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more important inscription records the erection of a triple temple to Vishnu by a Tomara family, but no traces of ancient temples remain in Pehowa, the modern shrines having been erected within the last century.

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History.

Archæology.

From the dawn of the legendary period to the downfall of the Sikh power, the country round Karnal has been closely connected with the principal movements in Indian history. The great plain, of which the district forms a part, lying as it does at the very door of Hindustan, has been the battlefield of India. In the earliest times interest, both political and religious, centered in the Kurukshetra and the kingdom of Thanesar. With the Moslem invasion the fortunes of the tract became practically identical with those of Delhi, until the rise of the Sikhs freed the country north of Karnal from even nominal allegiance to the Moghals. After the battle of Sirhind, Karnal formed the border land between a crowd of independent Sikh Chieftains on the north, and the officers of the Emperor or the adherents of the Mahrattas on the south. The fall of the Mahratta power marks the first stage in the gradual absorption of the tract by the spread of British dominion, a process completed by the First Sikh War, since when the peace of the tract has only been broken by the local disturbances in the Mutiny.

The Kurukshetra, the scene of the battle between the Kurus and Pandawas, described in the great Sanskrit epic the Mahabharata, is practically identical with the Nardak tract. The scenes of many of the incidents are still pointed out by the people, and the whole area is full of *tirths* or holy tanks. It was at the village of Bastali (Vias Asthal) that the sage Vias lived; the legendary author of the Mahabharata, and there that the Ganges flowed under ground into his well to save him the trouble of going to the river to bathe, bringing with it his *lota* 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 Gordar that Gotam Rishi caused the spots in the moon and gave Indra his thousand eyes. It was in the Parasir tank at Bahlolpur that the warrior Daryodhan hid till Krishna's jeers brought him unwillingly out to fight, and at the Phalgu tank in Bharal that the Kauravas and Pandawas celebrated the funeral ceremonies of the warriors who had fallen in the war.

The legendary period.

The district lying beyond the reach of the Macedonian conqueror is indiscernible in the faint light of early history. Menander, a relative of the Bactrian monarch Eucratides, and king of

Early Hindu History.

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History.

Early Hindu
History.

Kabul and Punjab, doubtless exercised sway over the tract, as his occupation of Muthra on the Jumna is an historical fact (B. C. 154). But no traces of Græco-Bactrian rule have ever been discovered in Karnal.

In the first two centuries of the Christian era the tract was probably included in the Empire of the Indo-Scythian dynasty known the Kushans. Safidon on the borders of the district is still pointed out as the site of the great slaughter of snakes mentioned in the Mahabharata. It has been conjectured that this is a reference to the snake totem of the Scythians, and alludes to some incident in the downfall of the Kushan Empire in 200 A. D. If so, the passage in the Mahabharata must be a late interpolation. Indo-Scythian coins have been unearthed at the Polar mound 10 miles north of Kaithal, an ancient *tête du pont* on the south side of the Saruswati river.

From about 326—480 A. D. the tract formed part of the dominions of the Muryan Emperors Chandra Gupta and Asoka. But there is no mention of it as powerful or important, and it may perhaps be conjectured that the Kurukshetra, then, as now, the goal of pilgrimage for the Brahminical Hindu, received little favour from these champions of Buddhism. This empire was reduced to a mere local chieftaincy by the attack of the Huns, and probably for two centuries after 380 A. D. there was no settled rule in the Karnal district. At the end of the sixth century A. D. Thanesar appears as the capital of a Raja, Praba Kara-Vardhana, who had successfully driven back the Hun settlers from the north-west Punjab and the clans of Gurjara.

Raja Harsha
of Thanesar
and Kanauj.

Under Raja Prabha Kara-Vardhana and his younger son, Harsha, Thanesar seems to have attained paramount rank among the powers of Northern India. The remains of stone temples and palaces found in the old villages on the banks of the Saruswati and Ghaggar attest the importance and wealth of Harsha's dominion. Raja Harsha was possessed of boundless energy: he conceived and to a great extent realised the ideal of United India. His empire and the details of its organisation are described by the Chinese pilgrim Huen Tsang, whose Indian travels extended from 629 to 645 A. D. The seventh century was a period of eclecticism in religion. Buddhism was a powerful but declining force, Hinduism was again claiming its own, and religious traditions no doubt played a considerable part in raising Thanesar to a foremost position in the Northern India.

During the next three hundred years history is silent, but Thanesar continued a place of great wealth until the storm of Muslim invasion burst upon India. Its wealth and fame attracted Mahmud of Ghazni and in 1014 A. D. he extended his raids to the city, which he sacked. In 1018 A. D. he plundered Mathra and in 1039 his son Sultan Masaud annexed this part of the country, leaving a Governor at Sonapat to administer in his name. The tract was reconquered by the Hindus about eight years later, and a century and a half of comparative peace renewed the prosperity of the country and removed the scars of Mahmud's invasion. But the rising tide of Islām was only temporarily arrested. In 1191 Mohammed Bin San of Ghore advanced against the Rajput King of Delhi, Rai Pitora (Prithivi Raj) who marched to meet him with a large army. The forces met at Naraina, a village on the Nai Nadi in the Nardak 12 miles south of Thanesar and 3 miles from Taraori. The Mussalman king was wounded, and his army utterly routed. This spot was considered specially fortunate by the Hindus and when in the next year the Sultan returned eager to wipe out his disgrace he found Rai Pitora encamped on the same ground. This time the Hindus were utterly defeated and Rai Pitora was taken prisoner and put to death. Delhi was conquered and Muhammadan rule finally established in the Delhi territory.

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Early Muhammadan
Invasions.
Mahmud of
Ghazni.
Mohammed of
Ghore.

The slave, Kutah-ud-din Aibek, was left at Delhi as the representative of the Ghore monarch and was made independent under the title of Sultan. Shortly after his death in 1210, Shams-ud-Din Altamsh established himself at Delhi, and in 1216 overthrew a formidable rival in the person of Taj-ud-din Yalduz on the old battlefield of Naraina. Twenty years later, the same neighbourhood was the scene of a bloody victory gained by his son and successor over a confederacy of rebellious nobles. During his absence from Delhi, a rising took place in the interests of his sister Raziya, and she ascended the throne at the end of 1236 with the masculine title of Sultan. She managed the empire with singular ability, but an unfortunate preference for an Abyssinian slave brought about her downfall. Her favourite was put to death and she herself was imprisoned in the fortress of Bhatinda. She regained her liberty by marrying the Governor, and with him advanced on Delhi. The details of the campaign are obscure, but her cause was irretrievably lost when her troops abandoned her after a defeat near Kaithal. The author of the *Tabakat-i-Nasiri* says she met her end near Kaithal, but if Ibn Batuta is to be trusted, she was murdered by a rustic for the sake of her jewels close to the spot where her grave is still shown, near the Turkman Gate of the present city of Delhi (1240).

