

OF THE PUNJAB

BEING

THE HISTORY OF THE PRINCIPAL STATES

IN THE PUNJAB

AND THEIR POLITICAL RELATIONS

WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

BY

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PREFACE.

The title of the present work may perhaps be open to objection as too comprehensive, seeing that there are many Chiefs in the territories administered by the Punjab Government, bearing the title of Raja, whose histories have not been here included. But my object has not been to record the biographies of reigning families so much as to give a connected account of the political relations of the British Government with the Independent States of the Punjab from the commencement of the present century.

With Kashmir and Bahawalpur, now its greatest feudatories in North India, the Government had nothing whatever to do until the first Sikh war. The history of the former province is full of interest and will richly repay the most patient and laborious enquiry, but it was not till the defeats on the Satlej had shaken to its fall the corrupt monarchy of Lahore that Kashmir was known to English Statesmen as more than the name of a distant valley which romance and poetry had delighted to paint with their most brilliant colours. Bahawalpur was even less known than Kashmir, till the campaign of 1848 brought its Chief as an ally to the side of the British, and, even after the annexation of the Punjab, its internal politics were the subject of no interference on the part of the Government, until anarchy and civil war threatened to reduce the country to its original desert, when the Paramount Power was compelled to interpose in the interests of the people whom tyranny had driven into rebellion and crime.

Among the hills from which the Satlej and the Ravi flow are Chiefs who bear the name of Raja, mostly of Rajput descent and whose pedigrees stretch back in unbroken succession for several thousand years. But their history has little more than an antiquarian interest. At

the time when the Gurkhas attempted the conquest of the Punjab hills, these petty Chiefs appear for a moment in the light of history, but, the wave of invasion having been beaten back, they again disappear and are no more seen. Dynasty after dynasty has ruled in Hindostan and has passed away. Two creeds, strong to conquer and foreign to the land, have been predominant from the Bay of Bengal to the Passes of the Khaibar. But before Muhammad, God-intoxicated, shattered the idols of Arabia, before the founder of the Christian faith gathered his few disciples by the Lake of Galilee, the little Rajput principalities were existing in their quiet valleys; and when the day arrives that the name of England shall be no longer a power in Hindostan, but only a vague memory, one leaf of her long and wondrous story, the Rajputs will still be ruling their ancient valleys and tracing back their ancestry to the Sun.

With the powerful Sikh Chiefs of the Cis and Trans-Satlej the case is very different. Their rule is not sacred by antiquity. Whatever the origin of the race to which they belong, the Sikh chiefs are, nevertheless, Autochthones, Earth-born, and then ancestors, but a few generations ago were themselves driving the plough over the very lands which they to-day rule as Independent Chiefs. But their history is a most important part of the general history of India. Their fierce enthusiasm, in the days when Sikhism was a living faith, enabled them to conquer the Punjab and defy the enmity of the Muhammadan Empire. It was their faith which made them strong, as it was the absence of all religious enthusiasm in the Muhammadans of India which proved their weakness and ultimately their ruin. They had indeed changed from the days when the noblest chivalry of the West went down before their levelled lances and the war-cry of God and the Prophet.

With the British Government the relations of the Cis-Satlej States have been more or less intimate from the time of the conquest of Dehli by Lord Lake in 1803, and it is the history of these relations and the policy which the British Government has adopted towards its feudatories which it is here chiefly desired to record.

This history has been written in considerable detail and without reserve, except with reference to events of recent date regarding which obvious political and personal reasons forbid the expression of opinion or detail in relation. As far as I am aware no chapter of Indian History has ever been written so unreservedly or with so much detail as the present volume, and on this account I would desire to call attention to a conclusion which may fairly be drawn from its pages

The time may perhaps have passed, though of this I am by no means certain, when educated Englishmen, regarding with some degree of pride the conquest and possession of India, yet believed that the country was won by intrigue, violence and fraud. That each new province added to British India signified new crimes, and that the conquerors were only successful because they were unscrupulous. If this belief has been generally abandoned by educated men, it is still the belief of the vast majority who have neither the means nor the inclination to inform themselves of the truth. It is encouraged and stimulated at the present day by writers in England, some of them men of ability, who either find it profitable to abuse their country or who are so unfortunate as to be able to find nothing but national shame and incapacity, where others would find monuments of national energy and glory.

A sufficient answer to hostile criticisms on the Government of India is found in the political history of the Cis-

Satlej States for the last sixty-five years. These States form but a small portion of India, but they are and always have been considered a most important portion, in their control many principles of 'the highest moment were involved and it may fairly be assumed that the policy which the Government adopted towards them was the same policy which it maintained towards the rest of India. It is neither reasonable nor honest to assume that an administration which was just and generous in one province was tyrannical and rapacious in another. The Government of India has had one policy and one alone, whether the Punjab, or Oude, or Bengal was concerned, and, if its policy has been unscrupulous, traces of its want of principle will most assuredly be found in its relations with the Cis-Satlej States. On this point let the facts which I have recorded bear their own witness. My personal opinion is valueless like that of any other individual it may be prejudiced by association, by tradition, by interest, but facts are uninfluenced by prejudice. The conclusion to which I am convinced that any honest mind will arrive after reading this history, in which the single endeavour has been to record the truth, is that the policy of the British Government, so far as the Sikh States are concerned, has been uniformly liberal, enlightened and just: that in no single instance has it abused its strength to oppress its weaker neighbours, but that, on the contrary, it has taken less than its undoubted right and has decided disputed questions with a generosity and disinterestedness which will be looked for in vain in the administration of any other country.

Absolute power is a dangerous and too often a fatal gift which few have ever been able to use wisely; but the time will assuredly come when the just and generous policy of England in the East will be acknowledged by the world as her highest title to respect and honor.

It was but a short time ago that enquiries were instituted in India as to the opinion entertained by the people of the British Government, and on this subject many educated native gentlemen and high English officials recorded their views. The enquiry was chiefly remarkable as proving the excellence of the intention of a Government which invited such open discussion, and as illustrating the curious tendency of Englishmen to criticise unfavorably whatever belongs to their own race or country. But seriously to compare the British administration with those which preceded it, or with the majority of those which exist side by side with it to-day in India, is an insult to the intelligence. There have been, it is true, Muhammadan and Hindu Princes who have ruled with strength and justice, and whose names are still held in honor. But these have been very few. Native rule in India, in former days, signified oppression of the most terrible kind, insecurity of life and property; luxury and debauchery in the Prince, misery and want in the people, and although much has been written regarding the preference of the people for the rule of their hereditary Chiefs, the simple fact remains that whenever an opportunity has been afforded them, the people have accepted British rule with the most unfeigned satisfaction.

The Punjab proper, during the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, was certainly a favourable specimen of a Native State. Yet the revenue system of Ranjit Singh was but an organized system of pillage and the country was farmed to contractors, who were bound to pay a certain sum into the State treasury and were permitted to collect as much more as was possible for themselves.

In the Trans-Indus districts, which are now so tranquil that the raid of a few marauders across the border is an event of importance, the revenue, twenty five years ago, was collected by an army whose march down the frontier

could be traced by the smoke of burning villages. Where the people were less warlike the revenue officers were not less cruel, as Kashur, ground to powder by Sirdar Hari Singh, Nalwa, and the Jalandhar Doab, squeezed dry by the Shaikh tax gatherers, will surely prove. If there be any feeling of nationality in India whatever, it may be most fairly looked for among the Sikhs. But in no part of India was British rule accepted more gladly by the people, and that they have not had reason to regret the change is shown by the uninterrupted peace and prosperity of the country and by the willingness with which Sikhs and Muhammadans fought, in 1857, to maintain the British power.

Many Native States in India at the present time are ruled well, and, in the Punjab territories, Patiala, Jhind and Kapurthalla enjoy an administration as substantially just as that of the British provinces. But this is alone due to English example, as the Rulers of these States readily admit. They have voluntarily adopted the English Revenue system; in some cases the English Codes of Law, and, in a modified form, the Procedure of the English Courts, they encourage education and introduce into their territories roads and canals. English example has done much, but its work is not yet complete, and, were its influence withdrawn, India would at once relapse into the anarchy and misery from which the British Government has rescued it. The education and civilization of a nation are not achieved in fifty or a hundred years, and the work is both more difficult and more tedious when, as in India, Chiefs and people have so much to unlearn before they can understand the new lessons we desire to teach them.

I believe that if the criticisms on British administration in India are carefully considered it will be found that they almost invariably turn on the unsympathetic nature of the Government and of the English character generally. So far as these criticisms attempt to assert an obvious fact

they are unobjectionable, but they become harmful when they attempt to go further and to prove that the want of sympathy between the English and the natives is a grave danger to the Empire. The English are not a demonstrative or sympathetic race, and, if there be a danger in such a national characteristic, it must be accepted with equanimity, for it is inevitable. But the natives of India are far less sympathetic and demonstrative than the English, they do not ask for our sympathy and if it were offered to them they would decline it.

A Hindu family lives very much alone, its joys and sorrows are nothing to its neighbours, and the social life of India at the present day is altogether undeveloped. Patriotism and Nationality, as we understand the terms, have no meaning in India, from time immemorial the country has been ruled by foreigners, sometimes well, sometimes ill, the people have borne the burden of the incapacity and the vices of their rulers, patiently, without complaint; they have accepted good government as they welcome the sun-light and the summer rains, with a quiet gladness but with no feeling of thankfulness, for they knew not and cared not whence good government came.

The heart of the people in India is deep and if we endeavour to find there any affection for ourselves we shall most surely seek in vain. But esteem is stronger and better than love, and it will last unchanged when love has passed through its stages of passion, indifference, and disgust. For the English Government the people of India entertain a sincere esteem. They may not like all its ways and its eager fretful love of change and progress, but they know it to be just, they know themselves secure in person and property, while they are year by year increasing in wealth under the protection of a Government which demands little more than half of what they have

been compelled to pay to the most liberal Government which has preceded that of the English.

If any certain augury of the future can be drawn from the events of the past, a popular rising in India against the Government may be pronounced impossible, so long as the administration of the country is based upon just and enlightened principles

The delay which has taken place in the publication of the present work is owing to the enormous mass of materials in the shape of official correspondence which it was necessary to examine. The political records of Government and of the Agencies of Dehli, Ambala and Ludhiana, from the commencement of the present century, are exceedingly voluminous, and it has literally been the labor of years to index them and master their contents. The difficulties in the way of obtaining full and authentic information of the history of the States previous to their connection with the British Government have also been very great, although the Chiefs concerned have placed their whole family and State records at my disposal and have facilitated my enquiries in every possible way.

The history of the Mandi State would more appropriately have found a place in a volume which I had hoped and still hope to publish on the Rajput Chiefs, the materials for which have been in a great measure collected. But, considering the length of time over which the preparation of the present work has extended, I have thought it better to include Mandi as the most important and as, in some way, a representative specimen of the Rajput Hill Chiefs, rather than leave its history to form a fragment of a future work, which I may neither live nor have leisure to complete.

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Under-Secretary to Government Punjab.

Lahore, November 9th 1870.

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THE HISTORY
OF THE
Patiala State.

The family of Patiala belongs to the Sidhu
The Sidhu Jat tribe Jat clan, whose villages are widely scattered over the tract of country lying between the Rávi and the Jamna. North of the Satlej, the clan has lost its importance, and the war of 1849, and the annexation of the Panjab, broke, for ever, the power of the last great Sidhu family of Attári, one member of which, Raja Sher Singh, commanded the Sikh troops at Chilianwala, where the incapacity of an English General and the gallantry of the Sikhs almost drew upon the British Army a calamity as crushing as that which had befallen it, eight years before, in Afghanistan.

The only other Sidhu families, Trans-Satlej, whose names have any historical interest, are those of Attárwala, Sidhu, Bhulowál and Sowrian, but these are now poor and of no political importance.*

South of the Satlej, however, the Sidhus are more powerful than ever, and among them are numbered the independent Princes of Patiala, Nabha, Jhind and Farídkot, the Sirdars of Bhadour, Malod and Badrukhan, the Bhaís of Kythal and Arnowl, and many other Chiefs of less note.

* The Sidhus Trans-Satlej have descended from ancestors who seem to have returned to Rajputana, and re-emigrated to the Panjab in the sixteenth century.

Like almost all the Jat tribes, the Sidhus are of Rajput origin, and trace their ancestry to, *Jesal* or *Jesalji*, a Bhattu Rajput, and founder of the State and city of *Jesalmir*, who was driven from his kingdom by a successful rebellion in A. D. 1180; and wandered northwards where *Pirthi Ráj* was then King of *Ajmir* and *Dehli* and the most powerful monarch in Hindostan. Near *Hissar*, *Jesal* determined to settle, and here four sons were born to him, *Salváhan*, *Kalán*, *Hemhel* and *Pem*. The third of these, *Hemhel*, sacked the town of *Hissar*, seized a number of villages in its neighbourhood, and overran the country up to the walls of *Dehli*. He was driven back by *Shamsuddin Altamas*, the third Tartar King of *Dehli*, but was afterwards received into favour and made Governor of the *Sirsa* and *Battinda* country in A. D. 1212. He built the town of *Hansar*, where he died in 1214, and was succeeded by his son *Jandra*, who was only remarkable as the father of twenty-one sons, from whom as many clans have descended; *Batera* being the ancestor of the Sidhus. *Manjairáb*, son of *Batera*, rebelled against the *Dehli* Government and was captured and beheaded at *Jesalmir*. He left one son, *Undra*, commonly known as *Anand Rai*, who was the father of *Khiwa*, the last pure Rajput of the family. *Khiwa* first married a Rajputni, but she bore him no children, and he then took, as a second wife, the daughter of one *Basir*, a Jat zamindar of *Neli*. This marriage was considered a disgrace by his Rajput kinsmen, and *Khiwa* was ever afterwards known as "*Kot*," which signifies in the Panjabi dialect, an alloy of metals, or any inferior and degrading admixture.

Khiwa, however, obtained what he desired, an heir, but the first wife, jealous of her rival, bribed the midwife to substitute a girl for the boy, whom she took into the jungle and threw into a dry water-course. Shortly afterwards a man passing by, saw the infant, and having no children of his own, imagined that it had been sent by Heaven to console him, so he took it home and adopted it as his son. But the midwife was unable to keep the secret, the Rajputni wife was compelled to confess her guilt, and, after a long search, the boy was found and restored to his father. He was named Sidhu, and from him the Sidhu tribe has derived its name.*

Sidhu, who was, according to Rajput custom, reckoned as of the caste of his mother, a Jat, had four sons, Dhar, sometimes called Debi, Búr, Súr and Rupach. From the first has descended the families of Kythal, Jhumba, Anowh and Sadhowál, and from the second the Phulkian Chiefs. Súr, the third, has no family of any name among his descendants, who, however, are numerous in Battinda and Ferozpur, while those of Rupach, the youngest, reside at Fir-ki-kot and Ratrya in the Ferozpur district. Bír, the son of Bur, had two sons, the eldest of whom Sidalkara, did not marry, but became an ascetic. Sitrah, the younger, had two sons, Jertha and Lakumba, from the second of whom the family of Attári, in the Amritsar district, has sprung. His son Harí, gave his name to Haríki on the Satlej, near the spot where the battle of Sobraon was fought, and also founded the villages of Bhatta and Ghima. Jertha

* A similar tradition exists regarding the founder of the Shergu Jat tribe — Vide Punjab Chiefs, pp. 352 452

had one son, Mahi or Maho, and from him descended, in successive generations, Gala, Mehra, Hambir and Burár, who gave his name to the Burár tribe. He was a brave and a successful man and waged continual warfare with the Jaid and Dhaliwal Jats, and the Mēhammadan Bhattis of Sirsa, who had sprung from the same original stock as himself, also with the Chattarsál Rajputs, against whom he fought at Fakarsar, Theri and Kot Ladhoha, at which last place it is said that two thousand fell on the side of Burár, and a still larger number on that of the Rajputs, while the Fort of Ladhoha passed into the possession of the conqueror. Burár had two sons, Paur and Dhul, the younger of whom is the ancestor of the Raja of Farídkot, and of the Burár tribe, which holds almost the whole of the districts of Mári, Mudki and Muktsar, Buchan, Mehraj, Sultan Khan and Bhadour in the Ferozpur district, the whole of Farídkot, and many villages in Pattiala, Nabha, Jhumba and Malod.

The two brothers quarrelled, and the elder, Paur, ^{The rise of the fa-} being worsted, fell into ^{mily} great poverty, in which his family remained for several generations, till Sanghar restored their fortunes. When the Emperor Babar invaded India in 1524, Sanghar waited on him at Lahore and entered his army with a few followers; but soon afterwards he was killed at the battle of Pánipat, on the 21st April 1526, when Bábar defeated Ibrahim Lodi, with great slaughter, and gained the Empire of Dehli. This victory did not, however, lead him to forget the services of Sanghar, to whose son Bariam, he gave the Chaudhriyat* of the waste country

* "A Chaudhri" was, in the time of the Empire, the head-man in a certain District, for the revenue collection of which he was responsible, receiving a per-centage on the collections. His office was termed "Chaudhriyat".

to the south-west of Dehli, which office was confirmed to him by Humayun, the son and successor of Bābar, in 1554. The name of Bānūn is the only one by which this chief is historically known, but it was not his original name, and was given him by the Emperor in honor of his bravery, and signifies brave, 'Buhādar'. He lived for the most part at Neh, the village of Sidhu's maternal relations, and also re-built Bhidowal, which had become deserted. He was killed about the year 1560, fighting with the Bhattis, and with him fell his grandson Suttoh. He left two sons, Mehraj, (commonly known as Maharaj) who succeeded to the Chaudhryat, and Garaj, whose descendants people five villages in the Ferozpur district. The only son of Mehraj had been killed in his father's lifetime, and Pubko, the grandson, succeeded, but he was soon after killed in a skirmish with the Bhattis at Bhidowal. He had two brothers, Lukho and Chaho, the descendants of the first live in Jakopal, and of the second at the village of Chaho, some eight miles distant from Bhadour in the Ludhiana district. His sons were Habbal and Mohan, the latter of whom was confirmed as Chaudhri, but he fell into arrears with the Government, and finding himself unable to pay what was due, and also being much harassed by his hereditary foes the Bhattis, he fled to Hansi and Hissar, where his relations were numerous, and, collecting a considerable force, returned home and defeated the Bhattis near Bhidowal. By the advice of Guru Har Govind, the sixth of the Sikh prophets, he founded the village of Mehraj or Maharaj, naming it after his great-grandfather.

From this village twenty-two others have been

*The founding of
Mehraj*

peopled, known as the *Bāis Maharaj-
lian*, and the jagirdars inhabiting

them, known as the Maharajkian Sikhs, are now upwards of seven thousand in number

Mohan, with his eldest son Rup Chand, was killed, according to the custom of his family, in a fight with the Bhattis, about the year 1618, and Kála, the next surviving son, succeeded to the Chaudhriyat and the guardianship of his deceased brother's sons, Phul and Sandálí. The three other sons of Mohan helped to found Mehraj, where their descendants still live. Soon after Mohan's death, Hari Govind again visited Bhudowal, and Kála, who had faith in the Guru's power and blessing, told his nephews that when they should see the Saint, they were to place their hands on their stomachs as if suffering from hunger. This they did, and Hari Govind asking the reason, was told by Kála that the boys were starving. "What" said the Guru "matters the hunger of one belly, when these boys shall satisfy the hunger of thousands." He then asked the name of the children, and on hearing that of Phul (blossom), he said "the name shall be a true omen, and he shall bear many blossoms."

Phul was the second son of Rup Chand, by Mai Umbi, a Jitani Jat woman. He was educated by a celebrated fakir named Saneerpuri, who taught him the art of feigning death by stopping his breath,* an accomplishment which had for him a most tragical result. In the year 1627, Phul left Mehraj and founded a village five miles distant, which he called after his own name. He received a *firmán*

* This art is mentioned several times in the Shastras, and in the Sikh Granth, under the name of पुरानयामं puranayam or stopping breath, and in Persian حبس دم *habs-i-dam*, or retention of the breath. The Hindus believed the breath was drawn up into the brain, which was supposed to be the seat of life.

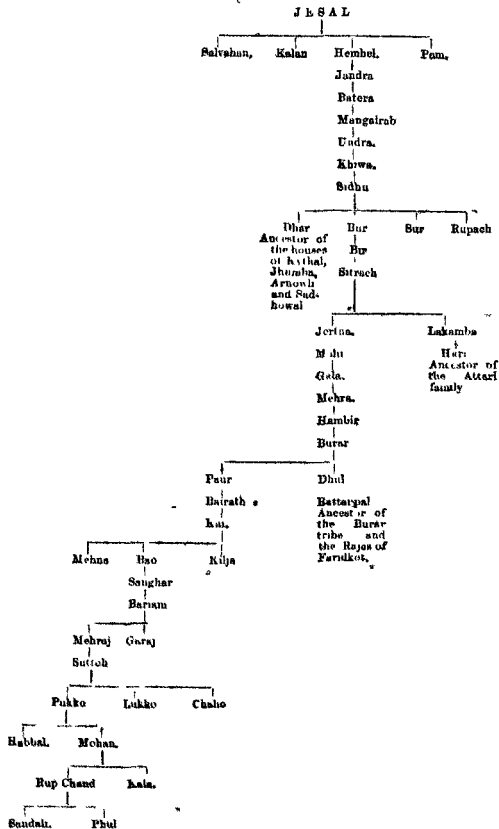
or deed of grant from the Emperor Shah Jehan confirming to him the office which had been for so many years held by his family. The prophecy of Guru Har Govind was fulfilled, and Phul had seven children from whom have descended many noble families. By his first wife, Bah, the daughter of a zamundar of Dilani in Nabha, he had three sons, Tilokha, Rama, and Rughu, and one daughter, Rāmu Rān Kour or Fatoh, whom he married to a Sirdar of Ram Das, giving her as a dowry the village of Bugar, which her descendants still possess. From Tilokha have descended the houses of Nabha, Jhund and Badrukhan, from Rama the houses of Bhadour, Pattiala and Malod, and from Rughu, the Sikhs of Jundān. By his second wife, Rajji, of Sidhani, he had also three sons, Channu, Jhandhu and Takht Mal. The second of these died without issue, and the descendants of Channu and Takht Mal, known as the "Laudhgharian" Sikhs, are jagirdars of the village of Guniti.

The death of Phul is said to have happened in the following manner. The Governor of Sirjund had thrown him into prison on failure to make good his revenue collections, and Phul, seeing no other way to escape, practised the accomplishment he had learnt from Samerpuri, and, suspending his breath and showing no sign of vitality, was supposed by his guardians to be dead, and his body was given for cremation to his friends, the Pathans of Maler Kotla, who conveyed it to his home. It so happened that his first wife, Bah, alone knew the mysterious power possessed by her husband, and she was absent on a visit to her father. The younger wife believing her husband dead, placed his body on the funeral pile

and burnt him in the orthodox manner. Shortly afterwards Bahi arrived, and, hearing of what had taken place, declared that Phul had been burnt alive. Raji was so disconcerted by her mistake, that she abandoned the village and went to live with her brother-in-law, Sukhan Nand, a Burar, while Bahi and her children continued to reside at the village of Phul.

Previous to the death of Phul, which took place in 1652—the dates of the *The sacred pool of Ganga* decease of members of the family are not known with any accuracy, and the reason is said to be that it was not customary with this tribe to convey the ashes of their dead to Hardwar, where Brahmans keep up registers of the deaths of those whose final ceremonies they perform, but to cast them into a sacred pool at the village of Ganga, in the Moga division of the Ferozpur district. This pool acquired sanctity through a fakir named Kalunath, a Dhalwal Jat, who, when importuned to accompany a body of pilgrims to the Ganges at Hardwar, declined, but sent as a substitute, his staff and gourd, which he directed should be thrown into the sacred river. On the return of his friends, he enquired if they had complied with his directions, and they replied that they had, but on visiting the pool outside the village, both gourd and staff were found floating on the surface of the water. Thenceforward the pool was considered holy; pilgrimages were made to it, and into it the ashes of the dead were thrown. It has now lost much of its old sanctity, and, although a fair is held at Ganga, annually, at the Barsakhi, it is only the Jhán Jats of the Cis-Satlej and the Ramána Dhalwal Jats, who hold it in respect.

The genealogy of the family, from the date of the flight of Jesal from his capital, till the death of Phul, including twenty-nine generations, is as below —



From Tilokha, the eldest son of Chaudhri Phul, have descended, as has before been said, the families of Nabha and Jhind. Rána, the ancestor of the Pattiala family, was the second son of Phul. These brothers, the sons of the Chaudhri's first marriage, appear, after his death, to have at once taken the lead in the family. They induced their four half-brothers, sons of the second marriage, to give up all claim to the estates of their father on the ground that they were unable to pay their quota of the dues demanded by the Imperial authorities at Dehli, and they divided the ancestral land between themselves, Tilokha, the elder, succeeding to the office of Chaudhri. The village of Guniti was assigned to Channu, Jhandu and Takht Mal, the younger sons of Phul, and is still inhabited by their descendants, who are known as the Landhghanian* Sirdars.

The village of Bhai Rupa was founded by the brothers Tilokha and Rama, about the year 1680, and, being 'held to the present day by the Phulkian Chiefs in equal shares, is the best possible proof of the original equality of the houses of Pattiala, Jhind, Nabha, Bhadour and Malod. When the question of the supremacy of Pattiala over Bhadour was pending in 1854, the Maharaja stated that his ancestor had given Bhadour a share in this village to strengthen himself against the probable encroachments of Nabha and Jhind, the real truth being that Rama and Tilokha shared equally, and their sons inherited their shares according to custom and

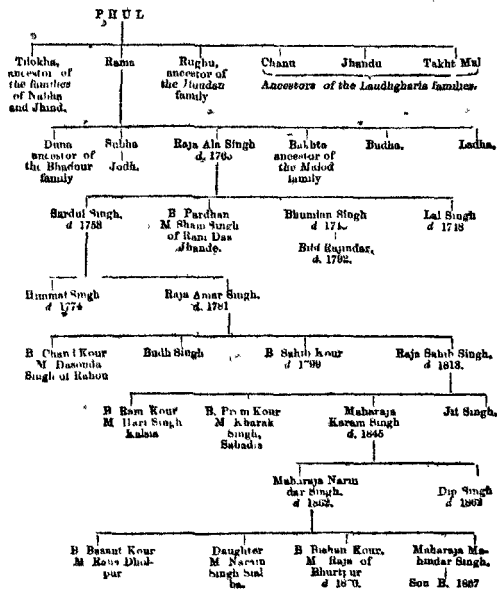
* Landh, signifies 'small' in the Punjabi dialect, gha—'house,' and 'Landhghania' consequently signifies the younger branch.

Hindu law ; before the names of Nabha, Pattiala and Jhind were known and while their feuds and rivalries were still unborn. The village of Bhai Rupa is situated in Nabha territory, and about eight miles to the north of the town of Phul

Rughu, the sixth and last son, settled in the village of Jiundan, about eight miles to the south-west of Phul. From this village he had taken his wife, and his descendants still own its lands

The Pattiala genealogy

The following is the Pattiala genealogy —



* The descendants of Rughu are mere zamindars. They are 33 in number, and their holding is worth Ra. 2,079 per annum

Ráma, or Rám Chand, is said to have first distinguished himself by attacking and dispersing a large body of marauders who were passing the village of Phul laden with plunder, and, obtaining by his success some considerable wealth, he founded the village of Rampur, and began, after the example of the robbers he had despoiled, to attack such of his neighbours as were less powerful than himself. He made a raid into the Bhatti country and defeated Hassan Khan, one of the old enemies of his family, with much loss, near the village of Chandah, and carried off much spoil, money, horses and cattle. His next victory was over the Muhammadan Chief of Kot, whom he defeated after a sharp fight, and plundered his camp.

The Dehli Empire was at this time fast falling to decay, and could with difficulty maintain its authority in the outlying districts beyond the Jamna.

Ráma thought the opportunity a good one to increase his own authority, and as he had a friend at the Court of the Muhammadan Governor of Suhind, in the person of his cousin Chen Singh, he was able to obtain permission to superintend what was then known as the jungle iláka or waste district, on promise of payment of all his arrears of revenue. Chen Singh was to act with him as Joint-Governor, but, as might have been anticipated, the cousins soon quarrelled. Chen Singh, through whose influence alone the appointment had been obtained, and who had access to the Suhind Dairai, was not content with his share of the income of the district, and tried to obtain a reversal of this order in Rama's favor, and obtain the whole district for himself. Hearing

of this intrigue, Rama lost no time in taking action to maintain his authority, and caused his cousin Chen Singh to be murdered in the Faridkot territory, whither he had gone on business

His murder of his cousin.

This crime was never punished, nor even investigated by the Dehli Government, which had enough to do to take care of itself, but it did not go unavenged, for Bīru and Ugar Sen the sons of Chen Singh, watching their opportunity, killed Rama at Kotla, in the year, 1714.

And death.

At the time of his death Rama was not far from his eightieth year. He was a follower of Guru Govind Singh, although neither he nor his sons, with the exception of Ala Singh and Ram Singh, took the name of Singh as an affix to their own.

He married Sābi, the daughter of a Bhuttar zamindar of Nānun, who bore him six sons, Duna, Subha, Ala Singh, Bakhta, Ladha, and Budha. The first of these was the founder of the Bhadour family. Subha, the second son, died in 1729, and his only son, Jodh, the same year, and Hodiana, which he had conquered and made his residence, came into the possession of his brother Ala Singh. Bakhta, the fourth son, was the ancestor of the Malod family, while of the last two brothers, Budha and Ladha, who took the name of Ram Singh, no descendants are now living

The sons of Rama.

A detailed account will hereafter be given of the families of Bhadour and Malod, which were soon overshadowed by the more powerful Pattiala house. But there seems no truth whatever in the state-

The families of Bhadour and Malod.

ment made by Pattiala that, from the time of the death of his father, Ala Singh claimed supremacy over his brothers and that they rendered him service as the head of the house. Each brother was abso-

The Phulkian families originally equal and independent of each other.

lutely independent; and if two or more joined in a common enterprise, it was on terms of perfect equality.

Ala Singh was not, moreover, the eldest son of Rama, as Pattiala authorities would wish to prove, but the third son, and Duna, the Bhadour ancestor, would have been the head of the family, had primogeniture been then the rule. But it was only after the time of Ala Singh, the founder of the Chiefship of Pattiala, that primogeniture was adopted as the rule of that family, if indeed it was formally adopted, for the Rajas denied or asserted it as seemed most convenient to themselves. At any rate, before Ala Singh's death, the rule which prevailed in the Phulkian family, as among the Jat Sikhs generally, was that of equal division between the sons, and, among the smaller Phulkian families, this custom, more or less modified, obtains to the present day. Nabha, Jhund and Pattiala alone of the thirteen Phulkian houses assert the rule of primogeniture, and even these have, more than once, endeavoured to set it aside.

Ala Singh was twenty-three years of age when his father was murdered, and his first thought was to avenge him. For sometime no opportunity occurred, but, about two years after Rama's death, his assassins, Kamola, Biru and Ugarsen, with a small body of attendants, paid a visit to Guniti, information of which having reached Ala Singh and his brother Subha, they hastily collected a few horsemen, surrounded

the village, and attacked them. Kamola and his followers made a gallant defence, but were overpowered, and Biru, Kamola and eighteen of their

He avenges his father's death attendants, were slain. Ugarsen, escaping, fled to Seseke, which was at once attacked and pillaged, and Ugarsen had again to seek safety in flight.

Soon after this Ala Singh established a Thana or Police station in Sangraah, at the request, it is said, of the people of that place, who suffered from the oppression of the Chiefs of Kot and Jagraon, and he held the village though its former owners tried their best to oust him. In 1718 he left Bha-

He leaves Bhandour to his brother Duna dour to his elder brother Duna, and rebuilt Barnala, which had fallen into ruins, and where he took up his residence. Here one of Ala Singh's most powerful and troublesome neighbours was Sohnde Khan, a Muhamimadan of Rajput origin, who owned the village of Nima, but whose occupation was rather robbery than husbandry, and who, besides 300 horsemen of his own, could count on the assistance of Rai Kalha, the Chief of Kot, his relation, who was too powerful for Ala Singh to care to offend him. Sohnde Khan died in 1731, and his adopted son Nigahu Khan, disgusted at being refused a share with the two sons of the deceased, took service with Ala Singh, and persuaded Sardul Singh, the son of the latter, to join him in an attack upon the village of Nuna, which they captured and destroyed.

When the Rai of Kot, who was then a powerful Chief, heard of this, he determined to punish the audacious Sikh, and collected a large force,

He is attacked by Rai Kalha of Kot, but holds his own.

led by Dalel Khan of Halwárah, Kutbuddin Khan of Mulsian, and other Rajputs of Thattar and Talwandi of the same caste as Sohnde Khan; Jamál Khan, Chief of Maler Kotla, and Nawab Syad Asad Ali Khan, the Imperial General of the Jalandhar Doab. Outside the walls of Barnala a battle was fought, in which fortune declared on the side of Ala Singh, *And the Imperial General is slain.* for Asad Ali Khan having fallen early in the day, his troops became disheartened and withdrew from the field. The Maler Kotla and Kot troops followed the example, and the retreat soon became a rout, in which the Sikhs took many prisoners and the greater part of the enemy's baggage.

