

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY.

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History. Antiquities.

There are no antiquities of the very least note in the Rohtak district. The real history of the old sites is lost. Excavations at the Rohtak Khókrá Kót would seem to show that three cities have been successively destroyed there; the coins found in Mólán Bári are the well known ones of Rájá Samant Devá, who is supposed to have reigned over Kábul and the Punjab about 920 A.D. They are found throughout the Cis-Satlaj tracts, and bear on the one side a humped bull lying down, with the superscription "*Srí Samanta Devá,*" and on the other a mounted horseman with a lance. Twenty-six giants' graves (*nangazás*) are found in the district, 17 at Baniáni in Rohtak; but the only well-known one is that in the masonry *khángáh* at Kanwáh in Jhajjar. There are some old tombs at Jhajjar, Mehim and Gohána, but none of any special architectural merit; the finest are at the first place. There is one old *baoli* at Rohtak and another at Mehim; of the latter a full description is given by the author of "*Pen and Pencil Sketches*;" it must have been in much better repair in 1828 A.D. than it is now. The "*Gáokaran*" tank at Rohtak and the *Búáwálá* tank at Jhajjar are fine works, and the masonry tank built by the last Nawáb at Ohuchakwas is, an exceedingly handsome one. The Bohar *asthal* is the only group of buildings of any architectural pretension in the district; the Jhajjar palaces are merely large houses on the old Indian plan.

Nature of annals in Rohtak.

History in the East is nearly everywhere two-fold. There are the rural annals which tell of the people themselves, their settlements and changes, often almost legendary and to be gathered only in fragments, but still representing the facts of the past to the people, and to those who have leisure to weigh and criticise the traditions; and there is the narration, which is more usually dignified as history, viz., the record of the lives of conquerors and rulers, their exploits and administrations, and the immediate connection of these events with the local area under consideration. The Rohtak district is rich in memories of the former type; but in recollections of the latter very poor. The village communities, which are of as perfect a type as any in India, have existed for two score ages, each with its own little series of events, which the annalist generally considers beneath his notice, for (to quote the words of Mr. Wheeler) "history deals more with the transitory than the present, with the episodes in the life of humanity, the revolutions which overthrow kingdoms, and create or overturn empires, rather than with the monotonous existence of little states which run in the same groove for centuries." History in this more exalted sense has left scanty record of Rohtak, till the middle of the last century is reached. A few towns destroyed by the kingly invaders from Ghazuí and Górc; a few villages built by royal mandate on royal high-roads; an old royal canal and old royal revenue subdivisions, still observed by some classes of the people; many Rájputés and a few Játs made Muhamniadans by a royal persecutor;

a town sacked by Rájputs in their wars with the Delhi ruler; some grants of land by Royal Charter, and a few buildings constructed by servants of the Court;—these are the only visible signs now left of the course of events before the time of the Mahrattá and Sikh. We know that the hosts of many a conqueror must have carried fire and sword through the land before the southern plunderers and northern fanatics contended for the possession of it; that many a royal state progress must have taken place through the district to the hunting grounds round Hánsi and Hissár; that ever since Delhi became the capital of India, a tract lying so close to it must have been profoundly affected by the events of the dynastic annals; but not a trace of all this remains. Only the villages themselves, unbroken and unchanged, exist as they existed 800 years ago. To no tract in North India do the words of Sir C. Metcalfe, quoted below, more aptly apply than to the Rohtak district:—“Village communities seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty changes; revolution succeeds revolution; Hindú, Pathán, Mughal, Mahrattá, Sikh, English, are all masters in turn, but the village community remains the same.”

The origin of the tribes and their settlement, and the foundation of estates and the constitution of communities are fully described in the next chapter. We pass to the facts of history in its more dignified sense. These, as has been said, are few till we reach the middle of the last century. Under the Emperor Akbar, when his great minister, Tódar Mal, divided all North India into administrative circles, the present district of Rohtak fell within the Súbáh of Delhi and the Sirkárs of Delhi and Hisár Firozá. The former included among others the *dastárs* of Rohtak and Jhajjar, with the *parganas* of Rohtak, Dábalghan, Kharkháudáh, Madauthi and Jhajjar, and the latter the *dastárs* and *parganas* of Gobána and Mehim or Miyún, as the old name was called. Within the *parganas* again were *tappás*, distributed as follows in the present *tahsils* :—

Gokána.	Rohtak.	Sámpla.	Jhajjar.
Súk—part.	Chándí.	Gínáh Farmánáh—	Haweli Jhajjar.
Rulánáh.	Kalól.	part.	Báli.
Mundlánáh.	Bohar—part.	Káiloi—part.	Khúdan.
Khámpur Kalán.	Nidánáh.	Bohar.	Subánáh.
Jauli.	Bháini Chandarpál.	Barónáh.	Kosli.
Chánda—part.	Sawwár part.	Dighal.	Eálháwás.
Káiloi—part.	Mokbrah.	Máandathí.	Akhéri Madanpár.
	Bhalbah.	Kánaudáh.	Biróhar.
	Bert.	Haweli Pálam—part.	Mátanhél.
	Dighal—part.		

The villages included in the *tappás* lie within a ring fence, except in the case of Mokbrah and Bhalbah, to which, for some reason now unknown, several outlying estates were joined. In some cases, such as the Dahiya, Dalál, Ahláwat and Kádián Játs, the boundaries of the *tappá* followed closely the distribution of tribes, but in others, such as the Jáklar and Malik, they did not. The Bráhmíns, barbers, and Chamárs still observe these divisions to some extent; and at some ceremonies, such as marriages or funeral feasts, the *tappá* people are still collected together.

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Mughal divisions.

Tappás.

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Lying close to the royal city, the tract now comprised by the Rohtak district was often granted in service tenure to the nobles of the Court; and Rájput, Brahmin, Afghán and Biluch have at different times enjoyed its revenue. From the time of the internecine quarrels, which began in 1712, on the death of Bahádur Sháh, the successor of Aurangzebe, the Mughal empire fell rapidly to ruin; and before a century had passed, an unknown western nation had taken the place of the old emperors. The governors of provinces set themselves up as rulers, and waged their own wars; the Játs rose to power in Bháratpúr under Cháraman and Súraj Mal; the Mahrattás began to creep up from the south; the terrible invasions of Nádir Sháh, and, twenty years later, of Ahmad Sháh took place from the north; and following in their steps, in the confusion that succeeded, the Sikhs pushed down to the Delhi territory. When faction quarrels ensued, the Mahrattás were called in by the Delhi Court, and twenty years after their advent the English came on the scene. During all this time of turmoil and bloodshed, the Rohtak district must have been profoundly affected. It formed the eastern portion of Harriánáh, a tract which gained its unenviable reputation for murder and robbery at this time, and which is popularly defined as being bounded on the east by the Khádir of the Jamná, on the west by the Bágur country, on the south by the low-lying Dábar tract of the Najafgarh *jhál* and its feeders, and on the north by the Nardak in Karnál and Kaithal. Encouraged by the weakness of their rulers, the people began to refuse to pay revenue, and developed a warlike and independent spirit, which set those who sought to coerce them at defiance.

About the year 1718, Harriánáh was granted in *jágír* under the Emperor Farokshér to his Minister Rukkan-ud-daulá, who in his turn made over the greater part of it to the management of a Biluch noble, Faujdár Khán, who subsequently, in 1732, was created Nawáb of Farakhnagar (in Gurgáon) with a territory which embraced the whole of the present districts of Hissár and Rohtak, and parts of Gurgáon, together with a considerable territory now in the hands of the Sikh chiefs of Jind and Patála. Faujdár Khán died in 1747, and was succeeded by his son Nawáb Kangár Khán, who with varying changes of fortune retained possession, until his death in 1760. In 1754 Bahádur Khán Biluch received a grant of Bahádurgarh and the adjoining estates; and he and the Bíluches of Farakhnagar exercised a nominal control over the rest of the country also. Bahádur Khán was succeeded in 1761 by his brother Táj Muhammad Khán, who ruled for 14 years.

This was the time of the complete collapse of the Delhi empire. Alamgír was murdered in 1760, and was succeeded eventually by his son Ali Gohur under the title of Sháh Alam, whose rule, however, extended only to the immediate neighbourhood of Delhi. In 1761 the Mahrattás met with their crushing defeat at the hands of Ahmad Sháh (Abdáli). The Sikh inroads henceforward gathered force, and the Sikhs gradually gained a footing more and more secure in the northern portion of the present district, the nominees of the titular Emperor vainly struggling to keep the country quiet. Kam-

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gár Khán was succeeded as Nawáb of Farakhnagar by his son Músa Khán, but his rule was purely nominal from the first, and in 1762 he was ousted from his capital by Jawáhar Singh, son of the celebrated Suraj Mal, Ját ruler of Bharatpur. The Játs held Jhajjar, Bálli and Farakhnagar until 1771, when Músa Khán, escaping from Bharatpur, where he had been kept in confinement, made a successful attempt to recover his estates, expelling the Játs from Farakhnagar. He never, however, regained a footing in the present Rohtak district.