The slave
dynasty.

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The slave
dynasty.
The Tughlak
dynasty.

During the troublous years that followed the death of Balban (1287) the district must have suffered occasionally from Moghal raids. But the rule of the Ghiljje dynasty restored order.

Firoz Shah Tughlak is said to have excavated in 1355 the Badshahi Canal which irrigated the country round Jind Dhatrat, Safidon and Hansi. Water rates were charged, and the income was considerable. The canal also conveyed water to the palace and hunting grounds of the monarch in Hissar.

One other incident connects the Tughlak dynasty with the district. In 1390, during the civil war which followed the death of Firoz Shah, Prince Humayun, afterwards, Sultan Sikandar Shah, assembled a considerable force at Panipat in support of the cause of his father Muhammad Shah, and plundered the environs of Delhi, which was then held by Abu Bakr Shah. The latter sent a force against him. The latter defeated him at Pasina, now a small village, some seven miles south of Panipat, 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.

Seven years later we read of an action at Guhla (Kutla—Elliot, IV, 32), and in 1398 Ikbal Khan, who was at the time posing as the protector of the puppet King Mahmud, took Panipat after a siege of three days. But the interest of these internecine struggles is lost in the great incident of Timur's invasion.

Timur's Inva-
sion.

Timur Shah marched through the district on his way to Delhi. His route is very fully described in his autobiography, and also in the Zafar Namah: and it is easy to trace it throughout, except between Munak (Akalgarh) and Kaithal. It is almost certain that he crossed the Ghaggar and Sarusti by bridges at Guhla and Polar the remains of which still exist. From Kaithal he marched through Asandh to Tughlakpur, which was said to be inhabited by fire-worshippers. This place is probably Salwan. Thence he marched to Panipat, which he reached on 3rd December 1398 A. D. The people had deserted the town in obedience to orders from Delhi, 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 Panipat, which was on the road". This can have been no other than a branch of the Jumna, then flowing under the town in the channel of the Burhi Nadi or old stream. He then marched *via* Kanhi Gazin to Palla on the Jumna in the Delhi

tahsil. A detachment was sent forward which harried the country up to the walls of Firoz Shah's palace on the Ridge at Delhi. As soon as it rejoined the main army, Timur crossed the Jumna and stormed the Lohdi fort. Ten days later he raised his standard on the battlements of the conquered capital.

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Timur's Invasion.

The Lodhis.

During the period which followed the departure of the invader there were times in which the central authority was unable to assert itself in the district, and even during the reign of Bahlol Lodhi (1451—1489) his son Nizam Khan, afterwards Sikandar Lodhi, seized Panipat and held it as *jagir* without permission. He made it his head-quarters, and his force there included 1,500 cavalry. Karnal and Panipat were on the high road from Sirhind to Delhi, and from the time of Timur 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. Ala-ud-din Alim Khan was sent by Babar with a Mughal army against his nephew Sultan Ibrahim Lodhi and was joined at Indri by Mian Suliman, a *Pirzada* of Panipat, with additional forces. Being defeated near Delhi, he retreated to Panipat, where he tricked his friend Suliman out of three or four lakhs and went on his way. He shortly afterwards rejoined Babar; and next year the Mughal army marched on Delhi. Leaving Ambala, Babar marched *via* Shahabad to the Jumna near Alahar in tahsil Thanesar, and thence followed the river bank to Karnal. There he heard that Ala-ud-din, whom he had sent on towards Delhi, had been defeated by Ibrahim, and that the latter had advanced to Ganaur. Mounting his horse at the Gharaunda sarai, Babar led his army to Panipat, which he selected for the battlefield, 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. Ibrahim Lodhi 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., Ibrahim Lodhi's forces advanced to the attack, were utterly routed, and were pursued by Babar's army to Delhi, while the conqueror remained encamped for a week to the west of Panipat. He considered the spot a fortunate one, treated the people well, and made Sultan Muhammad Angluli, who had assisted him with troops, Governor of Panipat.

In this battle Ibrahim Lodhi was slain, and was buried between the tahsil and the city of Panipat. It was one of Sher Shah's dying regrets that he had never fulfilled his intention of

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The Lodhis.

erecting a tomb to the fallen monarch. After the battle Babar built a garden with a mosque and tank; and some years later, when Humayun defeated Salem Shah some four miles north of Panipat, he added a masonry platform and called it Chabutra Fateh Mubarik. These buildings and the garden still exist under the name of Kabul or Kabil Bagh.* The building bears an inscription containing the words "Binai Rabi-ul-Awwal 934 Hij." In 1529 the Mandhar Rajputs of the Nardak rebelled under their Chief Mohan, and defeated the royal troops. Babar then burnt the rebel villages. Later on, during the struggle which led to the expulsion of Humayun, Fateh Khan, Jat, rebelled and laid the country waste as far south as Panipat.

The Mughals.

When Humayun died at Delhi, the young Akbar, who was then in the Punjab, marched at once under the guardianship of Bairam Khan to meet the Afghan army under the great Hindu general, Himu, who was advancing from Delhi. Passing through Thanesar, he arrayed his army 10 miles north of Karnal, and then marched to Panipat, two *kos* to the west of which city Himu was encamped. After a week's skirmishing, Akbar sent a detachment round the city to take Himu in the rear, and advanced to the attack. The result was the death of Himu and the total route of the Afghans. Next day Akbar marched to Delhi, which he entered without opposition. The battle took place on 5th November 1556 and is fully described by the Emperor Jahangir and by Ferishta.

During the early years of the Mughal dynasty the Empire was so firmly established at Delhi that the district can hardly be said to have possessed a separate history. In 1573 the rebel Ibrahim Hussain Mirza, defeated by Akbar, in Gujrat, moved northwards with the object of creating disturbances in Upper India, and the surrounding country. He passed through the district on the way to Panipat and plundered Panipat and Karnal. And again in 1606, Prince Khusro revolted and passed up this way from Delhi, plundering and pillaging as he went. When he reached Panipat he was joined by Abdul Rahim, and Dilawar Ali Khan, who was at Panipat with an Imperial force, retreated before them to Lahore. Jahangir himself shortly followed in pursuit, and moralised upon the success which Panipat had always brought to his family. He then ordered the Friday devotion to be always held in the mosque of Kabul Bagh which Babar had built, and

*Some say that Babar said the spot was *Kabil Bagh*, fit for a garden; others, that he planned the garden on the pattern customary in Kabul. Babar had a wife called Kabuli Begam, and Sir E. Colebrooke 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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this custom was continued till the Mahrattas occupied the mosque in the last battle of Panipat. For more than two centuries the country enjoyed peace under the Mughals, the canal was worked, the road was put in repairs, *sarais* were erected at every stage, and a *minar* and a well made at every *kos* for the use of travellers. The *minars* (brick pillars, 24 feet high) and wells still exist; but the *sarais* of Sambhalka and Gharaunda are in ruin, while that of Karnal has disappeared.