This brilliant success at once made a great *The fame of Ala Singh increases* improvement in the position of Ala Singh. He was looked upon as one of the most rising Chiefs, under whom both glory and plunder might be won, and many a zamindar, from across the Satlej, came to Barnala to take service, sometimes alone, sometimes with two or three horsemen behind him. All that a Sikh Chief asked, in these days, from a follower, was a horse and a matchlock. All that a follower asked was protection and permission to plunder in the name of God and the Guru, under the banner of the Chief.

There was little question of pay. All Sikhs *The qualities necessary for a Chief.* were theoretically equal, their religion in its first youth was too pure a theocracy to allow distinctions of rank among its adherents, and he who, like Amar Singh Majuthia, could pierce a tree through with an arrow, or, like Hari Singh Nalwa, could kill a tiger with a blow of his sword, might soon ride with followers behind

him, and call himself a Sirdar. The time came when, like the Jews, the Sikhs took a King, and, in some degree, forgot the dream of equality which had been so dear to them.* But all the great families north and south of the Satlej have the same origin: the law of force, the keen sword and the strong hand, were the foundations upon which Sikh society, as indeed every other society in the world, was reared. Thus to attract followers by his power and success was the main desire of every Sikh who they were or what were their antecedents was a matter of little consequence, if only they could fight and ride, and this almost every Sikh could do, as the English discovered in 1845 and 1849.

In these days every village became a fort; Sikh life in A. D., 1760. built on a high mound to overlook the plain country, with but one entrance and narrow lanes in which two men could hardly walk abreast. A neighbour was synonymous with an enemy, and the husbandmen ploughed their fields with their matchlocks by their side. No man could consider his land, his horse, or his wife his own, unless he was strong enough to defend them; for although the Sikh leaders were best pleased with the spoil of Muhammadans or the capture of an Imperial convoy, they were more robbers than patriots, and plundered with much impartiality. One thing in their favor must be said, which raises them far above the Pundaris of Central India or the Dacoits of Bengal: they fought and plundered like men, and

* Ranjit Singh never forgot to honour the democratic feeling or rather the theocratic feeling of the Sikhs. He professed to rule "by the grace of God" like any Christian King, the name of the Guru was on his coins, and he was no more than chosen leader of the people, with whom he was always popular, though the Chiefs had little love for him.

not like demons. There are few stories in Sikh history of outrage to women and torture to men, such as stain the pages of South Indian history with cruelty and blood. Many a pretty Jatni girl was, it is true, carried off in a foray, but she was generally a willing captive. She had been taught to consider courage and strength the only qualities to desire in a husband, and was quite ready to yield herself a prize to the man who had won her in fair fight, and who would make her his lawful wife, though he had killed her brothers and burned their village. Yet, while the Sikhs were undoubted robbers, and though cattle lifting was the one honorable profession amongst them, as on the Scottish border a few hundred years ago, their enthusiasm for their faith, their hatred to the Muhammadans who had so long trampled them under foot, who had killed their prophets and thrown down their altars, gave them a certain dignity, and to their objects and expeditions an almost national interest.

But they were at no time a united people.

The Sikhs were never a united people. During the eighteenth century each leader was absolutely independent, conquering and plundering on his own account; and only joining other Chiefs to make an attack on the common enemy, the Muhammadan. Ranjit Singh contrived to make a compact kingdom out of the Punjab proper, north of the Bias, but he did not unite the Sikh people generally under his rule. At the time of his greatest power, in 1830, there may have been 1,250,000 Sikhs in the whole Punjab. But of these 500,000 lived to the south of the Satlej, under the rule of Chiefs who looked upon Ranjit Singh as an upstart and hated him even more than they feared

him, if indeed this were possible. The Sikhs of the Cis-Satlej States had, indeed, a secret sympathy with their northern co-religionists, as was very evident during the Satlej campaign, but they had never united with them for any common object during the nineteenth century. Even the Sikhs of the Jalandhar Doab were only partially under the rule of Ranjit Singh. Their leader was the Ahluwalia Chief, who claimed to be the equal of the Maharaja; and although he was compelled to send a contingent to every campaign and often to attend himself, yet he hated the Lahore Government fully as much as the Cis-Satlej Chiefs, and always looked for protection and countenance to the English, who, had they chosen, might have moved their boundary to the Bias thirty five years earlier than they did, and have maintained themselves there without a struggle. But it was thought politic to leave a barrier of independent Chiefs between British territory and that of Lahore, a policy intelligible enough and perhaps wise, but denied or forgotten on the only occasions when it should have been remembered.

The victory of Ala Singh over the Afghans was gained in 1731, and he then again attacked his hereditary foes the Bhattis, the Chief of whom was Muhammad Amír Khan, son of Hassan Khan of Bhatner, with his followers and relatives Allahdad Khan of Buhá, Wilayat Khan and Ináyat Khan of Hariau. The Bhatti country was, however, a very difficult one to conquer, with little forage and less water, while the inhabitants were as warlike as the Sikhs. Ala Singh made no impression upon them worthy of

record, though, for ten years, a desultory warfare was carried on, with varying results.

About this time Ala Singh made friends with *He allies himself with the Rohillas* Ali Muhammad Khan, a Hindu convert of Rampur in Rohilkand, who had been adopted by a Muhammadan officer, and who founded a Rohilla State in the country between the upper Ganges and the hills. In 1741, however, Ali Muhammad was a servant of the Empire, and had charge of the sub-division of Sirhind. Ala Singh accompanied him on several expeditions, one of them against Rai Kalha of Kot, who was defeated and fled to Pakpattan, his brother, Mokham Khan, being killed. But the Sikh Chief was too independent to be long on good terms with any Imperial officer, and he soon saw that his residence at the Court of Ali Muhammad would be dangerous and asked for his dismissal.

This the Governor refused, arrested him and threw him into prison, where *His imprisonment and escape* he might have perished but for the devotion of one of his followers who had no very good reason to love him. This was Karma, one of the relations of Chen Singh, who, it will be remembered, was murdered by Ala Singh's father. He had entered the Pattiala service, but knew that he was thought not to have forgotten the family feud and to be consequently a dangerous character. To prove his devotion to his leader, he made his way at night to the place where Ala Singh was imprisoned, and, changing clothes with him, allowed him to make his escape. This fidelity was not unrewarded, Karma became the most trusted of Ala Singh's followers, and the family of Chen Singh was

allowed to return to their home and rebuild their deserted village

Soon after this, Ali Muhammad left Sirhind for Rohilkand, so that the quarrel between him and Ala Singh ended, and the latter had leisure to reduce to submission several refractory villages, which had been induced by Sirdar Jodh Singh of Battinda to throw off his authority, and this work he successfully accomplished in about five months

In the year 1749, Sirdar Ala Singh commenced to build the Fort of Bhawanigarh, but the progress of the work was interrupted by a petty Rajput Chieftain of the neighbourhood, named Farid Khan, who fancied that his own independence would be in danger by a fort so near his village. Not being able himself to storm the building, he set out for Suhind to invoke the aid of the Imperial Governor. But Ala Singh had heard of his intention, and intercepting him, routed his party with considerable loss and seized all his land, about one-fourth of the Samana parganah

Three years later the district of Sanawar was conquered for Ala Singh by one of his Sirdars, Gurbaksh Singh Kalka. The district was known as Chamasi, (eighty-four) from the number of its villages, one of which was Pattiala, now the capital of the territory, where Ala Singh, in the year 1753, built a mud fort in order to overawe his new possessions, and left Sirdar Gurbaksh Singh in charge. Diwan Lachman Naram, one of the officers of Samand Khan or Abul Samad Khan of Suhind

fled to this Chief for protection, and his surrender was at once demanded by his master; who, being refused, marched to Sanawar to enforce his demand. Sirdar Gurbaksh Singh then sent the Diwan to Pattiala, as being a place of greater security, and, joining the force of Ala Singh, they together attacked Abul Samad Khan and defeated him, securing a large quantity of plunder.

The next expedition of the Chief was against Jodh or Jodh Singh, a Sirdar who possessed the district of Battinda, and against whom Bhai Gurbaksh Singh, the founder of the Bhaikian family of Kythal, had asked assistance. Ala Singh sent a considerable force, but his troops were repulsed, and he then called to his aid the Sikhs from the north of the Satlej, who were only too glad to assist in any expedition where plunder was to be obtained. They overran and pillaged the country, and then recrossed the Satlej, leaving Bhai Gurbaksh Singh in possession.* Ala Singh then turned his arms against Inayat-Khan and Wilayat Khan, the Rajput Chiefs of Buhā and Buloda, who were somewhat troublesome neighbours. They called to their aid the Bhatti Chiefs, Hassan Khan and Muhammad Amin Khan, but these were unwilling to interfere, and the Rajputs were compelled to fight alone, which they did gallantly, being themselves killed in the field with several hundred of their followers. The Pattiala Chief lost almost as many men, but he seized the district of Buloda, which he soon afterwards surrendered to Bhai Gurbaksh Singh. The district

* An account of the Kythal family is given later

The district of Mung conquered by Sirdar Lal Singh of Mung was next added to the Patiala territory, by Lal Singh, son of Sirdar Ala Singh. This young man was brave and energetic, and begged his father to make over to him some territory to manage. Ala Singh told him to win it for himself. He took counsel with Sirdar Khan, the original proprietor of Mung, who had been expelled by the Bhatti Chiefs, Abu Khan and Salim Khan, and his assistance was readily given, for he hoped, if not to recover the district for himself, to avenge himself upon those who had dispossessed him. While the Bhatti Chiefs were absent, Sirdar Khan made his way into the fort with a few followers, and signalled his success to Lal Singh, who brought up the main body of the troops and took possession of the village and adjoining district, which has been held by Patiala ever since.

Sirdar Lal Singh and his father then overran the district of Sohāna, Jamālpur, Dharsūl and Shikārpur, belonging to Muhammad Amin Khan and Muhammad Hassan Khan, Bhattis. These Chiefs invited the Imperial Governor of Hissar to help them, and he sent a detachment, but, in the engagement which followed, at Khodal near Akalghar, the Bhattis were defeated; nor was their second venture more fortunate, for, after three days skirmishing, Ala Singh made a night attack on the Bhatti camp which was completely successful and Muhammad Amin escaped with difficulty and fled to Hissar. He then, to ensure cordial assistance from Nawab Nasir Khan, the Governor, gave him his daughter in marriage and set to work to raise as large a force as possible, hoping to retrieve his past defeats. The Sikhs and

the Bhattis, supported by the Imperial troops, met at Dharsúl, but neither party cared to risk a general engagement. For seven or eight days the hostile forces lay opposite each other, skirmishing and fighting in a desultory manner, and it was more the chance of the death of Nasír Khan, the Governor, which gave the victory to the Sikhs, for the Imperial troops disheartened by the loss of their leader left the field, and the Bhattis were then at once attacked by Ala Singh with all his troops and put to flight with great loss. This engagement, which did much to consolidate Ala Singh's power and increase his reputation, was fought in 1757.

*And defeats them
with great loss, A.
D 1757*

For ten years previous to this time, the Duráni monarch of Afghanistan, Ahmad Shah, had made almost annual expeditions into Hindostan, and, in 1748, 1756 and 1761, had marched as far south as Sirhind and Dehli. The conduct of the Prince towards the Sikhs was generally conciliatory, and he would have been glad to enlist them on his side, first against the Dehli Government and then against the Mahattas, whom he defeated in turn. But the Sikhs, although they hated the Dehli Government, bore no love to the Afghans. They had no wish to aid in building up at Dehli an empire stronger than that which preceded it, and to bind the yoke more firmly on their own necks. They were hoping for a Sikh republic and a time when all Northern India would be the heritage of the Khalsa; when all hostile creeds should have fallen before the sword of the Guru. Besides this, they were unable to resist the temptation to plunder which the presence of a large army, with an immense train of baggage and innu-

*The invasions of
Ahmad Shah Durani
of Kabul*

mercable camp-followers implied, and they hovered about the Afghan line of march, cutting off supplies and doing what damage they could, but never making a direct attack, for their own discipline was so slight that they entertained a reasonable dread of regular troops.

Ahmad Shah had, in 1761, appointed Zin Khan

The Sikhs attack Zin Khan, the Afghan Governor of Sirhind

as the Governor at Sirhind, and the moment the Durani monarch had turned his face homewards, the Sikhs attached his Lieutenant, and it would have been difficult for Zin Khan to hold his own, had it not been for the aid of several Muhammadan Chiefs in the neighbourhood, among them Jamál Khan of Malei Kotla and Rai Kalha of Raikot. The next year Ahmad Shah again invaded India, and determined to punish the Sikhs for their audacity in attacking Sirhind. All the Phulkian Chiefs, the

Ahmad Shah returns and the Sikhs collect to oppose him, but are utterly defeated

Singhpurias, the Faizullapurias, the Bhaís of Kythal, Jassa Singh Ahluwaha, and many others, had collected to oppose the passage of the Shah, near Barnala, which was then the chief town of the Pattiala territory. The Sikhs, for the first time, met the Afghans in the open field, and the result was the most crushing defeat that they had ever received, their loss being estimated at 20,000 men, though this is probably an exaggeration. The Afghan troops then took possession of Barnala and plundered it. Ala Singh

Ala Singh taken prisoner, but pardoned and created a Raja

was captured and taken before Ahmad Shah, and a ransom of four lakhs of rupees was demanded for his life. This, the Chief, with some difficulty,

paid, and Ahmad Shah, who was a man of great sagacity, thinking it would be wiser to conciliate the Sikhs after having given them, in their late defeat, so convincing a proof of his power, embraced Ala Singh, and gave him a dress of honor with the title of Raja.

It was, in March 1762, that Ala Singh obtained this title, and the jealousy and indignation of the other Chiefs was very great. They declared that he had betrayed them, and that the title was the price of his treachery, and that it was unworthy for a Sikh to bear a title conferred by a Muhammadan, a foreigner and an enemy. The Sikhs were ready to turn upon Ala Singh and avenge upon him their defeat, had it not been for Sirdar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, who was at this time far more influential than Ala Singh himself, and who took his side in the dispute. Matters were at length smoothed over, but it was necessary for Ala Singh to prove by his actions that he was not a servant of the Duráni King. No sooner had Ahmad Shah returned to Kabul, than the Sikhs began to recover their courage and to coalesce against the Muhammadans. The confederacies, both north and south of the Satlej, for once laid aside their feuds and jealousies and united to make one great effort against Sirhind, which the Sikhs especially hated, as it was there that the two sons of Guru Govind Singh had been put to death by the Muhammadans. Ala Singh joined with ardour in the expedition, for he had to clear his character in the eyes of his countrymen. The Sikh confederacies from the north of the Satlej assembled in great numbers in the neighbourhood of Sirhind,

The Sikhs again attack Sirhind and capture it, December 1763 after having taken possession of the town and fort of Kussur, below Lahore, and Ala Singh, with several of the other Phulkian Chiefs, joined them, till the army, almost entirely horse, numbered 23,000 men. Zin Khan, the Governor of Sirhind, trusting to that dread of regular troops which the Sikhs had ever shown, came without the town to give them battle, but he was killed and his force utterly routed. The Sikhs immediately took possession of the town, which they almost completely destroyed, to avenge the murder of the children of their prophet, and the province of Sirhind was

The town made over to Ala Singh. divided among the conquerors. The town and its neighbourhood was made over to Raja Ala Singh, chiefly through the influence of Sirdar Gurbaksh Singh, his friend and a nephew of the great Singhpuria Chief, Kapur Singh, and other portions became the property of the Chamkor, Rupal, Sialba, Bura, Kythal and Shahabad Chiefs, and are in part held by them to the present day. Ala Singh made no attempt to rebuild the city of Sirhind, which is still considered accursed by the Sikhs, but removed the greater number of the inhabitants to his new town of Pattiala, where he soon afterwards built a masonry fort from the proceeds of the custom duties collected at Sirhind which was on the high road between Kabul and Dehli, a position to which the misfortune of its being thrice sacked was, in a great measure, attributable.

The next year the Duráni monarch again invaded India, but he was too wise to attempt the experiment of placing another Governor in Sirhind,

Ahmad Shah makes no attempt to recover Sirhind

to succeed and share the fate of the unfortunate Zin Khan. He received Ala Singh with an appearance of cordiality, and granted him the Chiefship of the *chalka* or district, on his agreeing to pay three and a half lakhs of rupees a year, as revenue. A portion of this was paid at once and Ala Singh promised to remit the remainder to Kabul, but of the fulfilment of this promise there is no record. His grand-daughter, Bibi Rajinda, the only child of his son Bhumian Singh, who had died in 1742, offered indeed to pay the balance for him, but this offer Ala Singh did not accept, pleading the Hindu rule which prohibits a man from borrowing or being under an obligation to his sister or his daughter. He probably thought, and with justice, that Ahmad Shah at Kabul would be a creditor more easy to evade than Bibi Rajinda at Pattiala.

Raja Ala Singh accompanied Ahmad Shah on his return journey as far as Lahore, and then returned to Pattiala, where he died in August 1765

The death of Ala Singh A. D 1765

Among the Sikh Chiefs of his day, Ala Singh was certainly one of the most distinguished. He was gallant and at the same time prudent, and laid strongly the foundations of the most important of the Cis-Satlej States. It is not easy to determine his exact relative position with reference to other Chiefs, for the number of troops which each could bring into the field is either exaggerated or unknown, but he was probably the most powerful Chief south of the Satlej; although the Kythal family soon became dangerous rivals, and not less so that they were related to the Phulkian house. Of Jassa Singh Ahlu-

His character

walia, the Patiala Chief always showed great jealousy, which the remembrance of his good offices with the Sikhs, after the obnoxious title of Raja had been conferred by Ahmad Shah, did not dispel. Indeed, after the conquest of Suhind, and when Jassa Singh had recrossed the Satlej, Ala Singh seized his share of the plunder, eight villages, and held them in spite of protests and force.

Ala Singh only married one wife, Fattoh, the daughter of Chowdhri Khana, a Subhr'n zamundar of Kaleke A.

His family

story was told of her that, at her birth, her mother, disappointed at having a daughter when she had earnestly desired a son, put the new born child in an earthen vessel and buried it in the ground. A wandering mendicant of the name of Devi Dass, happening to pass and seeing the mother in tears, enquired the cause of her grief. She confessed to him what she had done, and the mendicant told her to disinter the child, for of her would be born a famous race, which should rule all the neighbouring country. The child was taken out of the ground unhurt, and eventually became the wife of Ala Singh, bearing him three sons, Sardul Singh, Bunnan Singh, and Lal Singh, all of whom died in the life-time of their father, and a daughter, Bibi Pardhan, who was married to a zamundar of small consideration, and nothing is known of her descendants.

Sardul Singh, the eldest son married, as his first wife, the daughter of a Sirdar at Bhikhe, who became the mother of Maharaja Amar Singh. His second wife was the widow of his first cousin Jodh, whom he married

Sardul Singh, his eldest son

according to Sikh custom, by *karewa* or *chaddar dālāna*, a simple and unorthodox rite, always used in the marriages of widows. Little is known of Sardul Singh who died in 1753. He was a brave soldier, but most of the Sikhs were brave, and he died from hard drinking, a virtue as common as bravery among his countrymen.

Bhumian Singh, the second son, left one daughter, Bibi Rajinda, who has before been mentioned. She was married to Tilok Chand, Chaudhri of Bhagwara, who died before her, and she succeeded to her husband's property according to Sikh custom. The succession to the property on her death was claimed by her grandson Jodh Singh, a daughter's son. According to Sikh custom no estate can descend in the female line and the sons of daughters are not counted among the legal heirs. Chuhai Mal, the brother of Rajinda's husband consequently ejected Jodh Singh and put him to death, and the family of the latter have now become extinct, though a son, Sahib Singh by name, was living in 1820.

The youngest son, Lal Singh, died childless, and from the same cause as his brother, excessive drinking. He added Mung to the Pattiala territory. His widow Bibi Bhagan survived him many years.

When Raja Ala Singh died, there were two claimants for the Chiefship, Hummat Singh and Amar Singh, the sons of Sardul Singh and the grandsons of the late Raja. Of these, Hummat Singh was the older by several years, but he was the issue of an irregular marriage, his mother, as has before been mentioned,

having been the widow of Jódh, the first cousin of Sardul Singh.

The custom of *chaddar dálna* (throwing the sheet), or *karewa*, marriage, was universal among the Sikhs, and the children of such marriages were often considered inferior in position to those of the regular marriage (*shádi* or *vyáh*) contracted with a virgin and with all the ceremonies customary among the Hindus. The most common, as well as the most highly respected form of *karewa*, is where a widow is taken to wife by her husband's brother, a custom which seems to have formerly prevailed among the Jews. If a widow chose to refuse this new alliance, she was at liberty to do so, but in that case her life was as miserable and austere as that of the ordinary Hindu widow, and few Sikh women, consequently, refused to remarry, though they generally chose the younger brother of their husband, in preference to the elder, whom strict custom assigned to them.

The marriage of a widow with the cousin of her husband, as was the case with the mother of Hummat Singh, was considered less reputable, and there was some doubt as to the legitimacy of the issue. Still less respectable were marriages with widows unconnected with the family or women of strange clan and caste, which were considered altogether irregular, little better than concubinage, and the issue had no right to succeed to the property, real or personal, of the father, and could only claim a bare maintenance.

Amai Singh, the second son of Sardul Singh, was born in 1747, and was, consequently, eighteen years old when

*Raja Amar Singh
succeeds his father.*

his grandfather died. He and his grandmother, Rani Fattoh, had been residing at Anáhadgarh or Barnala, fifty miles to the westward of Pattiala. When they heard the unexpected news of Ala Singh's death, they left in all haste for the capital, and the Rani, who was a woman of great ability, as many of the ladies of the Pattiala family have been, placed her grandson on the vacant "*gaddi*,"* and declared that he was by right and by the proclaimed wish of Ala Singh, his successor in the Chiefship. The ministers and officials, whatever they may really have thought of the claims of Himmat Singh, did not attempt any diversion in his favor. The action of Rani Fattoh had been so prompt and her influence was so great, that there was no opposition, and, in full Durbar, all the Chiefs and Officers of Pattiala presented their offerings (*nazr*) to Amar Singh as the new Raja.

Himmat Singh was not a man to lose a principality without an effort. He hastened from Hariana, where he had been employed with troops, to Pattiala, and asserted his claim to the Chiefship, taking possession of a great part of the town of Pattiala and the neighbouring country. The Sirdars of Jhund and Nabha, however, with the Kythal Chief, exerted their influence in favour of the younger brother; and Himmat Singh was compelled to retire. He then seized the district of Bhawanigarh, and captured a portion of the country belonging to the Afghans of Maler Kotla. Amar Singh marched against him

* The term "*gaddi*" literally "*cushion*," is used among Indians as "*throne*" among other races. For the English expression "*mounted the throne*," "*gaddi nishin*" "*seated on the cushion*," is used in Hindustani, and "*takht nishin*" "*seated on the throne*" in Persian.

and besieged the town of Bhawanigarh, but Rani Fattoh persuaded the brothers to make friends, and Hummat Singh was left in possession.

The year after his accession, in 1766, Amar Singh captured the town of Páyal, near Ludhiana, from the Kotla Afghans, with the aid of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and other of the Trans-Satlej Sikhs, and, after that, Isru, belonging to the same proprietors, Jassa Singh taking one-fourth of the revenue of the town; but later, by an arrangement with Amar Singh, he became possessed of the whole of the Isru district. Sirdar Jassa Singh had given the young Chief the *Páhal*, or baptism, always a bond of affection among the Sikhs, and there was more sincere friendship between them than had existed in the time of Ala Singh.

In 1767, Ahmad Shah for the last time invaded India, but he advanced no further than Ludhiana. Here he was met by Amar Singh, who was cordially received, and the title of Raja which had been granted to his grandfather, was continued to him with additional honor, as "Rája-i-Ráján Buhádar"*. Valuable presents on this occasion were also given him, with a flag and a drum, insignia of an independent prince. In honor of this reception, Amar Singh spent a lakh of rupees in ransoming the captives who had been taken by the Dehli Emperor in the neighbourhood of Mathra and Saharanpur, granting for himself the popular title of "Bandi Chhor" or "Releaser of captives."

* Cunningham, in his History of the Sikhs, states that on this occasion Amar Singh received the title of Maharaja. But this was granted in 1810, by Akbar II in 1810, on the recommendation of General Ochterlony. The sanad is still in possession of the family.

Soon after Ahmad Shah had left India for the last time, Raja Amar Singh renewed the old quarrel of his family with the Afghans of Maler Kotla. Jamál Khan, the Chief who had done most injury to Pattiala by persuading Ahmad Shah to sack Barnala, had been killed in battle, and the family had become divided—Ata-ulla Khan being the most influential of Jamál Khan's sons. This Chief, after the Raja had taken Tibba, one of his villages, by assasult, found that he was unable to resist so powerful an enemy successfully and made peace which for many years remained unbroken.

Amar Singh then sent a thousand men against Gharib Das of Manimajra,* who, during the confusion which followed the death of Ala Singh, had managed to take possession of the fort and district of Pinjor, an ancient Hindu town, in the low hills above Ambala, and where the Pattiala Chief has now a favorite sum-

* Gharib Das was the founder of the Maunmajra family. After the death of Zau Khan, the Governor of Suhind, and the break up of the Imperial power, he took possession of 84 villages, which his father Ganga Ram had held as a revenue officer for the Empire, and further extended his territory by seizing the fort of Pinjor. Here the Raja of Nahan attacked him, but without success, and placing his father in charge, Gharib Das left intent on fresh conquest. It was during this absence that the Raja of Nahan having obtained aid from Pattiala, attacked the fort as described in the text, and captured it, Ganga Ram being slain. Gharib Das hastened back, but was not strong enough to attempt to recapture the fort. He, however, expelled the Nahan Raja from Chaudangarh, which he had captured shortly before.

Gharib Das died in 1783, leaving two sons, Gopal Singh and Par-gash Chand. The elder of these did excellent service in 1809, and again in the Gurkha campaign of 1814. Sir D. Ochterlony was about to recommend him for a new jagir, but he requested instead the title of Raja, which was given to him. He died in 1816, and was succeeded by Hamir Singh, who only survived his father a few years. Govardhan Singh, his son, was loyal in 1845, and gave a detachment which was engaged at Mudki and elsewhere. He died in 1847, and was succeeded by Gurbaksh Singh, who died in 1866, when his younger brother, Bhagwan Singh, now 22 years of age, inherited the estate of 77 villages, worth Rs. 38,453 a year.

mer residence and gardens which are celebrated for their beauty over all Northern India. The place was very strong, and Bakhshí Lakhna, a Dogra General whom the Raja sent with a thousand men to reduce it, aided by the Rajas of Hindúr and Kahlur, and Náhan, had a month and a half of hard fighting. But they were at last successful, and Gharib Das allied himself with the Chiefs of Sialba and Rupal* in order to attack the Raja of Náhan to whom the Raja of Pattiala had left the fort, and with whom he had contracted a strong friendship, exchanging turbans with him at Banaur. The Pattiala force lost three hundred men in this attack on Pinjor.

One hundred miles due west of Pattiala, and near the town of Faridkot, was the fort of Kot Kapura, belonging to a Buar Chief named Jodh Singh †. One of this

* The founder of the Sialba family was Sirdar Hari Singh, who, about 1763, when the Sikhs became powerful, took possession of a large part of the country at the foot of the hills, both Cis and Trans-Satlé; the principal districts of which were Sialba, Rupal, Khuzibad, and Kumali. He had several sons but only two survived him Charat Singh and Dewa Singh to the former of whom he gave the Rupal ilaka, worth about Rs. 80,000 a year, and to the latter Sialba with the other estates Trans and Cis-Satlé worth nearly two lakhs. This partition was made in 1792 the year before his death. Rupal has lapsed, and of the Sialba estate, the present Chief only retains villages worth about Rs. 30,000 a year.

† Náhan is a very ancient Rajput principality about 40 miles due south of Sunla. The territory of the Raja worth about a lakh per annum, was conferred to him after the Guikha campaign of 1814, in perpetuity, by a Sanad dated 21st September 1815.

‡ The Kot Kapura family were of the same stock as the Phulkians. Ballau was the founder of the family, and, under the Emperor Akbar, was appointed Chaudhri of the Buar tribe. His son Kapura built the fort which bears his name, and became an independent Chief. He died in 1711. His eldest son Sukha succeeded him. Jodh Singh, the Chief mentioned in the text, was the eldest son, and Harnu Singh, the second son, whose quarrel with his brother and report of the insult offered to the memory of Raja Ala Singh in naming the horse after him occasioned the death of Jodh Singh, was the founder of the house of Faridkot, the history of which is recorded later.

Sirdar's followers had stolen from the fort of Phul a horse and a mare which he presented to his master who was not in the least degree averse to receiving stolen property. It was reported to Raja Amar Singh that the Kapura Chief had been audacious enough to name the horse Ala and the mare Fattoh, after the names of the Raja's grandfather and grandmother. Amar Singh was much offended and sent to demand the surrender of the horses. Jodh, confident in his strength, tore the Pattiala letter in pieces and sent no reply.

On this Amar Singh marched against Kot Kapura, and encamped five miles from the fort. Jodh, with one of his sons and an attendant, mounted a chariot and went out to reconnoitre but fell into an ambuscade laid by the Pattiala force and was surrounded and slain, after having killed several of the enemy with his bow and arrows, in the use of which he was very expert. Jit Singh, his son, who had accompanied him, was so severely wounded that he died three days afterwards. Jodh's head was cut off and carried to Amar Singh, who was much distressed as he had no wish to take the Chief's life. He gave up all intention of besieging the fort and returned to Pattiala.

The Raja then turned his arms against the Bhattis, and subdued Aharina and Singha, but the Bhatti Chiefs attacked his camp at night, and occasioned great loss and confusion. After this he left the campaign, which, from the nature of the country, was of a most difficult character, to be conducted by Sirdar Hamir Singh of Nabha. While at Rori, a small

town on the border of the present Sirsa district, two men, Gajjai Singh and Jit Singh, paid a visit to the Raja, and begged him to help them to avenge an insult¹ one of their women had received at the hands of Sukhchen Singh, a Sabo zamindar of great repute, owner of the strong fort of Govindgarh, which commanded the town of Battinda. Only too glad of an opportunity for interference, Amar Singh sent a force against Sukhchen Singh and ^{*The siege of Govindgarh, A. D. 1771*} followed quickly himself. He gained possession of the town of Govindgarh, but the fort was too strong to take by assault and he had no artillery of sufficient power to reduce it. He was compelled to try and starve Sukhchen Singh out, and for a whole year the fort was besieged without success, till the owner, tired of his resistance, proposed to surrender if the Raja would raise the siege and promise him safety. Amar Singh agreed to this, but before drawing off his troops and returning to Pattiala, he insisted that Kapur Singh, son of the Chief, with four or five of his principal officers, should be given him as hostages. The siege was then raised, but Sukhchen did not give up the fort, and it was not till four months later that he visited Pattiala, accompanied by Sodhi Bharpur Singh, a man whose sanctity was so generally respected by the Sikhs that Sukhchen thought his company of more value than any safe conduct from the Raja. Arriving at Pattiala, he asked for the release of the hostages, agreeing to remain himself in confinement until the fort was surrendered. To this the Raja consented, and Kapur Singh, with the other hostages, returned to Govindgarh and at once began to strengthen the defences and increase the garrison. On the

news of this reaching the Raja, he sent orders to assault the fort without delay and treated Sukhchen Singh with great severity, to the indignation of Sodhu Bharpur Singh who protested against such treatment of a man who had been persuaded to come to Pattiala under his solemn assurance of safety. At length, Sukhchen, weary of his rigorous imprisonment, sent an order to his son to make over the fort to the Pattiala officials, which was done, and Sukhchen released. This acquisition was made in 1771, and the Battinda district has been held by Pattiala ever since.

Soon after this, a Mahratta General, Junka Rao, marched in the direction of Pattiala, to the consternation of Amar Singh who sent off all his treasure and family jewels to Bhattinda, which, lying amidst sandy wastes, was not likely to be attacked. But, after all, the Mahratta did not visit Pattiala, coming no further north than Pihoa, sixteen miles beyond Thanesar and a famous place of pilgrimage, situated on the Sûrsati, the Sanskrit Saraswatî*. Here he remained for a short time and then returned.