In 1772, the Mahrattás retired southwards, and Najaf Khán came into power at Delhi. During his lifetime some order was maintained. Bahádurgarh was at this time in the hands of Nawáb Taj Muhammad Khán and his son Amír Alí Khan, to whom Najaf Khán gave in addition the *pargana* of Mándauthí. Jhajjar was in the hands of the husband of the famous Begam Samrú, who also held large estates in Gurgáon. Gohána, Mahím, Kharkhandah, and Rohtak were also held by nominees of Najaf Khán. The death of this Minister in 1782 was the signal for renewed inroads by the Sikhs, who met with no serious opposition until the return of the Mahrattás in 1785. Even they, however, could not succeed in subduing them.

Taj Muhammad Khán was followed by Nawáb Amír Alí Khán, the last of the line. Refusing to accede to demands made on him by the Mahrattás, he was deposed by them in 1793, but was allowed to retain the village of Gheorá in Delhi, which is still held by his descendants revenue free. In 1765 Gajpat Singh, the first Rájá of the house of Jind and grandson of Chaudhri Phól, settled at Jind and Safidon, hardly 20 miles distant from the north-western corner of the Gohána tahsil. From these places he constantly invaded the Hissár and Rohtak territory, and for some twenty years before 1803 he and his son, Rájá Bhág Singh, the uncle of Mahárájá Ranjít Singh, held the north of the district on a sort of passive tenure from the Mahrattás. The west was held at various times by all three competitors, but latterly by the Mahrattás, together with the south. Rohtak is thus interesting as forming on the right bank of the Jameá the border land of the Sikh and Mahrattá powers. The tenure of the latter was no easy or profitable one. The strong Ját villages perpetually defied them; Dighal and Sánghí beat off regular attacks made on them, and Ismáilah and others had to be levelled with the ground. Even after this George Thomas could collect his revenue only by means of a moveable column constantly marching about the country. Before his time the Begam Samrú, *jágirdar* of Sirdhaná, and known in Rohtak by her honorary title of Zebunnissá, held Jhajjar for some years, and she was succeeded there by him in 1794.

George Thomas had been in the Begam's service for some time, but left it in disgust in 1792, and joined Appa Kandi Ráo, Góvernor of Meerat. From this Chief he received in service *jágír* the *parganas* of Berí and Jhajjar, with the appointment of Warden of the Sikh marches. For this purpose he was obliged to keep up a strong army, and he took advantage of this to gradually make

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himself master of the situation. The Begain on one occasion sought to recover her old possessions, but her troops mutinied, and Thomas returned good for evil by assisting to reinstate her in her fief east of the Jamná. To overawe the towns of Jhajjar and Berí (the latter of which he stormed on one occasion), he built the fort of Jeházgarh (Georgegarh) at Husainganj, on the border of the Jhajjar *tahsil*, and established a second camp at Hánsi as a bulwark against the Sikhs. The remains of his magazine and residence at the former place still exist, and bear evidence in their solid construction that they were not constructed in the latter half of the nineteenth century. On the death of Appa Kaudí Ráo, an attempt was made to dispossess Thomas of his army and command; but after he had defeated his rivals, and even carried war into their country across the Jamná in 1798, he was left in peace for a time, and proceeded to consolidate his territory. Too great ambition, or too great a love for war, however, proved his ruin. Not content with what he had, he attacked the Sikhs in the north, and the States of Bikánúr, Joypúr and Udeypúr in the south; and though his expeditions were not always uniformly successful, he became the most powerful and feared man on the right bank of the Jamná. The Mahárájá Scindiá and his general, M. Perron, Governors of the Doáb, at last became jealous of his progress, and the latter was ordered to attack him (1801). An attempt was made to arrange an amicable compromise at Bahádurgarh, but this failed; and Lewis Bourquien (commonly called Lewis Sáhib) and a Captain Smith proceeded against Jeházgarh, the latter to besiege the place, and the former to cover his operations. Thomas, however, showed his usual activity and skill in meeting his foes. He fell on Captain Smith suddenly, compelled him to raise the siege, and inflicted a severe defeat on Bourquien at Berí, where the Mahrattas lost 3,000 men. But this success only served the more thoroughly to alarm all the neighbouring rulers. Reinforcements were poured in from the Doáb; the Sikhs gathered from the north, and the Játs and Rájputs moved from the south, to make common cause against their too formidable adversary; and a force of 30,000 men, with 110 pieces of artillery, commenced the siege of Jeházgarh. Thomas' camp was skilfully placed behind the sand-ridge lying south of the fort, and the guns of the enemy were able to do him little harm. The position which Lewis Bourquien occupied to the north, and the spot where M. Perron had his camp on the sand-hills above Palrá, are still shown by the people. Thomas could not have hoped to have held out long against such a force in any case; but treachery was at work within his camp, and he was deserted by several of his chief officers, and compelled to fly away by night to Hánsi. His enemies speedily followed him there; much the same scene of baseness was re-enacted; and in February 1802, Thomas abandoned claims to power, and agreed to pass over into British territory, where he died shortly afterwards on his way to Calcutta.* He is still spoken of admiringly by the people, whose affections he gained by his gallantry

His defeat and re-
trument

*This is one account of George Thomas' fall. Another is given in Colonel Skinner's *Life*.

and kindness; and he seems never to have tarnished the name of his country by the gross actions that most military adventurers in India have been guilty of.

Within two years of this event, the power of the Mahrattás in North India was completely broken, and the Rohtak district, with the other possessions of Scindia west of the Jamná, passed to the Honorable East India Company by the treaty of Sirji Anjeegaon, which was signed on 30th December 1803. It was no policy of Lord Lake's at that time to hold large territories beyond the Jamná, and he accordingly sought, by settling in them a number of chiefs and leaders who had done us good military service, to form a series of independent outposts between the British border and the Sikhs. The Jhajjar territory was therefore given to Nawáb Nijábat 'Alí Khán, and the old Biluch possessions at Bahádurgarh to his brother Nawáb Ismáíl Khán. Rájá Bhág Singh of Jínd had kept aloof from the combination against the English, at the advice of Bhái Lál Singh of Kaithal, the ablest and most intriguing man of his day among the Sikhs. Soon after the fall of Delhi, he tendered his allegiance to Lord Lake, and having rendered service in the ensuing campaign against Jaswant Ráo Holkar, he and the Bhái received the Gohána and Kharkhandah-Máudaunhí (Sámpla) *tahsils* in life *jágír*. For brilliant exploits in the same campaign, on the retreat of Colonel Manson, further grants of territory were made to the Jhajjar family. The Nawáb of Bahádurgarh received the Dádri country (including the tract called Bháunáharjál), and the part of Budh-wána lying below it, the rest of which went to Faiz Muhammad Khán, son of Nawáb Nijábat 'Alí Khán. Faiz Muhammad Khán received also, as a separate *jágír*, the villages of Lohári, Pátaudah and Kherí, in the south-east corner of the present Jhajjar *tahsíl*, and a life grant of the estate of Hassangarh, Kírali, Pylálpúr and Khurrampúr in Sámpla, formerly held by Táj Muhammad Khán while his brother was Nawáb of Bahádurgarh. The Pataudí state was given to Faiz Talab Khán, brother-in-law of Nijábat 'Alí Khán, and the Jhajjar territory was extended to include Nárool, Kánaundah, Báwal and Kánti, as well as the area of the present *tahsíl*. The Rohtak-Berí and Mehím *tahsils*, forming the west of the present district, were given to Abd-us-Samud Khán, the first Nawáb of the house of Dujána, together with all the country forming the territories of George Thomas in Hissár. This gift, however, was beyond the power of the Nawáb to manage; the people, encouraged by long immunity, set him at defiance; a son-in-law of his was killed in an attack on Bohar, and his eldest son at Bhiwáni; and finally, in 1809, he resigned the grant back to the donors, who had made it one condition of the gift that it should be managed without aid from the British Government. The tract held by the Dujána family was once larger than the whole Jhajjar territory; now they have only the two estates of Dujána and Mehrána in the Rohtak district, a few detached villages in Rewári, and the small tract of Náhar, and part of Bháu lying below the Jhajjar *tahsíl*,—29 villages in all, with a revenue of about Rs. 80,000.

From the time of the abandonment of this gift by the Dujána

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English rule.

Rohtak in 1803—
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Formation of the
district, 1810—50.

