Gansaur, Rs. 6,932, Sunpat, Rs. 39,348 and Gohána, Rs. 1,16,329, by Colonels John and Geo. Hessing. The whole list is extraordinarily incorrect.

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of a regiment ; and if he fared well, another soon followed him to pick up the crumbs.\*

Meanwhile Lord Wellesley had returned to England and Lord Cornwallis had been sent out expressly to reverse his policy. The leading feature of the new programme was the withdrawal from all the recently-acquired territory west of the Jamná. And as that territory had to be disposed of, it was natural that the petty chieftains who had done us service in the late struggle, even if only by abstaining from or relinquishing opposition to us, should be rewarded. The whole country was therefore parcelled out between them and others. In the words of General Sir David Ochterlony, who superintended the whole arrangements—

“In the acts of that day I see many of most lavish and impolitic profusion ; but not one in which I can recognise true British liberality and generosity. The fact is notorious that the policy of those times considered the most of our acquisitions beyond the Jamná as incumbrances ; and the Governor-General’s Agent’s only embarrassment was, how to dispose of what Government had declared they could not or would not keep, in the manner least likely to be ultimately injurious to our vital interests. With this object in view, he formed a belt of *jágir*dárs round our ultra-Jamná possessions from Karnál to Agrá.”

The sovereign powers of the Rájás of Jínd, Kaithal, Ládwa, Thánesar and Sháingarh, and of the Nawáb of Kunjpurá, were confirmed ; and they were continued in the lands held by them under treaty from the Mahrattás, except that Ládwa was deprived of Karnál, as already mentioned. Besides this Jínd was granted Gohána, and the five villages of Shera and Májra Játán, Báljátán, Balá and Dharmgarh or Murána ; and he and the Rájá of Kaithal had the *parganah* of Barsat-Farídpur, made over to them jointly. The villages of Uncha Siwána, Ráinpur, Ránwar, Kambbohpora, Kailás with Mangalpur and Pípalwáli, were made over to the Nawáb of Kunjpurá. The Mandals, who held large *jágirs* in Muzaffarnagar, were induced to exchange them for so much of *parganah* Karnál as was left unallotted. Begam Samrú received considerable grants, including some villages of the tract, in addition to her original fief of Sardhana ; and considerable grants were made to people who had done good service, and notably to Mirza Ashraf Beg and Mír Rustam Alí. In 1809 the Jínd Rájá endeavoured to obtain from Government his old *parganah* of Karnál, but the *parganah* had already been allotted, and the endeavour was unsuccessful.

The policy which bade us abstain from interference west of the Jamná did not long stand the test of actual practice. In 1806 Ranjít Singh crossed the Satlej with his army and marched to Thánesar, and it soon became apparent that either he or we must be master. The events and negotiations that followed, how the Sikh army marched about within 20 miles of our lines at Karnál, and how we were compelled to insist upon Ranjít Singh’s withdrawal beyond the Satlej, are told in most interesting detail by Sir Lepel Griffin in his *Panjáb Rájás*. The treaty of Lahore dated 25th April 1809, and the proclamation of the 3rd of May following, finally

\* The state of the neighbouring tract of Kaithal, so late as 1843, is vividly described by Major Lawrence (Thánesar Settlement Report, pages 2, 4, 5) : also see a very spirited account by Mr. Raikes at Chap. XXVIII of “The Englishman in India.”

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included the country to the west of the Jamná in our Indian Empire; and with this event ended the political history proper of the district. The time are still fresh in the memories of the people, and the names of Lord Lake and Sir David Ochterlony (*Vulgice* Lony Ochter) still familiar to their tongues.

It will be useful to note the dates of a few events subsequent to the treaty of 1809. About 1810 the *jágir* grants which had been made in 1805-6, were declared grants for life only, and were taken under our police supervision. They were gradually resumed on the death of the holders. Bhái Lál Singh died in 1816, and Rájá Bhág Singh in 1819. *Parganah* Karnál was continued to the Mandals in perpetuity on a fixed quit-rent in 1806. In 1834 part of Jínd, and in 1843 the whole of Kaithal, lapsed to us on the failure of the reigning line. In the latter year parts of Safidon and Asandh were acquired from Jínd by exchange. In 1849 we confiscated the Ládwa estates as a punishment for treason in the Sikh war. And in the same year we deprived Thánesar, Kunjpurá and Shámgarh of sovereign power, and reduced them to the position of simple *jágirdárs*, the powers of Jínd, however, being left intact. In 1850 the whole of Thánesar lapsed on the death of the widow of Fatah Singh, the last chief of Thánesar. Jínd is still an independent chief; but the Nawáb of Kunjpurá, the Sardár of Shámgarh and the Mandals of Karnál, are simple *jágirdárs*, and exercise no sort of authority as of right within their domains.

The district of Kaithal in the time of Muhammad Sháh was a *parganah* consisting of 13 *tappás*. In A. D. 1733, this *parganah* was held from the Dehli Government in *jágir* or farm by one Kamr-ul-din Khán, a Biloch by tribe, who held some important office in the Government; this man was slain in the massacre of Dehli by Nádir Sháh in A. D. 1738. Azím-ulla-Khán, of the same family, seeing the declining state of the Government, endeavoured to shake off his allegiance and assume independence. He gave out the different villages in farm and returned with a force to collect his revenues. Ikhtiár Khán, an Afghán, was one of the principal *zamíndárs* with whom he engaged, and who sometimes paid but as frequently resisted and appropriated the revenues. Matters continued in this state till A. D. 1751. Ináyat Khán, Afghán, a *zamíndár* of some influence, persuaded the people to join him in resisting the demands of the Bilochís, raised a considerable force for the purpose, and enjoyed the revenues himself. Matters continued in this state till 1755;—the successes of the Bilochís and Afgháns fluctuating, sometimes one, sometimes the other being successful as each could collect followers,—when in the year last mentioned the Bilochís sent a Saiyad (name not known) who encamped at Hábrí and sent for the Afghán chief: Ináyat Khán, suspecting treachery, sent his brother Ghulám Bhik in his stead, and him the Saiyad put to death. Ináyat Khán fled, and the Saiyad obtained easy possession of Kaithal, where he remained three months collecting revenue; but directly his back was turned, Ináyat Khán again stepped in and assumed possession.

In A. D. 1756 Tahawwur Khán, brother of Kamr-ul-dín, came with a force to claim his late brother's *jágir*. He was opposed by Ináyat Khán, who was beaten and fled, but a short time after during

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the same year, having collected a force, the latter made a night attack upon the city of Kaithal and obtained entrance at the Síwan gate: a fight ensued in the streets of the town, in which Tahawwur Khán's brother-in-law, who commanded, was killed and his army dispersed. The Afgháns or attacking force consisted of only 500 men, while that of the defeated Bilochs amounted to 1,000. Thus ended the Biloch possession; rule it cannot be called. They were never able to make head again, and Ináyat Khán, a *zamíndár*, was left in undisturbed possession, collecting the revenues and paying tribute to no one. He was not, however, destined to a long or prosperous rule, for he fell a victim to treachery in A. D. 1760. He had long been at enmity with one Azím Khán Mandal, of Samána, who had taken possession of Bhorak, a village in the *parganah* and 5 miles north of Pehoa. The Mandal invited him to the Khorám Mela on pretence of making up the quarrel, and there murdered him; but had soon to repent his treachery, for Bhík Bakhsh and Niámat Khán, brothers of his victim, collected a force, marched against Bhorak, took it, and put the Mandal to death. The two brothers continued in possession, it cannot be called Government, of Kaithal till A.D. 1767; when Bhái Desú Singh, advancing from Bhochoki, encamped at Kutána, where he collected further force and munitions of war, and then marched against Kaithal, which succumbed after but a weak resistance; and thus commenced the Sikh rule.