Relieved from his fear of being himself plundered as he had so often plundered others, Raja Amar Singh set out to punish some refractory zamindars in the neighbourhood of Battinda. Sudar Himmat Singh considered the absence of the Raja so far from the capital a good opportunity to recover the rights of

* The Saraswatî is mentioned in some of the most ancient Sanskrit writings, and was a stream of great sanctity. Saraswatî was the wife of Brahma and the Goddess of wisdom. Wandering one day in the deserts about Iham-sai she was surrounded by demons, and to escape them, changed herself into the stream which bears her name. The Saraswatî is supposed to have an under-ground connection with the Ganges.

which he considered himself to have been unjustly deprived, went with all speed to Pattiala and professing himself to have none but the most loyal intentions, was admitted with his followers into the fort by Sirdar Sukhdas Singh Kaleka, who had been left in charge. He then threw off all disguise, seized the fort and proclaimed himself the rightful Chief and Amar Singh a usurper. On receipt of this terrible news the Raja hurried back to Pattiala and encamped at Samana to take council with his friends, for the reduction of the fort by assault was a difficult and doubtful operation. To this place he invited all the Sirhind Chiefs and a large number responded to his call, Sirdar Tara Singh, the Chief of Rahon, the Afghan Nawab of Maler Kotla; the Rais of Kot, Sirdar Hamir Singh of Nabha; Raja Gajpat Singh of Jhund, Bhai Dhanna Singh and Sukha Singh of Kythal, and Bhai Desu Singh, the father of the famous Lal Singh whose power later became too formidable to Pattiala. There were, moreover, Manjha Chiefs and Jassa Singh Ahluwaha, while Khat Parkash, the Raja of Nahan, remembering that Amar Singh had helped him in his difficulties, came with his troops, without waiting for an invitation at all.

Himmat Singh perceived that he could not long resist the large force which had assembled to attack him and was altogether disappointed at the result of his attempt. He had fancied that the neighbouring Chiefs, even those of Phulkian blood, who were jealous of the increasing predominance of Pattiala, would be only too glad to encourage any project

which might divide or destroy the power of the State, and there is no doubt that any calamity which might happen to Pattiala would be hailed with a certain satisfaction. But Hummat Singh had been too hasty in his action and declared against his brother before he had made sure of allies. The name of Amar Singh was now dreaded, he had been a successful General, and it was well understood that any attack upon him, that failed to crush him, he would most certainly avenge. So it happened that Hummat Singh remained shut-up in the fort without any of his declared friends, Bhai Desu

*He is compelled
to surrender.*

Singh of Kythal, the Rajas of Jhind and Nabha, or the Rai of Kot, who had exchanged turbans with him, offering their help, and at last, seeing preparations made for assaulting the fort, he was easily persuaded by the Chiefs above named to surrender. Amar Singh had no wish to proceed to extremities, and readily consented to allow his brother life and liberty, and he even, with the vain hope of rendering him content, increased his jagirs by the grant of several villages from the district of Daibah. But Hummat Singh was not disposed to abandon intrigue, his claim he considered good, for he was an elder brother, and, although by a *Karena* marriage his mother had been lawfully married according to the custom of the Jats, and he could not rightfully be held to be illegitimate. Even supposing that he had forfeited the title to succeed to the Chiefship, yet equal division among sons was the almost universal rule and he was entitled to a half-share of the territory which his grandfather Ala Singh, had won. Thinking as he did, and with much right on his side, it was not to

And soon after dies. be expected that Himmat Singh would ever live as a loyal subject, and it was fortunate for the peace of the territory, that, in 1774, two years after his attack on Patalia, he died from excessive drinking at Langowal, and his estates, Bhawanigarh, Darbah and Dhodrah, were resumed by Amar Singh who married the widow by *Chadda dalna*. The same year, Amar Singh's first wife, Rani Raj Kour, *The birth of Sahub Singh, 1 D 1774* gave birth to a son, Sahub Singh, who afterwards became Maharaja.

The quarrel between Jhind and Nabha During the spring of 1774, a fierce quarrel arose between the Chiefs of Jhind and Nabha, the dispute having its origin during the marriage festivities of Sirdar Mahan Singh, Sukatchakia with the daughter of the Raja of Jhind. An account of this quarrel, which had unfortunate consequences for Nabha, will be found elsewhere. The Raja of Patalia, who was invited to make peace between the Chiefs, in reality encouraged the continuance of the quarrel, for although quite ready to join the other Phulkian families in repulsing any attack which might be made against their common safety from without, he was not sorry to see Jhind and Nabha exhausting themselves in a contest from which nothing but increased influence could result to himself.

Only four miles to the north east of Patalia *The capture of Sehabad* was a strong fort, which had been built by Nawab Sef Khan, and called Sehabad after his own name. Its nearness to the town was a sufficient reason for Amar Singh to desire to capture it, and this reason was strengthened by the death of Sef Khan, leaving two young sons under the guardianship of Gul Khan, his principal follower

Without, then, the pretence of a quarrel to justify his violence, Raja Amar Singh invested the fort and after seven days' siege so battered the walls, that Gul Khan was compelled to surrender and the Raja took possession. He behaved with consideration to the children of Sef Khan, giving them the village of Chhota Rasulpur for their support while to Gul Khan he made an allowance of 7 Rupees a day, which he enjoyed till his death.

In this attack on Sefabad, the Raja of Nahán had assisted his friend Amar Singh, and after its successful conclusion he retired to his hills, where he soon after died, leaving a son, Jagat Parkash, who was unable to maintain order in his territory, and Raja Amr Singh accordingly visited Nahán, and aided him to reduce the rebellious Chiefs to obedience. He then prepared for a campaign on an extensive scale

Marches against the Bhattis

against the Bhatti country to the south of Pattiala, and, in the winter of 1774, marched to Begran, a strong fort now in the Hissar district, which he invested. The Bhatti Chiefs made an effort to relieve it and a sharp fight took place beneath the walls, in which Amar Singh was victorious, losing about one hundred killed and four hundred wounded - one of his Generals, Sirdar Natha Singh Kaleka, being among the slain. The loss of the Bhattis was still heavier and the Raja gained possession of the fort. He then

Seizes Fatahabad and Sirsa.

took possession of Fatahabad and Sirsa and invested Rannia, then a strong fort some eight miles west of Sirsa, held by Muhammad Amin Khan, Bhatti. While before Rannia, news arrived that Rahimdad Khan, the Governor of Hansi, had, by the orders of the Dohli

The Imperial troops repulsed before Jhind. Emperor, attacked Jhind and was then besieging Raja Gajpat Singh in his capital. All the Phulkian Chiefs were summoned to aid their kinsman, and leaving Sukh Dás Singh to carry on the siege of Ranni, the Raja marched to Fatahabad from whence he sent a strong detachment to Jhind, under Diwan Nánun Mal. This General successfully effected a junction with the Kythal and Jhind troops and a joint attack was made upon the enemy who were defeated with great slaughter. After this, the Diwan, in company with Raja Gajpat Singh, overran the Hansi and Hissar districts, establishing the authority of his master, while Gajpat Singh took possession of parts of Kohána and Rohtak.

When Amar Singh heard of the defeat of Rahimdad Khan before Jhind, he marched from Fatahabad to Hansi, and after having collected the revenue, which was the same thing as plundering as extensively as he was able, he returned to Patiala, where, four months later, he had the satisfaction of hearing from Sukhdas Singh of the fall of Ranni. On this he again marched southwards, and the whole of which is now the Sirsa district being under his authority, he was able to collect a large sum of money as revenue. He thought of attacking the fortress of Bhatner, but its position in the desert, where no supplies could be obtained and its reputed strength, induced him to abandon the intention and leave the Bhatti Chiefs, Muhammad Amin Khan and Muhammad Hassan Khan in quiet possession.*

* The town of Bhatner is situated a few miles from the western border of the Sirsa district, on the banks of the Gaggai, a fierce and deep

The Dehli Empire had fallen into confusion and decay from the weakness and inefficiency of its rulers. Had it possessed, at this time, able ministers and competent Generals, it might have recovered all the authority that it had lost. The Mahatta power had been broken by the crushing defeat of Panipat in January 1761, when its army had been almost totally destroyed, and Ahmad Shah Durani was dead, leaving a son, Timur Shah, who had little of his father's ambition and made no determined effort to reconquer northern India. It seemed that in Najaf Khan the Empire had at last found a minister of the ability necessary to retrieve its fortunes. This chief determined to recover the districts which the Sikhs had annexed after the defeat of Rahimdad Khan at Jhind, and, heading the Imperial troops, he recovered Karnal and part of Rohtak. The name of the Empire was still a word of power with the undisciplined Sikhs who knew their inability to stand against regular troops in the field, and they sought the aid of Zabita Khan, the son of the Rohilla Chief Najibullah, who, in the time of Ahmad Shah, had possessed so much influence at the Court of Dehli. With this accession of strength, which had been duly paid for, Raja Amar Singh was in a position to treat with the Imperial minister and a meeting was arranged at Jhind. Here the Raja consented to surrender the districts of Hansi, Hissar,

torrent near the hills, but here a mere thread of water or altogether dry, except in the rainy season. The Gaggai was a fruitful source of dispute among the Chiefs whose territories lay on its bank. The obtaining its water was prosperity and good harvests, its diversion was barrenness and famine, and volume after volume of the old official records are filled with correspondence relating to the just distribution of the water, and the settlement of disputes regarding it.

and Rohtak, and was allowed to retain Fatahabad, Ranna and Sirsa, promising to pay on their account a fixed revenue to the Dehli Treasury. The Raja of Jhind was also permitted to retain the seven villages

The compromise with the Dehli minister

from the territory he had seized. This compromise, so dishonorable to the Dehli Government, was said to have been brought about by the treachery of Najaf Khan, and his second in command, Najab Goh Khan, who were heavily bribed by the Sikhs. The story is probably true, for there was no other reason to induce the minister to surrender districts which had been taken violent possession of by rebels and which he had the power to recover. The Dehli officials were notoriously corrupt, and, if Najaf Khan was known to be open to bribes, there were certainly no scruples on the part of the Sikh Chiefs about offering them.

In the year 1777, the Raja of Pattiala sent a force under Chaudhri Singh Daya, *Faridkot territory overrun, A. D. 1777* to overrun the Faridkot and Kot Kapura districts, but no attempt was made to take formal possession of them, and the Raja had, moreover, plenty on his hands in keeping the people of his newly acquired territories in order. They were wild, lawless, and had never known what it was to pay tribute or revenue, and one fortified village after another took long to reduce, while its reduction was of little advantage.

Raja Amar Singh had not forgotten the doubtful contest, in 1768, with Gharib Das of Manmajra and Sirdar Hari Singh of Sulba and Rupar, and, in 1778, he determined to reduce these Chiefs under his authority. *The Chief of Manmajra again attacked.* The estates of the first named were in the plain,

where the river Gaggar debouches from the hills, and the Pattiala force, before Ghaib Das had time to summon his friends to his assistance, had overrun the country and forced him to shut himself up in his fort. For three months he held out bravely, but seeing no prospect of release from his position, he offered a large sum of money to the Pattiala Chief to retire and leave him in undisturbed possession of his estate. This was accepted, and Amar Singh then marched against Sialba, sixteen miles to the north-

Sirdar Hari Singh of Sialba attacked west of Manumajra. But Sirdar Hari Singh had heard of the Raja's intentions, and, as he was both rich and well connected, he had called to defend him many of the most famous fighting Sirdars, Jassa Singh Ramgharia, * Gurdit Singh and Diwan Singh Laudawala; Karam Singh Shahid, of Shahzadpur; † Gurbaksh Singh Ambala, and a number of the smaller Chiefs who only fought for pay and plunder and were indifferent as to the side on which they fought

* Sirdar Jassa Singh Ramgharia was the most distinguished leader of the confederacy of that name. He first fortified the village of Amritsar, now the principal city in the Punjab, and took possession of almost all the northern portion of the Bari Doab, the country between the Rivers Beas and Ravi. A confederacy of Chiefs was formed against him, the Blangis, Kanheyas and Sukarchakias, headed by Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, and he was expelled from the Doab and fled to Sursal and Hairina, where he supported himself by plunder and by selling his services to whoever would buy them, as on the above occasion to Hari Singh Sialba. In 1783 Sirdar Jassa Singh returned to Amritsar, and recovered a large part of his possessions. They were, however, confiscated by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, on the death of his son Jodh Singh in 1816. The present representative of the family is Sirdar Mangal Singh, in charge of the Golden Temple at Amritsar.

† The Shahid misl was one of the smaller Sikh confederacies, and obtained its name (*Shahid* martyr) and origin in the following manner —

Guru Govind Singh flying from his enemies in the time of the Emperor Aurangzeb, took refuge in the little village of Talwandi, in the jungle to the south of Bhattinda. Here he remained 10 days, and, after the Guru's death, a temple was raised in Talwandi to his memory, and the name changed to Dandama which signifies 'a breathing place'. The first Mutant or priest put in charge of the shrine was Dip Singh, who was

The force of the Raja of Pattiala marched to Sialba, where Hari Singh came out ^{But defeats the} to meet it with his mercenaries. ^{Pattiala force,} The Pattiala General had no idea of the number that would be opposed to him, but he had no option but to fight, for it was too late to retreat, and was utterly routed with the loss of several hundred men, among whom was Bakshi Lohna Diwan Nanun Mal was also wounded, and Sirdars Chandu Singh and Mahan Singh were taken prisoners

Raja Amar Singh was much distressed at this defeat, and, determining to avenge it, ^{Raja Amar Singh} sent messengers to his kinsmen ^{determines on re-} and friends to assemble at Pattiala with all their ^{venge} forces. First among his relations came his cousin, Bibi Rajandar of Phagwara, a rich widow, as fond of fighting as any of the Pattiala men, who marched with three thousand followers through the territory of the Chiefs who had fought on the side of Hari Singh, harrying and pillaging, till she arrived

killed in action with the Governor of Lahore, and became a shahid or martyr. Sudda Singh his *chela* or disciple, succeeded him at the shrine. He, however, like his predecessor, was fond of fighting than praying, and attacked the Muhammadan Governor of Jalandhar, and at Adhko's was killed in a skirmish, his head being severed from his body. He is said to have neither fallen from his horse nor to have given up fighting, and he galloped a long distance and cut down many of the enemy before he died. Hence the family, or rather the followers of the Mahant of Dandama took the name of "the martyrs."

Karam Singh, mentioned in the text, succeeded Sudda Singh, and took possession of the country about Raunia and Dandama, Khari, Jaroh and Paurullapur. He was the real founder of the family, for he was the first to marry and left, on his death in 1784, two sons, Gulab Singh and Mehtab Singh, the former of whom succeeded him, and was one of the first Chiefs to offer assistance to the British as a band of Sir D. Ochterlony dated 4th January 1804, proves. Sirdar Gulab Singh died in 1844, and Shiv Kupa Singh then only six years old succeeded. He has estates worth Rs. 30,000 a year, and is still the guardian of the Dandama shrine, which brings in about Rs. 1,000 a year in offerings. Dhan Singh the brother of Karam Singh, had a share in the original territory, but he died without issue and his widow was married by his brother.

at Pattiala. Then came the Kythal brothers, Dhanna Singh and Sukha Singh, although Bhai Desu Singh, the most influential of the three, was, in heart, a friend of the Sialba Chief, and the Chiefs of Nabha and Jhind, with the Maler Kotla Nawabs, now allies of Pattiala after their long hostility; a detachment of Nahan troops under Mián Kishan Singh; Jai Singh of Lidhran,* Tara Singh Dallehwala,† and his follower Saunda Singh Khannah ‡ Budh Singh Faizullapuriah,§ and others of less note. The command of the Pattiala troops was given to Sirdar Chuhr Singh Malod, while the contingents of the Chiefs marched under their own

* Jai Singh was a Manjha Jat, who, about 1763, having joined the Nishánwala confederacy, obtained 27 villages of Lidhran, and 7 of Khai. After the great defeat of the Sikhs by Ahmad Shah, he fled to the hills and found on his return that the Raja of Pattiala had seized his Khai villages. A long dispute was the result, not ending for many years. A compromise was at last effected by which Pattiala kept three villages and Lidhran four. Jai Singh died in 1773, and was succeeded by his son Charat Singh, who was one of the chiefs who accepted British protection in 1809. On the death of the latter, the estate was divided by General Ochterlony by 'chundaband' i. e., according to the number of the wives, of whom there were three. Sirdar Budh Singh is now the head of the family, enjoying as his share of the jagat, Rs. 4571 a year, but the number of shahis has increased to eleven, and from continual sub-division, the Lidhran estates will soon be undistinguishable. Their total value is at the present time Rs. 25,558.

† The Dallehwala confederacy took its name from the village of Sirdar Tara Singh, who was its principal leader, and who, with his followers, took possession of a great portion of the upper Jalandhar Doab, and the northern part of the Ambala and Ludhiana districts. In Ferozpur he seized Dharamkot and Fatahabad. Tara Singh was killed at the siege of Narain Garh in 1807, and Maharaja Ranjit Singh seized his large possessions and distributed them among his Generals, Diwan Mohkam Chand receiving the lion's share.

‡ Saunda Singh was one of the followers of Tara Singh Gheba. He was not a man of any distinction. He left one son Dya Singh, who died without male issue, and the estate of Rs. 30,000 eventually came into possession of Dya Kour, daughter of Saunda Singh and widow of Hari Singh, the nephew of Raja Bhag Singh of Jhind. At her death it lapsed to the Jhind State.

§ Sirdar Budh Singh Faizullapuriah owned the north-western corner of the Ambala district on the bend of the Satlej, from near Koratpur to Machhwarah. A portion of this territory the illaká of Bhutpur, descended to his grandson Amar Singh, who died in 1847. Subha Kour, the widow of his son Kirpa Singh, was allowed the four villages of Kot Bala, Aspur, Himatpur and Bhutpur Khas, for her life.

leaders arrived before Sialba, one or two skirmishes took place with the mercenaries collected by Hari Singh, but the Pattiala leader determined to leave as little as possible to chance and offered a rupee a day to those of the opposite party who would join him. The effect was immediate, and the force of the Sialba Chief day by day wasted away, and some of the Chiefs who had promised him their assistance began to desert him; among others, Sirdars Karm Singh and Dharam Singh Shahid, and the Buria Sudais, Rai Singh and Bhag Singh.* At last, Sirdar Hari Singh found himself left almost alone, and had no option but to make such terms for himself as he best could. He accordingly submitted, presented a *nazr* in token of obedience to the Raja of Pattiala, who withdrew his troops without attempting to retain possession of any of the Sialba territories †

After the return from Sialba, Raja Amar Singh sent a force against Bhai Desu Singh of Kythal, who had

The Raja quarrels with Bhai Desu Singh.

* The Buria Chiefship was formerly of considerable importance. Its founders were Nanun Singh a Jat of Jhawal Mandan in the Maughas, and Bhag Singh and Rai Singh brothers, all Bhangis Sikhs, who, in 1764, seized the fort of Buria, which the year before had been abandoned by Lachmi Naram, an officer of Zou Khan, the Muhammadan Governor of Sahind, and had been taken quiet possession of by a few Nawáris Sikhs. They were not allowed to keep their conquest without opposition, and the Afghans of Aurangabad coalescing with the Nawáris, entered Nanun Singh and Bhag Singh to the Aurangabad fort, and put them to death. Rai Singh, and Bhag Singh the adopted son of the murdered Nanun Singh avenged their relatives; and seized more territory, in all 204 villages, which they divided, Rai Singh taking 84 villages, forming his estates of Jucadi and Dyalghai, and Bhag Singh, 120, the estate of Buria. Bhag Singh died in 1785, and his son Sher Singh was killed in an engagement with the British at Bahianpur in 1804. After his death a long dispute arose between the widows and the sons of the late Sirdar Jarnal Singh and Gulab Singh which ended in the estate being divided between the sons, and on the death of Jarnal Singh in 1817, Gulab Singh succeeded to the whole. He died in 1844, and his son Jun Singh is the present Chief. Buria ranks third among the minor Chiefships, with a revenue of Rs 42,000. The present Chief is a Jagirdar Magistrate, and is very highly respected. His sister Karm Kour, married the late Maharaja Narinder Singh of Pattiala.

not assisted him in the late campaign, his sympathies being notoriously on the side of Sirdar Hari Singh, but Bhai Dhanna Singh, Sukha Singh and Takht Singh, the brothers of Desu Singh, arranged matters between the parties and prevented any contest, which indeed the Raja was glad to avoid as the hostile attitude of the Dehli Government now gave him full employment.

Nawab Majd-ud-doulah Abd-ul-ahd was now

*The new minister
at Dehli, and his
campaign, A D
1779*

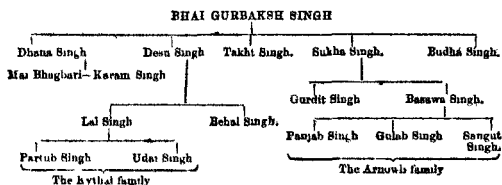
minister at Dehli. He was an ambitious and covetous man and was not destitute of ability, but he had little courage, and it was audacity alone which, in the last days of the Empire, could command success. He determined, however, to make an effort to recover the Málwá country from the Sikhs, and set out from Dehli, in November 1779, with a considerable force and accompanied by Prince Farkhunda Bakht. He reached Karnal without meeting any resistance and here was joined by Sirdar Bhagel Singh Krora Singhia, * Sahib Singh Khundawala and Karam Singh Shahid. The envoys of Bhai Desu Singh Kythal had accompanied the Nawab from Dehli, and there is little doubt that this Chief hoped, by early submission, to gain the favor of the Imperial party and obtain an advantage over his rival, Amar Singh of

* The Krora Singhia confederacy was founded by Krora Singh, with two companions Mastán Singh and Karam Singh. Sham Singh, who succeeded Mastán Singh, gave his name to a minor confederacy. The Kalsias were the most powerful of this mist, whose principal possessions lay between the Jamna and the Mahanda rivers, bounded on the south by the Bania territory.

Sirdar Bhagel Singh was one of the principal Chiefs of the Krora Singhias. His head quarters were Chilonudi. The family is extinct. After the death of Bhagel Singh, his widows, Ranis Ram Kour and Raj Kour, held Chilonudi for many years, and when they died the estate lapsed to the British Government.

Pattiala, whom he would have been delighted to crush. But in this he was totally disappointed. The Nawab much wished to reconquer the Malwa territory, but he wanted more; and Bhai Desu Singh was reputed to be rich. On a charge of not having paid his arrears of revenue he was seized, and four lakhs of rupees were demanded from him as a fine. Of this he contrived to pay three lakhs, and for the payment of the balance, he gave his son Lal Singh as a hostage *

* The Kythal family was of so much importance in the Cis-Satlej States and their history is so closely connected with that of Pattiala, that a sketch of it is essential here. The genealogy of the family is as follows —



The Kythal family have the same origin as the Phulkian — Gurbaksh Singh, the founder of the Chieftship, was the son of Bhai Ramdial, who had a great reputation as a saint. The son was a true soldier and an able man, but he had little of the saint about him, and thought more of annexing territory than of religion. He was a great friend of Raja Ala Singh of Pattiala, and they made many expeditions together, and he helped the Raja out of more than one difficulty. The possessions of Gurbaksh Singh were divided among his sons, but they soon increased them. Desu Singh captured Kythal from some Afghans, Bikh Baksh Khan and Nihmat Khan, and with his brother Budha Singh, seized Jhansar though the town and fort were afterwards taken from them by Nurjar Bhanga Singh, the heretic and most feared of all the Cis-Satlej chiefta. When Desu Singh died in 1781, Lal Singh was in confinement as a rebel against his father, and Behal Singh, the elder son, did all he could to keep his brother in prison, but he contrived to escape, killed his elder brother and took possession all the estates of his father, which he much enlarged by new acquisition. Lal Singh was, at the time of the British advance northwards, in 1809 the most powerful Cis-Satlej Chieft, after the Raja of Pattiala. He was a very able man, though utterly untrustworthy, and so violent and unscrupulous that the English authorities had the greatest difficulty in persuading him to maintain

In the meantime the Sikh Chiefs had not been idle, but had sent in all directions to summon the Khálsa to oppose the Muhammadan inroad. But the Nawab marched on, believing he should meet with no opposition, and at the village of Gharám, about 16 miles from Pattiala, he was met by Diwan Nanun Mal, whom the Raja had sent to express his devotion to the Empire generally and the Nawab in particular. But the Khálsa force was marching from

But secretly collect the forces of the Khálsa for battle.

the other direction towards Pattiala, the Kanheya Sudars, Jai Singh and Hakikat Singh*, Jassa Singh Ramgharia; Tara Singh Gheba, Jodh Singh† of Wazirabad, and many others, while at Pattiala, the Phulkian Chiefs, Jhind, Nabha, Bhádour and Malod, had collected all their troops. The Nawab, who had expected unresisting submission, was terrified when he heard of this gathering of the clans. He knew how keenly these wild warriors scented plunder and blood, and that in a few days fifty thousand horsemen could assemble on the plains of sirhind.

And the Nawab makes a hasty retreat.

His only thought was of retreat, and, according to Sikh tradition, he gave the Chiefs, by the interested advice of Bhagel Singh Krora Singhia, the greater portion

anything like order. In 1819, the Government allowed him to succeed to the share of the estate held by Mai Bhaghai, the widow of his first cousin Karam Singh. Partab Singh the elder son and then the younger son, Udái succeeded, but on the death of the latter without issue in 1843, the whole of the Kythal estate lapsed to Government, with the exception of that portion which had been acquired by the founder of the family, Bhai Guibuksh Singh, and to which the collaterals of the Aizowh branch were permitted to succeed.

* Sirdars Jai Singh and Hakikat Singh were rival leaders of two sections of the great Kanheya confederacy. Their history is given at length in "The Punjab Chiefs," pp. 315—338.

† Jodh Singh Wazirabadia was the most powerful Chief in the Rechna Doab and was much dreaded by even Maharaja Ranjit Singh. His history will be found in "The Punjab Chiefs," pp. 400—413.

of the three lakhs of rupees which he had extracted from Bhai Desu Singh, on their agreeing not to molest his retreat. The Muhammadans say, on the other hand, that the Sikhs bribed the Nawab to retire, and thus is perhaps more probable. At any rate, Lal Singh, the son of Bhai Desu Singh, was carried a prisoner to Dehli and there tortured as his father had not paid the balance of the tribute claimed from him.

In February 1781, Raja Amar Singh, who The death of Raja Amar Singh, A. D. 1781 was only thirty-five years of age, died of dropsy brought on by excessive drinking. During the last year of his life little had occurred worthy of notice. Three months before his death, there had been born, at Gujranwala, forty miles north of Lahore, a child nearly related

The birth of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. to himself, who was destined to shake the power of the Phulkian house to its foundation and build up in the Punjab a military Empire as formidable as any yet founded in Hindustan, strong both for defence and for aggression. If Raja Amar Singh had lived, or had been succeeded by rulers as able as himself, the Cis-Sutlej States might have been welded into one kingdom and their independence might have been preserved, both against the Lahore monarchy on the one hand and the British Government on the other. But, after his death, the leadership of the Cis-Sutlej

The decay of Pattiala power Sikhs passed from the feeble hands of Pattiala. For many years the only persons in that family who possessed wisdom, energy or courage, were women, and the power and influence which had been won, with so much labor, by Ala Singh, Lal Singh and Amar Singh, day by day diminished, till no one cared to

follow Pattiala in council or the field, and the only safety of its Chief against an adventurer of his own creed and blood was found in imploring the protection of a foreign power and trusting to the swords of others for defence. Raja Amar Singh would have found a nobler way of saving his kingdom; and it was a misfortune for Pattiala that he died before he had consolidated his conquests, leaving to his child successor the dangerous legacy of his victories and his fame, with the envy of the more powerful Chiefs Jhind, Nabha, Kalsia and Kythal, who strove to undermine and destroy the hated supremacy of Pattiala.

Amar Singh was not altogether a character to admire and he had a fair share of the vices and faults of his age, but he made Pattiala the most powerful State between the Jamna and the Satlej. He formed a successful coalition against the Muhammadan power, which possessed indeed only the shadow of its former greatness, but at the name of which India had learned to tremble, and it needed a brave heart and a bold hand to drag away the imperial robes and show the world that the place of the giant had been filled by a tottering scare-crow which a push might overthrow. The conquests of Amar Singh were unscrupulous and often without the shadow of excuse or provocation, but princes can only be judged by success and by the use which they have made of their opportunities. It is true that the ambition of Amar Singh was personal and he cannot be classed with those statesmen who have no policy but the glory and prosperity of their country, and to whom infamy itself is welcome if they can leave their coun-

try more strong and more respected. He was but a fine specimen of a barbarian; rude, courageous, impulsive, generous and ignorant. He had a quick intelligence and a strong arm, and his success was well deserved, though whether success entitles a man to praise and admiration, is a point on which the world and its teachers have agreed to differ.

Raja Sahib Singh, the new Chief of the Raja Sahib Singh's accession Patiala State, was a child six years of age. It would have been a hard task for a man, however able, to maintain order in a country so lately conquered, inhabited by warlike and independent races, and to ward off the attacks of powerful neighbours and rivals. For a child, surrounded by greedy and unscrupulous servants, who found their own profit in his weakness and inexperience, there could be little hope of a successful or happy reign. Through the influence of Ram Hukmān, the grand-mother of the young Chief, Diwan Nanun Mal was appointed prime Diwan Nanun Mal minister and no better choice could have been made. The Diwan, an Aggarwal Bannia of Sunām, was a man of great experience and honesty. He had served Raja Amar Singh well, both in the council and in the field, and his principal fault was an undisguised contempt for the rude Sikh Sirdars, which may not have been undeserved but which they re-paid with hatred and suspicion.

No sooner had the young Chief taken his seat The rebellion of the Governor of Bhawanigarh. on the masnad than rebellion broke out in all quarters. The first to throw off the Chief's authority was the Governor of Bhawanigarh, Sirdar Mahan Singh, the brother of

Mai Deso, step-mother of Raja Sahub Singh, and the widow of Himmat Singh, on whose death she had been married by the late Raja. Immediately on hearing of the Governor's revolt, Diwan Nanun Mal summoned the Phulkian Chiefs to send in their contingents and marched against Bhawangarh which he invested. Mahan Singh was assisted by Sirdar Tara Singh Gheba and held out for more than three months; until his ally was induced to desert him, when he surrendered. It would have been well if an example could have been made of this rebel, but Nanun Mal did not feel himself strong enough to put to death so powerful a Chief and one so nearly connected with the reigning family, and the only punishment inflicted was degradation from his office as Governor of Bhawangarh.

Before this affair was settled, another outbreak occurred at Kot Sumer, headed Rebellion at Kot Sumer by Rajo, the widow of Sirdar Baksho Singh of Saboka. The fort held by this lady was very strong, and, before the Diwan was able to reduce it, he was summoned away to quell a still more serious revolt at Bhikhe, which Sirdar Ala Singh, the brother of Ram Khem Kour, one of Raja Amar Singh's widows, had seized, with the aid of the zamindars of the neighbourhood, expelling the Pattuala Governor, Thamman Singh, from the town and fort

The Ranis and their relations had, at this time, The revolt of Sirdar Ala Singh at Bhikhe. great power in Pattuala. They all, with the exception of Rani Hukman, hated Nanun Mal for his efforts to maintain economy and to restrain their extravagance within due bounds; and the Diwan found himself opposed and thwarted in every possible way. He, however,

mustered a large force composed of Pattiala, Jhind, Nabha, Maler Kotla, Bhadour, and Ramgharia troops, and, accompanied by Ranu Hukman, marched against Bhikhe and invested the village. After a few days skirmishing, Ala Singh, seeing further resistance hopeless, escaped from Bhikhe by night, and fled to his home at Talwandi, whither he was pursued by the Diwan and captured. He was imprisoned at Pattiala for a time, but, on the intercession of Sodhi Nahr Singh of Anandpur, a man of great sanctity, he was at length released, on payment of a heavy fine, and allowed Dhámon and other villages for his support.

To add to the difficulties of the Pattiala administration, the year 1783 was one of *The great famine of 1783* famine as terrible as any that has ever devastated Northern India.* The year previous had been dry and the harvest poor, but, in 1783, it entirely failed. The country was depopulated, the peasants abandoning their villages and dying in thousands of disease and want but little revenue could be collected, the country swarmed with bands of robbers and dacoits, and the state of anarchy was almost inconceivable. The neighbouring Chiefs began to seize for themselves the Pattiala villages, and all who dared threw off Pattiala authority and declared themselves independent.

Diwan Nanun Mal did not lose heart. He *The action of the Diwan.* was a man of extraordinary resource and his powers appeared to rise with danger. He sent to Lucknow for trained gunners and officers who could discipline his troops after the European fashion, and set to work to

* Known as the "Cháha" the year being, according to Hindu computation, 1840 A. V (forty "Cháha".)

reduce the insurgents to order and recover the Pattiala territory which had been lost. First he marched against Sardul Singh, the Governor of Mulepur, a relation of Ram Khem Kour, who, after the unfortunate rebellion of her brother, had sent to Sardul Singh for safety all her money and jewels. The Diwan had besieged the town for twenty days, when one of his own officers, named Karam Beg, bribed, it is supposed, by Sardul Singh, attempted to assassinate him. The murderer was cut down by the attendants, but the Diwan received a severe sword wound and was carried to the neighbouring village of Anandpur Kesoke where he lay in great danger.

Rani Hukman, who had come to Mulepur to visit the Diwan, died at this time from an illness caused, in great part, by anxiety, and Nanun Mal lost in her the best and the most influential of his friends. She seems to have thoroughly understood that he was the only man who could restore the State to prosperity, and gave him her warm support. On her death, the Diwan's enemies, Rani Khem Kour, Soman Singh Dhali, Bibi Pardhan, great-aunt of the Raja, and others, gathered courage, arrested him at he was lying wounded at Anandpur and sent him a prisoner into Pattiala.