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The Mughals.

Towards the end of the 17th century the Delhi Empire was fast falling to decay, and the Sikhs rising to power. In 1709 Banda Bairagi, sometime the chosen disciple of Guru Gobind, raised his standard in these parts, and, collecting an army of Sikhs, occupied the whole of the country west of the Jumna. He laid the whole neighbourhood waste and especially the neighbourhood of Karnal, where he killed the Faujdar and massacred the inhabitants. He was defeated by Bahadur Shah near Sadhaura in 1710, but escaped to found Gurdaspur. In 1729 a charge on Pargana Karnal of five lakhs of *dam* was granted to Dilawar Ali Khan Aurangabadi whose ancestors had formerly held the *pargana* in *jagir*.

In 1738 Nadir Shah, enraged at not being recognised by the Delhi Court, invaded India. On 8th January 1739 he reached Sirhind, where he learned that Muhammad Shah with an enormous army occupied a strongly fortified camp at Karnal. Nadir Shah marched on to Taraori, 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 Karnal from the direction of Taraori was through dense jungle and exceedingly difficult; and that Muhammad Shah 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 Taraori, and marching round by the banks of the Jumna to the back of the city, advanced to a position close to the Delhi camp; meanwhile he sent Prince Nasr-Ullah Mirza with a considerable force to a spot north of the canal and close to Karnal. All this time Muhammad Shah was not even aware that Nadir Shah was in the neighbourhood. Just at this time a detachment which had been sent to oppose Saadat Khan, the Viceroy of Oudh, who was marching from Panipat with re-inforcements, and missing the enemy had followed him up to Karnal, came to close quarters with him. Nadir Shah and Prince Nasr-Ullah at once marched to the support of their detachment, which was the first intimation

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the Imperial army had of their presence. The engagement which followed was not decisive. But the army of Muhammad Shah, which had already been encamped for three months at Karnal and had suffered greatly from want of supplies, was now cut off from the open country in the rear, and food became so scarce that a seer of flour could not be bought for four rupees. Thus Muhammad Shah was starved into submission, and on the 13th of February yielded to the invader, who led him in his train to Delhi. The operations are very minutely described in the Nadir Namah. In 1748 Ahmad Shah was met at Panipat by the royal paraphernalia and the news of the death of Muhammad Shah, and there and then formally assumed the royal titles. In 1756 the Wazir Ghazi-ul-din brought Alamgir II, a virtual prisoner to Panipat, and thus caused a mutiny in the army, the Wazir being dragged through the streets of the city. A horrible massacre followed the outbreak.

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 Panipat. In the rainy season of 1760, Sadasheo, the Mahrata Bhao, marched upon Kunjpura, an Afghan town close to Karnal, which was then strongly fortified and at which 20,000 Afghan troops were then encamped. He put the whole of them to the sword, and pillaged the country round. Ahmad Shah, who was in the Doab, was unable to cross the Jumna in time to prevent this disaster; but at length he forded the river near Bagpat and advanced against the enemy, who, encamped at the time at the village of Pasina Kalan, where the battle of 1390 A. D. had been fought, retreated to Panipat. There the Mahrattas strongly fortified themselves; and the line of their entrenchments can still be traced on the plain between Risalu and Panipat. The Durrani encamped close in front of them on the plains north of Risalu and Ujah: and for five months the two armies, numbering more than 400,000 souls, remained engaged in fruitless negotiations 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, Daha, and Bala were inhabited at the time of the actual battle. The Durrani army had free access to their camp on all sides, while they gradually confined the Mahrattas more and more

to their entrenchments. The latter had long ago consumed all the provisions obtainable at Panipat; at length supplies wholly failed; and on the January 1761 the Bhao advanced to action. The battle is fully described by several authors. The Mahrattas were utterly routed and many of them were driven into the town of Panipat, 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 Mahrattas were slain in this battle. The people still point out the spot where the Bhao stood to watch the fight marked by an old mango tree which has only lately disappeared. They say that the Mahrattas' General of artillery, one Bahram Ghori, had been insulted by the young Bhao, and in revenge put no balls in his guns, otherwise the Giljas, as they call the Ghilzai followers of Ahmad Shah, would certainly have been beaten; and that the Mahratta fugitives were so utterly demoralised that the Jat women beat them with baskets, made them get off their horses and plundered them royally.

No sooner had the Mahrattas temporarily disappeared than the Sikhs appeared on the scene of action. In 1763 they defeated Zain Khan, the Durrani Governor of Sirhind, and took possession of the whole of Sirhind as far south as Panipat. "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". Raja Gajpat Singh on this occasion seized Jind, Safidon, Panipat and Karnal, though he was not yet strong enough to hold them; but in 1772 he was confirmed in his possession up to within a few miles north of Panipat and west of Karnal, as a tributary of the Delhi Emperor. At the same time Gurdit Singh seized Ladwa and Shamgarh up to within a few miles north of Karnal. A considerable part of the Indri Pargana fell to the share of Sardars Bhangra Singh and Bhag Singh of Thanesar, and the chiefs of Kaithal and Ladwa, while part was conquered by leaders of little note belonging to the Jamerayan section of the Dallewalia confederacy. The Nawab of Kunjpura managed with difficulty to keep the whole of the revenues of a considerable number of estates, in others he was forced to give a share to the Shamgarh Chief and the Sikhs of Churni.

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Recalled by the Sikh conquests Ahmad Shah appeared for the last time in Hindustan, in 1767, and, defeating the Sikhs in several battles, marched as far as Ludhiana; but as soon as he disappeared, the Sikhs again resumed their hold of the country. In 1774 Bahadur Khan, Governor of Hansi, attacked Jind but was defeated with heavy loss, while Gajpat Singh again seized Karnal. Shortly afterwards Najaf Khan, the Imperial Wazir, marched in person to restore his authority, and by a treaty then concluded between the Rajas and the Emperor, the Sikhs relinquished their conquests in Karnal and its neighbourhood, excepting seven villages which Gajpat Singh was allowed to keep, and which probably included Shera, Majra Jatan, Dharmgarh Bal Jatan, and Bala.