Chief, the formation of the Rohtak district dates. At first it was part of the "Shimáli zillah," which stretched from Pánipat to Sirsá, and it remained so until the lapse of the Gohána and Kharkhaudah-Mandáuthí estates, on the death of Lál Singh and Bhág Singh in 1818 and 1820 A.D. When the Hissár district was created in the latter year, the Berí and Mehím-Bhiwáni *tahsils* were included in it, and the other portions of the present northern *tahsils* in Pánipat; but in 1824 a separate Rohtak district was made, consisting of the Gohána, Kharkhaudah-Mándauthí, Rohtak-Berí, and Mehím-Bhiwáni *tahsils*. The Bahádurgarh territory formed the western boundary of this, and on the south lay the Jhajar country. There was a good deal of changing of estates from one *tahsil* to another, which is unimportant. The old district was of the shape of a triangle, Gohána forming the apex, and the base extending from Bhiwani to Mándauthí. Until 1832 A.D., the whole Delhi territory, including Rohtak, was under the Resident at Delhi, but in that year it was brought under the same regulations as the rest of North India, and the Resident became Commissioner. There were four Summary Settlements (in parts, five) from 1815 to 1838 A.D., followed by the Regular Settlement in 1838—40; the district was abolished in 1841 A.D., Gohána going to Pánipat, and the rest of the *tahsils* to Delhi, but in the following year it was created anew. There is little to note in the way of history regarding the events of these 30 years. The people gradually settled down to orderliness and peace, although the material progress of the country was sadly checked by a series of famines and a revenue demand which was much too severe. Indeed there is nothing historical to note in the even tenor of events of the next 20 summers, till the unhappy year of 1857-58 is reached, and the Rohtak district was transferred from the N.-W. Provinces to the Panjáb. During this period some 35 Collectors held charge of the district, of whom the best known and remembered are Messrs. W. and A. Fraser; Sir T. Metcalfe; Messrs. J. P., C., and M. K. Gubbins; Mr. J. Grant; Mr. Mill; Mr. Cocks; Mr. Ross; and Mr. Guthrie. The Sámpá *tahsil*, it may be noted, was located in its present position in 1852, the old name of the Kharkhaudhi-Mándauthí *tahsil* being then done away with.

History of ruling
houses, 1805—1867.

The Dujána house.

It will here be convenient to sketch briefly the history of the houses of the three Chiefs once connected with the Rohtak district, before entering on the narration of the events of the Mutiny, which caused two of them to disappear from the roll of native rulers in India. The Dujána family is happy in having no annals, except the mere record of the succession of son to father. Nawáb Abd-us-Samud Khán died in 1825. It was by him that the fortunes of the house were made. He was originally a *risaldar* in the service of the Peshwá Báji Ráo, and in the campaign against Scindia he served with the Mahrattá troops on the side of the English, where, meeting with favour from British officers, he transferred his allegiance, and joined Lord Lake. Under that General he did good service at Bharatpúr, and in pursuit of Jaswant Ráo Holkár, and in consequence he received the grants which have been detailed above. He was succeeded to the exclusion of his eldest

son's heir by his younger son Dúndi Khán, who lived till 1850, and was followed by his son Hassan Ali Khán, who was Nawáb when the revolt of 1857 took place. He appears to have kept himself free from the intrigues of the time, and at any rate he came out of the storm unscathed, whether thanks to his insignificance or his loyalty. His chief care seems to have been to conceal in his palace such sums of ready money as were by him. The Dujána family belongs to the Yusafzai tribe, and is closely connected with the Jhajjar Patháns. The Nawáb himself is a landowner, and also an occupancy tenant in some of the Pathán estates on the north border of the Jhajjar *tahsil*. The Jhajjar Nawáb's family claim to be Bharáich Patháns, a tribe whose original location was in the neighbourhood of Pishín and Kandahár, but who gradually made or found a way out into the Yusafzai country. Munatáf Khán, the grandfather of the first Nawáb of the house, came to India in Muhammad Sháh's reign, and took service with Alivardi Khán, Governor of Bengal. By various exploits there he gained the title of Nawáb, but on being refused the Governorship of Behar, he left his old chief, and, returning to North India, was presently killed fighting at Azimabad. His son, Murtazá Khán, succeeded to the command of the troop, and entered the employ of Safdar Jang, Subadár of Oude, and his son Shuját-ul-Daulá; he afterwards left Asuf-ud-Daulá for the service of Najaf Khán, the Commander-in-Chief of the Royal Army, and was slain fighting against Joypúr. Nijábat Ali Khán was the next leader of these free lances, in the place of his father, and performed various brilliant services, in return for which the title of Nawáb was confirmed to him by the Emperor Sháh Alam. He is described as having been a fine soldier, and a cool-headed, far-seeing man. When war between the British and Mahrattás had become inevitable, he chose the former side, and the rewards he received have been already told. The old Chief continued to live in Delhi, where he had resided for some 30 years, and left the management of his new estate to his son Faiz Muhammad Khán. He died in 1824 and was buried at Mahrauli in the shade of the tomb of the holy saint Kutub-ud-dín Sáhíb Onliá, where the graves of all the family are. His son was an enlightened and kindly ruler, who is still remembered gratefully by the people. It was he who constructed most of the old buildings at Jhajjar (including the palace which now forms the *tahsil*), who introduced and encouraged the manufacture of salt, who re-settled many of the deserted villages in his territories, and who constructed the Hálli *band*. Poets and learned men gathered at his Court, and during his rule of 22 years he showed himself an able Chief, worthy of his ancestors. He died in 1835.

With this Chief the palmier days of the Jhajjar rule passed away. His son and successor, Nawáb Faiz Ali Khán, was a somewhat narrow-minded ruler, and a harsh revenue collector, who is not well spoken of by the people. His rule was the shortest of all, extending to ten years only; and in 1845 the last Nawáb, Abd-ur-Rahmán Khán, succeeded. There was some trouble with his kinsmen, who disputed his legitimacy at the time of his accession, and when this was over, the Nawáb gave himself up for a time to gross

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The Jhajjar house.

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Ali Khán.Nawáb Faiz
Muhammad Khán.Nawáb Faiz Ali
Khán.Nawáb Abd-ur-
Rahmán Khán.

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Nawab Abd-ur-Rahmán Khán.

Bahádurgarh.
Nawab Moham-
mad Ismáíl Khán.Nawab Bahádúr
Jang Khán.

The Mutiny.

debauchery, from the effects of which he never recovered. He was naturally possessed of both taste and ability, and it was he who built the palace in the Johánára garden, and the residence and tank at Chhuchhakwás. But in revenue collections his little finger was thicker than his father's loins, and many villagers fled from under his oppressions. In 1855 A.D., he set about making a regular settlement of his territory, but it had extended to the two *tahsils* of Jhajjar and Bádli only, when the mutiny broke out, and it passed away with its author in that year. During all this time there had been only two Chiefs of the Bahádurgarh house, who were usually called, from their western possessions, the Nawábs of Dádri. Muhammad Ismáíl Khán enjoyed his grant for five years only, and died in 1808 A.D., leaving a son, Nawab Bahádúr Jang Khán, only 2½ years old. During his minority the state was managed for him by the Jhajjar Chief, and when he came of age, the latter refused to restore the Dádri country, on the plea that money was due to him on account of expenses incurred in his management over and above the income of the estate, and that he had not received his fair share of the Budhwána villages, when that tract was divided after 1806. The question was finally settled by 16 estates being made over to the Jhajjar Nawab on the intervention of the Delhi Resident. Bahádúr Jang at once proceeded to lead a most dissolute life, and was soon hopelessly involved in debt; at one time his estate was very nearly being assigned to his creditors, but finally the Dádri country was mortgaged to Jhajjar until 1848. Bahádúr Jang had by this time become utterly feeble in mind and in body, and it was more than once proposed to relieve him of the management of his estate. Such were the annuals of these families down to the year 1857 A.D.