Fortunately for Nanun Mal and the country, there was another woman of sense and courage in the Pattiala family. This was Rani Rajindar of Phagwara, a first cousin of Raja Amar Singh and who had helped him in former difficulties. Hearing of the state

of affairs, she assembled a force, and, heading it herself, marched to, Pattiala, released Diwan *Marches to Pattiala and reinstates the Diwan.* Nanun Mal and re-instated him in his place as minister She had not arrived a day too soon, for, no sooner had the Diwan been imprisoned, than the neighbouring Sardars renewed their encroachments and Pattiala itself was in imminent danger of being sacked by some of the hostile confederacies of Sikhs

Nanun Mal, finding that he could not count *Nanun Mal co-alesces with the Mahrattas* upon the support or sympathy of any of the Pattiala nobles in his attempt to restore order, opened negotiations with Dhára Rao, a Mahratta leader, who had been for some time in the country about Dehli, where several of the more powerful Sikhs Chiefs, who held estates between the Satlej and the Jamna, had joined him Among these were Bhagel Singh Krora Singhia, Diwan Singh Laudah; Bhanga Singh and Mehtab Singh of Thanesar * Sirdar Bhagel Singh,

* The founder of the Thanesar family was Mith Singh, a Jat of Sindhál near Patti in the Manjha, and received the Páhal from Gurdial Singh, who obtained for him the post of personal attendant (*garwa bandar*, a servant who carries a drinking vessel and water) to Tara Singh, Gheba Mith Singh, in 1765, offended with the conduct of his master, induced 200 of his troops to desert, and set up for himself Being absolutely without means, he determined on a bold stroke, and attacked Thanesar, where were two forts, one in possession of the Shaikhs and the other belonging to Bhal Deen Singh of Kythal That belonging to the Shaikhs was captured, and the other, after the death of Mith Singh, was gained by bribing the Commandant, and the surrounding country was taken possession of by his nephews Bhag Singh, and Bhanga Singh, who divided it between them, the latter obtaining the larger share. Bhanga Singh, who died in 1815, joined the British force when, under Lord Lake, it came north of the Jamna, and was rewarded with additional territory He was, however, of a most savage and untameable character, and gave a great deal of trouble Bhag Singh died twenty-four years before his brother, leaving four sons, who were, if possible, more audacious and violent than their uncle, Bhanga Singh In 1806, Bhanga Singh, with the aid of the Ladwa Chief, seized Dhowa, which he held till his death He left a son Fatah Singh, and a daughter Karam Kour, who was married to Mahajaya Karm Singh of Pattiala. There was also an illegiti-

who had then great influence to the south of the Satlej, arranged matters with the Mahratta, who consented to assist Nanun Mal for a consideration of two lakhs of rupees, and straightway marched from Karnal to Thanesar, where Sirdar Bhanga Singh had his fort, and where he was joined by the Diwan, Raní Rajindar and Raja Gajpat Singh of Jhind, who, before their departure from Pattiala, had seized and imprisoned Sirdar Somán Singh, fearing lest he might give trouble during their absence. Having joined forces, they marched against some of the neighbouring Chiefs, the Mahratta receiving tribute from the Bhaís of Kythal and recovering Kot and other Pattiala villages from the Sirdars of Ambala. During this march, Raja Gajpat Singh fell ill, and, returning to his residence of Sufidun, died there at the close of 1789.

The Diwan then, in company with Dhára Rao, marched against Banúr. This town, *The siege of Banur,* which is of some importance, is situated about 12 miles to the north west of Ambala, and was defended by two forts, an old imperial one, called Zulmgairh, and another of more recent date. This town, with the neighbouring villages had been conquered by the Singhpuria Sirdars.* But Raja

mata son, Sahib Singh, born of a slave girl, who was not allowed to succeed to a share with Fatah Singh, though maintenance was given him. Fatah Singh died in 1819, leaving two widows, who succeeded him, although the mother managed the estate which, in 1850, escheated to Government.

Only one of the sons of Bhag Singh left issue, Jamiyat Singh, who died in 1834, when the estate lapsed.

* The Singhpuria was a very powerful family, and its founder, Kapur Singh, was undoubtedly the most distinguished of the Sikh leaders before the days of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and Ala Singh of Pattiala. He was known as "Nawab," almost the only instance of a Sikh taking a Muhammadan title, and conquered the village, and country about Fazulla-pur, near Amritsar, from Fazulla Khan, and gave it the name of

Amar Singh, who had assisted in its conquest, obtained a half share of the revenue. During the troubles which followed the death of Amar Singh, Sirdar Khushhal Singh Singhpuria had seized the whole district. He was however able to make but faint resistance to the force brought against him, and the Diwan was able to recover the Pattiala share of the town. After this success, Nanun Mal, by means of forced contributions from Chiefs and zamindars, contrived to pay the Mahratta the two lakhs as agreed, and to induce him to leave for Karnal. Sirdar Baghel Singh Krora Singhia remained behind to assist in reducing refractory subjects and to obtain what the Diwan had promised him for his services in negotiating with the Mahrattas.

Dhara Rao retires to Karnal.

From Banur, the Diwan, marching southwards, collecting fines and contributions from Kythal, Maknan and Serai

The Diwan's campaign of 1786

Singhpuria, from which the family take its name, though it is as frequently known as Fazullapuria. Nawab Kapur Singh died at Amritsar in 1753, giving what command over the Khalsa army any one Chief could in these days be said to possess, to Sirdar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. His territory, however descended to his nephew Khushhal Singh, who equaled his father's reputation and obtained possession of a large tract of country worth about 4 lakhs of rupees a year, both Cis and Trans-Sutlej, including Jalandhar, Bulandgarh, Singhpura, Patti, Nurpur, Behampur, Ghanoli and Bhainiwal. He was one of the most active against the Muhammadans, and it was one of his troopers who killed the Afghan Governor Zin Khan in 1763. After this he seized Ludhiana and Banur, with the assistance of Pattiala, which State afterwards received a half share of the latter district. Khushhal Singh had two sons, of whom one, Sudh Singh, died in his father's life-time, and the second, Budh Singh, succeeded to the estate in 1795. All the Jalandhar territory was seized by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and the Sirdar had to take up his residence Cis-Sutlej under British protection, where, in 1812, he held estates worth Rs 54,000 a year. Budh Singh died in 1816, and his estate was divided among his sons, seven in number, by 'Chundawand' i. e., in shares according to the number of wives.

At the present time there are four distinct branches of the Singhpuria family, the Chief of which is represented by Sirdar Jai Singh of Manoli, who holds half of the ancestral estates. The remainder is divided among the branches of Ghanoli, Bungah and Kandola.

Doraha, where he was repulsed from the fort by the Sikhs. He aided Sirdar Dalal Singh Malod to recover the village of Sehnke, of which his younger brother Bagh Singh had taken forcible possession, and then attacked Kot Kapura on which he was able to make no impression, but he built a mud fort about three miles distant, at Dholan, to overawe the place, and then marched against the Bhattis, who had recovered all the territory of which Raja Amar Singh had deprived them. He overran the country and collected some arrears of revenue due from Sangah, Chandah and Bhinah, but had only indifferent success elsewhere, and, being quite unable to hold the country he had ravaged, returned to Pattiala, where Sirdar Bhagel Singh was dismissed with the promised money.

In 1787, Raja Sahib Singh was married to Rattan Kour, daughter of Sirdar Ganda Singh Bhangi,* who had long been dead, but his grandson Gulab Singh still held, though with diminished authority, the city of Amritsar and its neighbourhood, and was a powerful Chief, and the marriage was performed with proportionate splendour.

About this time, Ata-ulla Khan, the Chief of Maler Kotla, asked for the help of Pattiala against Sirdar Chuhr Singh Bhadouria who had seized several of his villages. The Maler Kotla Nawab had become a fast friend of Pattiala and it was necessary to assist him, but Chuhr Singh was now too powerful to be attacked with impunity, so an arrangement was made by which the latter gave up

* For an account of Sirdar Ganda Singh Bhangi, vide "Punjab Chiefs, pp. 385-398

the villages he had seized, in return for others of the same value from Pattiala territory

The expedition of Dhara Rao to Pattiala had taught the Mahrattas that the country to the north of the Jamna was a good field for plunder, and, in the spring of 1788, another Chief, named Amba Rao, determined to try his fortunes in that direction. He persuaded Ghulam Kadir Khan, the son of Zabita Khan Rohilla, who had died three years before, to join him, and, at Karnal, Sirdar Bhagel Singh Krora-Singhia made his submission, for this Chief was generally the first to welcome an invader and follow him as a jackal the lion, to obtain a share of the prey, however insignificant. The Pattiala Diwan met the invaders at a village in the Kythal territory, where the Mahratta levied a contribution which Pattiala assisted to pay on the mortgage of seven villages which Bhai Lal subsequently released. Amba Rao did not make much by his expedition. The Rohilla Chief, Ghulam Kadir, either quarrelled with him or was bribed by the Sikhs, and retired towards Dehli which he soon afterwards took by storm, disgracing himself by permitting every kind of atrocity and putting out the eyes of the Emperor Shah Alam with his own hand. After Ghulam Kadir's departure, Amba Rao could make little impression on the Sikh Chiefs who were profuse in promises which they had no intention to fulfil, and, much disappointed with the result of his expedition, he recrossed the Jamna.

Who retires with but little plunder

Diwan Nanun Mal was now induced by Sirdar Hari Singh of Sialbah to make another attack upon Khushhal Singh Singhpuria who had taken Awan-

Diwan Nanun Mal again attacks the Singhpuria Chief, but without success.

kot and other villages of the Sialbah territory. Then joint forces first attacked Kotlah, a small fort held by Man Singh, son-in-law of the Singhpuria Chief, and reduced it without much difficulty. Thence they went to Awankot and invested the place, but Budh Singh, son of Sndar Khushhal Singh, with Tara Singh Gheba, Rai Singh Bhang,* and other Chiefs, came to the rescue and compelled the raising of the siege. Nanun Mal sent to Pattiala for reinforcements, and Ata-ullah Khan of Maler Kotla, Rai Muhamad of Rai Kot,† with some Nabha and Kythal troops soon joined him, but the fighting, which was little more than skirmishing, was indecisive, and it was thought advisable to abandon any further attempt on Awankot. The campaign of Diwan Nanun Mal had been successful on the whole. He had reduced to submission a great number of refractory villages and collected arrears of revenue of which the State treasury was much in need, for war, famine and the exactions of the Mahrattas had effectually emptied it. He had, moreover, recovered much of the territory which the neighbouring Chiefs had

* This was the Chief of Jagadri.

† The Chiefs of Rai Kot who, at the beginning of the century, possessed considerable territory, were Muhammadan Rajputs, immigrants from Jasalmir, which Tulsu Das, their great ancestor, left in 1323, A. D., settling at Mogal, afterwards Faiddkot and adopting the Muhammadan faith. His second son Gopal, founded Shahjahanpur in the Ludhiana district, and Rai Kalha, another of his descendants, the town of Talwandi in A. D. 1478. The family became of some importance, and, about 1620, obtained possession of the town of Ludhiana, which had been founded 140 years before by Yusaf and Nihang, two Lodi Chiefs, whence the name of the town. From Ludhiana the Rai Kot Chiefs were expelled by Sahib Singh Bedi, but they afterwards recovered it, and, at the end of the 16th century, owned Rai Kot, Talwandi, Jhandiala, Jagraon, Baddowala, Ludhiana, Basia and other districts. Rai Alvas, the last Chief died in 1802, and his mother Nur ul-uzad succeeded him. Maharaja Ranjit Singh, in 1806, seized the whole territory and divided it between his allies. Raja Bhag Singh of Jhnd, Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha, Suddai Gurdit Singh Ladwa and Drwan Moikam Chand. A few villages alone were left, which have descended to Rai Imám Baksh, the present representative of the family.

seized during the troubles which followed Amar Singh's death and had shown himself to be not only brave but far-seeing and anxious for the good of the State

But the Diwan was too honest to be successful

The unpopularity of the Diwan In a Native State, during a long minority, the general rule of practice is corruption of the grossest and most unblushing kind, and should chance place an honest man in power, he is at once assailed by the crowd of parasites and slaves who hate a character which is a perpetual menace and reproach to themselves, and he must be strong as well as honest, to defy his enemies who include in their ranks every man in the State except himself. Nanun Mal besides was of so proud a disposition that he did not care whom he offended. He had given many of the most lucrative offices of the State to his sons and relatives, and excited the greatest dislike by his custom of smoking his *hukka* in Durbar, when giving audience to Sikh Chiefs, tobacco being odious to them and forbidden by their creed.

Raja Sahib Singh was now fourteen years old.

The dislike of the Raja to him. It is difficult to say what was his natural disposition, for the chief object of his Ministers was to confine his attention to pleasure, nautes, hunting and elephant fights, that he might be disposed to leave State affairs to their management. Against the Diwan they poisoned his mind, hinting that it was his intention to seize the power for himself and with this object was intriguing with the Mahrattas, while even if he designed to leave the Raja nominal authority, all real power would be taken away. It was easy to induce the boy to believe stories such as these

to which the pride of the Diwan and his family gave some colour, and he began to hate Nanun Mal as bitterly as his courtiers did

Other dangers were now impending. The crimes of the infamous Ghulam Kadir Khan Rohilla and the misfortunes of the tortured and insulted Emperor had been well avenged by Sindhia Mahdaji, the great Mahratta leader, who drove the Rohilla from Dehli, pursued and captured him at Mehrat and put him to death with tortures. The Emperor Shah Alam was again placed, with all honour, on the throne of Dehli, and Sindhia set himself to reduce to obedience the country north of the Jamna in the name of the Emperor.

The Mahratta force marched northwards, commanded by Rane Khan Dadaji and Ali Buhadar Peshwa. At Thanesar they halted some time, and the Pattiala Durbar began to hope that this might be the limit of the expedition, but Bhanga Singh of Thanesar annoyed the Mahrattas so much by plundering their baggage and intercepting their convoys, that they marched to Ajrara eight miles nearer to Pattiala. At the capital there was great dismay. The treasury had been drained by the late war, and it was not the Mahratta custom to retire from before a town with empty hands, and what was not freely given they were quite prepared to take. In this emergency Diwan Nanun Mal did not know where to turn for aid. He visited the ladies at the palace, and advised them to leave Pattiala for Mung or Bhattinda, where they would be in greater safety, till the storm had blown over. Ram Rajundar, who now began to distrust the Diwan's loyalty, and who

did not know what fear was, refused to leave Patiala, and told Nanun Mal that it was his duty as Prime Minister to make arrangements with the invaders, and, if necessary, to buy them off. The Diwan felt that in the Rani he was losing his only friend, and, knowing that he was suspected, formed the design of leaving Patiala for ever. But he determined to make an effort to raise some money, and calling together the subordinate Chiefs, visited the Mahratta camp where he made himself very useful to Rane Khan, introducing the different Chiefs and giving information as to the amount of *nazrana* which each could pay.

The Patiala contribution was at last demanded. The Diwan being either really *The enemy demand tribute* unable to find the money or more probably wishing to punish the coolness with which he had been treated by Rani Rajindar, sent her news of what was demanded and begged her to take measures for the payment, without delay, as, in default of payment, the city of Patiala would certainly be attacked. But the Rani was as proud as *Difficult negotiations.* the Diwan and as brave as she was proud, and returned answer that Nanun Mal was Minister and must pay the Mahratta fine himself. Convinced as she was of the Diwan's treachery, she determined to take immediate action to counteract it, and sent an officer to seize Devi Ditta, the Diwan's son, whom she placed in confinement as a guarantee for the father's good conduct. This hasty action had deplorable results. The Diwan, seeing that all hope of reconciliation with the Rani was lost, and that his only chance of regaining power was in Mahratta interference,

at once persuaded Dadaji to march to Pattiala with 30,000 men.

The force encamped at Sohlar, about two miles from the town, whence a message was sent to the Rani directing her to deliver up the Diwan's son, for until he was released Nanun Mal refused to take any steps towards obtaining the *nazrana*. The Rani was prepared to defend the city; but she gave up Devi Ditta, thinking it unadvisable to press matters to extremities. Several of the neighbouring Chiefs tried to arrange terms, and, notably, Sirdar Bhagel Singh Krora Singhia, who was compelled to meddle in the business of every one between the Satlej and Dehli, but Rani Rajindar declined to pay a single rupee. She made several visits to the Mahratta camp, following the example of Mai Deso, the mother of Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha, who had been fortunate enough to secure good terms for her son. But Diwan Nanun Mal and Rani Rajindar were able to settle nothing, each declaring that the other was the proper person to pay the fine, the truth being that the treasury was empty, the Chiefs and the people had been ground down by exactions till they could give nothing more, and whoever satisfied the Mahratta demands, would have to do so from private means, which, in the case of both the Rani and the Diwan, were very large.

The Mahrattas, at last, tired of waiting, insisted upon the fort of Sefabad, situated a few miles north-east of the city and now known as Buhadar-garh, being placed in their hands. To this the Diwan consented, through Rani Rajin-

And takes possession of the fort of Sefabad as security for the fine demanded

dar opposed it. No sooner had the Mahrattas obtained the fort, than they thought to hasten the payment of the *nazrana* by a display of force ; and for a month and a half skirmishes were frequent between the Sikhs and the Mahrattas, though the leaders on either side were unwilling to come to a complete rupture. Rani Rajundar still refused to pay and declared herself willing to march with the Mahrattas to Mathra, where she would arrange matters with Sindhua himself. To this Rane Khan and Dadaji were compelled to consent, and the Rani, with a strong force, marched southwards, the Mahrattas insisting on Diwan Nanun Mal accompanying them, but, at Karnal, he induced them, on consideration of his services, to release him, and take his son Devi Ditta with them instead.

The Mahrattas retire with the Rani and the Diwan

No sooner had the Mahratta army disappeared, than Raja Sahib Singh, who had taken shelter at a distance from the capital, marched to Dhodan or Bhawanigarh, where, instigated by his followers, who were determined on the ruin of the Diwan, he confiscated much of Nanun Mal's property, and thence to Barnala, where he seized and imprisoned Narinda Rai, one of the Diwan's sons, and collector of the districts of Hodiana and Barnala. From this town he marched southwards to Mong (Monak or Akalghai) of which Ditta Mal, the third son of the Diwan, was commandant, and who, at first, refused to surrender the fort. But his troops knowing the Diwan's fortunes were on the ebb refused to act against the Pattiala forces, the fort was given up, and four lakhs of rupees plundered. The Raja found that spoliation was an easy way

Raja Sahib Singh confiscates the Diwan's property

of raising money, and, after a hurried visit to Pattiala, he left for Ghanor, and besieged the fort which was defended by Zugi Mal and Diwan Mal, nephews of the Minister

Nanun Mal was on his road back from Karnal when he heard of all that his enemies had accomplished against him. Understanding that, till fortune changed, it would be madness to return to Pattiala where he could only expect imprisonment or death, he took refuge with Sirdar Karm Singh of Shahabad *

This Chief promised him not only protection but assistance to recover his power in Pattiala, but treacherously wrote to Raja Sahib Sing, telling him of the arrival of the fugative and urging him to take Ghanor before the Diwan could raise troops and come to the help of his relatives. Nanun Mal with difficulty collected a small force and marched to the relief of the fort, but on the road he heard of its capture, his men deserted, and he was obliged to seek a new asylum in the Kythal territory, where he took up his residence at the little village of Chikah, close to the Pattiala

* Karm Singh was an immigrant from the Manjha, in 1759. The Shahabad district had been seized by several Chiefs of the Nishama confederacy, the widow of one of whom Himat Singh, gave to Karm Singh five villages. In return for this kindness, Karm Singh obtained a grant of her whole estate from Dehh and ousted her from all but the village of Islamabad. This conduct scarcely agreed with his agnomen of "Nirmala" or spotless. He died in 1808, leaving four sons, Raut Singh, Shei Singh, Khaiak Singh, and Kahn Singh, who divided the estate equally between them in 1811. Khaiak Singh died without issue, in 1831, and his share was allotted to his full brother Shei Singh. The latter died in 1861, and his only son, Kesra Singh, a year and a half later, when the estate, valued at Rs 11,500, was resumed by Government. The other shares are still held by Sudars Dharm Singh, Kishan Singh and Partab Singh. The two former are the sons of Sudas Ranjit Singh, and their estate is worth Rs 5,237 per annum, while that of Partab Singh, the son of Kahn Singh is worth Rs 3,632.

The fall of the Diwan and his family frontier All his estates were confiscated, his property seized, and his relations expelled from office or placed in confinement

In the meantime, Rani Rajindar had paid her *Rani Rajindar returns to Pattala* visit to Sindhia at Mathra and had been well received, arranging for the payment of the *nuzrana*, and leaving Devi Ditta Mal as a guarantee for the fulfilment of the stipulated conditions On returning to Pattala, she found the arts which had been so effectual against the Minister had been employed with equal success against herself, and that the foolish Raja had been persuaded to fear her power as too great for his safety and dignity and to believe her in alliance with Nanun Mal to restore the old order of things and reduce the Chief to the mere cypher for which his intellect and vices so eminently fitted him She made several attempts to see Sahib Singh, but he persistently avoided her, and, at last, wearied out and mortified at the ingratitude which repaid the most *Her death, A.D. 1791* devoted service with suspicion and insult, she took to her bed and died at Pattala after a short illness

Rani Rajindar was one of the most remarkable *Her character* women of her age She possessed all the virtues which men pretend are their own, courage, perseverance and sagacity, without any mixture of the weaknesses which men attribute to women, and, remembering her history and that of Rams Sahib Kour and Aus Kour, who, some years later, conducted, with so much ability, the affairs of the Pattala State, it would almost appear that the Phulkian Chiefs excluded, by direct enactment, all women from any share of power from

the suspicion that they were able to use it far more wisely than themselves

Diwan Nanun Mal had ruled so long in Pattiala that he was unable to resign all hope of regaining his authority without another struggle, and looked about for some powerful and discontented Chief whom he might use to obtain his object. He found a suitable instrument in Ata-ulla Khan, the Nawab of Maler Kotla, from whom Pattiala had taken many villages at different times considerably reducing the Afghan Chief's territory. The Diwan assured him that his opportunity to recover his lost lands was now come, that the Pattiala treasury was empty and the people oppressed and discontented, while the Raja was entirely in the hands of men without courage or energy, who would be unable to help him in any serious emergency. This was all true enough, but the Diwan had overrated the influence that he still possessed in Pattiala. He was almost universally disliked, and his immediate relations, who alone desired his success, had fallen with his fall and were unable to assist him. Ata-ulla Khan collected his troops and marched as far as Khanpur, some fourteen miles from Pattiala, in company with Nanun Mal. Here he was met by the Pattiala force, headed by Sirdar Chuhr Singh Bhadour and Dalel Singh Malod, and after several trifling engagements in which the Maler Kotla troops were invariably worsted, he discovered that the advice of the Diwan had been evil, that no Pattiala feudatories came to join him, and he wisely made his submission, which, being accepted, he returned to his own territory.

Its failure

Diwan Nanun Mal did not long survive this failure, of all his hopes and died at Maler Kotla in 1792, deserted by his old friends and despised by his new ones whom he had counselled so unwisely. An estimate of his character is difficult, as Pattiala records are almost the only source of information, and that Court cannot look with favor on a Minister who directly rebelled against his Chief. But for his rebellion there were many excuses, while his great services to the State were indisputable. He alone saved Pattiala from utter collapse after the death of Raja Amar Singh, when every neighbouring Chief was ready to dismember it and when feudatories and subjects were in open revolt. That he oppressed the people is true, but he was compelled to find money for necessary war. He also insulted and alienated the Chiefs and their hostility was the cause of his downfall. His conduct at the time of the Mahratta invasion is open to grave suspicion; and Rani Rajindar, who was remarkably acute, was convinced of his dishonesty. But although he doubtless desired to benefit himself, for he was avaricious in the extreme; there is no proof that he did not do his best for the State. Ministers at Native Courts are not to be judged by the standard which European morality has set up, and even were they so judged, there are many instances in European countries of Statesmen and Generals who have rendered conspicuous services to their country and whose names are justly remembered with gratitude, who have yet made use of their opportunities to enrich themselves and their families. Rebellion against his Chief cannot be justified, but all the excuse which is ever possible for rebellion he

certainly had Sahib Singh was a mere puppet in the hands of greedy and unscrupulous men who had no thought except for themselves, and whose intrigues against the Minister were prompted by no other motives than jealousy and a desire to obtain the power of helping themselves from the State Treasury. It was rather against these creatures than against the miserable child who was called Raja that the Diwan took up arms. His fate was that which generally awaits Ministers of ability and honesty in Native States, and the intrigues which overthrew him are the very proof of his capacity and devotion to the interests of his country.

The successors of Nanun Mal in the favor of

*The successors of
the Diwan and their
fate*

Raja Sahib Singh were Syad Mir Ilahi Baksh and Kesar Mal, a Khatri, whose influence soon became as distasteful to the Sikhs as that of the old Minister had been, and Sirdar Albel Singh Kaleka, Fatah Singh Mihmah and Munshi Ramdial, who had before been favorites but who were now neglected, determined to get rid of them. Accordingly, in open Durbar, and in the very presence of the Raja himself, these ruffians assassinated the Syad, Dyal Singh Rorah and Sukha Singh Dhillon being the actual murderers. Diwan Kishan Chand, one of the Syad's party, was also severely wounded and escaped with difficulty. Raja Sahib Singh fled to his private apartments, but he could only reward the men who had murdered

*A new ministry,
A D 1793.*

his friends, and Albel Singh was created Minister and Ramdial Chief Munshi. This was in 1793. The Raja was unable to trust the men whom he had raised to power, and believed, with some justice, that they might some day serve him in the same way that they had served

Ilahi Baksh ; but the only person in whom he could trust was his sister Sahyb Kour, who had married Sirdar Jaimal Singh Kanheya* the master of a great part of the Bari Doab, above Dinanagar* To her he sent, begging her to pay him a visit at Patiala, and when she arrived he proclaimed her his Chief Minister, with Tara Singh, one of her own people, as Deputy, and Diwan Singh, the nephew of Nanun Mal, was again taken into favor and made Finance Minister or Diwan She had not been long at Patiala when she heard that her husband, at this time a young man of twenty-one, was in difficulties and hard pressed by his cousin Fatah Singh. She accordingly begged a force from her brother which he willingly granted, and, heading it herself, she marched to Fatahgarh and rescued her husband who had been captured by Fatah Singh, returning soon after this exploit to Patiala in triumph

In 1794, a large Mahratta force, under the command of Anta Rao and Lachhman Rao, crossed the Jamna and marched in the direction of Patiala, the smaller Chiefs making their submission and even the larger ones, Jhund and Kythal, sending agents to make their compliments and express their devotion But the lady who now ruled the feeble Patiala Chief was as courageous as her cousin Rani Rajindar, and was not inclined to yield to the invaders without a struggle Raja Bhag Singh of Jhund, Jodh Singh Kalsia, † Bhanga Singh and

*Preparations for
resistance*

*The Cis-Sutlej
States invaded by
Anta Rao Mahratta*

* For the history of this family, vide "Panjab Chiefs" pp 322-338

† The Chief of Kalsia takes rank above all Cis-Sutlej Chiefs, except Patiala, Jhund Nabha, Maler Kotla and Faridkot. The founder of the

Mehtab Singh of Thanesar, and the Bhadour Sirdars, Dip Singh and Bir Singh, agreed to join her, while Sirdar Tara Singh Gheba sent a detachment, and the whole force, numbering together about 7000 men, marched to meet the enemy near Murdanpur, a few miles from Amballa, where a brisk engagement took place, but the Sikhs, who were far inferior in dis-

*The gallantry of
Sahib Kour*

cipline and numbers to the Mahattas, began to give way. Retreat would have soon turned to flight had not Bibi Sahib Kour, who had come herself with the troops, leaving her brother in his *zanana* at Pattiala, stepped down from her chariot (*Rath*) and, drawing her sword, declared that the Sikhs would be forever disgraced if they allowed her, a woman and the sister of their Chief, to be slain, for she was determined never to retreat. This gallantry so shamed and encouraged the soldiers, that they returned with renewed fury to the fight, which they maintained, though with considerable loss, till nightfall, neither

family was Sirdar Gurbuksh Singh of Kalsia in the Manjha, one of the Krora Singhia confederacy, and a companion of Sirdar Bhagel Singh of Chiloundi. He was not a man of much note, but his son Jodh Singh, born in 1751, possessed great ability, took possession of the District of Chichowli, and, on the death of Sirdar Bhagel Singh, was acknowledged as the head of the Krora Singhia confederacy. He conquered Dehra and Bassi from Sirdar Khazan Singh, Lotal and Achak, and encroached upon Pattiala and Nabha territory, but Raja Sahib Singh gave to Hari Singh son of Jodh Singh, his daughter Kaim Kour as wife in 1803, and thus quieted a most dangerous neighbour. In 1807 he fought under Maharaja Ranjit Singh at the siege of Nanangurb, and was rewarded with estates at Budaia Kaneri and Chubbhal. At the time of the treaty of 1809, the Kalsia territory was worth two lakhs and a half per annum. Jodh Singh gave a great deal of trouble to his neighbours and to the British Agent, and no one was sorry when he died at Multan, where he had been left in command of a detachment after the siege in 1818. Only the elder son, Sobha Singh, survived him, and held the estate till 1858. Both he and his son Lehna Singh did good service in the mutinies and supplied a contingent of 20 foot and four sowars. The latter received a sanad conferring the right of adoption in March 1862. Sirdar Lehna Singh has lately died, and his only son Bishan Singh, aged 16, is now Chief of Kalsia. The estate is worth about Rs 1,30,000 a year, with a population of 62,000.

side being able to claim the victory The Sikh Chiefs now wished the lady to return to Patiala while she was able, as the next day must bring with it their defeat, but she refused ; and their case being desperate, proposed a night attack on the Mahratta camp

Night attack on the Mahratta camp

The very audacity of the proposal contained its best chance of success, the troops were immediately put under arms, and, just before day-break, attacked the Mahrattas, who were taken completely by surprise* The Sikhs did little more than gallop through the camp, cutting down those of the enemy they met, and the Mahrattas suffered no great loss, but the confusion caused was very great, and the next day, Anta Rao, hearing that large Sikh reinforcements were approaching, retired towards Karnal

The enemy retire

In 1794, a man, half fanatic and half impostor, and as dangerous, greedy and unscrupulous as such characters usually are, appeared to disturb the Cis-Satlaj States This was Bedi Sahib Singh, the lineal descendant of Baba Nanak, the first and most revered of the Sikh Gurus His father, Jit Singh, was a quiet man who had never left his village of Unah, where a pious disciple had given the grandfather, Kala Dhan, a little farm, but Sahib Singh, knowing the fanatical and superstitious character of the Sikhs, thought it would not be difficult to influence them to his own advantage Accordingly, he proclaimed a religious war against the Malei Kotla Afghans, whom he accused of killing cows, as great an offence in the eyes of a Sikh as of any other Hindu *

A religious war proclaimed by Bedi Sahib Singh, A. D. 1794

* Another reason given in the "Gosha-i-Punjab" for the enmity of Sahib Singh to the Afghans of Malei Kotla, was that Sher Muhamand Khan the grand-father of Ata-ulla Khan, had eloped with a woman of the

He induced Sirdars Tara Singh Gheba, Bhagel Singh, Bhanga Singh Thanesar, and several other Chiefs to join him, all men who thought little of religion and a great deal of plunder, and who considered a religious cry as good as any other, so long as they could kill and pillage

The unfortunate Maler Kotla Afghans, who *He attacks the Afghans of Maler Kotla* were probably as innocent of the charge brought against them as most other victims of religious enthusiasm, prepared for defence. Ata-ulla-Khan was still the head of the house, and, with his four nephews, Wazir Khan, Fatah Khan, Himmat Khan and Dalel Khan, made a short resistance, but they were overpowered and defeated, and fled to Kotla which the Bedi immediately invested. Ata-ulla-Khan sent off messengers to Raja Sahib Singh begging for assistance, and as a Pattiala force, under Bakshi Seda and Sirdar *Pattiala bugs off the invader.* Chen Singh, was encamped close by, at Amargarh, it soon reached the town. Bedi Sahib Singh was a sacred character, and the Sikh soldiers were unwilling to fight against him, but after a paying him a sum of money and threatening the Sirdars who accompanied him with the future vengeance of Pattiala, the Bedi was induced to withdraw across the Satlej

Four years later, in 1798, the Bedi preached, *The Bedi makes another raid in 1798, & attacks Rai Kot.* at Amritsar, a second religious war against the Afghans of Rai Kot,

family of Guru Govind Singh, and induced her to accept Muhammadanism. It was to avenge this insult and to recover the bones of the lady that Sahib Singh attacked Kotla. But a Bedi descendant of Nanak would have no object in avenging an insult offered to Govind Singh, a Solhi, of which family there were many members to defend its honor. Sahib Singh only made religion an excuse to loot a comparatively defenceless town.

on the same pretext as the last. These infidels, he declared, had killed kings, and their lands should be taken away and given to him. The Sikhs again crossed the Sutlej, about 7,000 in number, and overran the Rai Kot district, which included Jagraon, Rai Kot, Ludhiana and the neighbouring country. The Chief, Rai Alyas, was only fifteen years of age, but his principal Officer, Roshan Khan, made a gallant stand at the village of Jodh, and although outnumbered four to one, fought the whole day and would have repulsed the Sikhs had he not been killed by a musket shot, when his troops, disheartened, took to flight. Rai Alyas sent to his neighbours for help, and the Chiefs of Pattiala and Jhind, with Bhai Lal Singh of Kythal and Jodh Singh Kalsia, collected their forces and marched towards Ludhiana, driving the Sikhs before them and recovering the villages which the Bedi had seized. Karim Singh of Shahabad and Budh Singh Faizullahpuria, who had been active supporters of the Bedi, deserted him and went over to the other side. The Phulkian Chiefs were not disinterested in their action, and Pattiala annexed Badowal, a few miles south of Ludhiana, and three other forts, as the price of her assistance, while the fort at Wakha was mortgaged to Bhai Lal Singh.*

The Bhai driven out of the Rai Kot villages

Driven out of some villages, Bedi Sahib Singh seized others. To Mansur he was invited by the zamindars, weary of the tyranny of Sher Khan the Collector of Rai Alyas, and the Naobat fort came

* Pattiala records speak of the help given to Maler Kotla, Rai Kot, and other Chiefs as given to her feudatories or "Zuldaris" whom it was the duty of the paramount to aid. This is of course untrue. Rai Kot and Maler Kotla, though less powerful were quite as independent as Pattiala herself, and would have laughed at the idea of being her zaldars.