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 Farkhanda Bakht and Nawab Majid-ud-daulah marched out at the head of a large army, 20,000 strong, and met some of the minor Sikhs at Karnal. He made terms with these chieftains, who were jealous of the growing power of Patiala; and the combined forces marched upon that State. While negotiations were in progress, reinforcements advanced from Lahore, the Karnal contingent deserted, bribery was resorted to, and the Imperialists retired precipitately to Panipat. About this time Dhara Rao held the southern portion of the district on the part of the Mahrattas, and was temporarily on good terms with the petty Sikh chiefs north of Karnal. In 1785 he marched, at the invitation of the Phulkian Chiefs, against Kaithal and Ambala, and after some successes, and after exacting the stipulated tribute, withdrew to his head-quarters at Karnal. In 1786 Raja Gajpat Singh of Jhind died, and was succeeded by his son Raja Bhag Singh. In 1787 Begam Samru was operating against the Sikhs at Panipat, when recalled to the capital by Ghulam Kadir's attack upon Delhi. In 1788 Amba Rao united with Zabita Khan's son to make an incursion and was again joined by minor Sikhs at Karnal, and levied a contribution on Kaithal.

In 1789 Scindia, having killed Ghulam Kadir and reinstated Shah Alam, marched from Delhi to Thanesar and thence to Patiala, restored order more or less in the country west of the Jumna, and brought the Patiala Diwan back with him as far as Karnal as a hostage. In 1794 a large Mahratta force under

Anta Rao crossed the Jumna. Jind and Kaithal tendered their homage ; but the Patiala troops surprised the army in a night attack, and Anta Rao retired to Karnal. In 1795 the Mahrattas once again marched north, and defeating Raja Bhag Singh to Karnal finally wrested that city from him and made it over to George Thomas, who took part in the fight. He had also obtained the *jagir* of Jhajjar, and making himself master of Hissar harried the neighbouring Sikh territories ; meanwhile Sardar Gurdit Singh, of Ladwa, obtained possession of Karnal. In 1798 Begam Samru was stationed with her forces at Panipat to protect the western frontier during the struggle with Jaipur. In 1799 Scindia sent General Perron, to whom the *pargana* of Panipat had been granted, to bring the Sikhs to order. He recruited at Karnal, where the Nawab of Kunjpura joined him ; but matters were settled amicably, and the army returned *via* Panipat, where they were joined by Begam Samru, and took advantage of the opportunity to chastise Naultha and other large villages for not having paid their revenue to Perron's collector. In 1801 Thomas made a foray through Karnal and Panipat, and then retreated to Hansi. The Sikhs asked the Mahrattas for help against him, and Scindia, on the Sikhs promising to become his subsidiaries and pay him five lakhs 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 Dhatrat were then made over again to Jind by the Mahrattas. The people of Bhagal in the north of Kaithal still tell how Thomas carried off hostages from their town and only released them when ransomed by the Bhai of Kaithal.

On 11th September 1803, Lord Lake defeated the Mahrattas at the battle of Delhi ; and on the 30th December, Daulat Rao Scindia, by the treaty of Sirji Anjangam, 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 Delhi, from that time known as the conquered provinces, to the English. The chiefs of Ladwa and Thanesar with five thousand Sikhs fought against us at the battle of Delhi. Immediately after the battle Begam Samru made her submission to General Lake ; and Bhag Singh of Jind and Lal Singh of Kaithal were hardly less prompt. Their advances were favourably received, and in January 1805 they joined their forces with ours. The Sikh Chiefs, who had actually fought against us at Delhi, continued to display

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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 Gurdit Singh of Ladwa was expressly excluded from this amnesty, and in April of the same year the English force marched upon his fort of Karnal and captured it.*

British rule.

So ended that terrible time called by the people *Singhashahi ka-Ram Raula* or *Bhaogardi*, the "Sikh hurly-burly," or the "Mahratta anarchy." Its horrors still live vividly in the memory of the villagers. The Sikhs never really established their grasp over the country south of Panipat; and they held what they did possess only as feudatories of the Mahrattas. But the whole period was a constant contest between the two powers; and the tract formed a sort of no-man's land between territories, and coveted by both but protected by neither, was practically the prey of the strongest and most audacious free-booter of the day whether hailing from the Punjab or the Deccan, for nobody cared to spare for to-morrow what he might only possess for to-day. Even as early as 1760, Nadir Shah had to approach Delhi by way of the Doab, as owing to the constant passage to and fro of the Mahratta 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 or 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 Pargana 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 or 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;

*According to the schedule attached to the Treaty of Sirji Anjangam, the tract under the Mahrattas was held as follows:—Karnal, annual value Rs. 14,000, by Seth Singh, Sikh; Barsat, Faridpur, Rs. 35,000, by General Perron; Panipat, Rs. 99,478, by Baba Ji Scindia; Ganaur, Rs. 6,982, Sonapat, Rs. 39,348, and Gobana, Rs. 1,16,329, by Colonels John and Geo. Hastings. The whole list is extraordinarily incorrect.

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

Lord Wellesley returned to England in August 1805 and Lord Cornwallis was 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 Jumna. 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 Jumna 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 *jagirdars* round our ultra-Jumna possessions from Karnal to Agra.

The sovereign powers of the Rajas of Jind, Kaithal, Ladwa, Thanesar and Shamgarh and of the Nawab of Kunjpura were confirmed and they were continued in the lands held by them under treaty from the Mahrattas, except that Ladwa was deprived of Karnal, as already mentioned. Besides this Jind was granted Gohana, and the five villages of Shera, Majra Jatan, Bal-

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jatan, Bala, and Dharmgarh or Murana: and he and the Raja of Kaithal had the *pargana* of Barsat-Faridpur, made over to them jointly. The villages of Uncha Siwana Rainpur, Ranwar, Kambohpora, Kailas with Mangalpur and Pipalwali, were made over to the Nawab of Kunjpura. The Mandals, who held large *jagirs*, in Muzaffarnagar, were induced to exchange them for so much of Pargana Karnal as was left unallotted, the grant being made in perpetuity subject to the payment of a fixed quit rent. Begam Samru 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 Mir Rustam Ali. The *agirs* which had been given in 1905-06 were declared grants for life only and were taken under our police supervision. They were gradually resumed on the death of the holders. In 1809 the Jind Raja endeavoured to obtain from Government his old *pargana* of Karnal, but the *pargana* had already been allotted, and the endeavour was unsuccessful.