The mutiny of the troops at Meerut on the 10th of May, and the seizure of Delhi by them on the 11th, took the Rohtak district, like the rest of North India, by complete surprise. Large numbers of Játs and Rájputés belonging to the district were serving in the army, but it does not appear that there was any feeling of excitement among the people noticeable before that month, or that *chupattis* were circulated among the villages, though possibly they were. The Collector, Mr. John Adam Loch, of the Bengal Civil Service, who had been in charge of the district for some ten months, at once took steps to preserve order by calling into head-quarters all the soldiers who were on leave in the district, and by sending to the Nawab of Jhajjar to despatch some troops to Rohtak. Of his first order to the Nawab no notice was taken; but on a second demand, sent on the 18th May, for cavalry and two guns, a few horsemen were despatched. These, however, proved very unruly and worse than useless, for they inflamed the villagers as they came along. Then as day succeeded day, and it appeared that nothing was being done to re-assert British authority, the troublesome portions of the populace began to raise their heads, and the whole of the once warlike people became profoundly stirred. On the 23rd of May an emissary of the Delhi King, by name Tafazzal Hasein, entered the district by Bahádurgarh with a small force. The *tahsildar* of Rohtak, Bakhtáwar

Singh, who had been sent there to meet him, was unequal to the task of encountering the rebels, and fled to Rohtak. Mr. Loch at first wished to stay at his post and fight the enemy, who were not strong in numbers; but presently, despairing of success, he left Rohtak by night, accompanied only by the *thánwáár*, Bhúre Khán, and made his way by early on the morning of the 24th to Gohána. Deserted by their magistrate, the soldiers collected at head-quarters naturally dispersed to their homes, or, perhaps, joined the rebels, who arrived at Rohtak on the 24th, and proceeded to set free the prisoners in the Jail, and burn the Court buildings and record office. The Deputy Collector, Misar Manná Lál, and the Sadr Amín, Muhammad Abdulla Khán, remained at their posts; but they were unable to do anything to control the course of events, and the former was shortly afterwards compelled to fly. An attempt was made by the Delhi force to plunder the Hindus of the town, but this was frustrated; and after two days' stay they returned to the capital, carrying off nearly two lakhs of treasure, and burning the *Sámpla tahsíl* on their road; the money there had a few days before their advent been brought into Rohtak. Meanwhile Mr. Loch had passed on to Karnál without stopping at Gohána, and the *tahsildár* of the latter place deserted his charge and fled. But Chaudri Rustam Alí Khán of Gohána took charge of the *tahsíl* buildings, and preserved them with the records and money, and kept together some prisoners who were engaged on the now works there, until order was again restored in the autumn. The district being abandoned by all its officers, the old feuds and quarrels of the people, which till now had been long buried, at once broke out anew, and all outward signs of order and rule disappeared for a time. The customs' bungalows at Mehím, Madinah and Mándanthí were all burnt, and the officers with their wives and children became wanderers on the face of the country. But nowhere in the Rohtak district were hands stained with English blood. The Ráughars clamoured for it at Mehím and elsewhere, but the Játs and Baniyás defeated their purpose; and it is noticeable that in all cases nearly the fugitives were conducted to a place of safety with unexpected kindness and consideration—that too, no doubt, often by the very men who engaged freely in the faction fights of the time. The Muhammadans, in the zeal of their new-born piety, desired to slay all the Hindus, and the latter had a large number of old clan disputes to settle among themselves, and lost no time in settling about their decision. The confusion was added to by the rebel troops of the Harriána Light Infantry and 4th Irregular Cavalry, who had mutinied at Hissár and Hánsi, and murdered their officers, the Collector, and other Europeans, passing through on their way to Delhi. The *tahsildár* of Mehím, Lachman Singh, made over to the neighbouring villagers such treasure as was in the *tahsíl*, and disappeared, and the buildings and records were destroyed. The arrival of the 60th Regiment of Native

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The Mutiny.

Head-quarters at-
tacked.

The 60th Regiment
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to Rohtak, ostensibly to intercept the rebels from Hisár and Hânsi, but really because it was now known to be mutinous to the core, and it was unsafe to take it to Delhi. The proper course would have been to disarm it; but instead of this, it was determined to send it to Rohtak merely—a proceeding which Captain Hudson stigmatised as discreditable to the authorities and unfair to the officers. On the march down the men were guilty of repeated instances of insubordinate conduct, and when Rohtak was reached on 31st May, it was discovered that the mutineers had passed through the day before, and that “the public buildings, the Judge’s Court and offices, and the Collector’s Treasury had been burnt down and were still burning. The rebels had torn up all the public records, papers, and documents, vast rolls and piles of them, and after breaking up the chests and racks in which they had been kept, and piling all up in the centre of each building, they had made huge bonfires of the whole, and then gone off to Delhi.”* The regiment was encamped in the compound of the District Courts, and continued to show evident signs of an intention to mutiny. On the 4th of June they were prevented from carrying their design into execution only by the Colonel boldly taxing them with it, which so confounded them that they were unable to act then as they had proposed. But the end was inevitable, and could not be long deferred; it is said that the want of money to pay the troops was partly the cause of the outbreak taking place when it did. On the afternoon of the 10th the Grenadier Company, which had all along been the leader in insubordination, broke out into open mutiny and seized their arms. Not a single native officer remained true to his colours, not a soldier came forward to assist to quell the *éméute*, and there was nothing left for the Europeans but to ride off. They were fired upon by the men, but fortunately they all escaped unwounded, except the Sergeant Major. The mutineers did not follow them, and they collected together half a mile from the camp, and after waiting some time for a few brother officers (who had gone off to shoot early in the afternoon, and who, unknown to them, had received news of the outbreak and made their way to Delhi in advance), they turned their backs on Rohtak, and reached the ridge at 9 o’clock on the morning of the 11th June. Mr. Loch fled on foot to Sâmpa, and thence on horseback to Bahádurgarh, from which place he was escorted to Delhi by (*visaldar*) Sandal Khán of Kálanaur and his father. But from the exposure of the day he never recovered; and there is a pathetic letter of his, stating that he was now quite blind, and ascribing the origin of his affliction to his flight from Rohtak under exposure to the midsummer sun.

Its mutiny.

Lawlessness of the
district.

All vestiges of the British Government now disappeared again like snow in thaw. The mutineers killed Bhúre Khán, the *thánadár*, and after trying unsuccessfully to plunder the town, went off to Delhi, where they distinguished themselves in the attack of June 14th on the ridge, and received fitting punishment at the hands of their old officers. The Ránghars and butchers set up the Muhammadan

* General Sir T. Seaton’s “From Cadet to Colonel,” Vol. II., Chap. 4.

green flag, and round it all the bad characters of the country collected, and lawlessness ruled supreme in the district till the middle of September. Mr. Greaded, by a proclamation of 26th July, put the country under the control of the Jind Chief, but the Rájá was unable to do much at that time to restore order. Chaudrí Rustam Ali alone maintained himself at the Gohána *tahsil*; nowhere else was there any sign left of the authority of the late rulers of the country. The King of Delhi, three days before Mr. Greaded's order, had issued a proclamation to the people of Rohtak town, forbidding acts of violence, and enjoining obedience to the principal and loyal landholders, and promising a sufficient military force and civil establishment—a promise never fulfilled. But the people minded no threatenings of persons unable to enforce them with power, and gave themselves up to the enjoyments of fierce feuds. The Dahiyá and Dulál Játs in Sámpla engaged in perpetual quarrels, which centred round Hassaugarh; the Abláwat Játs attacked Sámpla, but were beaten off, with the help of Ismailá. In Gohána, Ahúlána attacked Sámri and Barodah; Madinah attacked Kathúra; Bútánah destroyed Nárun Khérá; and all the headmen of Sámri were hanged for attacking a military convoy. In Rohtak the villagers of Khar-khara were long in possession of a gun which they seized from the Hissár rebels, and which some other rebels finally took from them; Sáughí and Khír-wáli were engaged in one continuous skirmish; the Melúin villages, now in Hissár, made a general attack on those on the present west border of Rohtak; and the Ráughars plundered every one indifferently,—a course of action which led to most of the Ráughar villages having to receive a number of new headmen, after order was restored, in place of others hanged. For three whole months the district presented one long scene of mad rioting; yet, withal, the people did not fail to take advantage of a good rainfall to secure a capital crop. The fighting was generally conducted in a most amicable way; due notice of the attack about to be made was given, and the question was fairly and deliberately fought out between the two parties. These little pastimes were somewhat disagreeably interrupted by Captain Hodson, who left Delhi on the 14th August, and having executed justice on rebels and deserters whom he found at Kharkhondah (where also he shot *risaldár* Bishárat Ali under a misapprehension), reached Bohar on the 16th, and moved on to Rohtak on the evening of the 17th. A few of the city rabble, who were bold enough to attack him then, were easily dispersed and some slain, and for the night the little force of 400 horsemen rested by the old Court house, and was furnished with supplies by the well-disposed portion of the townsmen. By the morning, however, the city Shekhs and butchers had taken heart again, and as a large number of Ráughars had gathered from the neighbourhood during the night, the united forces advanced to attack Captain Hodson after sunrise. By feigning to retreat, he drew them on for some distance, and then turning upon them with his cavalry, distributed into five bodies, he cut up about 100 of them, and scattered the rest in wild flight to the city. The walls of the city and fort were manned with a number of matchlock men, and Captain Hodson did not therefore consider it wise to make any further attack, and after riding round

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the city he drew off to the north and encamped at Jassia. Thence he returned to Delhi by the way of Sunipat. But the lesson had its effect, and the Rohtak Muhammadans were much less troublesome thereafter, and ceased to roam the country in large bands, although faction fights among the villages were still vigorously pursued.