He attacks Lud- into his possession, while he built a
hiana. new one in the village of Dog-

hari The Hindus and Sikhs of the town of Ludhiana then invited him there, and he surprised the town by night and besieged the fort which was defended by Hassan Khan The Bedi built a mud fort on the spot where the "*Suthhri-ki-Dharamsal*" is now situated, and prepared for a regular siege Rai Alyas did not know where to look for help He induced the Chiefs of Philor, Sudha Singh and Kour Singh, to come into the fort, but their assistance

The Chief asks the assistance of George Thomas of Hansi. was not of much value, and he at length sent to George Thomas, an English adventurer, who had be-

come very powerful and who ruled the country about Hansi and Hissar Thomas, who was rapidly extending his territory, was only too glad of an opportunity of interference in the affairs of any of the Cis-Satlej States, and at once left Hansi with

And the Bedi re-tires a strong force The Bedi, hearing of his near approach, raised the siege of Ludhiana and retired across the Satlej, while Thomas, having no further excuse for interference, returned to Hansi.

Between the first and second visits of Bedi

Expedition to Nahan, A. D. 1796. Sahib Singh to the Cis-Satlej country, a Pattiala expedition had been sent to Nahan, to assist the Raja,

who had, as usual, got into difficulties with his people, who were in open rebellion. Rani Sahib Kour was at the head of the force and remained at Nahan for three months, settling the affairs of the little State and reducing the insurgents to obedience.

George Thomas,* who had come to the assistance of the Raj Kot Chief, was an Englishman of some tact and courage, who had come to India in the year 1781, and had wandered about the country seeking his fortune for several years, till he was taken into the service of the famous Zebun Nissa, more commonly known as the Begum Samru. In 1792, for some misconduct, he was reduced in rank, and left her service in disgust for that of Apa Khandi Rao, a Mahratta Chief, relative of Madhapur Sindhia, and master of the Jhajar, Dadu, and Narnol territory. Thomas raised troops for the Mahrattas and instructed them as well as he was able in the European system of drill, and, in return, the district of Jhajar was assigned him in jagir. Here he built a fort which he named "Georgegarh," but which, by the people, was corrupted into "Jahazgarh." When Bawa Rao, the nephew of Apa Khandi Rao, succeeded his uncle, Thomas became independent, and, taking possession of Hansi and Hissar, began to encroach on the neighbouring States. He had a force of eight regiments of foot, a thousand horsemen and about fifty guns, and he strengthened the old fort of Hansi, which he made his capital. In 1797, he made overtures to the principal Sikh Chiefs, inviting them to join him in a combined resistance to the Mahrattas, and in the conquest of Northern India, but they regarded him with suspicion, for his selfish aims were barely concealed, and they thought that to

* The history of George Thomas has been written and no more of it will consequently be noticed here than is necessary to explain his connection with Pattala history from 1798 to 1802. The work is now however, very rare.—*The Mutiny Memoirs of George Thomas, &c.*, by W. Franklin, Calcutta, 1803.

help him would only be to resign their own independence

Thomas, unable to cajole the Sikhs, determined *And attacks the town of Jhind,* on subduing them, and taking advantage of the absence of the principal Chiefs at Lahore, in 1798, to oppose the invasion of Shah Zamán Durán of Kabul, he laid siege to Jhind, the nearest Sikh town, being not more than

The combination against him. twenty miles north-east of Hansi. Hearing of this danger the Phulkian Chiefs hurried back and assembled their forces for the relief of Jhind. The Kythal troops were under the command of Sirdars Sawan Singh, Saman Singh and Dīwan Ramdyaal, while Gurdit Singh of Ladwa and the Thanessar Chiefs, Bhanga Singh and Mehtab Singh, were induced to join by considerable presents. They had not yet fallen so low as to fight for honor or for a friend, without the hope of some personal gain. The combined force marched to Jhind, but in several skirmishes that took place the Sikhs were worsted, till a large detachment of Pattiala troops arrived, commanded by the gallant lady Sahib Kour. The force of the allies cannot have numbered less than 25,000 men, and is estimated, in some traditions, at 40,000. After some further skirmishing, Thomas, seeing that he was overmatched,

Thomas raises the siege, but defeats the Sikhs in a night attack. raised the siege and retired to Mehm whither. Raja Bhag Singh pursued him, pillaging several villages of the Hansi district. But Thomas' retreat was only a blind; and at night he attacked the Sikh camp with two thousand men, at Narawind, twelve miles to the south of Jhind. The Sikhs had kept no watch and were carousing after their imaginary

triumph of the day before, when Thomas' horsemen galloped through the camp. The Sikhs took to flight in all directions, losing a large number of men and much baggage. The allied army after this defeat became completely demoralized. The jealousies between the Chiefs were so fierce that no

The quarrels among the Sikh leaders

disaster could happen without it being attributed to treachery, and, on this occasion, Pattiala declared that Sirdar Jaswant Singh of Nabha had planned the night attack in concert with Thomas, to avenge a scornful speech of Bibi Sahib Kour who had said that the Nabha soldiers, in comparison with those of Pattiala, were no better than sweepers (Chumars). In proof of this treachery it was observed that, although the Jhind and Pattiala troops had suffered most severely in this night attack, the Nabha contingent had lost neither men nor baggage. It is impossible to say how far this story of treachery is true, and the probability is, that it was invented to account for a discreditable defeat, as the myth of Raja Tej Singh's treachery was invented to excuse the defeats of Firoshahr and Sobraon. Karm Singh "the spotless," (Nirmala) was also accused of having accepted Rs 5,000 from Thomas to set the example of running away. Bribed or not, he certainly ran away with the greatest alacrity.

After this defeat the Phulkian Chiefs were content to make peace with Thomas, who, on his part, had so many enemies, that he was delighted to make friends with the Sikhs, who were his only possible allies in the event of a rupture with the Mahrattas, which he saw was sooner or later inevitable.

The Sikhs make peace with Thomas.

No sooner had danger from without ceased, than dissensions were renewed within; and the weak-minded Sahib Singh, influenced by his favorites, who were jealous of Rani Sahib Kour's power, began to treat his sister with great coldness. There was, moreover, a new element of discord in the person of

Raja Sahib Singh quarrels with his sister

The new cause of family discord.

Rani Aus Kour, daughter of Sirdar Gurdas Singh of Chattah, whom the Raja had married in 1792, and who, in 1797, bore him a son and heir who was named Kaim Singh. This lady, both clever and ambitious, thought the influence possessed by Bibi Sahib Kour over the Raja belonged legitimately to her, and coalesced with his Court officials against Sahib Kour who was accused to her brother of many imaginary offences. Of these, the first asserted that she had herself

The charges brought against Rani Sahib Kour

kept the elephant given by the Raja of Nahan as a return for the services rendered in restoring order in his State. As Rani Sahib Kour had performed all the work at Nahan, while her brother was squandering health and money among pumps and prostitutes at Pattiala, she might well have pleaded her right to keep the present. It was also alleged, as a crime, that she had built, in 1795, a fort near Sunam, in her jagir, without her brother's permission, and had changed the name of the village of Bhurian to Ubhowal, which it still retains. When the Rani saw that the evil advice of his favorites had more weight with the Raja than all her services, she left Pattiala in disgust for Bhurian, where her new fort stood. This conduct

Her flight from Pattiala.

seemed to confirm the Raja's suspicions, and he ordered her to leave Bhurian and return to her husband at Fatahgarh.

The Rani had been so long accustomed to command that she was not disposed, to obey, and took no notice of this order, on which the Raja himself marched

The Raja's first military expedition against the fort and was making preparations to reduce it when

Bhai Dal Singh and other mutual friends succeeded in persuading him that it would not be for his fame to commence his military career by fighting with his sister, and in inducing the Rani to submit and return to Pattiala. On the road, however, suspicious, with very good reason, of the intentions of her brother, she escaped and returned to Bhurian, when all the negotiations had to be commenced afresh.

At last, on promises of safety, she consented a second time to return to Pattiala; but when the

The treatment of Sahib Kaur Raja had conveyed her as far as Dhodan or Bhawanigarh, he placed

her in confinement in the fort. She soon contrived to escape, changing clothes with one of her servants, and returned to Bhurian, where she lived without further molestation for some time, but died in 1799,

Her death, A. D. 1799 the unjust treatment that she had received having probably shortened

her life.

The peace which George Thomas had made with Jhind was not of long duration.

George Thomas again attacks the Sikhs He had a large force which he was

only able to pay by expeditions against neighbouring States, and the Jhind and Kythal villages were nearest at hand and most defenceless.

In 1799, he renewed his attacks, and the Phulkian Chiefs, with Bhai Lal Singh of Kythal, again coalesced to resist him. A fight took place between Thomas

and Bhadour troops at Dubah, in which the former was victorious, and he then marched northwards and pillaged the town of Bhawanigarh, though he did

Thomas ravages the Pattiala territory not attempt to attack the fort Thence he proceeded to Ghanor, half way between Ambala and Pattiala, where he was met by Diwan Singh, but it was not Thomas' desire to fight, and he marched back to Sunani, plundering the villages and devastating the country. Near Narangwal, the Jhind forces, with Sirdar Tara Singh Gheba, came up with him, and an undecided engagement took place in which both parties lost many men. Thomas now pretended to be anxious for peace, and remained quiet for some time, sending proposals for a settlement of their differences to the Phulkian camp. But he suddenly broke off negotiations and disappeared, and was next heard of plundering the village of Rajwanah. The Pattiala troops pursued, Thomas retiring as they advanced, and at length, he left the Pattiala territory, where he had done great damage, and entered that of Kythal.

Bhai Lal Singh had now to hasten to defend his own possessions, while the Pattiala troops remained at Akalgarh, prepared to march if their assistance was required, and Raja Bhag Singh returned to Jhind which promised to be the next object of attack. So it happened to be, for having plundered with impunity many Kythal villages and having been vainly pursued by the Sikhs, he marched southwards and attacked Sufidon, in Jhind territory, defended by a weak garrison.

And attacks and captures Sufidon Raja Bhag Singh went at once to its relief, but, before his arrival, the fort which was old and half in ruins, had fallen into the invader's hands. It was useless for Thomas to remain shut up in a fort, so he gave battle to Raja Bhag Singh beneath the walls of the town. His

good fortune had, on this occasion, deserted him, and the Jhind Raja was victorious, and Thomas forced to retire with all haste having lost about 500 men, and recover himself at Kalwah in Kythal territory.

But is defeated in an engagement without the town This desultory fighting had now lasted a very long time and both parties were thoroughly exhausted, especially the Sikhs who had most to lose. Their towns and villages were sacked and the harvest destroyed, while the rapidity of the enemy's movements made it almost impossible to overtake him, and the discipline he maintained made an attack upon him, even with far superior numbers, a proceeding of doubtful wisdom. In their extremity they determined to make peace on any terms, and, when they had once induced Thomas to retire, to invoke against him the aid of the French General who was commanding, with much brilliancy and success, the northern division of the Mahratta Army, and whose disciplined troops would be able to meet Thomas on equal or superior terms.

Thomas was anxious for rest, and as his expedition had been rich in plunder, he was not difficult to satisfy, and, abandoning the territories of the allies, he returned to his fort of Hansi, early in the year 1801.

Peace is concluded between Thomas and the Sikhs, A. D. 1801 The principal Cis-Satlaj Chiefs, Pattiala, Jhind Nabha and Kythal, then resolved to send a joint embassy to General Perron at Delhi, and ask his assistance. This officer had succeeded the Comte de Boigne, a Savoyard, who had entered the service of Sindhia about the year 1785, and had, by his energy and

*General Perron
Commander of the
Mahratta Army of
north India*

knowledge of military science, made the Mahratta army the most formidable owned by any native prince in India. He left India in 1796, and was succeeded by General Perron, also a man of conspicuous ability, who extended the Mahratta authority northwards beyond the Jamna and commanded a powerful and highly trained army. It was to this officer that Raja Bhag Singh of Jhind, Bhai Lal Singh of Kythal, and two Sirdars, Chan Singh and Hamir Singh, on the part of Pattiala, addressed themselves. The General was willing to assist them, for the increasing power of George Thomas had excited both his jealousy and alarm, and he saw in this adven-

He resolves to assist the Sikhs

tured a rival whose influence, unless checked in time, might endanger his own. He accordingly received the deputation with great consideration, and dispatched a force under one of his Lieutenants, Louis Bourquin, to act with

Bourquin sent against Thomas.

the Sikh troops against Thomas. No Pattiala troops joined in the expedition, but Jhind and Kythal detachments, with the Mahratta force under Bourquin, marched to Chnargah, and thence to Bedi, where they came up with Thomas, and an engagement was fought in which the advantage remained with the latter, Bourquin losing so many men that he was compelled to wait for reinforcements from General Perron. When these arrived he again assumed the offensive and compelled

Thomas defeated and compelled to abandon Hansi

Thomas to retire to Hansi. Here he was surrounded, and, after an obstinate defence, surrendered, and abandoning all his conquests, retired into British territory, never again disturbing the peace of the Cis-Satlej States *

* George Thomas died about a year after this. His career shows not so much what a determined and clever man can do among races in-

But a power was now rising before which
The rise of the British power Mogals, Mahrattas and Sikhs had
 alike to yield Year by year the
 red line which marked the British possessions
 was advanced further to the north Bengal,
 Benares, Oude, Allahabad, Cawnpur, Farrukha-
 bad, had in turn fallen, till, on the 11th of Septem-
 ber, 1803, General Lake defeated the Mahratta
The capture of Delhi, A. D. 1803 army commanded by Bourquin,
 beneath the walls of Dehli, and
 four days later entered the capital of Hindostan as
 a conqueror On the 1st of November the battle of
 Laswari was fought, when the Mahrattas were
 again defeated with great loss, and Sindhia, by the
 treaty of Snji Anjengaom, ceded Sirsa, Hissar, Roh-
 tak, Dehli, Gurgaon and Agra, to the British Go-
 vernment The three first named districts were not,
 however, taken under British administration till the
 year 1809

The Cis-Satlaj Chiefs miscalculated the strength
The Sikh estimate of the English. of the English They had besides
 made friends with the Mahrattas,
 Bourquin had just over-thrown their most danger-
 ous enemy, and for these reasons they fought
 on the side of the Mahrattas at Dehli against
 the English Among those present in this battle
 were Gurdit Singh Ladwa, Bhangra Singh of
 Thanesar and many minor Chiefs, though it does not

terior in energy and knowledge, but how complete was the anarchy
 and confusion in India at the close of the last century Thomas was
 an able man in some respects, but his ability was in no way remarkable
 But when he obtained power, at the time of the disintegration of the
 Delhi monarchy and while the Mahratta power was now threatening to
 become predominant and now appearing about to crumble into ruins, India
 was in perhaps a more anarchical state than at any other period of her
 history and any adventurer, untroubled with scruples and of ordinary
 capacity, might have carved out for himself a kingdom

appear that the Phulkian Chiefs or the Bhai of Kythal were present or sent a contingent

During the whole of the year 1804, the Sikhs in the neighbourhood of the Jamna, incited by Amir Khan, the Rohilla Chief, and Jaswant Rao Holkar, Mahratta, continued to be hostile, and large parties constantly crossed the river and ravaged the country * On the 18th of December 1804, Colonel Burn, leaving his camp standing, made a forced march of twenty miles and surprised and completely routed the Sikhs, and Raja Bhag Singh and Bhai Lal Singh, wise in their generation, joined the English army with their forces on the 26th January 1805, bearing letters from Colonel Ochterlony to Colonel Burn, who bestowed presents upon them and treated them with politeness † The hostile Sikhs, some 6,000 in number, were at this time encamped at Mulánah, some twenty miles to the south-east of Panipat, but retired when the British force marched against them, and their movements were so rapid that they were not overtaken, but after having been driven for two months from one place to another, they thought it expedient to recross the Jamna into their own territory

An amnesty was proclaimed in the month of March 1805, by the Commander-in-Chief to all those Sikhs who would agree to observe peace and abstain from operations against the English, and in a short

An amnesty proclaimed by the English General, A D 1805.

* Lord Lake to Colonel Ochterlony, 2nd February 1804 Colonel Burn to Colonel Ochterlony, 4th March, 24th March, 6th June, 8th June, 28th November, 30th November and 2nd December 1804

† Colonel Burn to Colonel Ochterlony, 20th December 1804, 30th January 1805

time this was accepted by Rai Singh of Jagadri, whose brother Sher Singh had been mortally wounded in the engagement with the English of the preceding year, and by all the Chiefs in arms, with the exception of Sirdar Gurdit Singh Ladwa who was expressly excluded from its provisions, although he had not been so active against the English as the Jagadri Chiefs, and his fort of Karnal, which Raja Bhag Singh had lost some years before, was captured by the English in April*.

In October 1804, Jaswant Rai Holkar, who had just gained a great triumph over the brigade of Colonel Monson, laid siege to Delhi with 20,000 men, but was repulsed by General Ochterlony and Colonel Burn, after a most gallant defence which lasted nine days. Two months later, at Fatahgarh and Deeg, Generals Lake and Fraser utterly routed the Mahrattas, inflicting on them immense loss, while their leader, Holkar, left without an army, and after vain attempts to create a new one south of the Jamna, went northwards to seek among the Sikh Chieftains more reliable, if not more efficient aid, than he could obtain from Sindhia,

* Colonel Burn to Colonel Ochterlony, 29th March 31st March, 2nd 5th, 7th, 8th, 9th 10th, 11th, of April 1805. Sudars Sahib Singh and Gurdit Singh of Ladwa were members of the Krori Singha confederacy. They were Sansi Jats of the village of Bain Pori, ten miles of south of Amritsar and joined the troop of Mit Singh Rohela about 1758. After the defeat of Zin Khan Governor of Suhind, in 1763, they seized Rahan Sham,har and Ladwa. The last named district fell to the share of Gurdit Singh. In a skirmish with Agha Shahh, near Karnal Saahb Singh was killed and Gurdit Singh took the whole estate, with the exception of Sham,har, given to the brother of Sahib Singh's widow, and twelve villages given to Bhagwan Singh the adopted son of the deceased. Gurdit Singh was granted the district of Badowal by Ranjit Singh. He was succeeded by his son Ajit Singh, who built a bridge over the Sarasuti or Saraswati at Ihanesar, and obtained the title of Raja. He rebelled in 1845: his estates were confiscated and he was imprisoned at Allahabad. He contrived to escape, after killing his keeper and after long wanderings is supposed to have died in Kashmir. His children are still living in the North West Provinces.

who hated him while he was compelled to appear his friend. He remained for some months at Pattiala, and obtained large contributions from both Raja Sahib Singh and Rani Aus Kour, between whom there was a violent quarrel, but he was not able to induce the Raja to give him much active assistance, and when General Lake had seriously taken the field against him, in October, 1805, and entered the Punjab in pursuit, he was compelled to take flight to Amritsar, where, on the 11th of January 1806, a treaty was concluded between Holkar and the British Government, by which the former gave up all possessions in North India, while Sirdar Ranjit Singh of Lahore agreed to give the Mahratta no assistance.

It is now necessary to return to Pattiala, where the disputes between the Raja and Rani Aus Kour had grown more bitter than ever and their unfortunate results were seen in all the neighbouring States. The Rani turned her arms against Jaswant Singh of Nabha and Raja Bhag Singh of Jhind, having for her allies, Bhai Lal Singh of Kythal and Sudar Bhanga Singh of Thanesar.

The contest was continued for some time with varying success and much bloodshed, till, at length, Raja Bhag Singh, desirous of putting an end to it in a manner favorable to himself and his ally of Nabha, requested the aid of his nephew Ranjit Singh of Lahore. Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha joined in his request, for he had just been defeated by the Pattiala Chief at Mirwana, and was eager for revenge. Ranjit Singh was only too glad of an opportunity of interference, and, on the 26th of

*The disputes at
Pattiala between
Raja Sahib Singh
and the Rani*

*The mediation of
Ranjit Singh of
Lahore requested.*

July, 1806, crossed the Satlej with a force which was estimated at 30,000 horse, though half this number would be nearer the truth, accompanied by Sirdar Fatah Singh Ahluwalia, Gurdit Singh Ladwa and other Chiefs. On the 28th he took possession of Doladhi, a town belonging to the Raja of Patiala and the subject of dispute between him and Nabha, and some twenty two miles to the north of the capital, and the following day he reached Nabha*.

It does not appear that the British authorities had been requested to decide the dispute between Nabha and Patiala, and although they desisted to believe the friendly professions of Ranjit Singh, yet they viewed his approach with some distrust and anxiety. Raja Bhag Singh indeed wrote, assuring the Resident at Delhi that the only object of his nephew's visit was to settle the disputes which had arisen at Patiala itself and among the petty Chieftains in the neighbourhood, but it was still considered advisable to strengthen the Karnal garrison in case Ranjit Singh should enter the district in force. But he had no wish to offend the English, and there was abundant territory which he could seize without rousing their jealousy. He proceeded no further south than Ambala and Thanesar, and then retired northwards, having done little to restore friendship between the Patiala Raja and his wife, but receiving from both large sums of money to secure his goodwill. The position of his uncle Raja Bhag Singh he considerably strengthened, giving to him the

* Circular of Resident Delhi to all Residents, Magistrates, &c., dated 1st November 1806. Captain Murray to Sir E. Colebrooke dated 12th April and 11th May 1828.

town of Ludhiana and its surrounding villages, which he had taken from the Mussalman Rajputs of Raikot, who had held it for about two hundred years.*

This unfortunate family was completely despoiled to reward the friends and allies of Ranjit Singh. The chief representatives were, at this time, two women, Nur-un-nisa, widow of Rai Alyas Khan, and Lachmi, but Ranjit Singh had no generosity and preferred despoiling a widow to attacking a Chief who was better able to resist. From the plunder of this family Raja Bhag Singh received the districts of Ludhiana, Jhandála, Kot, Jagraon and Basia, including 54 villages, of an annual rental of Rs 23,260, Sirdar Gudit Singh of Ladwa, the districts of Baddowal, with portions of Jagraon, 32 villages, worth Rs 23,540, Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha, portions of Kot Basia, Talwandi and Jagraon, 31 villages, worth Rs. 26,690, Sirdar Fatah Singh Ahluwalia, portions of Dhaka, Kot, Basia, Jagraon and Talwandi, 106 villages, worth Rs 40,505; Diwan Mokham Chand portions of Ghilla, Kot, Jagraon and Talwandi, 71 villages, worth Rs. 33,945, Sirdar Bassawa Singh 10 villages in Kot and Jagraon worth Rs 5,714, and Sirdar Bhanga Singh one village in Talwandi worth Rs. 400. The only other conquest of Ranjit Singh, during this campaign, was the district of Ghumgrana from Gujar Singh, Jat Singh and Kabil Khan, which he divided between Sirdar Gudit Singh Ladwa and Raja Juswant

* President Dehli to Officer Commanding at Karnal, dated 10th November 1806 - Officers Commanding at Meerut, Karnal, Rewari and Saharunpur to Resident Dehli, dated 3rd, 4th, 5th, 10th of November 1806

Singh, the former taking 5 villages worth Rs 23,550, and the latter 7 worth Rs 3,350 *

The departure of the Raja of Lahore was the signal for a renewal of the conflict between Sahib Singh and Rani Aus Kour. The confusion into which the administration fell was inconceivable, the officials taking one side or the other as they fancied their own fortunes would be better furthered, and perpetual fights and bloodshed being the result. It became unsafe for strangers to enter the territory, and Lieutenant White, employed by the British Government on a survey of the frontier, was fired upon at Khonalah, a town held by the friends of the Rani, compelled to retrace his steps and abandon his survey for the time, although furnished with full authority under the Raja's hand and seal †

The Pattiala Sirdars and the Rajas of Jhind and Nabha who had benefitted so much by the late visit of Ranjit Singh, again invited his assistance, which he very willingly promised. He collected a large body of horse, under the command of his famous General Diwan Mohkam Chund, and Sudars Fatah Singh Ahluwalia and Ghariba Singh; ‡ and in September 1807, he appeared before Pattiala where the intrigues of the former year were repeated in order to induce him to expouse the cause of one party or the other. It was a mere question of money, and the Rani bribed highest. Besides money and diamonds, she gave

* Vide Appendix A—Statement of the conquests of Maharaja Ranjit Singh during the years 1806, 1807, 1808, and History of Diwan Mohkam Chund in Panjab Chiefs, p. 552.

† Lieutenant White to Resident Delhi, 18th and 28th July 1807
Resident Delhi to Lieutenant White 25th May 1807

‡ Resident of Delhi to Major General Commanding Mathra dated 20th August 1807

Ranjit Singh a brass gun named Khuri Khan, afterwards taken by the English during the Satlej campaign, and by his influence and that of the The compromise effected Rajas of Jhind and Nabha, Sirdar Bhangra Singh of Thanesar and Bhai Lal Singh, a compromise was at last effected, by which an estate of Rs 50,000, consisting of the districts of Banur, Manimajra, Sunour, Surahi Bissoli and Minarthal, was settled upon Rani Aus Kour for the maintenance of herself and her son Kour Karm Singh *

After this arrangement, Ranjit Singh marched The conquests of Ranjit Singh during 1807-1808, by way of Ambala to Naranagarh, a strong fort held by Kour Kishan Singh, which he invested For nearly three weeks it held out, and in one of the assaults, Sirdar Fatah Singh, Kalianwala, one of Ranjit Singh's bravest Generals, was mortally wounded. After the capture of the place, it was conferred with its surrounding villages on Sirdar Fatah Singh Ahluwalia, the estate being valued at Rs 12,580 a year The same Chief received 3 villages of Jat Mal Singh of Raipur, worth Rs 1,200, and 3 villages in Ghumgrana, captured from the same Chief and worth Rs. 2,255, were given to Raja Bhag Singh of Jhind, with the estate of Morinda, in Sirhind, taken from the sons of Dharam Singh who refused to pay a *nazrana* to the invader This estate consisted of 27 villages and was worth Rs 17,000 The Nabha Chief only received one village from the Ghumgrana estate, while Diwan Mokham Chand, who was fast rising to favour, obtained the district of Zira, now in the Ferozpur district, taken

* A copy of this document accompanies the letter of Captain Ross, D Superintendent to Agent to Governor General Delhi, dated 5th February 1823

from the widow of Sirdar Mohr Singh Nishánwala and comprising 12 villages, worth Rs 7,500, Kot Kapura in the same district, held by Jaggat Singh of Buriá with 77 villages, worth Rs 61,400; and 12 villages from Dharam Kot, being part of the estate of Sirdar Tara Singh Gheba who had lately died. The remainder of this estate, with the exception of a few villages, was given in jagir to Gharba Singh, whose share consisted of 62 villages, worth Rs 22,634. The remainder of the Ghumgrána district, 36 villages, worth Rs 23,415, was conferred on Sirdar Karam Singh of Nagla.*

During this same campaign the district of Wadn in Ferozpur was conquered by Diwan Mokham Chand, and later in the year was given by the Maharaja to his mother-in-law Mai Sada Kour, whose family lived in Raoki, a Wadn village.†

* Vide Appendix A

The fort of Ghumgrána, with these villages, belonged to Sirdar Tara Singh Gheba. Soon after his death, the Rajas of Pattiala, Nabha, Jhind, Bhu Lal Singh of Kythál and Gurdit Singh of Ladwa, joined forces and besieged it. The fort was defended by Gujar Singh, son of Sirdar Tara Singh for some time with success, till at length Ranjit Singh raised the siege by a message to the contending Chiefs, ordering them to desist, and, in spite of their disgust, they obeyed the order. Was it then possible that the Maharaja, for once in his life, should protect the weak against the strong, and do an action which might be called generous? The motive was easily found. He sent an army to seize the fort and estate for himself, and the unfortunate Gujar Singh, unable to resist, fled to Pattiala.

† Diwan Mokham Chand, in March 1808, captured Patoki and 15 villages of the Wadn district from Mian Noudan. In September, the Maharaja when encamped at Maler Kotla, made an unconditional grant of the whole district to Sada Kour, who paid for it Rs 15,000. She was put in possession of the fort of Patoki and the villages seized by Mokham Chand, but she did not obtain possession of Wadn and Himatpur till 1817, when she crossed the Satley in person and took both the forts by force of arms from Amar Singh, son of Mian Noudan, who had died some time before. Her right did not however arise from this action of hers, but from the grant of Ranjit Singh, for Mian Noudan had from the date of the grant been recognized as her zamindar and Su D Ochterlony in a decree dated 21st November 1811 gave her full authority to employ troops against him. The expedition against Amar Singh was, on the same

The Cis-Satlej Chiefs now began to perceive that unless they united among themselves or invited foreign assistance, they would, one by one, be destroyed by the Lahore Raja, whose power their own divisions had so much increased. In March 1808, Raja Bhag Singh of Jhind, Bhai Lall Singh of Kythal and Sudar Chen Singh, the confidential Agent of the Raja of Pattiala, visited Mr Seton, the Resident at Dehli, to sound him as to the extent and kind of protection which the British Government might be willing to afford them *

The Government was disposed to protect them, but had not determined how to act, and the Chiefs then proceeded to Hurdwar, hoping to make some amicable arrangement with Ranjit Singh who meditated a visit to the sacred city, but, at the last moment, after all had been prepared for his reception, he changed his mind and remained at Lahore. One reason for this was that he had heard of the intrigues of the Pattiala Raja with the English and desired an interview with that Chief on Sikh soil rather than on British, where he could not use force if he were unable to persuade. He accordingly proposed a meeting with Raja Sahib Singh at Lakhnour south of the Satlej. The Raja was most unwill-

Ranjit Singh arranges a visit with the Raja of Pattiala at Lakhnour

grounds, permitted by Sir D. Ochterlony, who authorized her to eject Amar Singh from his villages in a precept dated 20th July 1816

Vide also Sir D. Ochterlony to Captain Ross, dated 7th November 1821, and Captain Murray to Sir H. Colebrooke, dated 19th February 1828

The estate of Wadni has lately been the subject of a political claim in the course of which it has been affirmed that the district was conquered by Sada Kom in the first instance and also that it was inherited by her. Both assertions are utterly untrue

* Resident Dehli to Mr C. Metcalfe, 2nd April 1808

ing to accept the invitation and evaded compliance for some time, but at last he consented from sheer terror, and the meeting took place on the 24th November 1808, when Maharaja Ranjit Singh appeared at the head of his army, which he had been employing in the reduction of Faridkot, Sarnawal, Jhandbar, Barrampur, Dhari and Chandpur, all of which, worth some Rs 50,000 a year, he had granted to his favorite Mohkara Chand. He received Raja Sahib Singh with the utmost kindness, swore to remain always his friend; to have no enemies but his enemies, no friends but his friends, and, as a token of eternal brotherhood, the Chiefs exchanged turbans, a ceremony which had in it something of a sacred nature but in which neither were sincere, nor were any of those who witnessed the engagements persuaded that they were made otherwise than for temporary convenience.* After this farce had been played out, Ranjit Singh marched northwards, accompanied by Raja Bhag Singh of Jhund, to the Satlej, which he crossed on the 2nd December, leaving a garrison of nearly ten thousand men behind him in Ambala, which he had taken from Ram Dya Kour, widow of Sundar Gurbaksh Singh, who had died in 1783 † Raja Sahib Singh made no secret of his

Ranjit Singh's return to the Punjab, December 1808.