Bhík Bakhsh died in exile, but his brother Niámat Khán was treated liberally by the conqueror, who conferred upon him several villages in *jágír*;—one of which, *viz.*, Ujána, his descendants retain to the present day, but without any proprietary right in the village. Thus in the short space of 29 years, *viz.*, from 1738 to 1767, Kaithal had changed rulers no less than four times.

	<i>Commenced.</i>	<i>Ended.</i>
1. Rule of Kings of Dehli	...	A. D. 1738
2. Biloch rule	1738	1756
3. Afghán rule	1753	1767
4. Sikh rule	1767	1843
5. British Government	1843	...

The Sikh Bháis of  
Kaithal.

The district of Kaithal, as it was constituted when it passed by escheat into the hands of the British Government, was acquired by Bhái Desú Singh, the 4th son of Bhái Gurbakhsh Singh, himself a descendant from a Rájput *zamíndár* of Jaisalmer. He inherited a few villages in Kulárán, and from this small beginning extended his possessions, first by the capture of Kaithal in *Sambat* 1824 (A. D. 1767), and then by the conquest of Chika and Pehoa. Bhái Desú Singh appears to have been a man of debauched character, and few works of art are attributed to him. He built the original fort of Kaithal and several smaller forts about the district, and brought a water-course from Mángana to Kaithal, and made numerous *kancha* dams along the Suruswatí river. He had four wives, *viz.*, Rúpkaur, mother of Bahál Singh; Rámkaur, mother of Khushhál Singh; Máí Bholí, no issue; Máí Bhágan, mother of Lál Singh. Jugta Singh, Mahál became his agent and adviser. He died in 1835-36 *Sambat*, having ruled 11 or 12 years, a rule which was not very oppressive, or perhaps time has softened off the edges. He amassed about 10 *lakhs* of rupees, and the knowledge of this is said so to have excited the

envy of the Rájás of Jínd and Patiálá that they caused the agents of the Dehli ruler to entice the Bhái to Dehli under pretence of having a *jágir* conferred upon him. On his arrival at the seat of Government, Desú Singh was confined, and only released on the promise of paying 8 *lakhs* of rupees, 6 of which he paid and gave his son Lál Singh as security for the remainder.

Of his three sons, Khushhál Singh, having died in childhood, is never mentioned. Bahál Singh succeeded to the rule, his elder brother being under restraint at Dehli; but Lál Singh's mother having obtained his release on payment of Rs. 40,000, he shortly returned and assumed the Government, driving his brother, who strongly opposed him, to Kuláran. Thence Bahál Singh acquired Budláda, but was immediately put to death by hired assassins instigated by his worthy brother. Lál Singh resided chiefly at Kaithal. He had four wives, *viz.*, Saddákaur, no issue; Rattankaur, no issue; Sáhíbkaur, mother of Partáb Singh and Ude Singh; Mánkaur, no issue. He drank deep, but appears to have been held in some respect by the lesser chiefs, who submitted frequently to his arbitration. He did good service to Perron in defeating George Thomas, and was rewarded in consequence by the gift of *parganah* Súlar on payment of a *nazarána* of Rs. 60,000, little better than one year's revenue. His services were acknowledged by Lord Lake and rewarded by a handsome *jágir*, Gohána, in which, however, he had only a life interest. He added to the fort of Kaithal, indeed may almost be said to have built it, for it was nothing but a mud building before. Its picturesque towers are now visible for a long distance. He ruled for 33 years, dying in *Sambat* 1875 at the age of 49. He left behind him the character of a tyrant. On his death, his sons being 3 and 4 years old respectively, the Government was carried on in the name of the eldest Partáb Singh, under the regency of the mother; but the boy only lived to the age of 12 years, and died of small-pox in *Sambat* 1880. Bhái Ude Singh, still a boy, succeeded under the regency of the mother, who even in after life had great influence over him; indeed she was more the ruler than he was, and to this perhaps may be attributed his being at variance with the neighbouring chiefs and at constant issue with his own villagers. He resided chiefly at Kaithal but frequently at Pehoa, and both places bear witness to his taste for architecture. He enlarged and beautified the fort of Kaithal, built the palace after the model of the house of Sir David Ochterlony at Karnál only on a more imposing scale, and near it a bridge over the Bidkiár Tíra, remarkable for nothing but want of breadth and its level surface. At Pehoa the garden house is a bijou, and does great credit to the taste of the architect, but was left incomplete on his death. He built a house and laid out a garden likewise at Kankal near Hardwár. A noble masonry *band* that he erected across the Suruswatí, which threw water down a cut irrigating numerous villages for 16 miles to Kaithal, was destroyed by the British authorities since the escheat. He did more for the district in works of art than any of his predecessors, but in private he was debauched, in public a tyrant. He was bedridden for some years of his later life, and died at Kaithal on the 14th of March 1843 A. D. when the state lapsed, failing heirs, to the

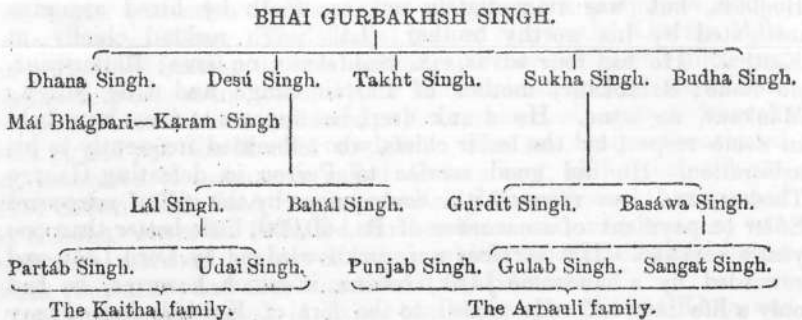
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protecting power. He had two wives—Súrajkaur, daughter of the Rájá of Balabgarh, who was accomplished in Gurmukhi lore, and died shortly after the state lapsed; and Mahtábkaur, daughter of a *zamindár* of Shampur, who lived for some years and had a handsome provision allowed her by Government. The opposition of the Queen mother, on the state escheating, to the little escort with Mr. Greathed, the Political Officer, her subsequent flight, carrying off treasure, and her capture, are all on record, and together with the correspondence on the subject form a volume alone. She died at Pehoa, never having to the very last moment given up her hope of being confirmed in the government of Kaithal. The genealogical tree of the family is as follows:—



On the death of Bhái Ude Singh without issue the greater part of the estates lapsed, only that portion of it being excepted which had been acquired by Gurbakhsh Singh, the founder of the family. To this the collaterals of the Arnauli branch were permitted to succeed. The Bháis of Arnauli came under the reforms of 1849, and ceased in that year to exercise any administrative functions. The present representatives of the family are Bhái Jasmer Singh who resides at Arnauli, in the northern portion of the Kaithal *tahsil*, and Bhái Anokh Singh who resides at Budláda or sometimes at Sidhawal near Patiálá. They are Honorary Magistrates within the limits of their *jágir*.

Early history of  
Ládwa and Thánesar.