The end of the disturbances.

The authority of Government was not restored openly and permanently until twelve days after the memorable 14th of September, on which Delhi fell. On the 26th of that month, General Van Cortland with a force of Punjáb levies and contingents from the Patiála and Bikánir States, and accompanied by Mr. Ford and Mir Mannú Lál, marched into Rohtak, and proceeded to distribute justice among all concerned in the late disturbances. The actual money loss to Government had been the plundering of about 3½ lakhs of treasure and Rs. 9,000 worth of stamps, and the destruction of all government buildings and records except at Gohána: the canal, however, had not been injured. Many rebels were shot and hanged; property stolen was as far as possible recovered: the district was effectually disarmed throughout; the outstanding revenue was promptly collected; the villages which had been most prominent in evil doing were fined Rs. 63,000; rewards were given to the deserving, and the lands of the guilty were confiscated. The worst evil-doers of the time had been the Shékhs of the Fort, the butchers and the Ránghars, and on these the heaviest punishment fell. But it should be remembered in extenuation, that many Shékhs and Ránghars, serving in our army, remained faithful to their colours, and did excellent service for us at Delhi and elsewhere, for which they received due rewards.

Services and rewards.

It is more pleasing to turn to the other side of the picture, and note instances in which (to quote the words of the Secretary to the Punjáb Government, now Sir R. Temple, on the Delhi territory in the first Administration Report after the Mutiny) "there were found many natives, often of the humblest orders, who were kind to our fugitives, and who, sometimes at imminent peril to themselves, fed the hungry, clothed the naked, and sheltered the houseless." A Ját of Mahmúdpúr, Gohána, conveyed a party of women and children to Pánipat, at no small risk to himself, and his son still shows with pride the picture of the Queen-Empress which the grateful refugees afterwards sent to him. The Játs and Baniyás of Báland and Mehín protected and escorted to places of safety certain officers of the Customs line and their families,—in the latter place at the risk of their own lives, from the violence of the Ránghars. The Gohána Chaudris passed on in safety various officers of the Canal and Customs departments, fleeing before the storm. A party of women and children from Gurgáon were conducted by a Ját, Anand Ram, from Kánaundh, where they were under the protection of the Jhajar Nawáb, to Pánipat; and Sir T. Metcalfé was similarly escorted by a Rájput of Bond—Naurang Singh. Mr. Loch was twice accompanied from the district, once by a Ját of Khánpúr Kalán, Gohána, and once, as related, by some Ránghars stationed at Babálungarh. All these services, and others performed elsewhere, by Rohtak men, were suitably rewarded. Chaudri Rustam Alí received a revenue assignment of Rs. 1,000 per annum in perpetuity to him and his heirs (male);

but the latter have unfortunately failed. The Mehim Játs and Baniyas who saved European life were similarly rewarded by grants for three generations, and the Báland men by grants in perpetuity. Anand Ram and Naurang Singh received land revenue free out of Chhuchhakwás; the inhabitants of Rohtak, Jaessah and Sánghi, who had furnished Captain Hodson with supplies in August, reaped the return due to their readiness; and *risaldár* Sandal Khán had assigned to him for two lives the revenue of Bábra in Jhajjar. Mir Barkat Ali Khán, *risaldár* of the 1st Bengal Cavalry, was allowed to purchase Bír Bahádurgarh, now Bír Birkatábád, to be held on a revenue fixed in perpetuity; the *thánadar* of Karnál, Kámdár Khán, received a large grant out of Chhuchhakwás revenue free, and other grants have since then been made for good services rendered in the Mutiny. It may be remarked that the general population of the district throughout their rioting bore no special ill-will towards the British Government. On the contrary, they always speak of the "*Sírkar*" and their old officers in unusual terms of affection, and there are no more loyal and well-disposed subjects of the empire in ordinary times. But it was not to be expected that they, who had so lately laid aside a warlike for an agricultural character, should remain perfectly passive and quiet, when deserted by their local officers, and incited by mutinous troops, and a small disaffected portion of the community.

From early in October complete order was restored in the old Rohtak district of which Mr. R. Jenkins became first Deputy Commissioner. Two hundred Jind horse were stationed at head-quarters, and 50 at Gohána, and Mr. Ford was at leisure to go south to the Jhajjar territory. A force under Colonel R. Lawrence, as political officer, had already been detached to pacify the country lying south-west of Delhi, and arrest its traitor chiefs, to whom we must now turn. On the outbreak of the Mutiny the Nawáb Abdurrahmán Khán* at once sent news of the events at Delhi to the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces at Agra, and, in reply, he was ordered to place himself under Mr. Greathed's orders. This he failed to do as he failed to send the force demanded of him to Rohtak; on the other hand, he did despatch some troopers to Mr. Ford's assistance at Gurgáon on 13th May; the bearing, however, of the men sent was unsatisfactory, as was later the case in Rohtak, and as had been the behaviour of the Jhajjar escort, when the Commissioner, Mr. S. Fraser, was cut down in Delhi, and Sir T. Metcalfe was attacked. When the latter came to Jhajjar on 14th May, the Nawáb did not see him, but sent him on to Chhuchhakwás, and from there (according to Sir T. Metcalfe) turned him out of his territory. On the other hand, the Nawáb protected the lives of a number of women and children made over to him from Gurgáon, and had them conveyed by Anand Rám to Pánipat, at

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* NOTE.—In "The Punjab and Delhi in 1857," it is said that the Nawáb was in Delhi on 11th May. This is incorrect; he was at Nárnol at the time; the fact of his being at Delhi was never alleged against him on his trial. There are many other mistakes in the same book; for instance, the Nawáb of Dádri is said to have paid the penalty of his treason with his life.

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Jhajjar Nawáb.

His trial.

the end of July. He did not possess sufficient loyalty or courage to enable him to join the British forces on the ridge; and while he played a double game, and made professions to Mr. Grealhed, 250 to 300 Jhajjar troopers, under his father-in-law, Abd-us-Samud Khán, fought against us at Delhi, and especially at the battle of Badli-ka-Serai, and were paid by the Nawáb. But again 70 Jhajjar *sawáhs* stationed at Karnál remained faithful throughout the Mutiny, and were afterwards incorporated in the 3rd Sikh Cavalry. Still, in short, he had utterly failed to do his duty; and when, on the assembly of Colonel Lawrence's force at Dádri, he was summoned to come to Chhuchhakwás and there surrender himself, he at once obeyed the order, and gave himself up to take his trial on 18th October. On the same day the fort of Jhajjar was occupied, and on the following day, after a smart conflict, that of Nárnol. The Jhajjar troops were ordered to give up their arms, but most of them broke loose and fled south to join the Jódhpúr mutineers. The Jhajjar territory was taken under management by Colonel Lawrence, until the result of the Nawáb's trial should be known, and for a time 600 Patíála foot and 200 horse were stationed there. The trial of the Nawáb took place in Delhi, in the Royal Hall of Audience, before a Military Commission presided over by General N. Chamberlain. It commenced on the 14th December, and judgment was given on the 17th. The charges against the Nawáb were laid under Act XVI of 1857, and consisted of allegations that (1) he had aided and abetted rebels and others waging war against the British Government in places being at the time under martial law; (2), that he had furnished troops, money, food and shelter to the rebels; and (3), that he had entered into treasonable correspondence with them. Sir T. Metcalfe, Mr. Ford, and Mr. Loch gave evidence against the accused, together with some other officers and native witnesses. The *sanad* which granted the estate to the Nawáb Najábat Alí Khán contained a condition that in times of difficulty and disturbance, or when required, the Nawáb should furnish 400 horsemen, and, moreover, should always remain a well-wisher and devoted friend of the English Government. These conditions the Nawáb could not pretend to have fulfilled; and his country therefore clearly stood forfeited in any case. The evidence given proved that the Jhajjar troops did nothing to protect the English officers in Delhi; that they had fought against us there; that during that time they had been paid by the Nawab, with money sent from Jhajjar; that other sums of money had been sent to the rebels at Delhi; that the traders of Jhajjar had been compelled to subscribe to a forced loan for the king; that a prince of the Delhi house had been received and entertained at Jhajjar; and that the Nawáb had been in treasonable correspondence with the king of Delhi, and, among other things, had promised to send a regiment of cavalry and five lakhs of rupees as soon as his revenue should be collected. It was also proved that the forts of Jhajjar and Nárnol were in a complete state of military preparation when seized. The defence of the Nawáb was prepared by an old servant of his, Rám Richpal, afterwards an Honorary Magistrate of the town of Jhajjar, who died in 1881. It consisted merely of the allegation that the troops were beyond his control, and