The policy which bade us abstain from interference west of the Jumna did not long stand the test of actual practice. In 1806 Ranjit Singh crossed the Sutlej with his army and marched to Thanesar, 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 Karnal, and how we were compelled to insist upon Ranjit Singh's withdrawal beyond the Sutlej, are told in most interesting detail by Sir Lepel Griffin in his Punjab Rajas. The treaty of Lahore, dated 25th April 1809, and the proclamation of the 3rd of May following, finally included the country to the west of the Jumna in our Indian Empire. This proclamation beginning with the quaint wording that it was "clearer than the sun and better proved than the existence of yesterday" that the British action was prompted by the Chiefs themselves, is given in full in Appendix 10 of Cunningham's History, and at page 122 of the Punjab Rajas. It includes seven short articles only, of which Nos. 1 to 5 are important; Nos. 1 to 3 limited Ranjit Singh's power and declared the *cis-Sutlej* Chiefs sole owners of their possessions free of money tribute to the British; while Nos. 4 and 5 required them in return on their side to furnish supplies for the army, and to assist the British by arms against enemies from any quarter as occasion might hereafter arise.

It is impossible to read the history of these transactions without seeing that the Government were in reality taking a

most important step almost in the dark. Instead of finding the Ambala territory under the control of a few Central States, they soon realised that they had given it over for ever to hordes of adventurers with no powers of cohesion, who aimed only at mutual aggression, and whose sole idea of Government was to grind down the people of the country to the utmost limit of oppression. The first point was easily settled by a sharp reminder given in a supplementary proclamation of 1811, that every man would have to be content with what he held in 1809, and that the British Government would tolerate no fighting among themselves. It was, however, found that as a fact the so-called *cis-Sutlej* Sovereign States were represented, as far as Ambala was concerned, by some thirty petty rulers with estates ranging from 20 to over 100 villages, and by a host of small fraternities comprising many hundreds of the rank and file among the followers of the original conquerors, who had been quartered over the country with separate villages for their maintenance and who were all alike now vested with authority as independent rulers by the vague terms of the proclamation of 1809. Published works have nowhere very clearly recognised how sorely the Government repented of its mistake, but there seems no doubt as to the facts; and it is not to be wondered at that Sir David Ochterlony should have privately admitted to the Governor-General in 1818 that the proclamation of 1809 had been based on an erroneous idea.

From 1809 to 1847 persistent efforts were made to enforce good government through the Political Agency at Ambala among the endless semi-independent States. The records of the time bear witness to the hopeless nature of the undertaking. They teem with references to the difficult enquiries necessitated by the frequent disputes among the principalities, by their preposterous attempts to evade control, and by acts of extortion and violent crime in their dealings with the villages. Year by year Government was driven in self-defence to tighten the reins, and every opportunity was taken to strengthen its hold on the country by enforcing its claims to lapse by escheat on the death without lineal heirs of the possessors of 1809 on their descendants. It was thus that the British Districts of Ambala and Thanesar gradually grew up, each successive lapse being made the occasion for regular settlements of the village revenues and the introduction of direct British rule. At the same time Government scrupulously observed the engagements of 1809, and with the exception of the prohibition of

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internal war by the proclamation of 1811 the powers and privileges of the Chiefs remained untouched. Each chief, great and small alike, had within his own territory absolute civil, criminal and fiscal jurisdiction, subject only to the general authority of the Agent to the Governor-General. No tribute was taken from them, and, though they were required, in the case of war, to aid the Government, yet no special contingent was fixed. The right to escheats was the sole return for its protection which the Government demanded. Throughout a long period of peace during which, while north of the Sutlej every vestige of independence vanished before the encroachments of Ranjit Singh, the *cis-Sutlej* Chiefs enjoyed a complete immunity from invasion, and retained undiminished rights of sovereignty. After 36 years, with the exception of a few States which had lapsed from failure of heirs, each Chief still found himself the ruler of the territory which he or his fathers had held at the time when they passed under British protection.

In 1846-47 a fresh step had to be taken owing to passive obstruction or open hostility on the part of the Chiefs when called on to assist the Government with supplies and men during its campaign against the Trans-Sutlej Sikhs in 1845. No occasion had occurred for testing their gratitude for the benefits secured to them, until the declaration of the first Sikh War and the Sutlej Campaign of 1845. But when tested, it miserably failed. Throughout the war, few of the Chiefs displayed their loyalty more conspicuously than by abstaining from open rebellion. Their previous conduct had not been such as to encourage the British Government in its policy towards them. Almost without exception they had abused its indulgence and made the security of its protection a means of extortion and excess of every kind. There was nothing whatever to admire in the internal management or administration of their estates as was amply testified by the universal satisfaction with which the peasants of these estates which, from time to time, had lapsed, came under direct British management. It has been well said that "independence, for these Sikh Chiefs, had no nobler significance than the right to do evil without restraint and to oppress the people who were so unfortunate as to be their subjects."*

Having thus already lost the confidence of the Government the Sikh Chiefs in the Sutlej Campaign forfeited all claim to consideration. It was seen that the time had arrived for the

*Griffin: "Rajas of the Punjab", page 218.

introduction of sweeping measures of reform ; and the Government unhesitatingly resolved upon a reduction of their privileges. Several important measures were at once adopted. The police jurisdiction of most of the Chiefs was abolished, the existing system being most unfavourable to the detection and punishment of crime. All transit and customs duties were also abolished, and, thirdly, a commutation was accepted for the personal service of the Chief and his contingent. The despatch of the Governor-General, embodying this resolution, was dated November 7th, 1846. The only States exempted were Patiala, Jind, Nabha,* Faridkot, Maler Kotla, Chhachhrauli (Kalsia), Raikot, Buria, and Mamdot. With these exceptions, the police jurisdiction was made over to European officers. At the same time the more serious offenders in the campaign of 1845 were visited with signal punishment. Their possessions were confiscated to Government and in some cases they were themselves removed as prisoners from the Province. One hundred and seventeen villages were in this way added to the British district in Pipli by confiscation from the Raja of Ladwa. As regards minor Chiefs, similar severe measures were considered unnecessary, though the majority " had not shown their loyalty in 1845 in any more conspicuous way than in not joining the enemy," and for a short time an attempt was made to leave them the unrestricted right of collecting the revenue of their villages in kind as hitherto. It soon, however, became apparent that the Chiefs, deprived of their police jurisdiction, were unable to collect their revenue. A proposal was therefore made for a regular settlement of the land revenue. But before final orders had been passed upon this point, the second Sikh campaign commenced. It ended in the annexation of the Punjab, and in the removal of the political reasons which had hitherto complicated the question of the amount of power to be left to the *cis-Sutlej* Chiefs. In June 1849, it was accordingly declared that, with the exception of the States already mentioned, all the chiefs should " cease to hold sovereign powers, should lose all criminal, civil and fiscal jurisdiction, and should be considered as no more than ordinary subjects of the British Government in the possession of certain exceptional privileges".† The chiefs of Kunjpura, Thanesar and Shamgarh were thus reduced to the position of simple *jagirdars*. The revenues were still to be theirs, but were to be assessed by

* Nabha was exceptionally treated, one-quarter of its territory being confiscated.