The possessions of the Rájás of Ládwa and the *sardárs* of Thánesar were originally a part of the *Súbah* of Dehli. The present *tahiqás* of Narwána and Jind were *parganahs* in the *Sarkár* of Hissár. Saffidon was a *parganah* in the *Sarkár* of Dehli. Indri was in the *Sarkár* of Saháranpur, which extended to the Janná, which in former day ran under the present western high bank of the canal. Thánesar and Sháhábád were royal *parganahs* in the *Sarkár* of Sirhind, as were Samána and Sunám. When the Dehli empire was tottering to its fall, the Sikhs in and about the year 1763 A.D., having defeated the royal forces, made themselves masters of this part of the country. Captain Cunningham, at page 114 of his History of the Sikhs, states that these people are made up of 12 *misls* or confederacies. It appears that the acknowledged Sikh *misls* are but 8, and that the complement of 12 was made up by four *dehras* as follows:—

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Ládwa and Thánesar.

No.	Name of caste.	Caste.	Presumed strength.	Names of Leaders.
1	Bhangi, <i>a</i>	Jats	10,800	{ Harri Singh, Jhanda Singh, Ganda Singh, Játs.
2	Nishániás, <i>b</i>	Khatris, and Rangretas or sweepers.	12,000	
3	Rámgaríás, <i>c</i>	Unknown	8,000	Jassa Singh, the carpenter.
4	Ahlúwáliás, <i>d</i>	Kaláls	3,000	Jassa Singh, Kalál.
5	Ghaniás, <i>e</i>	Unknown	8,000	Jassa Singh.
6	Faizulapuriás, <i>f</i>	Játs	2,500	Kawan Singh and Khushhál Singh.
7	Súkar Chakiás, <i>g</i>	Játs	2,500	Kharak Singh.
8	Dallewáliás, <i>h</i>	Játs	7,500	Tara Singh.
<i>The Dehvas are as follows</i>				
9	Shahíds, <i>i</i>	Játs	2,000	Gurbaksh Singh.
10	Nagariás, <i>j</i>	Játs	2,000	{ Krorá Singh, Ját.
11	Panjgarhiás, <i>k</i> , or Krorá Singhiás	Játs	1,200	
12	Phúlkiás, <i>l</i>	Játs	5,000	

*a* So called from the fondness of the members for *bhang*, an intoxicating drug produced from the hemp plant.

*b* From Nishán, a standard which they followed.

*c* From Rámgarh, a fort in Amritsar.

*d* From Aloh, the village of Jassa Singh *kalál*. *Kalál* is a spirit-distiller.

*e* From Ghina, a village near Lahore, of Sardár Jassa Singh, Khushhál Singh.

*f* From Dalli, the village of Tara Singh Sardár.

*g* From Faizulpur near Amritsar, the village of Sardárs Kawar Singh, &c.

*h* From Súkar Chak, the village of Sardár Charat Singh.

*i* Shahíd means a martyr.

*j* From Nagaria, a tract of country near Multán. This is probably the confederacy which Cunningham calls the Makias, No. 5.

*k* Panjgarhiás from the village of their first chief. Krorá Singhiás from the name of their third leader.

*l* From Phúl the common ancestor of the great houses of this confederacy.

The following statement shows the names of every Sikh estate properly placed under the *misl* to which his ancestors belonged when they came as the conquerors into this country:—

Name of <i>Misl</i> .	Name of <i>Iláqa</i> .	Name of <i>Misl</i> .	Name of <i>Iláqa</i> .	
Dallewáliás	Bejral	Bhangi	Búria.	
	Chápur		Jagádhri.	
	Dhúmsi		Dialgarh.	
	Gúrheh	Ahlúwáliás	Barwálians.	
	Jamráyan		Kaithal.	
	Haibatpur	Phúlkián	Arnauli.	
	Khera Chúnia		Nábha.	
	Ládwa		Jind.	
	Sikandra		Patialá.	
	Síkri		Nitúkhágrí.	
	Shámgarh		Nishánia	Sháhábád.
	Thánesar		Shahid	Taráori.
	Krorá Singhiás		Chalaundi	
Dhanaura				Thaslia.
Rádaur				Thol.
Ulláhar				
	Zenpur			

The greatest conquerors among the Krorá Singhián were Sardárs Sáhíb Singh and Gurdit Singh, who mastered Bahen and Ládwa, Shámgarh, Karnál and some villages of Panípat. They

The Ládwa Rájás.

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## The Ládwa Rájás.

came from a village, Bain Bole, of Fattiábád in the Mánjha, and established themselves at Bahen and Ládwa. After the defeat of the Afgháns at Sirhind in 1763 A.D. they lost Pánípat and Karnál years ago. Sáhib Singh, who was afterwards killed in action near Karnál, bestowed Shámgarh on his brother-in-law Kirpál Singh, who accompanied the confederacy in the conquest. Gurdit Singh was succeeded by his son Ajít Singh, who obtained the title of Rája for building a bridge over the Suruswatí at Thánesar, proved treacherous to the British at the breaking out of the first Sikh war, was imprisoned at Allahabad, destroyed his keeper, and after numerous wanderings died in Kashmir. His sons were kept under surveillance at Saháranpur. Their descendants are still in possession of Ládwa and Shámgarh.

The Kháns of Kunj-  
pura.

The founder of the Kunjpura family was a Pathán named Nijábat Khán. His ancestor came from Kandahár, and founded a village in Sindh called Ghurghusht, which he held in *jágr*. Having left Sindh in consequence of family quarrels, Nijábat Khán with his pupil Mahmúd Khán came to seek his fortune in Hindustán. He entered the service of Munná Khán, a Vazír of Lahore, and in two years was a commander of several horsemen, when he came down to Vazír Khwája Nassíruddín of Rádaur. Here he became a *Risèldár*, sent for his family, and fixed his head-quarters at Qasbah Taráorí; one of the *zamíndárs* of the villages of Bidaulí who had quarrelled with his relations, begged the assistance of his soldiers and gave him the *biswadári* of Kunjpura which was then a swamp or nearly so. Nijábat Khán got some leases of the surrounding villages from the *Tahsildár* of Bidaulí, and gave them to Mahmúd Khán, who wanted to build at Kunjpura. The Rájputs destroyed all he did. Nijábat Khán brought his troops over from Taráorí and settled them at Kunjpura, and from that time a deadly enmity sprung up between the Rájputs and Patháns. A *pakka* fort was built at Kunjpura after a hard fight. The fort was first called Nijábatnagar. The cruelty of the Afgháns having reached the ears of the *Chakladár* of Saháranpur he sent for Nijábat Khán; he refused to go, a force was sent, and the *Chakladár* Izzat Khán was killed by one of Nijábat Khán's relations. The power of the Afgháns increased, and Nijábat Khán made himself master of other lands. The

King of Dehli, hearing of the death of his *Chakladár*, sent for Nijábat Khán through Múlráj of Pánípat, who enticed him to Pánípat, and sent him a prisoner to Dehli, where he remained for a year. Khwája Jáfir was sent to Kunjpura but was put to death by the servants of Nijábat Khán. Nawáb Bángash of Furrukhábád interceded for Nijábat Khán, and he was released; and his estate Nijábatnagar, and other villages in number as per margin, were granted him in *jágr* on condition of his restraining the Játs and Rájputs, who were taking advantage of the weak state of the empire to give trouble and commit excesses.

Parganah.	No. OF VILLAGES.
Bidauli ...	5, including Nijábatnagar or Kunjpura
Karnál ...	6
Thánesar ...	20
Sháhábád ...	24
Bant ...	3
Azimábád ...	45
Indrí ...	45
Unknown ...	2
	150, valued at 5 or 6 lakhs of rupees.