had acted as they pleased. This was vehemently denied by the prosecution, but there was nevertheless a certain amount of truth in the statement. The Muhammadan troops at Jhajjar did mutiny against their Hindu officers, whose village and houses they attacked, and whose women and children they killed, and their disorderly conduct in other places than Jhajjar has already been mentioned. The Nawáb was never a man of any great resolution, and there is no doubt that he was largely influenced in his unwillingness to go to the Delhi ridge by fears for the honour of the ladies of his family. That he failed in what was his clear duty, and that he abetted and assisted the rebels, is undoubted, and the loss of life and country paid the forfeit; but his treason can hardly be designated as of the worst type; and, at any rate, no English blood was shed in the Jhajjar territory, though the opportunities of shedding it were many. He was found guilty by the Commission without hesitation, and was sentenced to be hanged, and all his property to be confiscated; his execution took place on the 23rd December, in Delhi, before the fort. The latter portion of the order was confirmed by the Chief Commissioner and the Government of India, and was duly carried out. All the dependents and members of the family received small pensions, and in the end of 1858 they were transferred to Ludhiána and Lahore. One branch of the family, represented by Shayista Khán, and which had not been implicated in the events of the Mutiny, was permitted as a favour to live at Saharaspúr.*

The Nawáb of Bahádurgarh was at Dádri, where he usually resided, in May 1857, and he remained there until he surrendered like his cousin to the British troops in October. The Dádri troops stationed at Hissár mutinied with the Irregular Horse and Harriána Light Infantry there, and joined in the murder of the Collector and other Englishmen; but no active participation in the events at Delhi could be proved against the Nawáb himself. He had indeed sent an offering to the king, and addressed him in a letter of fulsome adulation, and the rebels in Delhi had drawn supplies from Bahádurgarh. But this was all; and as the Nawáb had really no control over the villages distant only 15 miles from the capital and 30 miles from himself, and as he had wished to aid Sir T. Metcalfe in his escape, it was decided that, taking all this into consideration, together with his old age and decrepitude, it was not necessary to try him for his life. To this decision the Government of India acceded; adding, that it "is just and necessary that the Nawáb shall forfeit all his possessions, which he held on condition of loyalty and good service." The forfeiture was carried out, and Bahádur Jang Khán was removed to Lahore, where he enjoyed a pension of Rs. 1,000 a month, and where he died in 1866.† In this manner did the once powerful

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The punishment.

* NOTE.—The correspondence concerning the trial and punishment of the Nawáb of Jhajjar is to be found in the following letters:—Commissioner, Delhi, to General Commanding Delhi Division, No. 20 of 26th November 1857; Commissioner, Delhi, to Chief Commissioner, Punjab, No. 24 of 2nd January 1858; Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 1 A. of 18th February 1858; Government of India to Chief Commissioner, Punjab, No. 1453 and 1035 of 28th May and 2nd September 1858.

† NOTE.—The case of the Bahádurgarh Nawáb was discussed in the following letters:—Commissioner, Delhi, to Chief Commissioner, No. 57 of 3rd March 1858;

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The Bahádurgarh estates were added to the Sámpla *tahsil*, five detached villages to the east going to Delhi; and Jhajjar, including Nárnol, Kánaundh, Dádri, and the rest of the old territory, was created into a new district. Two Dádri villages—Sonpal and Kharári—and one Jhajjar village—were included in the Rohtak *tahsil*, and five Jhajjar villages in the Sámpla *tahsil*; for a time nine others (called the Mándanlí villages) were also added to Sámpla, but these were taken back again later. The two districts of Rohtak and Jhajjar, together with the rest of the Delhi and Hissár divisions, passed to the Panjáb by the Government of India Notification No. 606 of 13th April 1858. Shortly afterwards, the loyal services of the Phulkián Chiefs were rewarded by the assignment of Dádri to the Rájá of Jind, of Nárnol to Patiála, and Kántí and Bawal to Nábha. The summary settlements of the remaining Jhajjar *parganas* and of Bahádurgarh were commenced by Mr. J. S. Campbell, the first Deputy Commissioner of Jhajjar; and in the middle of the work, India passed from the Honourable East India Company to the Crown by the Proclamation of 1st November. Things soon settled down to peace and order throughout the districts, of which one was not to last long. It was determined to cancel a debt due to the Nábha and Patiála States, by assigning to them portions of the Kánaundh *pargana*, and the Rájá of Jind was allowed to purchase some of the villages also. This left only the two *parganas* of Jhajjar and Bádli in the new district, and from 1st July 1860 it was abolished, and the Jhajjar *tahsil* added to Rohtak, seven Bádli villages being transferred to Delhi, 21 to Gurgáon, and two detached Jhajjar estates going to the Rájá of Jind. In the following year, when the general revision of *tahsils* throughout the Panjáb took place, that of Mohím was abolished. The old eastern estates of Rohtak-Berí were made over to Sámpla, which also received 12 villages from Delhi; a few Mohím villages and Bhiwáni (now created into a new *pargana*) went to Hissár, and the rest were added to the Rohtak *tahsil*. These changes were completed by 1st July 1861. In the same year occurred the famine, and a second followed in 1868-69. Otherwise, the course of events in the district has, generally speaking, been uneventful. The regular settlement of the Jhajjar and Bahádurgarh villages were completed by Rái Partáb Singh in 1862; municipalities and honorary magistrates have been appointed; the Customs line was abolished in 1879; the new alignment of the Western Jamuá Canal has been put in hand since 1878, and the drainage channels in Sámpla have unfortunately been constructed and are now being remodelled. The rainfall and flood of September 1875 are perhaps the only other occurrences to be noted, together with the present settlement, and the second Revenue Survey of the district. The Deputy Commissioners best remembered by the people in the district have been Colonels Voyle and Hawes, Captain Grey, and Mr. F. E. Moore, who was murdered by a Ját

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while sleeping outside his house on 6th August, 1877, to the great grief of every one in the district, to whom his kindness had greatly endeared him. Nawáb Hasan Ali Khán of Dujána died in 1867, and his son and successor, Saádat Ali Khán, in 1879: the present Nawáb, Muntáz Ali Khán, has recently (1882) assumed management of his estate, which during his minority was administered for him by his uncle Nijábat Ali Khán.

There is only one other point which calls for notice in the past history of Rohtak; unfortunately, it is one which exercises periodically an evil effect on the tract, viz., the famines. Those which are still especially recollected by the people are the following. A famine is termed *akál*:—

A. D.	...	...	Number.	...	...	Names.
1758-59	...	...	1810	...	...	Chálas.
1792-93	...	...	1840	...	...	Sáhu.
1802-03	...	...	1869	...	...	Chálatara.
1812-13	...	...	1889	...	...	Cháhatara.
1817-18	...	...	1874	...	...	Nawáin.
1833-34	...	...	1880	...	...	Chauránawa.
1837-38	...	...	1894	...	...	Sattrah.
1860-61	...	...	3017	...	...	Paclrá.
1878-79	...	...	3023	...	...	Chantia.

The famines seem to have occurred irregularly, and to have nothing of a cyclic nature about them; eight in the present century give one every ten years on an average; as a fact, two have occurred in each of the second, fourth and seventh decades, and none in the third, fifth, and sixth, though the famine of 1860-61 was only just outside the last. From the terrible *akálasa*, which lasted three years, and in which grain sold at five seers the rupee (equal perhaps to $1\frac{1}{2}$ seers at present values), a very large number of villages of the district date their refoundation in whole or in part. Curiously enough, no sayings or songs regarding this famine are commonly known among the people, or at least could be discovered. Its terrible ravages have been described by a master pen in the "Rájás of the Panjáb." In the *sátha* famine, grain sold at 10 seers the rupee, two consecutive harvests having failed. The efforts made by M. Perron to alleviate distress in this year are still gratefully remembered by the people. The *unhattara* famine was most severe in the Bágur country, from which large numbers flocked to Rohtak, and especially to the Jhajar *tahsil*, and settled as cultivators. Grain sold at 7 or 8 seers per rupee. The *chauhattara*, like that of 1877-78, was a fodder famine chiefly; the price of grain did not rise above 12 seers for the rupee. The *nawáin* famine was very severe; grain is said to have been altogether unprocurable, though prices did not rise to an unprecedented pitch. Of this famine the people have a saying "*Baniya bhav gaya kottá men, Balak rowa rotá men*," meaning that the "the shopkeeper hid in his house, and the child wept over its meals" and expressing the trouble and hunger which fell on all. The *chauránawa* famine was less severe again. The *sattrah* famine was the first in which relief was regularly organized by the British Government. It was severest in Márwár and Bikánír, and thousands of hunger-stricken people swarmed in from these parts. The rains of 1859-60 were poor, and those of 1860-61 failed almost entirely, so that the Najafgarh *jhil* ran dry—an

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Famines.