* Letter of Resident Delhi, to Secretary to Government, dated 7th December 1808, and of Mr C Metcalf, Envoy to Lahore to Resident Delhi, dated December 9th, 1808

† Sundar Gurbaksh Singh had himself obtained Ambala by violence and fraud. The town and district were first conquered by Sangat Singh, who made them over to his brother-in-law Dhyan Singh and went to Staghwala in Ferozpur, where he died. Dhyan Singh also went away, leaving Gurbaksh Singh and Lal Singh as feudatories in charge, but after five years absence, he found they had taken possession for themselves, and refused to give up the town. Lal Singh then built a fort called Jamvatgarh, on the Pattiala border, rousing the jealousy of Raja Anru Singh, who attacked him in company with the Raja of Jhund and the Rai of Kot, but was unable to prevent

sentiments, which may be best seen from a letter which he addressed to the Resident of Delhi, who, on the approach of the Maharaja of Lahore, had written

*The account given
by Sahib Singh of
the Maharaja's
visit*

to Sahib Singh, without waiting for distinct orders from Calcutta, and had promised him protection. This comforting letter Sahib Singh did not, however, receive till after the dreaded interview was over. His own narrative of what occurred is as follows —

“Having marched from Kotlah to this quarter, he (Ranjit Singh) expressed a desire that a meeting between us should take place. He himself advanced to the neighbourhood of Pattiala and fixed his camp at Ambala, which he took possession of, moreover, in consequence of Sirdar Bhanga Singh having come to Pattiala through friendship for me, and joined my party, he ordered Dumah and other places belonging to the said Sudar to be given up, and placed them in charge of Sahib Singh Bahk, who had united with the Chiefs of Aluah. He then encamped at Shahabad. The kind conduct (used ironically) which he observed towards the family of the late Karm Singh, a relative of mine, is well known. Although after such conduct on his part, I should have declined a meeting, yet upon his reaching Shahabad he sent Raja Bhag Singh, Chen Singh, my agent, and his own agent Must Singh to Pattiala, for the purpose of expressing his wish to meet me. Still, however, four or five days were taken up in discussing the

the building of the fort. After the death of Lal Singh, his colleague, Guibaksh Singh, became sole Sirdar. He died childless, and his widow, Dya Kour, succeeded in 1783. She was temporarily ejected by Ranjit Singh, but was restored by General Ochterlony, and held the estate till 1823, when it lapsed to Government. She was an excellent ruler and her estate was one of the best managed in the Protected Territory.

“matter on my part, but at length all the Chiefs
“gave it as their opinion that since Mr Metcalfe
“had been sent on the part of the Governor General
“to wait on the Singh Sahib (Ranjit Singh),
“and establish the relations of friendship, my object-
“ing and opposing singly would be of no avail.
“Having no choice, I followed the advice of the
“Chiefs, and, marching from Pattiala, I encamped
“at Laknour, where Baba Sahib Bedi Sahib Singhji,
“the revered descendant of Baba Nanak, was already
“encamped. The second day after my arrival the
“Singh Sahib (Ranjit Singh) left Shahabad and
“repaired to the same place, and we met in the
“presence of Baba Sahib. Four or five days after
“thus, no further intercourse taking place, I sent
“for Mast Singh, the agent to the Singh Sahib,
“and asked the reason for the discontinuance of our
“intercourse. He replied that the wish of the
“Singh Sahib was to bring about that complete
“and precise friendship which is testified by an
“exchange of turbans, adding, that in the event of
“my objecting, although in consequence of the
“presence of Baba Sahib nothing hostile to me
“might be manifested, yet, after my departure for
“Pattiala, the real intentions of the Singh Sahib
“would be evident.

“My friend, after repeated delays, I became
“at length completely hopeless, and seeing that the
“mind of the Singh Sahib was inclined to violence,
“I was induced, by the advice of all the Sardars, to
“consent to his desire. Had your kind letter
“arrived at Pattiala two or three days before my
“departure, notwithstanding the number of his troops
“then in my country, I would have replied to him
“in the language of defiance.”

The letter is interesting, both as giving a true account of the facts and a striking picture of the feebleness of the Raja of Pattiala. The Resident at Dehli returned a friendly and encouraging answer, as also to a letter from Raja Bhag Singh of Jhind directly asking for British protection for Pattiala, Nabha and Jhind; but the Resident was not in a position to give full assurances of protection * Sahib Singh then urged his case in stronger terms, assuring the Resident that "he considered the officers of the English Government his superiors, patrons and protectors," without whose aid he had no hope of safety †

It is now necessary to go back in the narration a few months, to show the intentions of the British Government towards the Cis-Satlaj States, and the modifications which circumstances effected in those intentions

In 1808, when the European Napoleon was at the height of his power, the Governor General received intelligence that the French, who, for some time, had been endeavouring to establish themselves in Persia, designed also the conquest of Kabul and the Punjab. The Government accordingly determined to despatch Envoys to both Lahore and Kabul, who might persuade the rulers of those countries that their interests and those of England were identical, and that their wisest policy was to unite for the destruction of the common enemy.

* Resident to Raja Sahib Singh, dated 3rd December 1808, and to Raja Bhag Singh of the 4th December. Letter of Raja Bhag Singh to Resident received 8th December 1808

† Raja Sahib Singh to Resident dated 4th December 1808

Mr C T Metcalfe was selected to conduct the Lahore negotiations, and Mr Elphinstone those with Kabul, and, in August 1808, the former started on his mission

Envoys despatched to Lahore and Kabul

At the time of the mission to Lahore, Ranjit Singh had conquered a large portion of the Punjab proper, between the Jhelam and the Bias Those Chiefs, like Jodh Singh Ramgharia and Fatah Singh Ahluwaha, who still held a large extent of territory, were, in reality, subject to his authority and attended him on all his expeditions with large contingents of troops The north-west portion of the Punjab was held by the Afghans, the province of Multan by Muzaffar Khan, and the hill country by Raja Sansar Chand, Katoch, but all these were beginning to respect the power and the fortune of the Maharaja and to calculate the time when his arms would be turned against them. His great ambition was to be ruler of the whole Sikh nation,

The position of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1808, and his feeling regarding the Cis-Satlej States and the British Government

and from this design he was not to be turned except by finding opposed to him a power greater than his own. Already, in the campaigns of 1806, 1807, 1808, he had made considerable progress in reducing the country between the Satlej and the Jamna, aided not more by his own energy and determination than by the apathy of the Cis-Satlej Chiefs who had no union among themselves, whose interests were mostly conflicting, and who seemed to wait, with despair, their certain absorption, unless the British Government should take them under its strong protection, and of this they had now little hope They still continued, and with some success, to impress upon the Maharaja

His ambition and conquests

that the British Government was prepared to defend them against his attacks, but after the discouraging reception which the principal Chiefs had experienced from the Resident at Dehli, in March, they were disposed to trust more to the clemency of the

The despair of the Cis-Satlaj Chiefs, who resolve to make terms with Lahore Maharaja than the protection of the English. Soon after this interview, the whole party, with the exception of Sirdar Bhagwan Singh of Jagadri, went to Lahore, and were still there, in attendance on the Maharaja, when the British Envoy reached Kassur, in September * The Chiefs, with him, at that time, were Raja Bhag Singh of Jhind, Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha, Bhai Lal Singh of Kythal, and Gurdit Singh of Ladwa, while the Raja of Patiala, the Chiefs of Thanesur, Basia and others were represented by their agents. Some of these Chiefs, as has before been shown, had acknowledged the supremacy of Ranjit Singh by aiding him in the field and by accepting estates from the conquered territory, which they held, on jagir tenure, subject to him

Little was indeed wanting to extend his authority over all the Cis-Satlaj States, and the fear of English interference, which had hitherto influenced him, was growing weaker and weaker as he perceived that his successive encroachments met with no opposition

This dream of a Sikh monarchy uniting the whole nation under his rule, having, for the Maharaja, so great an attraction, it was to be supposed that any

Ranjit Singh had no reason to love the British Government

* Letter of Mr. Metcalfe to Government of India, dated 1st October 1808

opposition to its realization from the British Government would be sufficient to change him from a suspicious ally into a secret enemy, or indeed into an active and open one, should any opportunity occur, when, by alliance with a foreign power, he might hope to avenge himself upon the Government that had thwarted him. Over the whole territory that he had conquered his power was absolute, for his policy was to remove to new jagirs the families he had reduced and to entrust their possessions to such of his dependants whose devotion he could surely trust. Although in the army there was much disaffection, yet he was implicitly obeyed, and every private soldier was taught to look to the Maharaja as his master, although he might be serving under the banner of his own hereditary Chief. By the Sirdars he was hated, for he had destroyed their power, and he treated them with a hauteur which showed his determination to make no distinction between them and the common people so far as absolute subservience to himself was concerned. The Envoy to Lahore remarked that the Cis-Satlej Rajas and Chiefs in the Maharaja's Camp were as submissive as if they had long been used to his authority and showed no sign of independence whatever.

He was hated by the Chiefs of the Punjab proper

Towards the British Government, the Maharaja, at this time, had no sincere good-will; and it was commonly reported that he intended to try his strength with the English, and had, with this design, made a secret alliance with Holkar and the Raja of Bhutpur. Though this was unfounded, and although the Maharaja was too wise to wish for a rupture with the British Government, yet he, like

His jealousy of the English

all ambitious princes, looked with the greatest jealousy, if not hatred, upon any power stronger than his own, especially one whose interests he knew were adverse to his, and whom he suspected of an intention to thwart his most cherished schemes. He had not yet learnt the strength and resources of the British Government, and his unvarying success and the flattery of his courtiers had half persuaded him that he was invincible. Such being the position and the sentiments of Ranjit Singh, it was hardly to be supposed that he, to whom the French Emperor was a very doubtful danger and a possible ally, should have entered with any enthusiasm into the designs of the Governor General, without seeking to obtain some real and tangible advantage for himself.

Mr. Metcalfe left Karnal in the middle of August 1808, and on the 22nd, arrived at Pattiala, and was received by Raja Sahib Singh with the greatest politeness. At the first public reception, the Raja tried to induce the Envoy to accept the keys of the town and to restore them as a gift on the part of the British Government, saying, in the strongest language, that he threw himself on its protection, and that without it his Government and life would end together. Mr Metcalfe declined the ceremony, understanding that the Raja desired to thus obtain the appearance of a guarantee from the British Government for the integrity of his State, and, assuring him of the good-will which the Government entertained for him, remarked that the keys of Pattiala had for long been secure in his hands and that there was every hope of their long remaining so *

The British Embassy leaves Karnal, August 1808

Reaches Pattiala.

* Mr Metcalfe to Government of India, 24th August 1808

The Raja had, nevertheless, good reason for alarm. It was given out publicly at Lahore that Ranjit Singh was about to march against Faridkot, adjoining the Pattala territory, and intended to deprive Sahib Singh of all his possessions; and after the departure of the mission, the Raja hastily began to strengthen Pattala and his other forts, though his weakness and indecision were such that it was most unlikely he would offer any resistance to the Maharaja, should he appear as an enemy.

As the Envoy approached the capital of the Lahore State, the Maharaja marched into camp at Kassur, with the double object of being prepared for the expedition beyond the Satlej, which he had definitely determined, and of preventing the British Envoy from seeing his principal cities of Lahore and Amritsar. Mr Metcalfe reached Kassur on the 11th of September and was courteously received, * but it was difficult to induce Ranjit Singh to enter upon the subject of the negotiations with which Mr Metcalfe was entrusted. Meeting after meeting took place at which all reference to business was studiously avoided, the Raja seeming to desire to cross the Satlej and commence his campaign without waiting to hear the propositions of the Envoy at all.

At length, at a private Durbar, Mr Metcalfe, was invited to explain the wishes of the British Government, which he accordingly did, pointing out the danger

* Mr Metcalfe to Government of India, dated 2nd, 4th, 5th, and 13th of September 1808.

threatened by a French invasion, that the Maharaja and the English were both deeply interested in preventing it, and that an alliance of the two States, for mutual defence, would be the highest wisdom. The Maharaja and his advisers expressed the greatest satisfaction at the prospect of an alliance with the English and an entire concurrence in the Governor General's wishes.* This alliance, it was said, would put to shame those who spoke of hostility between the two States; and it would be materially strengthened by the agreement of the Envoy to certain propositions which the Maharaja had laid before the Governor General, and which, it was presumed, the Envoy had authority to answer. The chief point was the acknowledgment of Ranjit Singh's sovereignty over all the Sikh Chiefs and territories, after which the treaty could be signed and the alliance with England remain firm for ever. Mr Metcalfe urged that in the defensive treaty against France the advantage to both the English Government and the Maharaja was apparent, and that it was not fitting to turn from this common basis to propositions which only concerned the advantage of one party. The Sikh ministers, however, pressed for a reply to their demands, and it was decided that both parties should put their propositions in writing for further consideration.† The next day, after another conference with his ministers, in which the Envoy had held out little hope of his claims over the Cis-Satlaj States being allowed, Ranjit Singh struck his Camp, and

* Mr Metcalfe to Government of India, dated 15th, 17th, 18th and 20th September 1809

† Mr Metcalfe to Government of India, 23rd, 24th, of September 1809

The Maharaja crosses the Satlej and determines to break off negotiations

inviting the Envoy to follow him, marched to the Satlej, and the next day crossed the river and encamped at Khai, a village some ten miles inland* His jealousy was now fully roused the mission to Kabul be desired to stop, as he believed that an alliance with that Court, hostile to himself, was projected, and the mission to his own Court he determined to get rid of as soon as possible Mr Metcalfe was justly displeased at the discourtesy with which he was treated, but he followed the Maharaja to Khai and had another interview which did not much advance the negotiations † But the question was, in a way,

He captures Faridkot

settling itself Faridkot surrendered to Ranjit Singh without offering any resistance on the 1st of October, and the Chief prepared for further conquests, though he had promised to remain at Khai for sufficient time to enable the negotiations to be concluded On the 4th of October, in spite of the protests of the Envoy, who urged that he had no authority to accompany the army on a campaign, he marched to Faridkot to inspect his new acquisition ‡ The Envoy felt

The draft treaty of the Envoy

himself constrained to follow as he had already submitted a draft treaty and was awaiting the Maharaja's reply §

* Mr Metcalfe to Government of India, 25th, 26th, September 1808.

† Mr Metcalfe to Government India dated 30th September 1808

‡ Mr Metcalfe to Government India, of 1st, 5th and 15th October.

§ The treaty only consisted of three proposition.—

1 A defensive alliance between the two States against France in case of any invasion

2 Free passage and assistance to an English army, should it be necessary to meet the enemy beyond the Indus or in Afghanistan

3 The maintenance of a line of communication with Kabul, the messengers and runners to be especially protected by the Maharaja

The draft treaty of the British Envoy only referred to an alliance against France; *The draft treaty of the Maharaja* but the Maharaja, who considered that the present was the time to obtain concessions from the English Government, submitted, on the 8th October, the draft of a second treaty, also consisting of three propositions, the first, asking for non-interference in his disputes with the sovereign of Kabul, the second, concluding a perpetual alliance between him and the English; and, the third, declaring his right of sovereignty over the whole Sikh country. It required, moreover, this right to be acknowledged, with an engagement that no Chief should be defended by the English, but that the whole country should be left to his management, without any interference whatever.

The Envoy again stated that he had no authority from his Government to make any promise or sign any treaty regarding Ranjit Singh's connection with Kabul or the Cis-Satlej States, but agreed to refer the propositions to Calcutta for the decision of the Governor General. It was finally decided that two treaties should be drawn up, one containing the propositions of the Maharaja, the other, those of the Envoy, and that both should be forwarded to Calcutta for ratification.*

The Maharaja, the day after this decision, *Who marches against Maler Kotla.* marched from Faridkot to Maler Kotla, 70 miles to the eastward, where Ata-ulla Khan was still Chief. At Faridkot he had not made up his mind whom to attack. He had no enemies in the Cis-Satlej States upon

* Mr Metcalfe to Government of India, dated October 20th 1808. With this the draft treaties were forwarded, and the notes of the 9th, 11th and 14th of October of the Maharaja and Envoy.

whom specially to avenge himself, to him all were enemies who were independent of him or who possessed wealth which it was possible for him to seize. The Rajas of Pattiala, Nabha and Jhind had promised him a large sum of money if he would put them in possession of Batner, Sirsa and Fatahabad, the three principal forts of the Bhatti country; but Ranjit Singh was too cautious to risk an expedition into a country so ill-supplied with water and grass; and he possibly may have suspected the real motive of his advisers, who desired to engage him in a difficult contest with the Bhattis, in which his power might be broken or in which he might give offence to the British Government, by invading territory which was theirs by conquest, though they had not yet taken formal possession. So he chose the policy of plundering Chiefs who were unable to resist, and demanded from Maler Kotla a tribute of a lakh of Rupees, part of which, after some protest, was paid, as the seizure of the whole estate would have been the result of a refusal, and for the remainder the Phulkian Chiefs gave their security. The Maler Kotla Chief, on the day of Mr. Metcalfe's arrival in

*The Afghan Chief
implores British
protection*

camp, sent an agent to implore his assistance and to claim the protection of the British Government, but the Envoy could only tell him that he was unable to interfere, though the Government had no sympathy with this act of oppression, and that the presence of the mission in the Maharaja's camp gave no sanction to the Cis-Satlej expedition *

It was indeed high time to give such assurances, for the presence of the Envoy with the Maharaja could not but be misunderstood. How-

* Mr. Metcalfe, to Government of India 25th October 1808

ever insincere the conduct of Ranjit Singh may have been, there was something of genius in his policy which deserved success. When the Envoy first commenced his negotiations, the Maharaja at once perceived that an opportunity had arrived for demanding an acknowledgment of his right to sovereignty over the Cis-Satlej States, the first desire of his heart. It is true that he had absolutely no right to such sovereignty, and had himself proposed to Lord Lake that the Satlej should be the frontier line of the two States. But since that time his strength had infinitely increased, and his ambition had grown with his strength. Besides, he fancied, perhaps erroneously, but still with some reason, that the British Government were somewhat in his power. France to him was a name and nothing more—he neither loved

The defensive treaty proposed by the Government gave an advantage to them alone

nor hated it, or its Emperor, and he clearly perceived that the Envoy's assurances that the Governor-General desired this defensive treaty against France out of a sincere regard for the interests of Lahore and that the Punjab, and not British India, was the State that would benefit by the alliance were absurd—for England, and not Lahore, was the enemy of France, and if the love of the British Government for him was so great, why had they so long kept it a profound secret? Yet if they were sincere, if they truly thought first of him and his interests, rather than of their own, and had no desire to persuade him into an alliance which might be fatal to his rule, let them prove their sincerity by admitting his supremacy over the Cis-Satlej States.

He required considerable advantages to him

So the Maharaja argued, and it is difficult to

say that he was wrong. For these reasons he determined to make the acceptance of his terms the condition of his signing the treaty, he resolved to protract the negotiations as long as possible so as to allow him time to seize as much of the Cis-Satlej territory as he could before the negotiations were completed, for he would thus have, in possession, the best of arguments, while, if he could only entice the British Envoy to join his camp, he would have almost an authority to continue his conquests, and the Cis-Satlej Chiefs would be deprived of all heart for resistance when they saw the Envoy of the Power to which they looked for protection in the very camp of the enemy.

With designs such as these, Ranjit Singh, by persuasion and promises and trickery, drew the Envoy to the Satlej, to Khai, to Faridkot, and lastly to Maler Kotla. Here Mr Metcalfe determined to make a stand. He perceived that he had been used as a tool to work out the Maharaja's ends, and when it was proposed that he should proceed to Ambala, in the vicinity of those very Chiefs who had solicited the protection of the Government, where the negotiations should be concluded, he resolved to refuse any longer to approve, by his presence, the subjugation of the entire country. He accordingly communicated his absolute objection to proceed further with the army, and desired some place to be assigned at which the mission might wait until the campaign was over*.

Ranjit Singh now determined to make a last effort to shake the Envoy's resolution, and to obtain

* Mr Metcalfe to Government of India, 26th October 1808

from him a declaration that he, the Maharaja, had full authority over the Cis-Satlej States and that the British Government would not interfere to protect them. Mr Metcalfe has left

A passage of arms a most interesting account of this passage of arms, in which Ranjit Singh himself took part with his principal ministers, Diwan Mohkam Chand, Bhowani Das, Misr Prab Dyal, Fakir Azizuddin and Imamuddin, and Sirdar Mith Singh Padhana. The subject of the conversation had been often discussed before and the Envoy had nothing new to say. It was urged that the Governor General had referred this very question of the Cis-Satlej States to his decision the Envoy could only reply that the Governor General would no doubt wish from him full information on the subject, and that this would be furnished, but that no authority had been granted him to complete the arrangement, and that without such authority no action would be valid. One passage from the Envoy's description of the interview may be here quoted* —

“ Reverting to the object of his wishes, the Raja said that the only little doubt that remained in his mind proceeded from his not being able to conceive why the Governor General should hesitate to grant such a trifling request. He did not, he said, ask any country from the British Government, he only wanted to be left to carry on his concerns with the people of his own nation, his brethren, without interference. That they all acknowledged his supremacy, and that he merely wanted the

“ Governor General to say that he would not dispute what was acknowledged by all That the British Government had given away territories yielding large revenues on many occasions and was known to make great sacrifices for its friends, and that he was not able to account for the hesitation in complying with his small request. “ I remarked upon this, that if the object of his request was tardy, the earnestness with which he pursued it was surprising, and that if it was important, he ought not to wonder that a certain degree of deliberation should take place upon it ”

The Envoy finally declined any declaration such as that desired without a reference to his Government, nor would he engage to do more than submit the whole matter for the consideration of the Governor General After this, the hope of the negotiations being brought to a speedy or even a satisfactory termination seemed very remote The Maharaja appeared determined to make his adhesion to the treaty dependant upon the acceptance of his propositions by the British Government, and after vainly attempting to persuade the Envoy to accompany him to Ambala, he assigned the town of Fatahabad for the residence of the mission, and started from Maler Kotla with his army on the 1st November 1808, * having despatched to the Governor General a letter in which were reiterated the arguments which had failed to make any impression on the Envoy His campaign, after parting with

Neither party would give way

The mission halted at Fatahabad

The progress of the campaign.

* Mr Metcalfe to Government of India, 1st November 1808

the mission, was of the briefest. As has been before stated, he seized Ambala from the widow of the late Chief, and, not content with the land, he converted to his own use the money and jewels of this unfortunate lady. Shahabad he took from the sons of Sudar Karm Singh, but restored it on the payment of a fine for the payment of which the Raja of Pattiala became security.

The only Chiefs who had not submitted to the supremacy of the Maharaja, a submission extorted by violence, fraud, and the prospect of imminent danger, were Sudar Bhangra Singh of Thanesar and the Raja of Pattiala; and towards the capital of the latter he marched the third week in November. Bhangra Singh joined Raja Sahib Singh at this place, and their united forces would have been able to offer a serious resistance to the Maharaja. But he was ever more of a diplomatist than a warrior. He preferred to attack those who were unable to defend themselves; and throughout his march he had scrupulously avoided injuring the territory of Raja Sahib Singh. In the same way, although he took several places from Sirdar Bhangra Singh of Thanesar, a very powerful Chief, yet he restored them again without any apparent cause. His infantry and artillery were at Thanesar several days, but were recalled without any attempt to injure the place. The meeting between him and Raja Sahib Singh has been described, and there can be no doubt but that Ranjit Singh felt as much hesitation regarding it as Sahib Singh himself. He would have liked to attack the Raja and annex his country, but he dared not do so, and

*Ranjit Singh
marches to Pattiala.*

*The meeting be-
tween the Chiefs of
Lahore and Patti-
ala, November 1808*

he instead swore eternal friendship with the intention of breaking the oath on the first suitable opportunity. After this he returned to Amritsar by forced marches, arriving there on the 4th December, and was joined by Mr Metcalfe, the British Envoy, on the 10th of the same month.

Ranjit Singh returns to Amritsar

The storm which had been long impending over the Maharaja now broke, and the Envoy's first duty was to give him a letter from the Governor General, rebuking him for his discourteous treatment of the Mission and emphatically declaring the Cis-Satlej Chiefs under the protection of the English Government.* From the note of the Envoy of the 12th December,† may be learnt the

The ultimatum of the Governor General

The protection of the Cis-Satlej territory declared

* Vide instructions of Government to Mr Metcalfe dated 31st October 1808.

† Note of Mr Metcalfe of 12th December 1808, transmitted to the Raja of Lahore.

"His Lordship has learnt with great surprise and concern, that the Maharaja aims at the subjection of Chiefs who have long been considered under the protection of the power ruling in the north of Hindoostan, and is more especially astonished to find that the Maharaja requires the assent of the British Government to the execution of his design.

"By the issue of a war with the Mahrattas the British Government became possessed of the power and right formerly exercised by that nation in the north of Hindoostan.

"At the time the Maharaja had no claim on the country between the Satlej and the Jamna. In an early period of that contest, a communication was received from the Maharaja by the late Lord Lake, which proposed to fix the Satlej as the boundary between the British Government and his, which is a clear proof that the Mahrattas in those days were well aware that the country in question was dependant on the power paramount in the north of Hindoostan.

"Since the British Government has come into this situation, it has relieved the Chiefs between the Satlej and Jamna from tribute and that degree of subordination which they were used to pay to the Mahrattas, and has allowed them to carry on their own concerns without interference or control. But this liberality on the part of the British Government was meant for the benefit of those Chiefs, not for their injury. It was never intended that the forbearance of the British Government should be taken advantage of by another power, to oppress and subjugate those whom the British Government wished to protect and relieve.

"In reply therefore to the Maharaja's requisition it is hereby declared that the British Government cannot consent that these Chiefs should

considerations which induced this decision of the Government; but other reasons, which it was then in-

The true reasons for the determination of the British Government.

convenient to state openly, had their weight. A French invasion was beginning to be believed the impossibility it really was; and the desire for a defensive alliance against France was growing naturally weaker. The British Government was not, at any rate, disposed to allow its northern frontier to be in a chronic state of invasion or disturbance in order to obtain a treaty which would probably be worthless when obtained. For, in the first place, a French invasion was most

be subjugated by the Maharaja or any other power, and it is hereby announced that those Chiefs, according to established custom, are, and will remain under the protection of the British Government.

“Exclusive of these considerations which are sufficient to demonstrate the just principles by which the determination of the British Government is swayed, there are circumstances in the conduct of the Maharaja in bringing forward his proposal, which would, in any case, make it impossible to comply with

“The British Government sent an Envoy to the Maharaja to give him information of a great danger, and to offer the assistance of the British Government to repel it, and made certain propositions to the Maharaja which were particularly calculated to promote his interest. The Maharaja, for reasons which are not discernible did not receive those propositions with the same confidence and cordiality with which they were made, but in reply brought forward a demand for the assent of the British Government for the subjugation of the Chiefs connected with it, and made a compliance with that demand, the condition of his assent to the friendly propositions of the Governor General. It would be unworthy of the dignity of the British Government to comply with any demand so brought forward.”

“Besides this, the Maharaja, in making a reference to the British Government on this subject instead of waiting for a reply, proceeded to execute his intention of subjugating the Chiefs, taking the country, which were the objects of the reference, thus apparently endeavouring to secure his object, whether the reply should be favorable or not.

“In making the reference the Maharaja shewed that he well knew that, without the consent of the British Government, he had no right to invade the country between the Satley and the Jamma, for if this had not been the case, there would not have been any necessity to make the reference. It was therefore, peculiarly inconsistent with the respect due to the British Government, and an improper return for the friendly confidence which that Government had reposed in the Maharaja, to proceed to seize the object of his requisition, without so much as waiting for a reply.

unlikely, and, in the second place, were the treaty concluded, it was still more unlikely that Ranjit Singh would respect it, should an invasion take place. The Government argued that as the Maharaja systematically broke every engagement, however solemn, formed with his own Chiefs and friends, he would not be likely to treat a foreign power with more honesty, should it be to his advantage to betray it.

The check given by the letter here quoted, *Ranjit Singh unwilling to accept the declaration as final* was quite unexpected by the Maharaja, but he pretended to treat the declaration of the Governor General as not final, and to be altered by negotiation, though the Envoy assured him that the decision was unalterable,

"This is quite contrary to the established practice amongst States, which requires that when one power makes a reference to another, it should await the result of that reference. This principle is so clear, and according to the rules of common respect so indispensable, that it is surprising that the Maharaja should not have attended to it. I have repeatedly endeavoured to impress it on the Maharaja's mind, but without success.

"Moreover, the Maharaja proceeded to execute his plans without giving any notice to me, and although he carried his arms close to the confines of the British territories, never made any candid communication to me of his designs, but sometimes even assigned a different intention from that which afterwards appeared.

"In addition to those circumstances, the Maharaja's behaviour towards me, the representative of the British Government was in other points neither consistent with the respect due to a great State, nor with the confidence due to a friendly State. The Maharaja will find in his own breast an explanation of this observation, and his recollection will point it to the facts which have caused it. It is unnecessary in this place to particularize them, suffice it to say, that they constituted a violation of the rules established for the intercourse between States.

"Under all these circumstances, even if the Maharaja's demand had been in itself unexceptionable, it would have been impossible to comply with it.

"I am directed by the Right Honorable the Governor General to protest against the invasion of the country between the Sattlej and Jamma in the name of the British Government, and further to declare, that the British Government cannot acknowledge any right in the Maharaja to any territories that he may have taken possession of, situated between the Sattlej and the Jamma, since the first reference of this question to the British Government.

and pressed for an immediate reply to the demands of the Government * But this was precisely what Ranjit Singh desired to avoid. Afraid to defy the English Government, and refuse compliance with its demands he yet could not find it in his heart to resign the new and valuable possessions, Ambala, Faridkot and Sanjwal, which he had won so triumphantly, and under the Envoy's very eyes. So he ^{The negotiation} delayed the negotiations by a ^{delayed} thousand artifices. Now, Prabdyal, the Kapurthalla Agent, was essential to the consultation and must be summoned, now it was Mith Singh Padhania, for whose arrival everything must wait, disturbances broke out in Amritsar and he must leave for Lahore; at Lahore, similar disturbances prevented him from thinking of other matters. He promised compliance, yet made no effort to carry out his promises, and he complained bitterly of the change of policy of the British Government, whose Envoy had arrived with the

"Moreover, the Governor General feels himself authorized to expect, and entertains no doubt, that the Maharaja will restore all the places that he has taken possession of since that period to the former possessors, and will confine his army to the right bank of the Satley, since he can have no object in maintaining it on the left bank, except to overawe and subjugate the Chiefs situated between that river and the Jamna, who are now declared to be under the protection of the British Government.

"In expressing these sentiments, I am directed to inform the Maharaja, that the British Government is desirous of maintaining the most amicable relations with his Government, and wishes that the friendship subsisting between the two States may daily improve and increase. The British Government desires no country for itself. It has enough, and its only ambition is to improve the territories of which it is possessed, and to promote the happiness of its subjects. It wishes to live in amity with all mankind. It cannot consent to the subjugation of Chiefs who are closely connected with it, and have claims on it for protection.

"At the same time, it entertains the most friendly designs towards the Maharaja, with whom, notwithstanding the just causes of complaint, which the Maharaja's conduct has afforded, it is anxious to cultivate the relations of intimate friendship."

* Mr Metcalfe to Government, dated 14th, 15th, and 16th December

expressed object of increasing the friendship between the two States and concluding a treaty against France. Yet the only friendship shown was in thwarting his schemes and his policy, which was neither new nor strange, while the original object of the treaty was altogether forgotten *

At this time the Maharaja had all but decided upon war with the English. The movement of British troops to the Satlej seemed to him to prophesy a no distant day when his dominions would fall into the hands of strangers; and he was inclined to prefer a struggle in which success seemed to him not impossible, to relinquishing his most cherished design, the subjugation of the whole country between the Satlej and the Jamna. He accordingly carried on his military preparations with the utmost activity. Troops were called in from all quarters, ammunition and military stores were collected, the new fort of Govindgarh at Amritsar was prepared for defence, and guns were mounted and provisions laid in for a siege. Diwan Mohkam Chand, the best of the Sikh Generals, and a bitter enemy of the English, who, with a large force, had been sent to Kangra to

* Mr Metcalfe to the Government, dated 20th and 22nd December 1808, and 3rd and 4th of January 1809, and notes of Mr Metcalfe and Ranjit Singh dated 25th, 26th, 29th of December and 4th January.

It is impossible to deny that there was some truth in the complaint of Ranjit Singh, and the following extract from Colonel Ochterlony's instructions is not without significance —

"As the intelligence lately received of the favorable change in the aspect of affairs on the continent of Europe justifies a conviction that the project of France against the British possessions in India must, if not entirely abandoned at least, be so far suspended, as to render any extraordinary and immediate preparations for defence unnecessary, the views and intentions of Government, under which your instructions of the 29th ultimo were framed, are materially altered. — Government to Colonel Ochterlony, 30th January 1809

assist Raja Sansar Chand in expelling the Guikhas, was hastily re-called, and marched to Phulor Ghat, on the Satlej, opposite the town of Ludhiana, where he encamped.* But the Maharaja had no sooner formed his design than he abandoned it, and al-

*Changes his mind
and withdraws from
Ambala*

though it was openly reported in Lahore that Mohkam Chand was about to cross the Satlej and join the Ambala garrison,† the troops, with the exception of four companies of infantry, were withdrawn from Ambala on the 12th of January. They determined, however, to be unpleasantly remembered by Raja Sahib Singh, and on their return march, devastated Niamalpur and Jaiswah, about 20 miles from Patiala ‡

The detachment of British troops, which the Government had decided to station on the Satlej, as a check to any further extension of Ranjit Singh's power to the south and as a guarantee of efficient protection to the Cis-Satlej Chiefs, crossed the Jamna on the 16th January 1809. It was under the charge of

*Colonel Ochter-
lony's character.*

Lieutenant Colonel D Ochterlony, who had been specially selected by Government for the service, as possessing, in addition to the highest intelligence and energy, an accurate acquaintance with the politics of the north-western Frontier. § Colonel Ochterlony's instructions left a good deal to his discretion. He

* Mr Metcalfe to Government, 12th January 1809, and notes of Mr Metcalfe and the Maharaja of the 4th, 6th, 7th and 8th January

† News letter Lahore, 12th of January, and Resident of Dehli to Government of India, dated 18th January 1809.