On the incursion of Nádír Sháh, Nijábat Khán supplied him with provisions and tendered his obeisance ; he became a *Risáldár* of 1,000 *sawárs*. The Mahrattá army under Jhúku Bháo plundered Kunjpura, when Nijábat Khán was wounded, taken prisoner, and died ; some accounts say was slain, aged 75, at Pánípat, having lived in Kunjpura for 30 years. Ah.íad Sháh repulsed the Mahrattás in 1174 Hijri, A. D. 1758, and established Dallál Khán, Nijábat Khán's eldest son, at Kunjpura, having first enriched him with spoils from the Mahrattás. Dallál Khán enjoyed his possession for 25 years, died aged 60 years in 1782 A. D., and was succeeded by his eldest son Gulsher Khán. Of the descendants of the brothers of Gulsher Khán, one is a *Risáldár*, another lives in Pánípat. Three others, Nizám Ali Khán, Tafazul Husén Khán, and Muhammad Husén Khán, have lands in perpetuity. Gulsher Khán ruled for twenty-two years. He died on the 15th of May 1804, was succeeded by his eldest son Rahmat Khán ; several villages were given to his own brother Muhayuldín Khán in maintenance, but on the death of Muhayuldín, the number of villages was reduced to one, the fine estate of Biána, and some land in Kunjpura, which is held by his son Muhammad Yár Khán. Rahmat Khán had three half-brothers, who received a maintenance; they are dead, but the maintenance has been continued to their sons.

Rahmat died in 1821, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Jang Bahádúr Khán, who died childless 7 years after, and was succeeded by his brother Muhammad Ali Khán, the present Nawáb. Ever since the time of Muhayuldín Khán the family has been cut up by private quarrels. Ghulám Ali Khán during his life-time kept all parties in good humour, but on his death all the relations turned against the present Nawáb. This family in former times had, besides their own family quarrels, plentiful occupation for their swords with their Sikh neighbours, particularly with the Thánesar Sardárs, whose possessions were next to those of Kunjpura. Several exchanges of villages have taken place from time to time among these people, and Kunjpura has still villages in share with Kheri, Chúrni and Shámgarh, besides land in Ghír, which is now British, but formerly formed part of the Thánesar *iláqa*. This land has been released by Government in perpetuity. The Kunjpura estate now consists of thirty-six whole and shared villages.

The founder of the Thánesar chiefship was Mith Singh. Captain Larkins states in his report on the Summary Settlement of Thánesar that Mith Singh is of a family of Nidga Rájputís of the village of Ajnála, *talúqa* Panchgraián in the Mánjha ; but Captain Abbott states that he was a Ját, that his home was at Bhatti near Sarhála in the Mánjha. He embraced the Sikh religion at Amritsar from the hand of Gurdíal Singh, and entered the service of Tára Singh. He was a fine young man, and being determined to lead, he deserted with a party from Tára Singh, mastered several villages in the Jalandhar Doáb, and came to this part of the country with the Dallewália *misl* in company with his nephews Bhág Singh and Bhanga Singh. The royal fort at Thánesar built by the Marrals was held by the troops of the Bháis of Kaithal under the command of Desú Singh ; Bhág Singh and Bhanga Singh waited their opportunity in the neighbourhood, while Mith Singh advanced with the conquer-

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ing Sikhs, and was killed at Meerut. Bhangá Singh and Bhág Singh, with the assistance of the Ládwa Sardárs and Karam Singh Nirmala of Sháhábád, after one failure, made a successful night attack and possessed themselves of the fort of Thánesar. Shortly after this Bhái Desú Singh died, leaving two young children, from whom the Dallewálias wrested the country which is now called Thánesar, including the *talúgas* Bhoari and Buláhi. Bhangá Singh and Bhág Singh divided the country, the former getting three-fifths, the latter two-fifths. Bhangá Singh seized Ghiásuldínnagar, east of the Jamná, which the Mahrattá Bháo Rána took from him and gave him *parganah* Bidauli in exchange. Bhangá Singh, who is described by Captain Cunningham as the "savage master of Thánesar," allied himself to the British about 1803. He was the greatest robber among the little chiefs and the only chief feared by Ranjít Singh. Lord Lake gave him some other territory east of the Jamná, in exchange for Bidauli, and it was held by him during his life. In 1806, with the assistance of the Ládwa Sardár Gurdit Singh, the Dallewálias wrested Dhowa and Singhori from the Landewália *misl*, and Dhowa was assigned as Bhangá Singh's share of the conquered territory. It was taken from him and restored to the Landah *misl* by Ranjít Singh; but when these territories came under British protection it was retransferred to Bhangá Singh.

Bhangá Singh died in 1815, leaving a son Fattah Singh and a

* Dhaurála.	Rájpura.
Barwa.	Blúji.
Chaugánwán.	Umrpur.

† Jhámba.	Bfbípur.
Pújan.	Fázilpur.
Imbli.	Bishangarh.
Tigri.	½ of Chánd
Chaunra	Samand.

daughter by his wedded wife, and a son Sáhíb Singh by a concubine. The daughter, Karamkaur, married Karam Singh, the Rája of Patiálá, and six villages, as per margin,\* were given as her dowry. To Sáhíb Singh a *jágir* of nine-and-half villages as per margin† was allotted, and is now held by his son Bishn Singh, who pays one-sixth of the

revenue in lieu of service for his life. On his death his heir or heirs for one generation are to hold the estate liable to payment of half the revenue. The remainder of Bhangá Singh's estate descended to his son Fattah Singh, who died in 1819, leaving a mother Máí Jíán and two young widows. Máí Jíán managed the estate till 1830 and died in 1836. Ratankaur, one of the widows, died in 1844, leaving the other widow Chandkaur in possession of the estate, which lapsed on her death in 1850, and was summarily settled by Captain Larkins. Bhág

Mahtáb Singh.
Guláb Singh.
Panjáb Singh.
Baj Singh.

Singh, the partowner with Bhangá Singh, died in 1791, leaving four sons as per margin, three of whom died childless. The estate descended to Jamáyat Singh, the son of the youngest brother Baj Singh, who also died childless in 1832, when the estate lapsed and was settled by Captain Murray.

Condition of the  
country at annexation.

The state of the Dehli territory when it came to us in 1803 has already been described at page 35. The Sikh States between our territory and the Satlej were protected by our mantle from danger from without. But the condition of Kaithal, which was nearest our border, and therefore presumably most influenced by our influence and example, when it lapsed to us in 1843, may be gathered from the



following extracts from Sir Henry Lawrence's report in his Summary Settlement of the tract:—

"The old state of the country may be gathered from the fact of more than a hundred men having been killed and wounded in a single boundary dispute, not above four years ago, between two villages of Kathána and Jínd; from the village of Paí, within a march of Kaithal, and for 40 years an integral part of the territory, having within the last ten years, withstood the army of the Bhái for 8 months; and from the inhabitants of Chátar in Kathána having never allowed the Sikh officers to enter their villages, being permitted to pay revenue instalments at the *thána* of Kathána. In fact, the whole system was one of the expedients, sparing the strong, and squeezing the weak. I therefore extended an amnesty as far as possible, taking security from some notorious offenders, and keeping a few others in prison for want of bail. From April to September, 85 persons were convicted and sentenced for thefts and petty robberies. Not a case of gang robbery or wholesale cattle-lifting happened after the first week of our rule. One murder took place, that of a jail *barkandáz*, by three prisoners, who were made over to the sessions. On the 1st October there were in jail 141, on bail 25,—a number that may not be considered extraordinary, when it is recollected, not only by what a lawless neighbourhood Kaithal is bordered, but that at least a hundred criminals were let loose upon the country when the outbreak occurred; and that robbery and outrage were scarcely discountenanced by the old Government, and actually recognised by many of the officials. Within a week after the introduction of British rule at Kaithal, there occurred, as already noticed, two flagrant instances of wholesale cattle-lifting, in which more than a hundred men were concerned: most of the culprits were apprehended, and no such instances have since happened, although, under the former Government, they were of daily occurrence. I have taken security bonds from all villages of bad or doubtful character, to pay eleven-fold for all stolen property tracked to their lands, and that the headmen shall be responsible for the acts of all residing within their bounds. One of my first measures was to order all fire-arms to be delivered up at the respective *thánas*, and to forbid more than one sword to be retained for ten houses. To this act I mainly attribute the peace and quiet of the country during the last six months: for although I do not suppose that all the arms were actually given up, the order made the heads of villages responsible for their not being used; and I have now the pleasure of thinking that almost all the boundaries in the district have been settled, not only without any loss of life, but, as far as I am aware, without the occurrence of a single affray in a country where it has not been unusual for one village to lose twenty men in a boundary dispute.