Early famines.

Famine, 1860-61.

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Famine, 1860—61.

occurrence unknown before—and grain sold in Rohtak for some time at 8 seers the rupee. In the official report of the Commissioner (No. 169 of 17th August 1861) it is stated that nearly 500,000 people were relieved by distribution of food, and in other ways; that nearly 400,000 had been employed on relief works (chiefly tanks, and a few roads); and that Rs. 34,378 had been spent on these objects: Rs. 2,47,971 of land-revenue were ultimately remitted. The number of deaths by famine was put at 144, but the Commissioner admitted that it was impossible to guess the real number of deaths caused by gradual starvation. The *kair* (or *karil*) bush yielded an abundant supply of berries, as it seems always to do in famine years, and the people lived largely on its fruit for weeks. The stores of the country had been generally exhausted by three bad harvests previous to the actual famine year, and the villages were most severely tried by it, though fortunately not permanently injured; the loss of cattle was considerable, but nothing like that in 1877-78. The 11th paragraph of the Commissioner's letter is well worth quoting, and runs thus: "With a very limited amount of moisture, the soil of this country is exceedingly prolific; all, however, depends on the rainfall. When rain fails, everything is lost, and the soil becomes hard as iron. The feature of *absolute drought* and failure of rain is a remarkable one in these parts. Every considerable town and village can point to its former site or sites, prior to such and such a famine or drought, which depopulated the country, and these occurrences appear to serve as eras in the popular record of the past." The following sayings of the *satrah akál* are commonly in the mouths of the people:—

Parte kál Jullaha mare, aur bich men mare Teli,
 Utarte kál Baniye mare; rupiye ki rahgai dholi;
 Channa chironji hogaye, aur gehun ho gao jákh;
 Satrah bhi aise pare chalte in hap;

that is, "In the beginning of the famine died the weavers (menials); in the middle the oil-men (village servants); at the end the traders; and a rupee became worth only half its value; grain sold at the price of pistachio nuts, and wheat at the price of raisins; the famine of seventeen was more severe than that of forty." Of the same famine there is a well-known song of some length, from which the following couplets are taken: "The traders collected old and bad grain, and sold it for an enormous price. The beams of their scales broke, and their weights were worn away (by constant use); the trader lived, and the Ját died. The carts remained useless, for the oxen were dead; and the bride went to her husband's house without the due formalities." The last line is most expressive of the intensity of the distress: the parents being no longer able to feed their daughter, she was forced to go in an irregular way to her husband's house—a terrible breach of marriage etiquette.

Famine, 1868—69.

In the *pachisa* famine of 1868-69 the distress in Rohtak was as severe as in any part of the Punjab. In the early months of 1868 there was a fair amount of rain, but the fall of July, August, and September failed entirely, and before the end of the year grain was selling at 10 seers the rupee, and relief works had to be started. The showers which fell elsewhere in January and February did not

extend to the Hissár division, and misery became intense throughout the summer of 1869, till at last good rain fell in September, and saved the district from a possible repetition of the events of 1780—83. 719,000 destitute persons received relief; 1,250,000 were employed at various times on relief works; Rs. 1,33,000 nearly, were spent in alleviating the calamity, and Rs. 2,09,269 of revenue were in all remitted. Of the money granted, Rs. 12,000 were given in the shape of advances, Rs. 25,000 were spent in the purchase of food, and the rest was expended on works—chiefly the clearance of village tanks. The special feature of the relief in this famine was the amount made up by voluntary subscriptions of the people themselves, which was nearly Rs. 45,000. The loss of life was considerable, although at the time this was not admitted; the loss of cattle was nearly 90,000 head, and some 50,000 were said to have been sent off to the hills in order to save them from starvation. It may be remarked that the numbers relieved directly, or on the works, varied for some reason in an extraordinary manner from week to week.

The last drought in the Rohtak district, so far as the present century has advanced, took place during the progress of the recent Settlement in 1877-78, and the loss of cattle in these years was perhaps greater than had ever been known before. There was but little rain in June, none in July or August, and only two inches in September, when it was too late to sow anything. Grass withered away from the face of the soil, the cattle began to die in large numbers in the autumn of 1877, and famine prices were soon reached. Matters were made worse by the gambling transactions of the traders in grain (*badai*); credit was refused to the cultivators; food stores began to be largely exported from the district, and the people in consequence became greatly exasperated. In the beginning of the trouble, the unhappy death of Mr. Moore occurred, and presently disturbances commenced. Highway robberies grew common, grain carts were plundered, and finally the *bazár* at Bádlí was attacked and gutted by the *Játs* of the place. The prompt and severe punishment which followed this outbreak prevented similar designs from being carried out, but there was still an uneasy feeling on the country side which did not die away for some months. The winter rains again failed, and the mortality among cattle became terrible; still no relief was considered necessary by Government: the revenue demand was not even suspended. Fortunately, good rain fell at last in July and August 1878, and though the later rains were scanty, an abundant crop of fodder was obtained and a fair crop of grain. During the cold weather of 1877-78, the aspect of the country was desolate beyond description. There was literally no crop in the rain-land villages; in a ride of 20 miles not even two or three plots were to be seen. The grass had wholly disappeared, and nothing but thorns and weeds met the eye in the fields. The loss of cattle of agriculturists amounted to 176,000 in one way or another—by sale, deaths, or transfers, and it will take the district many years to recover from this. Ultimately Rs. 80,000 of the collections due in

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Famine, 1863-69.

Drought, 1877-78.

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Drought, 1877-78.

the spring of 1879 were suspended, and this perhaps gave a little relief. Of this drought the people quote the following lines: "An ox sold for a piece of bread, and a camel for a farthing: the year thirty-four has destroyed the stock (root) of oxen and of buffaloes. The year thirty-four has killed thirty-four tribes (out of the thirty-six); two only, the trader and butcher, have survived, the one by use of his scales and the other by use of his knife (to slaughter the cattle)." Another song composed by a well-known local poet, who lives at Dujána, is of considerable artistic merit, but is much too long to be quoted.

Effects of the famines.

The people declare that the loss of cattle from famines is now much greater than it used to be, and, in so far as there are now no large grazing grounds in the district and the number of cattle has greatly increased, this is true. But fodder is now perhaps more carefully preserved than in former days, and famines from actual scarcity of food causing general starvation cannot occur. But again the traders, though they keep by them larger stores of grain than formerly, speculate more freely now-a-days, and export largely, where they had in old days to confine themselves to the local markets; their relations also with the people are more strained than they used to be. The recurrence of famines is the most important historical feature in the revenue administration of the district, of whose area only 13 per cent. is artificially protected against them, and it affects the agriculturists to some degree in various relations of life. The people of rain-land villages strive to get a few acres of canal land to cultivate in years of drought, and so great is the burden of this to the dwellers in canal estates, that they will not marry their daughters into rain-land villages, if they can help it. The songs are full of reference to this—"Meré bebehe (O sister), naddion pár dharti dedehe" (give me some canal land);—"Meré bhaiyone (O brother) nahrón pár dharti baiyone" (sow some land on the canal). The people do more or less provide against the famines, but they are exceedingly short-sighted in their arrangements, and as population grows denser, these become more and more difficult to make. Severe droughts and famines shake even the strongest estates to their very foundations.

Growth of the district.

The manner in which the district has attained its present dimensions has been sketched in the preceding pages. But it may be useful here to collect the facts.

The district naturally divides itself into two separate portions—(1) the older tracts forming nearly the whole of the three northern *tahsils*, and which have been under our administration for over 60 years; and (2) the estates which belonged once to the Nawábs of Jhajjar and Bahádurgarh, and came under English management only in 1858. The former comprise 295 villages, with an area of 805,315 acres, and the latter amount to 219 in number, with an area of 348,232 acres. Two-fifths of the villages, therefore, and nearly one-third of the area, have been added to the Rohtak district since the Regular Settlement of the principal portion was made in 1838—40.

The following figures show the constitution of the old or northern sub-division :—

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Growth of the district.