‡ Resident of Dehli to Government of India, 17th January 1809, and news writer at Patiala to Resident of the same date

§ Government to Colonel Ochterlony, dated 14th and 18th November 1808. Colonel Ochterlony to Resident Dehli, dated 16th and 17th January 1809

was to watch the movements of the Maharaja, to obtain information regarding his power, resources, and the disposition of the Chiefs subordinate to him, to be careful to bind the Government by no promises to the Maharaja, and, on the other hand, to close with no offers of assistance or demands for protection from disaffected Chiefs in the Punjab proper; though he was to allow them to understand that, at some future time, their services might be acceptable. The compulsory engagements, made by the Maharaja with the Pattiala and other Chiefs, were not to be considered binding, and it was to be his especial care to reconcile the Cis-Satlej Chiefs to British protection by showing them that it was essential to their very existence; while the only advantage the Government could derive from its connection with them would be to have, in time of difficulty, a confederacy of grateful Chiefs, bound to it by ties of interest and affection. The protection was at first to be general but would be defined later. No subsidy would be asked from them; but hereafter they would have to contribute towards the expense of their own defence. It was also intimated to Colonel Ochterlony, that the detachment under his command would be eventually employed in resuming the conquests made by Ranjit Singh during his last campaign.*

On the 14th of January 1809, Bhai Gurbaksh Singh, an agent of the Maharaja's, arrived at Pattiala, for the purpose of desiring Raja Sahib Singh or his minister Chen

* Government of India to Colonel Ochterlony, dated 29th December 1808, and Government of India to Resident Delhi, dated 26th December

Singh, with the Rajas of Nabha and Jhind, to wait upon his master at Amritsar. Sahib Singh, who knew that the English were preparing to cross the Jamna, refused to send any one to

His refusal

Amritsar He said that Jaswant Singh of Nabha could go or not, as he chose; and expressed his satisfaction that Raja Bhag Singh of Jhind had already, in accordance with the advice of the Resident at Dehli, joined Colonel Ochterlony *

This officer arrived at Pattiala on the 1st February. He had been received, on his march, with evident satisfaction, by the Chiefs through whose territory he passed, and Ranu Dya Kour of Ambala came in person to thank the representative of the British Government

The joy of the Raja.

for the restoration of her territory Raja Sahib Singh welcomed him with a joy almost childish, so great was his relief at being freed from all apprehension of the Maharaja of Lahore † On the 5th of February, the detachment marched to Nabha, where Colonel Ochterlony was received by Raja Jaswant Singh with equal

The Maler Kotla Chief reinstated.

though more decorous satisfaction ‡ He then proceeded to Maler Kotla and reinstated the Pathan Chief in his former authority, for it will be remembered that Ranjit Singh had demanded a contribution of a lakh of rupees from this little State, compelling the Raja of Pattiala and other Chiefs, whose police stations and collectors

* Resident Dehli to Government dated 15th, 19th, and 20th January
Colonel Ochterlony to Resident Dehli of 20th January

† To give some insight into Sahib Singh's character, it may be stated, that although the interview with Colonel Ochterlony had been fixed for an early hour, it was not till past noon that it was granted, many hours having been spent by the Chiefs in persuading the Raja to allow his son, a boy of 12 years of age, to be present at the interview

‡ Colonel Ochterlony to Government 4th February 1809

were all over the territory, to become securities for its payment.*

The negotiations at Lahore were not advancing favorably. The Maharaja talked of joining his army on the Satlej, which would have been equivalent to a declaration of war.

He would not consent to relinquish Faridkot and other territory to the south of the Satlej, the troops recalled from Ambala had not yet recrossed that river, the army continued to collect at Phulor, and all preparations for war were continued, while Diwan Mohkam Chand stopped the Envoy's post and acted in so offensive a manner that Mr Metcalfe considered he would be compelled to leave Amritsar and break off all further negotiations. He expressed his conviction that Ranjit Singh was determined upon war, and recommended to the Commander-in-Chief, the invasion of the Punjab, as the best means of breaking the Maharaja's power and ensuring a satisfactory peace†. The general disaffection in the Punjab was what Mr Metcalfe counted upon to secure success to the English. He believed that every principal Chief would gladly throw off the Maharaja's yoke, which was almost too heavy to bear. Ranjit Singh knew his danger and made extravagant promises to his followers. His mother-in-law, Mai Sada Kour, he petted and coaxed, for

* Colonel Ochterlony to Government, 9th February 1809

† Mr. Metcalfe to Government of India, dated 18th, 21st, 26th, January. Resident Delhi to Government, 5th February

Mr Seton, the Resident at Delhi recommended a more cautious policy believing that Ranjit Singh would never rush into war unless rendered desperate.

she was the head of the great Rangharia confederacy, and he knew she had been intriguing with the English. He again cohabitated with her daughter Mehtab Kour, his first wife, whom he had long discarded, and he acknowledged as his own, Sher Singh and Tara Singh, two children called her sons, but with whose existence neither he nor Mehtab Kour had anything to do and whom he had till now disowned.*

The Maharaja could not, however, fail to perceive that the advance of the British army under General St Leger and the detachment under Colonel Ochterlony, was productive of considerable effect on the Satlej Chiefs, who, fearing to compromise themselves with the English, withdrew one by one, their contingents followed their example; and had it not been for a considerable reinforcement from Lahore, the army of Diwan Mohkani Chand would have disappeared. At length, Ranjit Singh awoke to the fact that the British Government was not to be turned from its resolution by his opposition, and he determined, though somewhat late, to persuade the world that he was a consenting party. He, accordingly, sent to Colonel Ochterlony, Sirdar Sada Singh and Nizamuddin Khan, to see if the new Englishman was more practicable than Mr Metcalfe †

These men arrived at Colonel Ochterlony's camp on the 13th February. They were full of complaints of Mr. Metcalfe's reserve, and the Maharaja's pacific and generous

* Government of India to Mr Metcalfe 23rd January 1809, and Mr Metcalfe to Government of India of 29th January and 3rd February

† Mr Metcalfe of 6th, 12th, and 15th February, to Government

spirit, and after having obtained all the information regarding the intentions of the Government they were able to extract, they persuaded the Colonel to halt for a few days until some reply should be received from the Maharaja.*

The conduct of Colonel Ochterlony, in this instance, was disapproved by the *His action disapproved by Government.* Government. He was told that he would have acted more prudently in refusing to allow any representation of the Maharaja's Agents to delay the advance of the detachment, that by listening to remonstrances founded on an impeachment of the candour and sincerity of the Envoy, he had exposed to risk the dignity of the British Government, and that the more manifest the hostility of the Maharaja, the more the honor and interest of the Government demanded his unhesitating advance †

The policy of the Governor General had *The change of policy of the Governor General* been greatly changed by circumstances. Seeing no longer any danger from France, he had thought it advisable to give up the idea of a military post at Ludhiana or at some other place on the Satlej, and establish it rather at Karnal, where its presence would give no offence to Ranjit Singh. ‡ But the representations of the Commander-in-Chief, of the Resident at Dehli and Colonel Ochterlony, caused Ludhiana to be finally selected, though only as a temporary measure § The change of policy of the Government simply amounted to this. A French

* Colonel Ochterlony to Government, 14th February 1809 General Ochterlony to Major General St. Ledger 10th February 1809

† Government to Colonel Ochterlony of 13th March 1809

‡ Government to Colonel Ochterlony of 30th January 1809

§ Ludhiana has remained a Military Station ever since 1809.

invasion being now a remote contingency, there was less objection to a treaty of amity with Ranjit Singh and less necessity to limit his power. Having steadily refused to conclude any treaty of amity until the Maharaja should accede to the demands made upon him, it was for the honor of Government to meet him with a sincere friendship, now that he showed willingness to comply with those demands. Two draft treaties were accordingly sent to Mr Metcalfe. The restitution of the late conquests was to be complete, the older conquests would not be interfered with, but Ranjit Singh was not to claim allegiance from the Cis-Satlaj Chiefs, even for territory which he himself had given them.*

Colonel Ochterlony, who reached Ludhiana on the 20th of February, resigned his command on the arrival of the reprimand from Government, but, while his resignation was accepted, his services and zeal were so warmly commended that he was induced to recal it and remained in political and military charge of Ludhiana †

The negotiations at Lahore were now drawing to a satisfactory termination. A circumstance which showed Ranjit Singh the power which discipline gave to the British army is said to have strengthened his desire to keep on good terms with the British Government.

This was an attack made on Mr Metcalfe's escort at Amritsar, by the fanatical Akahs ‡ of the Golden Temple,

*The attack on the
Escort at
Amritsar*

* Government of India to Mr Metcalfe, dated 13th March 1809
Government of India to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief of the same date

† Colonel Ochterlony to Government of 15th April and 4th May
Government to Colonel Ochterlony of 29th April and 13th June

‡ "Akahs"—immortals The military priests of Sikhism

who were enraged with the Muhammadan soldiers belonging to the British camp, for celebrating the festival of the Muharam in the neighbourhood of the sacred city. These men, whose courage and military qualities were notorious, headed by one Phula Singh, afterwards well known in Punjab history, were completely routed by the few British Sepoys upon whom the undisciplined valour of the Akalis could make no impression.* The outrage

The repulse by the British troops

had no political significance nor had the Maharaja any share in it. It was an outburst of Sikh fanaticism, from which the Maharaja himself had suffered more than once, † and his power, which rested very much on opinion and on the respect paid by the Sikhs to the representative of the Gurus and the head of the Khalsa, was not sufficient to punish men whose only offence was too great a zeal in the service of religion.

The surrender of Faridkot, held by Diwan Mohkam Chand, was the most difficult concession to obtain from the Maharaja, and every possible delay was made and every artifice employed to avoid it, so much so, that the British Envoy again thought that war was inevitable ‡. But at length, on the 2nd of April, the place was evacuated by the Lahore troops and made over to its rightful owner §. The conclusion of the

* Mr Metcalfe to Government, 26th February and 7th March

† Only two months before this, Lahore and Amritsar had been in a state of revolt, because Moran, the mistress then in favour with the Maharaja, had persuaded one of her friends to turn Muhammadan for her love. The Hindus and Sikhs were furious, and demanded that she should be given up to them. Ranjit Singh refused, but with a generosity as rare as it was just, he offered them instead her brother, whom they might put to death.

‡ Mr Metcalfe to Government, 22nd March 1809. Resident Delhi to Military Secretary to Commander in-Chief, 1st April

§ Colonel Ochterlony to Government of India, 6th April 1809

treaty now became easy, and the second draft forwarded from Calcutta being accepted by Ranjit Singh in its integrity, it was signed at Lahore, on the 25th of April, and received the confirmation of the Governor General in Council.*

By this treaty Maharaja Ranjit Singh resigned, for ever, all supremacy over the Cis-Satlej Chiefs, and all claims to the Cis-Satlej territory which came under the protection of the British Government. Nor did the Maharaja, at any future period, seek to evade its provisions which destroyed his most cherished ambition and to which he had agreed with so much reluctance. Had it not been for the tact, patience

*** TREATY BETWEEN THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND THE RAJAH OF LAHORE.**

WHEREAS certain differences which had arisen between the British Government and the Rajah of Lahore have been happily and amicably adjusted, and both parties being anxious to maintain the relations of perfect amity and concord, the following Articles of Treaty, which shall be binding on the heirs and successors of the two parties, have been concluded by Rajah Ranjit Sing, on his own part, and by the agency of Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, Esquire, on the part of the British Government.

ARTICLE 1.—Perpetual friendship shall subsist between the British Government and the State of Lahore. The latter shall be considered, with respect to the former, to be on the footing of the most favored powers, and the British Government will have no concern with the territories and subjects of the Rajah to the northward of the River Satlej.

ARTICLE 2.—The Rajah will never maintain in the territory occupied by him and his dependants on the left bank of the River Satlej, more troops than are necessary for the internal duties of that territory, nor commit or suffer any encroachments on the possessions or rights of the Chiefs in its vicinity.

ARTICLE 3.—In the event of a violation of any of the preceding Articles, or of a departure from the rules of friendship on the part of either State, this Treaty shall be considered to be null and void.

ARTICLE 4.—This Treaty, consisting of four Articles, having been settled and concluded at Amritsur, on the 25th day of April 1809 Mr Charles Theophilus Metcalfe has delivered to the Rajah of Lahore a copy of the same, in English and Persian, under his seal and signature, and the said Rajah has delivered another copy of the same,

and diplomatic ability of Mr Metcalfe, the British Envoy at Lahore, the treaty would never have been concluded at all, - or only as a concession extorted after a successful campaign *

From this time, till the year 1845, the history of the Cis-Satlej States is, for the most part, distinct from that of the kingdom of Lahore. The protected Chiefs were too well aware of the certain danger they had escaped to intrigue with the Maharaja against the English and were too contented to have any cause for intrigue; while Ranjit Singh himself, shrewd enough to understand the strength of the British Government and wise enough to accept the inevitable, found abundant work for his restless ambition in the conquest of Kashmir, Peshawar, Multan and the Dorajat.

From 1809 the history of the Cis-Satlej States is altogether separate from that of Lahore

under his seal and signature, and Mr Charles Theophilus Metcalfe engages to procure, within the space of two months, a copy of the same duly ratified by the Right Honble the Governor General in Council, on the receipt of which by the Raja, the present Treaty shall be deemed complete and binding on both parties, and the copy of it now delivered to the Raja shall be returned

Seal and Signature of

C I M L I C A L I E,

Signature and Seal of

RAJAH RANJIT SINGH

*Company's
Seal.*

(Signed) MINTO

Ratified by the Governor General in Council on the 30th May 1809

Letters of Government, to Mr Metcalfe of 3rd June 1809 to Colonel Ochterloup of the 11th and 20th June, and to Maharaja Ranjit Singh of the 3rd June

* As a supplement to the Treaty, a Proclamation of protection against Lahore was issued to the Cis-Satlej Chiefs, of which the following is a translation —

" It is clearer than the sun, and better proved than the existence of
" yesterday that the detachment of British Troops to this side of the Satlej
" was entirely in acquiescence with the application and earnest entreaty of
" the Chiefs, and originated solely through friendly considerations in the

No one of the Cis-Satlej Chiefs was more rejoiced at the new order of things, than the Raja of Patiala. Possessing a character whose weakness bordered on imbecility, he felt that he was unable to resist Ranjit Singh, and, indeed, it was with the utmost difficulty that he could hold his own, against Ranu Aus Kour, his ambitious and clever wife, who, not content with the estate granted her, demanded also a share in the administration of the State.

It was not long before the weakness of the Raja was shown in a desperate outrage committed in his territories on Captain White, employed in surveying the boundary line,

The satisfaction of Patiala at the result

“British to preserve the Chiefs in their possessions and independence. A treaty having been concluded on the 5th April 1809 between Mr Metcalfe on the part of British Government, and Maharaja Ranjit Singh, agreeably to the orders of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, I have the pleasure of publishing, for the satisfaction of the Chiefs of the country of Malwa and Sirhind the pleasure and resolutions of Government contained in the seven following Articles —

- “ARTICLE 1.—The country of the Chiefs of Malwa and Sirhind having entered under the protection of the British Government, in future it shall be secured from the authority and control of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, conformably to the terms of the treaty
- “ARTICLE 2.—The country of the Chiefs thus taken under protection shall be exempted from all pecuniary tribute to the British Government
- “ARTICLE 3.—The Chiefs shall remain in the exercise of the same rights and authority within their own possessions, which they enjoyed before they were taken under the British protection.
- “ARTICLE 4.—Whenever a British Force, for purposes connected with the general welfare shall be judged necessary to march through the country of the said Chiefs, every Chief shall, within his own possessions, assist and furnish the British Force, to the full of his power, with supplies of grain and other necessaries which may be demanded
- “ARTICLE 5.—Should an enemy approach from any quarter for the purpose of conquering this country, friendship and mutual interests require that the Chiefs join the British Army with their forces, and exerting themselves in expelling the enemy, act under discipline and obedience
- “ARTICLE 6.—Any European articles brought by merchants from the eastern districts for the use of the army shall be allowed to pass by the chamlas and sundars of the several districts belonging to the Chiefs, without molestation or the demand of duty,

who, it will be remembered, was compelled, two years before, to suspend operations owing to the disturbed state of the Pattiala territory. This gentleman, who had with him about 80 native troopers as an escort, was attacked at the village of Chowki, by a large body of horse and foot under the command of the Akali Phula Singh, the same man that had attacked Mr Metcalfe's escort at Amritsar. The number of the enemy was soon increased by contributions from the neighbouring villages, to upwards of a thousand men, and, after a retreat in which all the tents and baggage were lost, the little British force only found safety by storming the hostile village of Patoki, which they held gallantly till the arrival of Ram Singh, nephew of Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha, and fresh reinforcements restored tranquility and forced the enemy to disperse. In the skirmish, six of Captain White's party were killed and nineteen wounded.*

Representations were made to the Resident at Delhi that the outrage had been caused by the conduct of some of Captain White's escort, but this was clearly proved to be false, and strenuous efforts were made to punish those concerned in the attack. The Rajas of Nabha and Jhind, and Bhai Lal Singh promised their cordial assistance, as did the Raja of Pattiala, but his imbecility was such that nothing could be hoped from him. Phula Singh, who resided at Dandama, near Battinda,

* ARTICLE 7—All horses purchased for the use of the Cavalry Regiments, whether in Sirhind or elsewhere, the bridle of which being furnished with sealed rahdarees from the Resident at Delhi or Officer Commanding at Sirhind, the several Chiefs shall allow such horses to pass without molestation, on the demand of duty.

* Captain White to Resident Delhi, 24th and 25th December 1809, and Lieutenant Marshall to Captain White of 25th December 1809

owned allegiance to no Chief, and his sacred character as an *Akālī* was his protection on this occasion, as it had been at Amritsar. Finding the British Government determined to punish him, he crossed the Satlej and returned to Amritsar, from which place he defied the power of Ranjit Singh to remove him * Much pressure was put upon the Maharaja to compel the surrender of the criminal, but Phula Singh had great influence, and, although he was banished for a time, he was later taken into favour and became the leader of the *Akālī* troops in the Maharaja's service †

The mismanagement of the Pattiala State became now so gross, owing to the *The disorder in the
Pattiala State.* growing imbecility of the Raja and the rapacity of his advisers, that Colonel Ochterlony was compelled to interfere, although the proclamation of the 3rd of May 1809 had reserved to the Chiefs the right of perfect liberty in their internal affairs. But the other great Chiefs of the Phulkian house, the Rajas of Nabha and Jhind and their friend and connection Bhai Lal Singh, were most anxious that the Agent should use his influence to restore some order to the administration. The Raja was completely in the hands of unworthy favourites, whose ascendancy was used to aggrandize and enrich themselves. His wife, Rani Aus Kour, was too able and independent to be in favour with the Raja's

* Resident Delhi to Colonel Ochterlony of the 24th and 27th January, and 22nd and 23rd February, and 26th April 1810. Resident Delhi to Adjutant General of 2nd February 1810.

Resident Delhi to Secretary to Government of 7th and 11th May

† The history of this man is most romantic. He was killed after having distinguished himself in many battles, at Teri on the *Indus* river, where the Afghans were defeated chiefly through his courage and devotion. Curiously enough he offered his services to Mr Moorcroft at Lahore in 1820.—*Travels in the Himalayan Provinces*, Vol. 1, p. 110, also vide *Carmichael Smyth*.

advisers, who wished to retain all power themselves, and the Raja had been taught to look upon her with suspicion and dislike

On the 9th January 1811, at the invitation of *The British Agent at the Pattiala, 1 D 1811* Raja Sahib Singh and the Rajas of Nabha and Jhind, Colonel Ochterlony visited Pattiala. The Raja appeared most desirous that some satisfactory arrangement should be made by which order might be restored. He wished, however, to place the administration in the hands of Rani Khem Kour, his step-mother, whose interests were distinct from his own and from those of the heir to the throne, and whose rapacity was as great as that of any of the Ministers. Although Colonel Ochterlony would have desired to see Rani Aus Kour at the head of affairs, a wish that was shared by the Rajas of Jhind and Nabha, he would not consent that any one should be appointed in opposition to the wish of the Raja, at any rate, till such time as the instructions of the Governor General should be received.

It was agreed by the Rajas and Bhai Lal *Certain reforms agreed upon and effected* Singh that certain reforms should be made without delay, that the extravagant grants of land should be resumed, and new ones made with reference to the just claims of the grantees, and that jagirdars should be compelled to keep their contingents ready for service. Colonel Ochterlony recommended to Government that Rajas Jaswant Singh and Bhag Singh should be authorized to place, in case of necessity, the *Divani*, or general administration, in the hands of Rani Aus *And others were mandated* Kour, who was admittedly the only person competent to undertake it,

subject to the condition that all business should be conducted in the name of Raja Sahib Singh, and that the Rani should soften any refusal by referring to the Rajas of Nabha and Jhind, who should decide what was expedient to grant or reject.

The Government of India, while entertaining a favourable opinion of the measures proposed by Colonel Ochterlony, was averse, on general principles of policy, to take any direct participation in their adoption. This was the first occasion, since the Cis-Satlaj States had been taken under British protection, that the direct interference of Government had been requested, and the reason for its determination was that it considered an adherence to the principle, which had

been so often and so solemnly professed, of abstaining from all interference in the internal administration of the Cis-Satlaj States, of more importance than the attainment of the benefits which a deviation from that principle might be expected to produce in an individual case. That even if the interference was with consent of the Chief and his friends most directly interested, yet still the credit of the public professions of the Government would be lessened, that the interference of a powerful State in the affairs of a weaker was necessarily progressive, with relation not only to the latter but to others contiguous; that such interference involved the guarantee of the arrangements which it was employed to introduce, and placed the interposing power in connection with some local interests and in opposition to others; while, by the natural effects of

The Supreme Government unwilling to interfere.

Its reasons

* Colonel Ochterlony to Government, dated 9th March 1811

action and re-action, the Government which employed its influence for the adjustment of these foreign concerns would be ultimately compelled to become the arbiter, and controller of the local administration in all its branches, and to identify the rights and interests of the protected State with its own. On these grounds the Government desired its Agent to limit his interference to advice and recommendation on points that might be submitted to his judgment.*

The British Government was not however long in discovering that, with every wish to abstain from interference with the affairs of the Chiefs, these latter were likely, if left to themselves, to destroy each other as effectually as if their ruin had been left to Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Believing that their mutual aggressions would not be checked, the larger and more powerful Chiefs prepared to absorb the smaller; and it was found necessary to address to them a second proclamation, warning them of the penalties to which violence and disturbance would render them liable.†

*The proclamation
of the 22nd August
1811*

* Government of India to Colonel Ochterlony of 5th April 1811

† Colonel Ochterlony to Government 18th and 30th of July Mr Metcalfe to Colonel Marshall Commander 3rd Division Field Army, dated 21st May 1811 Government to Colonel Ochterlony dated 5th July, to Mr Metcalfe, of the same date.

**PROCLAMATION OF PROTECTION TO CIS-SATLEJ STATES
AGAINST ONE ANOTHER, 22nd AUGUST 1811.**

"For the information and assurance of the Protected Chiefs of the plains between the Satlej and Jamna

"On the 3rd of May 1809, a proclamation comprised of seven Articles, was issued by the orders of the British Government, purporting that the country of the Sardars of Suind and Malwa, having come under their protection, Rajah Ranjit Singh, agreeably to treaty, had no concern with the possessions of the above Sardars, that the British Government had no intention of claiming tribute or fine, and that they should continue in the full control and enjoyment of their respective possessions. The publication of the above Proclamation was intended to afford every confidence to the Sardars, that they had no intention

After the departure of Colonel Ochterlony from Pattiala, affairs appeared to promise well. The Raja, actuated perhaps by caprice, accepted the advice that had been offered him placing Rani Aus Kour at the head of the administration, and it was not long before a marked improvement was apparent * When she obtained power every department was in the utmost disorder and the Raja could not even raise 250 horse for the service of the British Government, but, by the end of the year, all was changed. Villages which had not paid revenue for years were reduced to obedience and compelled to liquidate their long standing balances, and the jagrdars were compelled to supply con-

Rani Aus Kour placed at the head of the administration.

The immediate improvement resulting from the change

of control, and that those having possession should remain in full and quite enjoyment thereof

* Whereas several zemindars and other subjects of the Chiefs of this country have preferred complaints to the officers of the British Government who, having a view to the tenor of the above Proclamation, have not attended, and will not in future pay attention to them, for instance, on the 15th June 1811, Dowlawar Ah Khan of Samana, complained to the Resident of Delhi against the officers of Raja Sahib Singh, for jewels and other property said to have been seized by them; who, in reply observed, "that the village of Samana being in the territory of Raja Sahib Singh, this complaint should be made to him," and also on the 12th July 1811, Dussownda Singh and Gurmook Singh complained to Colonel Ochterlony, Agent to the Governor General, against Sirdar Churrit Singh for their shares of property &c and in reply, it was written on the back of the petition, that, "since during the period of three years no claim was preferred against Churrit Singh by any of his brothers, nor even the name of any co-partner mentioned, and since it was advertised in the Proclamation delivered to the Sardars, that every Chief should remain in the quiet and full possession of his domains, their petition could not be attended to." The insertion of these answers to complaints is intended as examples, and also that it may be impressed on the minds of every zemindar and other subjects, that the attainment of justice is to be expected from their respective Chiefs only, that they may not, in the smallest degree swerve from the observance of subordination. It is therefore highly incumbent upon the Rajas and other Sardars on this side of the River Satlej, that they explain this to their respective subjects and court their confidence,

* Raja Sahib Singh to Colonel Ochterlony of 14th 23rd and 25th March. Colonel Ochterlony to Raja of 15th 24th and 28th March.

tingents proportionate to the lands they held, so that, in December 1811, the Raja had 2,000 horse and 2,000 foot in arms, enforcing arrears due from refractory zamindars, while, in place of being burthened with debt, he had a lakh of rupees in his treasury.

But the evil advisers of the Raja were not disposed to allow the Rani to retain power without an effort to overthrow her. The two most prominent numbers of the opposition were Albel Singh and Gujar Singh. The first of these held a grant of all the Bángar country, adjoining that of the Bhatties, and he was bound to keep up a sufficient force to maintain order and to remit Rs 7,000 a year to the treasury. When the

*The intrigues
against the Rani*

*Alhel Singh Govern-
or on the Lhatti
frontier*

that it may be clear to them that complaints to the officers of the British Government will be of no avail, and that they consider their respective Sirdars as the source of justice, and that of their free-will and accord they observe uniform obedience.

"AND WHEREAS according to the first Proclamation, it is not the intention of the British Government to interfere in the possessions of the Sirdars of this country, it is nevertheless, for the purpose of anchoring the condition of the community, particularly necessary to give general information, that several Sirdars have, since the last incursion of Raja Rangit Singh, wrested the estates of others, and deprived them of their lawful possessions, and that in the restoration they have used delays until detachments from the British Army have enforced restitution, as in the case of the Raees of Zeera, the Sikhs of Chohin, the talooks of Karowler and Chehlouudy, and village of Cheeba, and the reason of such delays and evasions can only be attributed to the temporary enjoyment of the revenues; and subjecting the owners to irremediable losses. It is therefore, by order of the British Government, hereby proclaimed, that if any of the Sirdars or others have forcibly taken possession of the estates of others, or otherwise injured the lawful owners, it is necessary that before the occurrence of any complaint, the proprietor should be satisfied, and by no means to defer the restoration of the property in which, however, should delays be made, and the interference of the British authority become requisite, the revenues of the estate, from the date of the reversion of the lawful proprietor, together with whatever other losses the inhabitants of that place may sustain from the march of troops, shall, without scruple, be demanded from the offending party, and for disobedience of the present orders, a penalty, according to the circumstances of the case and of the offender, shall be levied, agreeably to the decision of the British Government."

British Government assumed the adjoining district and order was re-established, the Rani demanded Rs. 14,000 a year instead of Rs 7,000, on which Albel Singh sent in his resignation, hoping that she would be unable to collect the revenue. But when, contrary to his expectations, she realized large collections, he began to fear that his exortions would be claimed from him and plotted for the Rani's downfall.

Gujar Singh's reasons for hostility were equally clear. The district of Pinjor, which he held at a rental of Rs 500 was resumed, and given in farm at its proper value of Rs 14,000 a year.

With these men was allied the whole army of corrupt officials who made their harvest out of the plunder of the State. As they had persuaded the Raja that his sister Sahib Kour was a danger to his independence, so now they persuaded him that his wife desired to be independent and was arranging to place him under restraint. He believed everything told him, and, in a fit of rage and fear, ordered her arrest and imprisonment, with that of her son, the heir-apparent, and her Diwan, Mir Noudha, a man of the highest capacity and honesty. But the Raja was as cowardly as he was imbecile, and no sooner had he imprisoned the Rani than he began to fear the consequences of his act. The administration too, fell forthwith into disorder; the troops dispersed, and the officials in every department disobeyed his orders. The Rani was consequently released and requested again to undertake the management of

The hostility of Gujar Singh.

The intrigues succeeded temporarily, and the Rani is imprisoned

The confusion which resulted and her restoration

affairs. She consented to this, for although her influence had been so injured that she could not hope to recover it without a guarantee that she should not a second time be exposed to disgrace and removal, and although she knew that the Raja's next caprice might endanger her very life, yet she was too ambitious to willingly resign power which she could by any means retain. She addressed Colonel Ochterlony, begging him to visit Pattiala and arrange matters, and although he dissuaded her from again placing herself in so dangerous a position as head of the administration, he requested permission from Government to interfere and obtain a solemn pledge from the Raja that so long as no offence was proved against the Rani, she should not be molested.*

The Government, perceiving that the Pattiala State would be ruined unless some support was afforded to the cause of order, permitted Colonel Ochterlony to make such arrangements as he considered indispensable, and, on the 6th of April 1812, he arrived at Pattiala, taking with him an escort sufficiently large to compel attention to his advice.†

The insanity of the Raja increased every day, "God knows" - said Sudar Albel Singh, who was one of his favorites, "whether the Raja is an *avatâr* (incarnation of a deity), or what he is; but though at times he is a fool and at others a madman, he yet

* Colonel Ochterlony to Government 19th January 1812. His letters to Raja Sahib Singh of the 27th, 28th, 29th and 30th of December 1811, and 10th January 1812.

† Government to Colonel Ochterlony, without date, received 1st April 1812, Colonel Ochterlony to Government dated 1st and 27th April

considerations which induced this decision of the Government, but other reasons, which it was then in-

The true reasons for the determination of the British Government

convenient to state openly, had their weight. A French invasion was beginning to be believed the impossibility it really was; and the desire for a defensive alliance against France was growing naturally weaker. The British Government was not, at any rate, disposed to allow its northern frontier to be in a chronic state of invasion or disturbance in order to obtain a treaty which would probably be worthless when obtained. For, in the first place, a French invasion was most

be subjugated by the Maharaja or any other power, and it is hereby announced that those Chiefs, according to established custom, are, and will remain under the protection of the British Government.

"Exclusive of these considerations which are sufficient to demonstrate the just principles by which the determination of the British Government is swayed, there are circumstances in the conduct of the Maharaja in bringing forward his proposal, which would, in any case, make it impossible to comply with.

"The British Government sent an Envoy to the Maharaja to give him information of a great danger, and to offer the assistance of the British Government to repel it, and made certain propositions to the Maharaja which were particularly calculated to promote his interest. The Maharaja, for reasons which are not discernible, did not receive those propositions with the same confidence and cordiality with which they were made, but in reply brought forward a demand for the assent of the British Government for the subjugation of the Chiefs connected with it, and made a compliance with that demand, the condition of his assent to the friendly propositions of the Governor General. It would be unworthy of the dignity of the British Government to comply with any demand so brought forward."

"Besides this, the Maharaja, in making a reference to the British Government on this subject instead of waiting for a reply, proceeded to execute his intention of subjugating the Chiefs, taking the country, which were the objects of the reference, thus apparently endeavouring to secure his object, whether the reply should be favorable or not.

"In making the reference the Maharaja shewed that he well knew that, without the consent of the British Government, he had no right to invade the country between the Satlej and the Jamma, for if this had not been the case, there would not have been any necessity to make the reference. It was therefore, peculiarly inconsistent with the respect due to the British Government, and an improper return for the friendly confidence which that Government had reposed in the Maharaja, to proceed to seize the object of his requisition, without so much as waiting for a reply.

unlikely ; and, in the second place, were the treaty concluded, it was still more unlikely that Ranjit Singh would respect it, should an invasion take place. The Government argued that as the Maharaja systematically broke every engagement, however solemn, formed with his own Chiefs and friends, he would not be likely to treat a foreign power with more honesty, should it be to his advantage to betray it.