"Such was the desolation of portions of the district that, looking from the tops of the village towers, I could often see miles and miles of good land without a single acre of cultivation. \* \* The people were accustomed to pay no revenue except upon absolute compulsion. \* \* Kaithal was one year ago as lawless a tract of country as any in India; but something I hope has been effected for its improvement. \* \* I may instance the Ját village of Chátar, which was formerly the very head-quarters of opposition to authority, and is said never to have admitted a Sikh within its quickset hedge. It was reckoned able to turn out a thousand match-locks, and the four wards of the village were barricaded against one another. So bad a name had the place that when I visited it in April I was attended by a hundred troopers and a company of infantry: when I went there in August I was accompanied by a single horseman, and found

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the village one sheet of cultivation. \* \* As I was riding along the border with Rájá Sarúp Singh we heard and saw the husbandmen singing as they drove their cattle through the saturated fields. The Rájá smiled and called my attention to their air of security, observing that if they had been so employed last year the chances were that their cattle would have been carried off by some foraging party."

Five years later Captain Abbott, Settlement Officer, described the Sikh rule in the Protected States on the Anibálá and Karnál border, which had just then been confiscated, in the following words :—

"The arm of the law, if law it can be called was paralysed; no protection was given to property; indeed the State set the example, and plundered without remorse. Cattle at grazing were attended by bodies of armed men; wars and bloodshed were frequent and common; and want of security caused the villagers to plunder in self-defence. Occasionally attempts were made to extend cultivation by cuts from the streams, but these required a small dam across the channel which it was necessary to protect by a tower; indeed a well could not be worked without a tower in which the wood-work and bullocks were deposited during the night, or on the approach of plunderers. The powerful villages only paid so much revenue as they found it convenient to do. Few crimes were acknowledged, and such as were, were punished by fine with imprisonment until payment. Open evidence was unnecessary to conviction, the secret information of an informer was ample, and the fact of possessing the wherewithal more than conclusive. Murder was punishable by fine; and cheating, forgery and unnatural offences were considered good jokes."

The mutiny.

When the mutiny broke out in 1857, Mr. Macwhirter, the Magistrate of Pánípat, was at Dehli, and was killed there. Mr. Richardes, the Uncovenanted Deputy Collector, immediately took over charge; and though every other European fled, and the fugitives from Dehli warned him that the rebel cavalry were following on their steps, and though "burning and pillage reached to his very doors," he bravely stayed at his post, kept more or less order in the district, was active in collecting supplies for the troops passing through and for the army besieging Dehli, and succeeded in collecting more than seven *lakhs* of revenue, which he sent to the army. For these services he was appointed Deputy Commissioner of the 1st class. Directly the news of the outbreak reached Jínd, the Rájá collected his troops and proceeded by forced marches to Karnál, which he reached on the 18th of May. He restored order in the town and its vicinity, marched down the grand trunk road in advance of the British columns, turned his forces on Pánípat, recovered Simbhálka which had been seized by the rebels, and kept the road open between Karnál and Dehli. The Mahárája of Patialá was no less prompt. He held Karnál, Thánesar and Ambálá in our behalf, and kept the road open from Karnál to Philaur. The Chauháns of the Nardak behaved well. They raised a regiment of cavalry, and they also supplied a body of 250 *chaukidárs* for the protection of the city and civil lines where our ordnance magazine was established. The Mandál Nawáb of Karnál, Ahmad Alí Khán, from the very first placed himself and his resources unreservedly at our disposal. For these services his quit-rent of Rs. 5,000 a year was released to him and his heirs male in perpetuity; and he was presented with a *khilat* of Rs. 10,000 in open *darbár*.

In the Thánesar district Captain McNeile was Deputy Commissioner. His principal difficulty arose from the presence of a company of the mutinous 5th Native Infantry, which obliged him to have always at hand part of the Patiálá force to keep them in check. The disarming of this company on the 14th July set the Deputy Commissioner at liberty, and from that time he made his head-quarters at Karnál. Mr. Levien, the Assistant Commissioner, was detached at Sháhábád, and Lieutenant Parsons was sent from time to time to reduce turbulent villages, especially towards Kaithal, or to watch the fords and ferries of the river Jamná. In anticipation of a visit from the Dehli mutineers, Captain McNeile had, at the first, destroyed the stamp paper, and soon afterwards sent his treasure to Ambálá; while the jail was fortified and the *jágir-dárs* called out. At one time it was rumoured that the Ránghars from Hissár purposed to rescue their fellow-clansmen from the Thánesar jail, and the 31st May was the date fixed upon for the attack. Every preparation was made to repel it, but it did not take place. The Ránghar prisoners were immediately afterwards secretly removed to Ambálá to be beyond hope of rescue. On June 9th the Rájá of Patiálá was compelled to draw off his forces from Thánesar in order to protect his own capital, which was in some peril from the Jalandhar mutineers; but as soon as he learnt that they had passed by, his troops were sent back to Thánesar, much to the relief of Captain McNeile.

As was to be expected at such a time, the more turbulent spirits among the people took advantage of the temporary suspension of authority to give trouble both to Government and to their neighbours. Even in the Pánípat Bángar sixteen of the largest Ját villages in the Naultha *zail* refused to pay their revenue, drove out the Government village watchmen, joined in the disturbances in the Rohtak district, went to Dehli, whence they returned after an absence of 22 days, and threatened to attack the Collector's camp; while nineteen other large villages, mostly in the Bhálsi and Korána *zails*, rioted, burnt some Government buildings, committed various robberies and murders, and refused to pay revenue. The Gújars were, of course, not behindhand, and plundered generally about the country. All these villages were fined and punished in various ways; and *lambardárs'* allowances to the amount of Rs. 7,317, representing a revenue of Rs. 1,46,340, were confiscated. In the city of Pánípat open sedition was preached, especially in the shrine of Buáli Qalandar; and an attack upon the Collector's camp was only prevented by some Jínd troops hurrying up and turning their guns on the town. Hostages were seized, some few men hanged, and the pension of the shrine reduced from Rs. 1,950 to Rs. 1,000 a year. The *tahsildár* of Gharaunda, a Pánípat man, had to be removed for disaffection.