† Griffin's " *Rajas of Punjab*," page 217.

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British officers and under British rules. The final step necessitated by the march of events was taken in 1852 when the revenue settlement begun for British villages in 1847 was extended to the villages of the Chiefs. Thereafter the Chiefs have ceased to retain any relics of their former power except that they are still permitted to collect direct from their villages the cash assessment of revenue as fixed at settlement. They have sunk to the position of *jagirdars*, but as such retain a right to the revenue assigned to them in perpetuity subject only to lapse on failure of heirs who are unable to trace descent as collaterals from the original holders of 1809 or such other year as may have been determined under the special circumstances of the family as the basis from which status shall be derived.

Kaithal,
Ladwa,
Thanesar and
Kunjpura.

The history of the Kaithal, Ladwa, Thanesar and Kunjpura States before their inclusion in British territory lies somewhat outside the main current of events leading to the break-up of the Delhi Empire. The principal features in the founding and administration of these petty principalities may be briefly noticed :—

Early history
of Kaithal.

The district of Kaithal in the time of Muhammad Shah was a *pargana* consisting of 13 *tappas*. In A. D. 1733, this *pargana* was held from the Delhi Government in *jagir* or farm by one Kamr-ul-din Khan, a Biloch by tribe, who held some important office in the Government ; this man was slain in the massacre at Delhi by Nadir Shah in A. D. 1738. Azim-ulla Khan, 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. Ikhtiar Khan, an Afghan, was one of the principal *zamindars* 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. Inayat Khan, Afghan, a *zamindar* of some influence, persuaded the people to join him in resisting the demands of the Bilochis, raised a considerable force for the purpose, and enjoyed the revenues himself. Matters continued in this state till 1755,—the successes of the Bilochis and Afghans fluctuating, sometimes one, sometimes the other being successful as each could collect followers,—when in the year last mentioned the Bilochis sent a Saiyad (name not known) who encamped at Habri and sent for the Afghan Chief : Inayat Khan, suspecting treachery, sent his brother Ghulam Bhik in his stead, and him the Saiyad put to death. Inayat Khan fled, and the Saiyad obtained easy possession of Kaithal, where he remained three months collecting revenue ; but directly his

back was turned, Inayat Khan again stepped in and assumed possession. CHAP. I. B.

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Early history
of Kaithal.

In A. D. 1756 Tahawwur Khan, brother of Kamr-ul-din, came with a force to claim his late brother's *jagir*. He was opposed by Inayat Khan, who was beaten and fled, but, a short time after during the same year, having collected a force, the latter made a night attack upon the city of Kaithal and obtained entrance at the Siwan Gate : a fight ensued in the streets of the town, in which Tahawwur Khan's brother-in-law, who commanded, was killed and his army dispersed. The Afghans or attacking force consisted of only 500 men, while that of the defeated Bilochis amounted to 1,000. Thus ended the Biloch possession ; rule it cannot be called. They were never able to make head again, and Inayat Khan, a *zamindar*, 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 Azim Khan Mandal, of Samana, who had taken possession of Bhorak, a village in the *pargana* and five miles north of Pehoa. The Mandal invited him to the Khoram Mela on pretence of making up the quarrel, and there murdered him ; but had soon to repent his treachery, for Bhik Bakhsh and Niamat Khan, 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 Bhai Desu Singh, advancing from Bhochoki, encamped at Kutana, 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.

Bhik Bakhsh died in exile, but his brother Niamat Khan was treated liberally by the conqueror, who conferred upon him several villages in *jagir*,—one of which, *viz.*, Ujana, 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.

The district of Kaithal, as it was constituted when it passed by escheat into the hands of the British Government, was acquired by Bhai Desu Singh, the 4th son of Bhai Gurbakhsh Singh, himself a descendant from a Rajput *zamindar* of Jaisalmer. He inherited a few villages in Kularan, 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.

The Sikh
Bhais of
Kaithal.

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The Sikh
Bhais of
Kaithal.

Bhai Desu 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 Mangana to Kaithal, and numerous *kachcha* dams along the Saruswati river. He had four wives, *viz.*, Rupkaur, mother of Bahal Singh; Ramkaur, mother of Khushhal Singh; Mai Bholi, no issue; Mai Bhagan, mother of Lal Singh. Jugta Singh Mahal 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 Rajas of Jind and Patiala that they caused the agents of the Delhi ruler to entice the Bhai to Delhi under pretence of having a *jagir* conferred upon him. On his arrival at the seat of Government, Desu Singh was confined, and only released on the promise of paying 8 *lakhs* of rupees, 6 of which he paid and gave his son Lal Singh as security for the remainder.

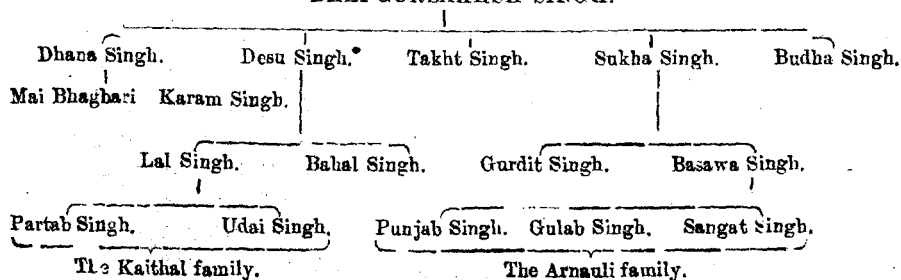
Of his three sons, Khushhal Singh, having died in childhood, is never mentioned. Bahal Singh succeeded to the rule, his elder brother being under restraint at Delhi; but Lal Singh's mother having obtained his release on payment of Rs. 40,000, he shortly returned and assumed the Government, driving his brother, who strongly opposed him, to Kularan. Thence Bahal Singh acquired Budlada, but was immediately put to death by hired assassins instigated by his worthy brother. Lal Singh resided chiefly at Kaithal. He had four wives, *viz.*, Saddakaur, no issue; Rattan-kaur, no issue; Sahibkaur, mother of Partab Singh and Ude Singh; Mankaur, 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 Pargana Sular on payment of a *nazarana* of Rs. 60,000, little better than one year's revenue. His services were acknowledged by Lord Lake and rewarded by a handsome *jagir*, Gohana, 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 Partab Singh, under the regency of the mother; but the boy only lived to the age of 12 years, and died of small-pox in

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[PART A.