VILLAGES.				
FORMERLY IN	NOW IN TAHSIL-			Total.
	Gohána.	Rohtak.	Sámpla.	
Rohtak-Beri tahsil ...	2	22	21	108
Mehím do. ...	...	28	...	24
Gohána do. ...	20	...	...	60
Sámpla do. ...	...	...	22	62
Hawal-Palam, Delhi tahsil ...	...	...	12	12
Kings Táiál villages ...	1	...	0	7
Jágir ...	...	1	...	1
Bahádurgarh State ...	...	2	21	23
Jhajjar do. ...	...	1	0	6
Total ...	83	114	127	324

Deducting the 29 estates of the two Nawábs from the above total, we have a remainder of 295 old villages in these three *tahsils*, of which the last added to the district were the twelve Delhi estates in 1862 A.D. The actual number of villages which have remained incorporated in the Rohtak district since its creation in 1824 A.D. is thus 283, and the actual number which has been directly under our revenue administration since then is 275; the Rohtak *jágir* village was resumed in 1844; the Sámpla *táiál* estates were taken back on account of gross mismanagement in 1848, and the Gohána estate confiscated in 1857; its revenue, however, had been fixed in 1845. To complete the tale of changes since 1840, it must be added that four Sámpla estates were transferred to the Súnipat *tahsil* in 1862, and six Mehím villages, together with all those of Bhiwání, in number thirteen, to the Hissár district at the same time. As has been already stated only the Rohtak-Beri and Mehím-Bhiwání *tahsils* were at first taken under our management; Gohána and Khar-khaudah-Mándanthí were not added till ten years later, and the district was not constituted till 1824.

We come now to the 219 estates added to Rohtak within the last Jhajjar and Bahá-25 years. Their disposition in the present district may be shown thus—

	In tahsil Sámpla.	In tahsil Rohtak.	In tahsil Jhajjar.	Total.
Bahádurgarh estates ...	21	2	...	23
Jhajjar estates ...	5	1	190	196
	26	3	190	219

Five detached villages, belonging to the Bahádurgarh Nawábs, were, as has been already stated, made over to the Delhi district. The five Jhajjar villages, now in the Sámpla *tahsil*, and the two Dádri (Bahádurgarh) villages—Kharári and Senpal in Rohtak—had been placed under the police control of the Collector of Rohtak in 1848, though their revenue administration rested with the Nawábs; the former include the two notoriously criminal villages of Gochhí and Chhára. The estates which now form the southern revenue sub-division were included under the Nawábs in the two *tahsils* of Bádlí

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and Jhajjar—140 to the latter and 50 to the former, according to the present number of villages; of the nine Jhajjar estates which were included in Sámpla from 1858 to 1861, and which are called the Mándanthí villages in Mr. Purser's Assessment Report, eight belonged originally to the Jhajjar *tahsil*, and one to Bádli.

Constitution of
the present district.

The four *tahsils* of the Rohtak district are now constituted as follows, as compared with what they were at their last Settlements:—

TAHSIL.	Number of Former Estates.	GAIN BY					LOSS BY			Net gain.	Number of estates in the tahsil now.	
		Creation or separation of new estates.	By additions from outside.	By resumption.	By confiscation.	Grass preserves.	Total gain.	Transfer elsewhere.	Amalgamation of estates.			Total loss.
Gohāna ...	71	0	2	...	1	...	17	...	...	...	12	78
Rohtak...	104	1	26	1	...	...	33	23	...	23	10	114
Sámpla...	80	1	33	6	25	...	85	4	...	4	61	147
Jhajjar...	152	5	1	...	...	3	9	...	1	1	5	159
Total ...	433	18	64	7	29	3	119	27	1	28	91	514

The changes have been referred to in detail in the Assessment Reports. The new estate in Sámpla is that of Bíc Barkatábád, formerly Bír Bahádurgarh; the three grass preserves in Jhajjar are the property of Government, and are leased out yearly for grazing. More than half the Sámpla estates, it may be noted, have been added to that *tahsil* since 1838, and rather more than one-third of those in Rohtak.

District officers
since annexation.

The following table shows the names of the officers who have held charge of the district since annexation:—

NAME.	From	To
Mr. S. Campbell, Deputy Commissioner	15th September, 1857	1st May, 1858.
„ R. P. Jenkins, do.	1st May, 1858	3rd August, 1858.
„ W. Howden, do.	3rd August, 1858	7th March, 1860.
Capt. H. J. Hawes, do.	7th March, 1860	9th September, 1861.
Mr. C. W. Lennox, Extra Asst. Commr. (pro tem.)	9th September, 1861	14th September, 1861.
Capt. H. C. Horne, Deputy Commissioner	14th September, 1861	7th November, 1861.
„ H. J. Hawes, do.	7th November, 1861	21st December, 1861.
„ H. B. Urnston, do.	21st December, 1861	10th March, 1862.
„ S. F. Graham, do.	10th March, 1862	2nd April, 1862.
„ H. B. Urnston, do.	2nd April, 1862	12th May, 1862.
Lieut.-Col. F. E. Voyle, do.	12th May, 1862	1st September, 1863.
Mr. O. Wood, do.	1st September, 1863	31st October, 1863.
Lieut.-Col. F. E. Voyle, do.	31st October, 1863	23rd May, 1864.
Mr. C. W. Lennox, Extra Asst. Commr. (pro tem.)	23rd May, 1864	26th May, 1864.
Capt. H. C. Horne, Deputy Commissioner	26th May, 1864	26th August, 1864.
Mr. C. W. Lennox, Extra Asst. Commr. (pro tem.)	26th August, 1864	4th September, 1864.
„ H. W. Thomas, Deputy Commissioner	4th September, 1864	22nd September, 1864.
Capt. H. C. Horne, do.	22nd September, 1864	15th November, 1864.
Lieut.-Col. F. E. Voyle, do.	15th November, 1864	5th May, 1865.
Mr. C. W. Lennox, Extra Asst. Commr. (pro tem.)	5th May, 1865	17th May, 1865.
Capt. T. F. Purser, Deputy Commissioner	17th May, 1865	26th October, 1865.
Lieut.-Col. F. E. Voyle, do.	26th October, 1865	10th April, 1867.

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District officers
since annexation.

NAME.	From	To
Major J. Fendall, Deputy Commissioner	10th April, 1807...	19th May, 1808
.. H. J. Rawes, do.	18th May, 1808 ..	18th October, 1809
Mr. A. W. Stogdon, do.	14th October, 1809 ..	14th December, 1809
Major H. J. Rawes, do.	13th December, 1809...	11th July, 1810
Captain L. J. H. Grey, do.	11th July, 1810...	23rd August, 1810
Mr. F. K. Brett, Extra Asst. Commr. (pro tem.)	24th August, 1810...	21st September, 1810
.. E. G. Melvil, Deputy Commissioner	21st September, 1810...	21st November, 1810
Capt. L. J. H. Grey, do.	21st November, 1810...	1st March, 1811
Mr. F. K. Brett, Extra Asst. Commr. (pro tem.)	1st March, 1811 ..	6th March, 1811
.. O. Wood Deputy Commissioner	6th March, 1811 ..	6th January, 1812
.. F. Robert, do.	6th January, 1812 ..	26th March, 1812
.. C. P. Elliot, do.	21st March, 1812 ..	9th April, 1812
.. A. H. Benson, do.	9th April, 1812 ..	10th June, 1812
Capt. R. T. M. Long, do.	10th June, 1812...	30th December, 1812
Mr. G. Knox, do.	20th December 1812...	18th May, 1814
.. W. Goldscreem, do.	18th May, 1814 ..	22nd July, 1814
.. G. Knox, do.	22nd July, 1814 ..	3rd February, 1816
.. F. R. Moore, do.	4th February, 1816 ..	6th August, 1816
.. H. C. Panshawa, Settlement Officer (pro tem.)...	6th August, 1816...	8th August, 1816
.. E. R. Francis, Deputy Commissioner	8th August, 1816 ..	6th November, 1817
.. O. Wood, do.	7th November, 1817...	16th May, 1818
.. A. W. Stogdon, do.	16th May, 1818 ..	15th August, 1818
.. G. Wood, do.	16th August, 1818 ..	16th June, 1820
Major W. J. Parker, do.	16th June, 1820 ..	15th August, 1820
Mr. O. Wood, do.	16th August, 1820...	23rd November, 1820
Major W. J. Parker, do.	24th November, 1820 ..	19th January, 1821
.. O. Wood, do.	20th January, 1821...	13th February, 1821
Major A. P. P. Harcourt, do.	14th February, 1821...	14th August, 1822
.. W. J. Parker, do.	16th August, 1822...	1st November, 1822
Mr. H. W. Steel, do.	1st November, 1822...	22nd May, 1823
Major W. J. Parker, do.	22nd May, 1823...	7th October, 1823
Mr. H. W. Steel, do.	8th October, 1823...	

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. When we took over the four old *tahsils* of the district, between 1810 and 1820, we found the western portion almost wholly overrun with jungle, life and property generally insecure; many of the smaller estates deserted for the refuge of the larger ones, the canal destroyed, and the whole machinery of administration out of gear. The district is now one of the most prosperous in Northern India.

Development since
annexation.