If such was the behaviour of the Bángar, it may be imagined that the Nardak was not less troublesome. Some of the large villages caused much anxiety during the mutiny of 1857—notably Síwan, Asandh, Julmána, Gondar, Sálwan, Balla, Dáchaur; they had no political cause in view, but the inhabitants being Muhammadan Ránghars, a turbulent and predatory class, they broke loose in deeds of violence in general, and refused to pay the Government land revenue. Balla resisted a Regiment of Cavalry under Major Hughes, killing a native

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Political  
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## The mutiny.

officer and some troopers, subsequently receiving severe punishment from the guns of the loyal Mandal Chief, Ahmad Ali of Karnal. Julmána collected a large muster of Ránghars armed with the intention of releasing the prisoners of the Thánesar jail, in which purpose it was failed. Asandh seized the Government police station in the fort at the village, and received in return severe castigation and spoliation; ultimately the general misconduct of the Kaithal and Asandh *parganahs* entailed on them a fine of 10 per cent. on the Government revenue, which, together with the revenue, was collected by the district officers at the point of the bayonet. That these villages, however, had no sympathies in common with the mutinous soldiers was evidenced from the fact of their robbing, even to a state of nudity, fugitive soldiers on their way from the Panjáb to join the rebel forces at Dehli. Hábrí, though a Ránghar village, was distinguished for good conduct and loyalty under the guidance of intelligent headmen. It may be said generally that the further Nardak showed extreme reluctance to give up the fugitive mutineers from Fírozpur or Jalandhar, and positively refused to pay their revenue; and a detachment with some guns under Captain McNeile marched against them. They first attacked Balla, a large and always troublesome Ját village; and "signal chastisement was inflicted in a fight in which scarcely a village in the higher Nardak but had one or two killed or wounded." The Balla people presently somewhat redeemed their fault by giving material assistance in coercing their neighbour Múnak. The skirmish had a very good effect upon the country-side; and when Captain McNeile marched upon Julmána, it submitted at once; while the Asandh people ran away into the jungles, and their village was bombarded and burnt, as its inhabitants had been conspicuous in their disloyalty. Heavy fines were realised from the recusant villages. The *lambar-dárs* of Garhi Chháju paid their revenue into the *tahsil* without its being demanded, and were rewarded by a personal grant which the survivor Jí Rám, still enjoys. Sardára, a Ját of Palrí, aided some European fugitives from Dehli, and received a revenue-free grant of land in perpetuity. And Qalandar Ali Khán of Pánípat gave material assistance, and was rewarded by a pension. On the whole, the district suffered very little. The Government treasury and records escaped unharmed; and of a total land revenue demand of Rs. 4,70,238 for 1857-58, only Rs. 9,464 was not collected, while the canal irrigation for the autumn crops of 1857 was only three per cent. less than the corresponding irrigation of 1856. In 1858 the numerous village forts which had been built in the times of the Sikhs were dismantled.

Development since  
annexation.

Some conception of the development of the district since it came into our hands may be gathered from Table No. II, which gives some of the leading statistics for five-yearly periods, so far as they are available; while most of the other tables appended to this work give comparative figures for the last few years. In the case of table No. II it is probable that the figures are not always strictly comparable, their basis not being the same in all cases from one period to another. But the figures may be accepted as showing in general terms the nature and extent of the advance made. And indeed the advance made is not to be tested by figures only. The state of the country when it

fell into our hands has already been fully described in the preceding pages ; and the contrast which that state presents with its present condition needs to be emphasized by no comments.

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Administrative  
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SECTION C.—ADMINISTRATIVE.

The district consists of two portions, the administrative history of which was wholly distinct till the year 1862. The older portion, which has been recently settled by Mr. Ibbetson, includes the Pánípat *tahsil* and the Indri *parganah* of the Karnál *tahsil* ; it came to us by conquest, and formed a portion of the Dehli territory, and of the Pánípat district of the North-Western Provinces. The other portion, consisting of the remainder of the district, which is now being settled by Mr. Douie, came to us by lapse or forfeiture from the protected Sikh chiefs who held it, and formed part of the Thánesar district of the Cis-Satlej division of the Panjáb. The administrative history of the two is, therefore, entirely distinct, and must be treated separately for each. The land revenue administration of the district is not noticed in this section as it is fully discussed in Chapter V, Section B.

Constitution of the  
district.

The provinces acquired by the Treaty of Sirji Anjangam were known as the conquered provinces, and with the ceded provinces formed a sub-division of the Bengal Presidency, to which the Bengal Regulations were extended by Regulation VIII of 1805. But Sec. 4 of that Regulation expressly excluded from the operation of the Regulations, past and future, the tract afterwards known as the Dehli territory, which roughly coincided with the present districts of Gurgáon, Dehli, Rohtak, Sirsa and Hissár, and the Pánípat *tahsil* and Karnál *parganah* of this district ; and, in fact, consisted of the territory transferred from the North-West Provinces to the Panjáb in 1858. The Dehli territory thus constituted was at first placed under a Resident at Dehli, aided by assistants who had no formally defined charges. But as a fact Mr. William Fraser, one of the Assistants, exercised almost absolute authority in these parts, checked only by an unexercised right of appeal to the Resident. A British *Amíl* of the name of Rái Sada Sukh was appointed at Karnál. In 1819 the territory was divided into northern, southern and central divisions, of which the northern consisted of Karnál, Pánípat, Ganaur, Gohána, Rohtak, Sunpat and Mandauti, and was placed in charge of a Principal Assistant. At the same time a Civil Commissioner was appointed at Dehli, who exercised civil, criminal and revenue functions in subordination to the Resident. In 1820 the Civil Commissioner was abolished, and a Deputy Superintendent appointed in his place, who enjoyed no independent authority, but vicariously exercised the power of the Resident, as his Assistant, and in his courts. In 1822 the Bengal Presidency was divided, the ceded and conquered provinces forming the western province ; and a Board of Commissioners of Revenue and Circuit was appointed for these provinces, with its head-quarters at Dehli. The Resident lost his Deputy Superintendent, but became the Chief Commissioner on the Board, and continued to exercise independent political functions as Agent to the Governor-

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General. In 1824 the divisions of the Dehli territory were split up into the districts of Pánípat, Rohtak, Hánsí, Riwári and Dehli. The Pánípat district included Karnál, Pánípat and Sunpat, and the remainder of the northern division went to Rohtak. In the same year the Dehli territory was removed from the control of the Board of Revenue collectively, and placed immediately under the Resident and Chief Commissioner, who, however, continued to avail himself of the services of the Board in the transaction of all revenue business. In 1829 Divisional Commissioners of Revenue and Circuit were appointed throughout the Presidency, and the Dehli Commissioners transacted all business in subordination to the Resident.

In 1832 the office of Resident and Chief Commissioner was abolished, a Political Agent to the Governor-General taking his place; and Regulation V of 1832 annexed the Dehli territory to the jurisdiction of the Sadr Board and Courts of Justice at Allahabád, directed that officials should conform to the spirit of the Regulations in the transaction of business, and empowered the Supreme Government to extend any part of the Regulations to that territory. It does not appear that any Regulations were ever so formally extended; but from this date they were practically in force throughout the territory. From that date, too, the Principal Assistant changed his title to that of Magistrate and Collector. In 1835 the Agra Sub-division of the Presidency was erected into a Lieutenant-Governorship, under the name of the North-Western Provinces. In 1841 the Rohtak district was broken up, and *parganah* Gohána added to Pánípat; but the alteration was shortly afterwards cancelled, and in 1857, just before the Mutiny, *tahsil* Surpat was transferred to Dehli. In 1858 the Dehli territory lying on the right bank of the Jamná was transferred from the North-Western Provinces to the Panjáb by Government of India Order No. 9 of 9th February, and Act XXXVIII of 1858 repealed Regulation V of 1832, quoted above.

Administrative  
subdivisions. Dehli  
territory.