Sambat 1880. Bhai 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 Karnal only on a more imposing scale, and near it a bridge over the Bidkiar Tirath, remarkable for nothing but want of breadth and its level surface. At Pehoa the garden house 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 Kankhal near Hardwar. A noble masonry *band* that he erected across the Saruswati, 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 life 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 protecting power. He had two wives—Surajkaur, daughter of the Raja of Balabgarh, who was accomplished in Gurmukhi lore, and died shortly after the State lapsed ; and Mahtabkaur, daughter of a *zamindar* of Shamspur, 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 :—

BHAJ GURBAKHS SINGH.



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Bhais of
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[PART A.]

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History.

The Sikh
Bhais of
Kaithal.

On the death of Bhai 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 Bhais of Arnauli came under the reforms of 1849, and ceased in that year to exercise any administrative functions.

The Ladwa
Rajas.

The founders of the Ladwa State were Sardars Sahib Singh and Gurdit Singh who mastered Babain and Ladwa, Shamgarh, Saga, Karnal and some villages of Panipat. They came from the Manjha, and established themselves at Babain and Ladwa. After the defeat of the Afghans at Sirhind in 1763 A. D. they lost Panipat and Karnal. Sahib Singh, who was afterwards killed in action near Karnal, bestowed Shamgarh on his brother-in-law, Kirpal Singh, who accompanied the confederacy in the conquest. Gurdit Singh was succeeded by his son, Ajit Singh, who obtained the title of Raja from Lord Auckland for building a bridge over the Saruswati at Thanesar, 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 Saharanpur.

The Khans
of Kunjpura.

The founder of the Kunjpura family was a Pathan named Nijabat Khan. His ancestor came from Kandhar, and founded a village in Sindh called Ghurghusht, which he held in *jagir*. Having left Sindh in consequence of family quarrels, Nijabat Khan, with his pupil Mamud Khan, came to seek his fortune in Hindustan. He entered the service of Munna Khan, Wazir of Lahore, and in two years was a commander of several horse-men, when he came down to Wazir Khwaja Nasir-ud-din of Radaur. Here he became a *Risaldar*, sent for his family, and fixed his head-quarters at Taraori; one of the *zamindars* of the villages of Bidauli who had quarrelled with his relations, begged the assistance of his soldiers and gave him the *biswadari* of Kunjpura which was then a swamp or nearly so. Nijabat Khan got some leases of the surrounding villages from the authorities, and gave them to Mahmud Khan, who wanted to build at Kunjpura. The Rajputs destroyed all he did. Nijabat Khan brought his troops over from Taraori and settled them at Kunjpura, and from that time a deadly enmity sprung up between the Rajputs and Pathans. A masonry fort was built at Kunjpura after a hard fight. The fort was first called Nijabatnagar. The cruelty of

KARNAL DISTRICT.]

[PART A.

the Afghans having reached the ears of the *Chakladar* of Saharanpur he sent for Nijabat Khan; he refused to go, a force was sent, and the *Chakladar* Izzat Khan was killed by one of Nijabat Khan's relations. The power of the Afghans increased, and Nijabat Khan made himself master of other lands. The

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The Khans
of Kunjpura.

Parganah.	NO. OF VILLAGES.
Bidauli ...	5, including Nijabatnagar or Kunjpura.
Karnal ...	6
Thanesar ...	20
Shahabad ...	24
Banu ...	3
Azimabad ...	45
Indri ...	45
Unknown ...	2
150, valued at 5 or 6 lakhs of rupees.	

King of Delhi, hearing of the death of his *Chakladar*, sent for Nijabat Khan through Mulraj, Governor of Panipat, who enticed him to Panipat, and sent him a prisoner to Delhi, where he remained for a year. Khwaja Jafir was sent to Kunjpura, but was put to death by the servants of Nijabat Khan. Nawab Bangash of Farrukhabad interceded for Nijabat Khan, and he was released; and his estate Nijabatnagar, and other villages in number as noted in the margin, were granted him in

jagir on condition of his restraining the Jats and Rajputs, who were taking advantage of the weak state of the empire to give trouble and commit excesses.

On the incursion of Nadir Shah, Nijabat Khan supplied him with provisions and tendered his obeisance; he became a *Risaldar* of 1,000 *sawars*. The Mahratta army under Jhaku Bhao plundered Kunjpura, when Nijabat Khan was wounded, taken prisoner, and died; some accounts say was slain, aged 75, at Panipat, having lived in Kunjpura for 30 years. Ahmad Shah repulsed the Mahrattas in A. D. 1758, and established Daler Khan, Nijabat Khan's eldest son, at Kunjpura, having first enriched him with spoils from the Mahrattas. Daler Khan enjoyed his possession for 25 years, died aged 60 years in 1782 A. D., and was succeeded by his eldest son Gulsher Khan.

Daler Khan and Gulsher Khan had a hard struggle to maintain their position against the invading Sikhs, and some of the family possessions had to be surrendered. In some cases part of an estate was kept while the remainder was given up; and the revenues of Tiraori, Singoha and Garhi Gujaran, Gorgarh, Tanesron and Bahawalpur are still shared between the Nawab and Sikh *jagirdars*. Gulsher Khan died in 1803 and was succeeded by his eldest son Rahmat Khan; several villages were given to his brother Mohi-ud-Din Khan in maintenance, but on the death of Mohi-ud-Din Khan, the number of villages was

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of Kunjpura.

reduced to one, the fine estate of Biana, and some land in Kunjpura, which were afterwards held by his son Muhammad Yar Khan. On the death of the latter Biana reverted to the Nawab.

Rahmat Khan died in 1822, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Bahadur Jang Khan, who died childless, seven years after, and was succeeded by his brother Ghulam Ali Khan. The latter died in 1849, when his son Muhammad Ali Khan became Nawab. On his death in 1886 his eldest surviving son Ibrahim Ali Khan succeeded.

The Sardars
of Thanesar.

The founder of the Thanesar Chiefship was Mith Singh. Captain Larkins states in his report on the Summary Settlement of Thanesar that Mith Singh is of a family of Nidga Rajputs of the village of Ajuala, *taluka* Panchgraiian in the Manjha; but Captain Abbott states that he was a Jat, that his home was at Bhatti near Sarhala in the Manjha. He embraced the Sikh religion at Amritsar from the hand of Gurdial Singh, and entered the service of Tara Singh. He was a fine young man, and being determined to lead, he deserted with a party from Tara Singh, mastered several villages in the Jullundur Doab, and came to this part of the country with the *Dallewalia mist* in company with his nephews Bhag Singh and Bhanga Singh. The royal fort at Thanesar, built by the Marrals, was held by the troops of the Bhais of Kaithal under the command of Desu Singh; Bhag Singh and Bhanga Singh waited their opportunity in the neighbourhood, while Mith Singh advanced with the conquering Sikhs, and was killed at Meerut. Bhanga Singh and Bhag Singh, with the assistance of the Ladwa Sardars and Karam Singh Nirmala of Shahabad, after one failure, made a successful night attack and possessed themselves of the fort of Thanesar. After the death of Bhai Desu Singh of Kaithal, a large part of his possessions in Indri, and some estates near Pehowa fell into the hands of the two Thanesar Sardars and of the Ladwa Chief. The territory conquered by Bhanga Singh and Bhag Singh comprised a number of estates in the present Indri Pargana, some villages in Pehoa, and a large tract in the Thanesar tahsil. A partition was made, Bhanga Singh taking $\frac{2}{3}$ and Bhag Singh $\frac{1}{3}$. Sardar Bhanga Singh was a savage and determined ruler, and was the only *cis-Sutlej* Chief whom Ranjit Singh feared. He seized Ghias-ud-din Nagar, east of the Jumna, but the Mahratta Bhao Rana took it from him and gave him Bidauli instead. Lord Lake gave him some other territory east of the Jumna in exchange for Bidauli, and it was held by him during his life. In 1806, with the assistance of the Ladwa Sardar Gurdit Singh, the

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Dallewalias wrested Adoha and Singhaur from the Laudewalia *misl*s, and Adoha was assigned as Bhanga Singh's share of the conquered territory. It was taken from him and restored to the *Lauda misl* by Ranjit Singh; but when these territories came under British protection it was retransferred to Bhanga Singh. He died in 1815, leaving a son, Fattah Singh and a daughter by his wedded wife, and a son, Sahib Singh, by a concubine. The daughter, Karm Kaur, married Karm Singh, the Raja of Patiala, and six villages of Indri were given as her dowry. Sahib Singh had a *jagir* of 9½ villages in Indri, and was succeeded by his son, Bishn Singh, who died a few years ago without male issue. The remainder of Bhanga Singh's estate descended to his son, Fattah Singh, who died in 1819 leaving a mother Mai Jian and two young widows. Mai Jian managed the estate till 1830, and died in 1836. Rattan Kaur, one of the widows, died in 1844, leaving the other widow Chand Kaur, in possession of the estate, which lapsed on her death in 1850. Bhag Singh, the brother of Bhanga Singh, died in 1791, leaving four sons, three of whom died childless. The estate descended to Jamiat Singh, the son of the youngest brother, Baj Singh, who also died childless in 1832, when the estate lapsed.

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History.

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of Thanesar.

The state of the Delhi territory, when it came to us in 1803, has already been described. The Sikh States between our territory and the Sutlej 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:—

Condition
of the country
at annexation.

"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 Kathana and Jind; from the village of Pai, 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 Bhai for 8 months; and from the inhabitants of Chatar in Kathana having never allowed the Sikh officers to enter their villages, being permitted to pay revenue instalments at the *thana* of Kathana. 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 of wholesale cattle-lifting happened after the first week of our rule. One murder took place, that of a jail *barkandaz*, by three prisoners, who were made over to the ses-

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sions. 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 *thanas*, 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 head 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 Jat village of Chatar, 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 matchlocks, 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 the village one sheet of cultivation. * * As I was riding along the border with Raja Surup Singh we heard and saw the husbandmen singing as they drove their cattle through the saturated fields. The Raja 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 Ambala and Karnal 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

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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."

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When the Mutiny broke out in 1857, Mr. Macwhirter, the Magistrate of Panipat, was at Delhi, and was killed there. Mr. Richardes, the Unconvenanted Deputy Collector, immediately took over charge; and though every other European fled, and the fugitives from Delhi 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 Delhi, 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 Jind, the Raja collected his troops and proceeded by forced marches to Karnal, 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 Panipat, recovered Simbhalka which had been seized by the rebels, and kept the road open between Karnal and Delhi. The Maharaja of Patiala was no less prompt. He held Karnal, Thanesar and Ambala in our behalf, and kept the road open from Karnal to Philaur. The Chauhans of the Nardak behaved well. They raised a regiment of cavalry, and they also supplied a body of 250 *chaukidars* for the protection of the city and civil lines where our ordnance magazine was established. The Mandal Nawab of Karnal, Ahmad Ali Khan, 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 *khillat* of Rs. 10,000 in open *darbar*.

The Mutiny.

In the Thanesar 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 Patiala force to keep them in check. The disarming of this company on the 14th July

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set the Deputy Commissioner at liberty, and from that time he made his head-quarters at Karnal. Mr. Levien, the Assistant Commissioner, was detached at Shahabad, 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 Jumna. In anticipation of a visit from the Delhi mutineers, Captain McNeile had, at the first, destroyed the stamp paper, and soon afterwards sent his treasure to Ambala; while the jail was fortified and the *jagirdars* called out. At one time it was rumoured that the Ranghars from Hissar purposed to rescue their fellow-clansmen from the Thanesar 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 Ranghar prisoners were immediately afterwards secretly removed in Ambala to be beyond hope of rescue. On June 9th the Raja of Patiala was compelled to draw off his forces from Thanesar in order to protect his own capital, which was in some peril from the Jalandhar mutineers; but as soon as he learnt they had passed by, his troops were sent back to Thanesar, 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 Panipat Bangar sixteen of the largest Jat 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 Delhi, 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 Bhalsi and Korana *zails*, rioted, burnt some Government buildings, committed various robberies and murders, and refused to pay revenue. The Gujars were, of course, not behindhand, and plundered generally about the country. All these villages were fined and punished in various ways; and *lambardars'* allowances to the amount of Rs. 7,317, representing a revenue of Rs. 1,46,340, were confiscated. In the city of Panipat open sedition was preached, especially in the shrine of Buali Qalandar; and an attack upon the Collector's camp was only prevented by some Jind 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 *tahsildar* of Gharaunda, a Panipat man, had to be removed for disaffection.

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If such was the behaviour of the Bangar, 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 Siwan, Asandh, Julmana, Gondar, Silwan, Balla, Dachaur; they had no political cause in view, but the inhabitants being Muhammadan Ranghars, 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 officer and some troopers, subsequently receiving severe punishment from the guns of the loyal Mandal Chief, Ahmad Ali of Karnal. Julmana collected a large muster of Ranghars armed with the intention of releasing the prisoners of the Thanesar jail, in which purpose it 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 Punjab to join the rebel forces at Delhi. Habri, though a *Ranghar* 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 Ferozepore or Jullundur, 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 Jat 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 Munak. The skirmish had a very good effect upon the countryside; and when Captain McNeile marched upon Julmana, 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 *lambardars* of Garhi Ohhaju paid their revenue into the tahsil without its being demanded, and were rewarded by a personal grant. Sardara, a Jat of Palri, aided some European fugitives from Delhi, and received a revenue-free grant of land in perpetuity.