As already noted, every few villages that were held in separate *jágir* were often called a *parganah*, though the individual villages might be miles apart; and the same village was often quoted quite indifferently as being in one or other of two different *parganahs*. In fact, there were two concurrent systems of *parganahs*, one based upon locality, and the other upon the assignment of the land revenue. In 1806 *parganah* Karnál included 218 villages, and extended to Taráorí. Of these, 14 belonged to the Taráorí Sardár, 25 had long been held by Kunjpura, and 5 by Jínd. Of the remaining 174 villages, we gave 7 to the Kunjpura Nawáb for life, and 158 to the Mandals. Of these 158 villages many were mere hamlets, only 63 being separately assessed to Government revenue; and only 93 separate villages are now recognised. These constituted *parganah* Karnál from 1806 to 1807. The remaining 9 villages, known as the nine *mazrahs* of Karnál, were wrongfully held by the Sikhs; they were resumed in 1816, and though lying to the north of Karnál, were included in the Pánípat *parganah* till 1851.

In the remainder of the present Karnál, and in the Pánípat *tahsil*, the old division into *parganahs* Pánípat, Sunpat and Ganaur was still followed in the *kánungo's* records. Some Jínd villages were added to Pánípat in 1816, some Sunpat villages in 1822, and some

Ganaur villages in 1836. The Bángar villages were generally known as *pargana*h Pánípat, and the Khádar villages indifferently as *pargana*h Barsat or Chaunsat up to 1830, from which date the two divisions were known as Pánípat Bángar and Pánípat Khádar. Besides these, we find in the earlier papers mention of *pargana*h Jaurási, Simbhálka, Faridpur and Balla, which were included in the above, and the limits of which cannot be fixed. The boundary between the Khádar and Bángar *pargana*h corresponded very nearly with that between the present assessment circles of the same names.

There was originally only one *tahsil* at Pánípat; but in 1823, by which date the greater part of the *jágír* land had been resumed, a separate *tahsil* was formed at Barsat for the Khádar villages, the Mandal tract being excluded altogether. There was also a *tahsil* of Ganaur, and one of Sunpat. In 1829 the Khádar *tahsil* was transferred from Barsat to Pánípat, the two being distinguished as Pánípat Bángar and Khádar. In 1835-36 the boundary between Sunpat and Pánípat took its present shape, when Ganaur was absorbed into Sunpat Khádar. In 1851, after the Settlement of the Mandal villages, the territory was divided, as at present, into Karnál and Pánípat, with *tahsils* at Pánípat and Gharaunda; and Amritpur and Kairwál were received from the Thánesar district in exchange for the nine *mazra*h of Karnál which had been transferred to it. In 1854 the head-quarters of the district were moved to Karnál; in 1862 *tahsil* Kaithal and *pargana*h Indrí were added to the district; and in 1868 the *tahsil* was moved from Gharaunda to Karnál.

The northern portion of the district was in 1803 in the hands of different Sikh chiefs, but lapsed in the course of time piecemeal to the English Government.\* The States, parts of which are included in this district, are those of Kaithal, Thánesar and Ládwa. Kaithal lapsed in 1849, Thánesar in 1832 and 1850, and Ládwa was confiscated in 1846. In 1849 these were formed into a district of the Cis-Satléj States division of the Panjáb, having its head-quarters at Thánesar. In 1862, after the transfer of the Dehli territory to the Panjáb, the Thánesar district was broken up and distributed between the districts of Karnál and Ambálá. The *pargana*h of Gúla, Pehowa, Kaithal, Indrí and part of Thánesar, fell to this district, the remainder to Ambálá; at the same time the Sunpat *pargana*h was transferred to Dehli. Six villages were transferred from Muzaffernaggar District to Karnál in 1862 owing to river changes. In 1866 *tahsil* Gúla was abolished and *pargana*h Pehowa was transferred to the Ambálá district; while Chika and Kuláran were included in the Kaithal *tahsils*. In 1875 there were further included in the Kaithal *tahsil* 14 villages from the Pehowa *pargana*h.

Below is a list of the officers who have held immediate charge of this district, omitting temporary appointments:—

*Pánípat or Karnál district.*

—	William Fraser	1824	H. H. Thomas
1819	T. T. Metcalfe	1825	Hugh Fraser
1822	Hugh Fraser	1830	Alexander Fraser
1824	George Campbell	1832	Simon Fraser

\* See Gazetteer of Ambálá district.

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Thánesar district.

District officers.

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## District officers.

1834	John Lawrence	1861	Major W. R. Elliot
1836	Alexander Fraser	1863	Major Busk
1840	John Paton Gubbins	1865	Captain Parsons
1841	T. Woodcock	1870	R. W. Thomas
1842	John Lawrence	1873	Captain Harcourt
1843	John Paton Gubbins	1874	Colonel Babbage
1845	Charles Gubbins	1875	Colonel Hawes
1848	Nathaniel Prowett	1876	Colonel Millar
1854	C. R. Lindsay	1878	A. H. Benton
1856	J. P. Macwhirter	1882	Major A. S. Roberts
1857	C. B. Richardes	1883	A. W. Stogdon
1858	R. P. Jenkins	1884	Major A. S. Roberts
1859	C. P. Elliot		

*Thánesar district.*

1843	Major Lawrence, C. B.	1846.	Major S. A. Abbott.
1843	Major Leech, C. B.		More recent information is not obtainable.
1846	Major S. A. Abbott.		
1846	G. Campbell.		

Many of these names are household words with the villagers, and are quoted daily in the course of business. The following is a glossary which will be found useful:—*Fridan* is Fraser; *Bara Fridan Sáhib* is William Fraser. *Hú Sáhib* is Hugh Fraser. *Alak Jalandar Sáhib* is Alexander Fraser, but is also used for Alexander Skinner. *Ján Pátan Sáhib* is John Paton Gubbins. *Chálís Sháib* is Charles Gubbins. *Jírás Sáhib* is George Ross, who settled the Mandal *parganah* in 1852-56.

Early administra-  
tion.

The early administration of the Dehli territory before the introduction of the regulation law presents so many curious points of contrast with that of our own day, that it will be interesting to give a brief sketch of its most salient features, more especially as in this district alone has the mutiny left untouched the records which described it. The early administration of land revenue is fully discussed in Chapter V. The cantonment of Karnál, which was not moved to Ambálá till 1842-43, was for a long time, with the exception of a small military outpost at Lúdhianá, our frontier station. Its size may be judged of from the fact that the *monthly* pay of the troops amounted, in 1835, to a lakh-and-a-quarter of rupees. This pay was by no means always forthcoming; the Collector often had to borrow at exorbitant rates from the local money-lenders in order to meet urgent demands for arrears of several months' standing; and as late as 1840 we find the bills dishonoured for want of funds, and troops actually marching on service with some months' pay owing to them.

Criminal administra-  
tion.

The tract was surrounded for the greater part of its border by "the turbulent and marauding Sikhs" of Jínd, Kaithal, Ládwa, and Shámgarh; their territories reaching to within a mile of the cantonment boundaries. Forays and affrays and wholesale raids, in which cattle were carried off by fifties and hundreds at once, were of constant occurrence. The Sikh chiefs exercising sovereign powers had exclusive jurisdiction over their own subjects even for offences committed in British territory; until in 1833 this state of things grew so intolerable that we assumed criminal and police jurisdiction in Ládwa and Shámgarh. The *jágirdárs*, whose villages were thickly sprinkled over the tract, gave almost as much trouble as our Sikh neighbours, resisting by force of arms the execution of



writs, and harassing the authorities in every possible way. The Mandals were more than once threatend with expulsion from Karnal if they did not become more amenable to authority; and their *jágír* was actually attached in 1830 on account of their contumacious conduct. The whole of the Nardak, and, till the re-opening of the canal extended cultivation, the whole of the Bángar right up to the main road from Dehli, was covered with thick *dhák* jungle which harboured bands of robbers; and criminals always found a ready refuge with our Sikh friends, from under whose wings they had to be reclaimed through the Resident at Dehli and the Superintendent of Sikh Affairs at Lúdhianá, till the appointment of *wakíls* in 1824 simplified the procedure. The Rájputés of the Nardak were notorious for their turbulence. Session cases were tried at Dehli; and the bodies of criminals executed were left hanging on the gibbets till 1833, when the practice was discontinued. Flogging was abolished in 1825. The track law was rigorously enforced, the village to which the thieves were traced, or even that in which the robbery took place if connivance was suspected, being made responsible for the full value of the stolen property; and though this practice was discontinued on the introduction of the Regulations in 1832, yet the Court of Directors expressly ordered its revival on the ground of the number of feudatory chiefs whose territories bordered on the tract. The police establishment was notoriously corrupt. In 1820 there were only 3,082 prisoners tried in the whole Dehli territory, of which number 2,302 were acquitted or discharged. During the five years from 1828 to 1832 the average number of cases brought into court, excluding assaults, was only 628 for the whole Pánípat district. In 1879 the corresponding number for a very little larger population was 1,750. The police duties in large towns were discharged by watchmen, while in villages the people themselves were responsible for them, and for the *jágír* holdings the police were furnished by the *jágírdárs* themselves. There were no head-quarters to the district till 1827, and the Magistrate was always moving about and carrying his jail with him, the prisoners sleeping in the open under nothing but a guard. The roads were said to be impassable for man or horse in the rains generally, and near the canal or river at all seasons; while at the best of times reports took four days to traverse the greatest length of the district. There was no road-cess, and such repairs as were made were done by prisoners. The road-cess was not imposed till 1842, and the Grand Trunk Road was not made till 1847.

Civil suits were tried solely by the Sadr Ameen at Pánípat, who, after eight years of service, was discovered to refuse on principle to admit the evidence of a Hindu against a Muhammadan, though he admitted that of the latter against the former, and who justified his practice by reference to the Muhammadan law, by which he considered himself bound. The language of the courts was Persian up till 1836, no suits against Government were admitted in the courts of the Dehli territory, and no stamps were taken on petitions till, in 1830, Regulation X of 1829 was extended to these courts by proclamation. Sale of land was not permitted without the consent of the whole village, save with the express sanction of the Governor-General in Council.

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Government coins were not current in the district, the copper coins being "received with reluctance;" while the reason given for moving the *táhsil* from Barsat to Pánípat in 1829 was, that the larger towns afforded greater facilities to the people for exchanging the current coins in which they were paid for their crops for the Government rupees in which alone the revenue could be paid. In 1833 the Government, "in order to afford revenue-payers relief from the "arbitrary exactions to which they were subject at the hands of money-changers in paying revenue," fixed rates of discount at which the ten sorts of country rupees then current would be received in payment of revenue, in the conviction that "the measure would greatly benefit "the agricultural classes." Education had "steadily deteriorated since "the introduction of our rule;" and in 1826, of the 12 schools nominally existing in the whole district, those of Karnál, Gharaunda, Dhansauli and Naultha were the only ones attended by more than two or three children. These were all supported by private enterprise, and were all bad alike. There were no dispensaries in the district till 1843, when it was proposed to establish them on account of the terrible epidemic.

Customs and Excise.

Every petty chief in the neighbourhood levied innumerable transit dues on the traffic through his territory. This pernicious system was adopted by us also, even to the extent of allowing every little *jágirdár* to levy these dues in his own villages. The customs line, established under the regulations on the left bank of the Jamná, lay wholly to the east of the territory; and the result was that "a vast multitude "of custom-house officers were scattered broadcast over the country, "making collections in every town, and apparently in every considerable village, on almost every article of traffic." Payment of these dues did not exempt the goods from duty at the regular customs line; so that goods passing across the Jamná into the regulation provinces had to pay double duty. In 1823 the whole customs machinery west of the Jamná was abolished, and posts were retained only at the ferries, which were about three miles apart. At the same time the dues were assimilated to those leviable under Regulation IX of 1810, and one payment freed goods for all British territory. But this change involved the relinquishment of the customs revenue upon the whole of the trade between Rájputána and the Sikh territory—a revenue which averaged some five *lakhs* annually. Accordingly, in 1828, a second customs line was established on the Western Jamná Canal. But the posts on both lines were in charge of *muharrirs* on Rs. 7 a month; and the amount of embezzlement was inconceivably great. Smuggling, too, was practised to such an extent that in 1833 it was estimated that not one-sixth of the salt passing through the district had paid duty. In 1834 the "irritating and exasperating interference with trade" practised by the customs officials was seriously commented upon, and all petty traffic was wholly exempted. And when the neighbouring Sikh territory became ours in 1843, the customs line was finally removed from the vicinity of Karnál. Such chiefs, however, as remained independent, continued to levy their own dues until we deprived them of their powers after the Sikh war, when the Nawáb of Kunjpura was compensated for the loss of his customs revenue by a yearly payment from the Treasury.

Besides Imperial customs, octroi was levied in Karnál and Pánipat at *ad valorem* rates varying from 5 to 10 per cent. upon all grains, pulse, sugar, oil, oilseeds, *ghí*, tobacco, firewood, charcoal, salt and spices passing within three miles of the town; and these dues formed a part of the Imperial revenue till 1823, when grain of all sorts was exempted, and the revenue was devoted to local improvements under the management of a municipal committee. The annual net revenue thus realised in Pánipat averaged some Rs. 3,000. The present octroi revenue of that town is about Rs. 20,000. A further tax of 6 per cent. on the value of all houses or land sold or mortgaged within the walls of Pánipat and Karnál was levied till 1823, when this and a host of other arbitrary exactions, of which no detail is forthcoming, were finally abolished.

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Karnal District.		Pánipat District.	
Year.	Revenue.	Year.	Revenue.
1823	3,000	1823	3,000
1824	3,000	1824	3,000
1825	3,000	1825	3,000
1826	3,000	1826	3,000
1827	3,000	1827	3,000
1828	3,000	1828	3,000
1829	3,000	1829	3,000
1830	3,000	1830	3,000
1831	3,000	1831	3,000
1832	3,000	1832	3,000
1833	3,000	1833	3,000
1834	3,000	1834	3,000
1835	3,000	1835	3,000
1836	3,000	1836	3,000
1837	3,000	1837	3,000
1838	3,000	1838	3,000
1839	3,000	1839	3,000
1840	3,000	1840	3,000
1841	3,000	1841	3,000
1842	3,000	1842	3,000
1843	3,000	1843	3,000
1844	3,000	1844	3,000
1845	3,000	1845	3,000
1846	3,000	1846	3,000
1847	3,000	1847	3,000
1848	3,000	1848	3,000
1849	3,000	1849	3,000
1850	3,000	1850	3,000
1851	3,000	1851	3,000
1852	3,000	1852	3,000
1853	3,000	1853	3,000
1854	3,000	1854	3,000
1855	3,000	1855	3,000
1856	3,000	1856	3,000
1857	3,000	1857	3,000
1858	3,000	1858	3,000
1859	3,000	1859	3,000
1860	3,000	1860	3,000
1861	3,000	1861	3,000
1862	3,000	1862	3,000
1863	3,000	1863	3,000
1864	3,000	1864	3,000
1865	3,000	1865	3,000
1866	3,000	1866	3,000
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1893	3,000	1893	3,000
1894	3,000	1894	3,000
1895	3,000	1895	3,000
1896	3,000	1896	3,000
1897	3,000	1897	3,000
1898	3,000	1898	3,000
1899	3,000	1899	3,000
1900	3,000	1900	3,000