The check given by the letter here quoted, *Ranjit Singh unwilling to accept the declaration as final* was quite unexpected by the Maharaja, but he pretended to treat the declaration of the Governor General as not final, and to be altered by negotiation ; though the Envoy assured him that the decision was unalterable,

" This is quite contrary to the established practice amongst States, which requires that when one power makes a reference to another, it should await the result of that reference. This principle is so clear, and according to the rules of common respect so indispensable, that it is surprising that the Maharaja should not have attended to it. I have repeatedly endeavoured to impress it on the Maharaja's mind, but without success.

" Moreover, the Maharaja proceeded to execute his plans without giving any notice to me, and although he carried his arms close to the confines of the British territories, never made any candid communication to me of his designs, but sometimes even assigned a different intention from that which afterwards appeared.

" In addition to those circumstances, the Maharaja's behaviour towards me, the representative of the British Government was in other points neither consistent with the respect due to a great State, nor with the confidence due to a friendly State. The Maharaja will find in his own breast an explanation of this observation, and his recollection will point it to the facts which have caused it. It is unnecessary in this place to particularize them, suffice it to say, that they constituted a violation of the rules established for the intercourse between States.

" Under all these circumstances, even if the Maharaja's demand had been in itself unexceptionable, it would have been impossible to comply with it.

" I am directed by the Right Honorable the Governor General to protest against the invasion of the country between the Satley and Jamma in the name of the British Government, and further to declare, that the British Government cannot acknowledge any right in the Maharaja to any territories that he may have taken possession of, situated between the Satley and the Jamma, since the first reference of this question to the British Government.

The Rani was now nominally reinstated, but the party of Gardial had not yet lost their power. No orders were issued for the officials to attend the Rani's Durbars; the customary offerings were not presented, and the policy of the opposition was to induce Colonel Ochterlony to return to Ludhiana and the Raja to leave the capital for one of his country seats, when, as one article of the agreement provided that everything should be done by mutual consultation, the whole business of the State would necessarily be brought to a stand-still.* The disposition of the Raja strengthened the policy of the opposition. He was fully sensible of the advantage to be derived from the Rani's management, but no sooner did he perceive that the British Government was anxious for her reinstatement than his native obstinacy was aroused, and he became jealous and tenacious of the authority which all his life he had been accustomed to leave in the hands of Mai Khem Kour, Sahib Kour, Chen Singh, or others of his favourites. Every delay and evasion was practised, every slight cast upon the Rani, and the Chief's greatest pleasure seemed to be in thwarting all her measures, his greatest desire the departure of the British Agent whom he had so earnestly entreated a short time before to visit Pattiala and settle satisfactorily the existing disputes. It was several times proposed to place him under restraint, or, at least, to confine his authority to his own personal estates, but however beneficial to the country, it was considered, not unreasonably that such a procedure might be viewed with suspicion by the Cis-Satlej Chiefs, although

* Colonel Ochterlony to Government, dated 27th April 1812, and voluminous documents accompanying

they might perceive its justice and necessity. A

A coalition with the opposition was attempted, but soon failed.

coalition with the opposition was next attempted, as the Ran's party did not seem able to hold their ground alone; and Diwan Gurdial and Albel Singh were associated with the Ran and Misr Noudha in the Government* But this arrangement was found ineffectual, and was marred by the deceit and jealousy of the Raja, whose insanity, from excessive intemperance, assumed each day a more violent form.

It is wearisome to relate the story of this madman's conduct throughout the negotiations, but it is also necessary to show how complete a justification it afforded for the subsequent action of the British Government. Pretending to acquiesce in the instructions of Colonel Ochterlony, he yet sent positive orders to Diwan Gurdial to throw every possible

The opposition of the Raja to any arrangement

obstacle in the way of any investigation into the state of the finances, and discontinued the sittings of the law court and the transaction of routine business. The Agent now perceived that

there was no hope of any radical reform without such an authoritative interference with internal details as he had not contemplated when he arrived at Pattala, and the investment of the Ran with

A proposal to give the Ran absolute authority.

absolute authority. He, accordingly, recommended that the British Government should acknowledge her as virtual Regent, while the Raja, without being actually deposed, would yet be unable to bring the Pattala

* Colonel Ochterlony to Government, dated 5th May 1814, with enclosures

State to bankruptcy and ruin. He urged, moreover, that recent events had opened his eyes to the real feeling of the Cis-Satlej Chiefs in the matter; that they were thoroughly convinced that the establishment of the supreme authority of the Raj, by the British Government, was absolutely necessary, and that such action would be received with their general and unqualified approval.*

Some of the ruffians who surrounded the Raja, and by whose evil counsels he chose to be governed, now formed a plot against the life of Colonel Ochterlony. It was fortunately detected in time, and it is doubtful whether the Raja himself had not a knowledge of it. If the design was not confided to him, it was simply because his insanity might have revealed it, and not from any idea that he would have withheld his consent if a murder could have saved him from the hateful superintendence of his wife.

The Raja at length pretended to agree to a reduction in his expenditure and in the allowances granted to the hungry dependents who were ruining him, and, under his own directions, a list was prepared, which, without treating any individual with harshness, or altogether depriving him of his usual maintenance, effected a saving of upwards of Rs 50,000 a year. When this was ready for signature, his whole determination changed, and, under the influence of some of the lowest and most contemptible of

* Colonel Ochterlony to Government of India, dated 8th and 17th of May

his menial servants, he refused absolutely to sign; he declared that he saw the drift of the whole affair, which was to annihilate his authority; that the reduction in the allowances was but to deprive him of his friends, and the reduction in the troops was only to supply the vacancies with partisans of his wife. He then gave orders for an additional guard to be placed on an upper room in the palace to which he retired for security, as he pretended to believe that his life and liberty were in danger.

But changes his mind and refuses to make any form

Colonel Ochterlony now saw that further forbearance might be misconstrued as weakness and timidity, and that there was no hope of the Raja himself becoming the ostensible agent in the reforms, which had been determined upon. He, accordingly, sent to Colonel Reade for three Companies and two guns to join him, and to General Marshall, to send him, from Karnal, a Battalion with its guns and two eighteen pounders*.

An additional force summoned from Karnal.

Rani Aus Kour had, for some time, been in terror of her life. The apprehensions of the Raja for his safety, which induced him to fill the fort with wild Rohillas and fanatical Akalis, gave her just cause for alarm; and the Raja refused her permission to leave the fort and retire to Sanour where she might be in safety in a fort of her own. Her danger, however, was at an end when the British force arrived on the 3rd and 4th of June. She then left the fort before day-break, dis-

The Rani in fear of her life

She escapes from the fort

* Colonel Ochterlony to Government of 31st May 1812, with enclosures

guised as a servant in a palanquin, carried by only two bearers, and took refuge at the house of her brother, where she was immediately joined by 200 men, according to a preconceived arrangement. Colonel Ochterlony, at the same time, issued a proclamation,

*And is proclaimed
Regent.*

stating that the British Government had only interfered in the interest of the Pattiala State and on account of the folly and deceit of the Raja, and that henceforth the sole authority would be vested in Rani Aus Kour.

The Raja could offer no opposition, and his advisers saw that they had at length succeeded in ruining both him and themselves. He first proceeded to the house of the Rani, who declined to receive him; and then, by the advice of Raja Bhag Singh and Bhai Lal Singh, visited Colonel Ochterlony and made over to him the keys of the fort. The Rohilla troops were ordered to evacuate and British sepoy took possession of the outer gate, while the interior was held by the soldiers of Sodh Surjan Singh, one of the Rani's friends, until such time as a satisfactory arrangement could be effected between the Raja and his wife. The next day, the *guru mukha*, or private seal, was delivered to the Rani, and directions were issued to all commanders of forts to make over their charge to whomsoever she might appoint. This was done at once at Sehabad and several small places near Pattiala, and the troops were about to be ordered to their several cantonments when the duplicity of the Raja, and the intrigues of one of his wives, Rani Parbab Kour, again brought about a complication which might have had disastrous results, had the example set been followed by the military officers of the State.

One of the strongest forts in the Pattiala territory was Dhodan, into which *New complications* the commandant positively refused, when summoned, to admit the troops of the Ram. The Raja solemnly declared that the commandant was acting in disobedience to his orders, and ostensibly reiterated commands to deliver the fort according to his agreement; but private and pre-emptory orders were also sent that he should on no account deliver the fort to Ram Aus Kour's people, nor even to the British troops should they appear before it. A detachment from the British force was then despatched against the place, and it was only after a severe cannonade and after the walls had been much damaged, that the commandant *The fort of Dhodan* surrendered, declaring that his *given up* resistance had been only in accordance with the most positive instructions.

The British troops then left Pattiala, and Colonel *The British force* Ochterlony followed on the 15th of *leaves Pattiala,* June. Previous to his departure he *June 1812* informed the Raja that the estate of Chamkoian had been bestowed on his son, he enjoined on the Rani a careful administration of the trust conferred on her; and to all the Civil and Military officers he gave a precept, purporting that the Ram would protect and maintain them in their jagus if they did not forfeit them by disobedience or misconduct*.

With regard to the estate of Chamkoian, given *The estate of* to Prince Karm Singh, there are *Chamkoian.* no English records extant between the years 1809, and 1815, but from Persian documents

* Colonel Ochterlony to Government dated 7th and 19th of June 1812. Government of India to Colonel Ochterlony dated 4th July

in the office of the Agent at Ambala, it appears that, in August 1809, the Raja of Pattiala complained to General Ochterlony of the infamous character of Nand Singh the Chamkoian Chief and his attacks upon friends and feudatories of Pattiala, and stated that, in consequence, he had seized his fort. General Ochterlony ordered it to be restored and the property plundered from Nand Singh, by the Bhadou and Behr Chiefs, to be given back, referring to the proclamation of 1809, which guaranteed all the Chiefs their respective possessions. Pattiala objected, urging that Nand Singh was one of her own feudatories, but General Ochterlony, making further enquiries and ascertaining that he was not so, but a dependent of the Nishanwala Chief, insisted on the restoration of the fort, which was given up in 1810. The next year, however, in consequence of fresh aggressions on the part of Nand Singh, his lands and fort were transferred to Pattiala, in deposit, and on 12th of June 1812; the Supreme Government not approving of the Chamkoian villages being nuxed up with Pattiala, in consequence of Raja Sahib Singh having mismanaged them, the estate was granted in jagir to Prince Karm Singh *

* In 1892, twenty years after the estate had been assigned in jagir, the Chamkoian Sikhs presented a petition to Mr. William Fraser, Resident at Delhi, complaining that Pattiala had usurped 12 other villages besides those given in jagir, but that as Prince Karm Singh had become Maharaja, the estate should be released, or their possessions, including the 12 usurped villages, restored to them. No notice of their request was taken, and they continued to petition till 1835 when Mr. T. Molcaite, after investigating the claims, rejected it, observing, with reference to the villages which they asserted had been seized, that, having kept silent for so many years, any right which they might have possessed had lapsed, and no order was necessary with reference to the jagir granted to Prince Karm Singh. The whole estate was subsequently included in the general grant in perpetuity to Pattiala under the Saad granted to the Maharaja on the 22nd September 1847.

The position of Ram Aus Kour, now Regent, was by no means an enviable one, and from a generous desire to leave the Raja every possible liberty and indulgence, too great power for evil was also left to him. He had been allowed to retain the uncontrolled disposal of the proceeds of his personal estates, amounting to upwards of a lakh of rupees, and also of one quarter of the revenue of the whole country, and it was moreover directed that, on any emergent necessity, he should be permitted to dispose of a second quarter of the revenue. Every indulgence allowed him was turned to the worst use of which it was susceptible. He expressed a wish that he had the power to annihilate every acre of his territory, that nothing might remain to his heir, and, as this was impossible, he endeavoured to injure him, as far as he could, by disposing of all the valuable personal property in jewels and State ornaments, which should have descended, as heir-looms, in the family. Ram Partab Kour was the ill-adviser who encouraged his prodigality and hatred to Ram Aus Kour, and it was her friends and favorites who were enriched by the unbecile Chief. He at last refused to take the air, or leave his house, and it was no secret that he had the insane intention of flying from Pattala and exciting disturbances in remote parts of his territory, or of seeking assistance from the Gurkhas to regain his lost power.

Under these circumstances a further limitation of his power for evil became necessary, and, with the sanction of the Governor General, the Treasury and *Toshakhana*

(Private Royal Treasury) were put in charge of the Rani; the monthly stipend of the Raja was reduced to Rs 12,000, for his private expenses and amusements, and he was given to understand that any improper conduct would reduce his allowance still further and subject him to personal restraint.*

The Rani's power was now increased, but, as may be supposed, intrigues was carried on as uninterruptedly as ever.

Her Chief adviser was a Brahman, named *Misr Noudha Chief Minister* Noudha, who was as unpopular as Diwan Nanun Mal had been, sharing the dislike felt by his class to the Jats, and hardly caring to veil his contempt for their rascality and fraud. Forgetting that the disorders of thirty years were not to be removed in a few months, he set to work at reform with an energy and unsparing vigour which all but brought upon him the usual fate of reformers. His enemies first *The intrigues against his reputation* insinuated that he carried on an intrigue with the Rani, and brought him into some discredit until the absolute falseness of the charge was proved. Finding this assault unsuccessful, they determined upon his *And life* assassination and that of some nine of his more obnoxious subordinates. The Raja had no opposition to make, and it appears certain that the young and inexperienced Prince was made a party to the conspiracy, foolishly hoping that he would be at once placed on the throne, while Sahib Singh and his confederates merely desired to make a tool of him for their own purposes. The

* Colonel Ochterlony, to Government of 5th July 1812. Government to Colonel Ochterlony of 7th August 1812.

murder of the Misr would undoubtedly have taken place, had it not been for the scruples of Dal Singh, brother of Rani Partab Kour, though whose instrumentality the plot came to light.*

But while Raja Sahib Singh was preparing death for others, he fell suddenly ill himself and died on the 26th March 1813. In such a den of intrigue and wickedness as Patiala, poison was at once suspected to have been the cause of his death, but there is no reason to believe that this was the case. The party of the Rani could not desire a death which would probably terminate her administration, while the party opposed to her, lost in the Raja the support and object of their intrigues. The probable cause of his death is found in his intemperate habits

Formerly, taking much exercise, he had, since the reinstatement of the Rani, remained entirely secluded, while he drank more deeply than ever. A few days previous to his death he had, in consequence of a dream, abandoned the use of wine or spirits altogether, in spite of the advice of his physicians who had recommended him rather to diminish gradually its quantity, and the want of the accustomed stimulant may have had a fatal effect on a frame exhausted by debauchery †

The aspect of affairs at Patiala was now gloomy in the extreme. Karam Singh, the heir-apparent, had, in the late pro-

* Colonel Ochterlony to Government of 15th February and 4th and 26th of March 1813. Government of India to Colonel Ochterlony dated 6th March, and 23rd April 1813.

† Colonel Ochterlony to Government, dated 27th March and 2nd April. Government of India to Colonel Ochterlony dated 30th April.

ceedings, appeared in far from a pleasant light, and the interference of the British Government, however well and generously meant, could only be pronounced a failure. The jealous and ignorant Sikh Chiefs of the Cis-Satlaj States threw upon the Rani and the British Government the odium of the Raja's voluntary seclusion, and this was the very result which he desired, the Rani's most judicious measures had been thwarted; the troops, though better and more regularly paid than ever, were discontented and mutinous, while murder was actually plotted in the very Durbar and the forbearance of the British Government openly claimed as an immunity for the grossest crimes.

The unfortunate results of the interference of the British Government

The policy of the British Government, on the death of Raja Sahib Singh, underwent a necessary change. Although it appeared certain that Rani Aus Kour and Mir Noudha would lose power and the Pattiala State again become a prey to anarchy, yet there were no longer any reasons sufficient to justify any authoritative interference. Raja Sahib Singh had been an imbecile, and the exercise of the influence of the British Government had been earnestly solicited by the wellwishers of the Pattiala State. The character of his successor, whatever it might be, gave no occasion for interference, and the British Government accordingly withdrew from all concern in the internal affairs of Pattiala and cancelled the guarantee it had given to support the Rani's authority *

This interference withdrawn entirely

* Secretary to Government to Colonel Ochterlony 30th April 1818

The young Raja was naturally influenced by his mother, and he showed a disposition to leave the administration in her hands and in that of Misr Noudha, in whom he professed to have entire confidence, though a short time before he had agreed to his death. The old Rani Khem Kour, a widow of Raja Amar Singh, was much disappointed with the turn affairs were taking, and busied herself with stirring up fresh disturbances, in the hope of obtaining some share of power by placing on the throne Ajit Singh, a younger son of the late Raja. This was the woman who was the originator of the plot against the life of Misr Noudha, and there can be little doubt but that it was she who employed the assassin to murder Colonel Ochterlony. Her intrigues were not without powerful support. Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha, one of the ablest Chiefs in the Protected States, was a man of the most unscrupulous character, who, for an acre of fresh territory would sacrifice truth and honor without a thought. He had married the niece of Rani Khem Kour, and, partly from this connection, partly from a jealousy of the power of Pattiala, but chiefly from a desire to see that State divided and in the hands of a minor, who would nominally be under the guidance and guardianship of Rani Khem Kour, but, in reality, of himself, aided her scheme as far as was in his power. But these intrigues seemed destined to be disappointed. Colonel Ochterlony was present at the installation of the young Raja on the 30th June, and, on that occasion, at the Raja's special request and in open Durbar, the Agent conferred a valuable khulfat upon Misr Noudha,

The policy of the new Raja

The intrigues of Rani Khem Kour

Aided by Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha

The installation of Raja Karam Singh

as a sign of the Raja's satisfaction and determination to retain him in office.*

On the 1st November 1814, the Government of India were compelled to declare war against the Gurkhas, who had for years been encroaching on British territory at the foot of the hills, and whose Government had refused either redress or apology. The briefest notice is, in this place, required of this war, which only so far effected Pattiala as to gain for the Raja, in return for zealous co-operation with the British army, a large increase of territory.

The story of the Gurkha conquests in the Punjab hills will be found in the histories of the Kangra and Simla Chiefs. Driven from Kangra by the superior power of Ranjit Singh, Amar Singh Thappa, the Gurkha leader, had established himself at Arki, in the little State of Bhagal, the Rana of which he had driven into exile. When war was declared, the Gurkha conquests between the Satlej and the Jamna included Nahan, otherwise known as Sirmur, Hindoor; Kahjur, also known as Bilaspur, a large portion of Bassahir, twelve smaller States (Thakori) and the Thakoris dependent on Sirmur, the revenue of which amounted to Rs 3,81,500 per annum. The Gurkha troops occupying this territory were estimated at 5,250 men, of whom 1,600 were in Nahan, and 2,000 with Amar Singh at Arki.

* Colonel Ochterlony to Government dated 16th April. 23rd April, 20th June and 1st July. Government of India to Colonel Ochterlony 15th May 1815 and 24th June.

† Keonthal Mylog Bhan, Bhagal, Bhagat, Kothar, Konhar, Dhani, Jubal Baisan Mangal and Kamansen. Government to Colonel Ochterlony dated 30th September and 1st October 1814.
Colonel Ochterlony's Report of 20th August.

The encroachments of the Gurkhas had been indifferently directed against British territory, independent and protected States, and the Raja of Pattala had more than once, before the declaration of war, been engaged in repelling these encroachments, under the direction of the Governor General's agent at Ludhiana,* and it was to Pattala troops that the villages of Mundlai and Berowli, which had been unjustly seized, were given up

In October 1814, Colonel Ochterlony marched into the hills by way of Rupar, captured Nalagarh and Taragarh on the 5th and 6th of November, and, after a long and desperate defence, took possession of Rangarh, the strongest position of the enemy, on the 11th February 1815. On the 15th of April he completely defeated Amar Singh and compelled him to retire to the fort of Malawa, where, reduced to extremity, he at length surrendered, and was allowed to retire with his whole garrison, with their arms, giving up all the forts between the Satlej and the Jamna and completely evacuating the whole of that territory †.

During this campaign, the infantry of the Pattala Raja had been with Colonel Ochterlony's force, and a portion of his cavalry had been employed in guarding the plain country at the foot of the hills. In recognition

* Colonel Ochterlony to Government, 17th April, 23rd July, 16th September, 28th of October 1813

† Voluminous correspondence of the years 1814, 1815, and 1816. The final treaty of Berowli of the 2nd December 1815, was delivered by Colonel Ochterlony to the Nipal Agent at Makwanpur, 4th March 1816. Atchison's Treaties, vol II, No. XLIX.

of his services, the British Government conferred upon him, at the close of the war, 16 pargannahs, of which the detail is given in the annexed Sanads *

For some time the Pattiala administration was carried on with more regularity and success than for many years previously. The Ranı and the Mir remained in power, and no more grave disputes arose between neighbouring States, than an old standing quarrel with Manumajra regarding the distribution of the waters of the Gaggar nallah, an

* *Sanad to Raja Karam Singh of Pattiala for Pargunnahs Mahil under the Seal and Signature of His Excellency the Governor General in Council*

"WHEREAS all the hill country has come into the possession of the British Government, and whereas Raja Karam Singh was forward to afford the co-operation of his troops during the late contest, therefore the present Sanad is granted, conferring on the said Raja Karam Singh and on his heirs for ever, the pargunnahs of Wahelee, Kujoun, Buntheera, Koozalla, Chubrota, Kehmullee, Baddayheer, Saugri, Toorasutgowa, Jubub, and Pollakotee, together with the saeer duties of the same, and all the rights and appurtenances belonging to them, in exchange for a nuzumana of the sum of one lakh and fifty thousand rupees, and the said sum having been paid into the Company's Treasury by kista, as agreed upon, nothing further shall ever be demanded on this account. The British Government will always protect and support the said Raja and his heirs in the possession of this territory. The Raja, considering this Sanad a legal and valid instrument, will immediately take possession of the aforesaid lands, but he must not encroach on any lands beyond the acknowledged limits of the pargunnahs enumerated. In case of war, the Raja must, on the requisition of the British authorities, furnish armed men and Begarees to join the detachment of British Troops which may be stationed for the protection of the country. He will omit no exertion to do justice, and to promote the welfare and happiness of the ryots, while they on their part, considering the said Raja as their true and rightful lord, must obey him accordingly, and pay their revenue punctually, and be always zealous to promote the cultivation of their lands, and to testify their loyalty and obedience.

Dated 20th October 1815

Sanad to Raja Karam Singh of Pattiala for the Thakoorees of Bughat and Juggulgurh, under the Seal and Signature of His Excellency the Governor General in Council.

WHEREAS all the hill country has come into the possession of the British Government, and whereas Raja Karam Singh was forward in affording the co-operation of his troops during the late contest. Whereas by order of the Right Honorable the Governor General the

important question in a dry and sandy country ; * the reduction of the Fort of Kunori, belonging to the contumacious Chahans †, and the rightful ownership of certain Pargannahs in Hariana, which Mr Fraser, the Assistant Resident at Dehli, claimed for the British Government ‡, and the detailed history of which dispute will be given hereafter

But Raja Karam Singh again fell into the hands of bad advisers and determined to remove Mīr Noudha and the Rām from power The Mīr himself believed

*Karam Singh as
sumes the authority
of Raja*

present Sanad is granted to said Raja conferring on him and on his heirs for ever

1st.—The Pargannah of Bughat and the city of Taksal with the first fort at Sookchunpoo, and the second fort at the end of the Bazar of Taksh, and the fort of Tharoozgh, and Pargannah Pauleekhai with the fort of Ajeergh, and Pargannah Keenteen with the fort of Rajgh, and Pargannah Luchherany, and Pargannah Berowtee, and together with these pargannahs and the five forts specified, save collections amounting to one thousand eight hundred rupees, the whole forming a portion of the Thakoorree of Bughat, also

2nd.—The fort of Juggutgh with the Pargannah of Juggutgh and its dependences, forming a portion of Samore, together with all the rights and appurtenances belonging thereto, in exchange for the sum of Rupees, 1,30,000, and the said sum having been paid at the Company's treasury no further demand will ever be made on the Raja on this account The British Government will always protect and support the said Raja in possession of the said lands, and the Raja taking possession of the aforesaid lands shall not encroach on the possessions of another In case of war, the troops stationed by the Raja for the protection of the said lands shall be sent to join the British Forces The Raja will promote the welfare of his ryots on their part &c, (as in preceding Sanad)

Dated 20th October 1815

The Pargannahs mentioned in these two Sanads were taken from the Ranas of Keonthal and Bhaat for their hesitating and unfriendly conduct during the war

Colonel Ochterlony to Government dated 28th July 9th August, and 23rd September 1815 Government of India to Sir D. Ochterlony, 20th October 1815

* Captain Birch to Resident Dehli 31st May 1818

† Captain Buch to Sir D. Ochterlony of 21st March and 4th April 1818

‡ Sir D. Ochterlony to Resident Dehli of 5th November 1816, 25th April, 15th June and 4th October 1817

Resident Dehli to Captain Birch, 14th June 1818

that his life was in danger, and accused both the Raja and Bhai Lal Singh of having designs against him; but this was not likely, though the Misr's former experience made his apprehensions natural. But he was able to make no objection to the Raja taking, after two months, the whole power into his own hands, and the latter having extorted this promise, visited his mother, who, seeing that opposition was useless and desiring to make a virtue of necessity, told him that if he desired power there was no need to wait two months but that he might assume it at once. He, accordingly, retaining Misr Noudha as Chief Minister, appointed several of his own friends to important offices, and assumed charge of the Treasury, Household, and Revenue Departments. The English authorities, by direction of the Governor-General, informed the Raja that he would best promote his own interests by allowing his administration to remain as before, and by upholding the authority of his able Minister, but no other interference was advisable, the more especially as the partial abdication of the Ranu had been voluntary, and as the arrangement by which the Raja acquired power was, sooner or later, inevitable *

Misr Noudha died soon after this, in October 1818, returning from a pilgrimage to Joala Mukhi. No State had ever been better served than Pattiala had been by him. He, in consort with Ranu Aus Kour, saved the country from anarchy and

* Captain Buch to Resident Dehli, dated 10th June and 10th July 1818. Resident Dehli to Captain G. Birch, 3rd July, 12th July. Secretary to Government of India to Resident, 31st July 1818.

restored it to prosperity, while no charge was ever advanced against his honesty, even by his enemies. He seems to have been as clever as Diwan Nanun Mal, though perhaps more cautious and timid. Rani Aus Kour, after the death of her adviser, continued to lose influence and power, but no open dispute took place between her and her son until the beginning of 1821.

The Raja had appointed as Chief Minister in the room of Mir Noudha, one *His successor* Barkat Ali Khan, a native of Oude, who had long been in the service of Sir David Ochterlony. The Rani had retained in her charge the *Toshkhana* with the Treasury, Jewel House, &c, and she had increased the jagir of Rs. 50,000, which had been granted, in 1807, for the maintenance of her and her son, to nearly two lakh of rupees, which she held in sole possession. This determination to strengthen herself at his expense, naturally irritated the Raja, and a quarrel arising between Wazir Khan, a Pathan leader, in favour with the Rani, and Barkat Ali Khan the Minister, in which a few wounds were given and received by the partisans of either party,

The rupture between the Raja and his mother

the Raja believed or professed to believe that his mother desired to raise a revolt against him and to resume charge of the administration. He begged the British Political officer at Karnal to visit him and make some satisfactory arrangement with the Rani, the result of which was that the Raja was declared to possess sole and absolute power and the Rani agreed to retire to her estate at Sunour and abstain from all interference in public affairs *

* Captain Birch to Sir D. Ochterlony, dated 12th February and 9th March 1821.

There seemed a probability of peace, but two important points were still unsettled. *She retires from Patiala to Sunour.* first, the enormous amount of territory claimed by the Rani as her jagir, and, secondly, the custody of the *Toshakhana* which the Rani had carried away with her to Sunour. With regard to the jagir, Sir D. Ochterlony held that, although the Rani had no right to the whole estate of Rs 50,000, which had been granted not only for her own maintenance but also for that of the Prince, yet it would be generous and becoming in the Raja, to interpret the grants in her favour, but to the enormous additions which she had made to the estate while she possessed full power, during the late reign, she had absolutely no claim whatever, and the Raja would do well to resume them all.

The *Toshakhana*, which was supposed to contain in money, jewels and gold and silver plate, fifty lakhs of treasure, *The private treasury kept by the Rani, who refuses to give accounts* Captain Birch, the Assistant Agent, had allowed the Rani to take with her to Sunour, believing that the Raja was not averse to this arrangement, and that the treasure would be safe with the Rani, who would be responsible for its custody, and who promised to send a correct list of its contents to her son. But this she would not do she sent indeed a memorandum which was so imperfect as to be worthless and refused a more detailed account.*

* The only memorandum she submitted was "Five lakhs of rupees with other article in chests and coffers."

Captain Birch to Sir D Ochterlony, 30th July and 8th, 14th and 16th August 1821

Sir D Ochterlony to Captain Birch, 29th May, 1st, 5th, 10th and 17th August 1821

Such was the unsatisfactory state of affairs when Sir D Ochterlony left Dehli, and the Raja hesitated to take any decided action, uncertain whether any change of policy was signified by Sir David's departure. But the rejection by the Rani of all friendly overtures, her determination to retain both land and treasure and the belief entertained by the Raja of the misappropriation of some of the most valuable property in his mother's possession, decided him, early in 1823, to take further and immediate action.

The whole matter was finally referred to Captain Ross, the Deputy Superintendent of the Cis-Satlaj States. The Raja complained that his mother did not observe the seclusion which was becoming and consistent with the family honor, that she had falsified the *Samuds* by which she held her estates, that the most valuable effects of the *Toshakhana* were misappropriated, that, by holding a separate Court, she impaired his legitimate authority, and, lastly, that her officers interfered in the administration. He added that the strength and resources of the State were so much injured that he would probably be unable to furnish the required contingents and be condemned as having failed in his duty to the British Government.

The Raja proposed, as a remedy for these evils, that his mother should return to Patiala and reside there, and that her income should be Rs. 50,000 per annum, the amount of the original jagir; while the newly acquired estate should be resumed, also that

*The departure of
Sir D Ochterlony
from Dehli, A D
1821*

*The complaints of
the Raja against his
mother*

*His proposal to re-
strain the power of
the Rani*

the *Toshakhana* should be brought to Pattiala, and only allowed to remain in the Rani's custody if complete lists were given of its contents, and if it should be proved that, hitherto, no part of it had been misappropriated

The proposals of the Raja were just and the provision promised to his mother liberal being more than twice as large as any Dowager Rani of Pattiala had ever before received after the accession of her son, and there was no reason for the British Government to interfere to prevent the Raja taking whatever steps he chose to enforce his wishes, except that the Rani possessed so large a territory and so many troops, having also at her disposal all the accumulated treasure of the family, that it appeared probable that should the Raja attempt to coerce her she would oppose him by force and appear at the head of a revolt against her son as, sixteen years before, she had headed a revolt against her husband *

The British Government thus again interfered in the internal affairs of Pattiala, at the urgent request of the Raja and to save his territory from the horrors of civil war. In October 1823, Captain Murray was sent with a detachment to assist the Raja in enforcing his legitimate wishes, namely, the possession of the State treasure and the resumption of such jagirs as the Rani had newly acquired, also to compel her to resign the fort of Sunour, only two miles from Pattiala, since her residence so near the capital was a fruitful source of intrigue and dispute

* Captain Ross, Deputy Superintendent, 4th February 1823 Government of India to Mr Elliott of 31st July 1823

When the British officer made his demands to Dewan Rup Chund, the Rani's agent, that official burst into tears and declared he could not carry them to his mistress, who would probably commit suicide. At length he consented, and soon brought a reply from the Rani, offering Captain Murray a lakh of Rupees to allow the existing arrangement to continue and to forward to Calcutta a report which she would prepare, as she had not yet been heard in her defence. If this was refused, she declared that she would spend the remainder of her life in retirement by the Ganges, and accept neither jagir nor provision from her son. But a prompt acquiescence in the demands of the Government being insisted upon, she made over the fort to the Raja's troops and came herself into camp where she was treated with every respect. But, for several days, she refused all amicable settlement of the dispute. She refused to live at Amargah, her old jagir, and declared that unless she was permitted to retain Sunour, she would go in person to Calcutta and appeal to the Governor General against the cruelty of her son. She had, of course, no real ground for complaint, for the Raja was most anxious to treat his mother with all consideration, and had included in her jagir the best lands, the strongest fort, and richest town in his territory, and would have placed his treasure at her sole disposal, but her servants, who thought more of their own advantage than of that of their mistress, encouraged her in a useless opposition, and, on the 14th October, she left for Ambala, refusing all terms unless Sunour was granted to her. The Raja was in

British troops at Patiala.

The opposition of the Rani to the demands of her son

She leaves Patiala for Ambala.

despair the honor of his family was ruined should
She is persuaded his mother wander about the world
to return a supplicant seeking for redress
 against her son who only demanded his rights, and
 was ready to concede to her every point not absolute-
 ly essential. Much as he disliked to yield, he
 gave up her the town and fort of Sunour, and she,
 knowing this victory was all she could expect,
 returned there, and, before the end of October,
 was put in possession of her estate of Rs. 50,000,
 and consented to make friends with her son.*

Here ended the political life of Ranı Aus Kour

*The close of the
 political career of
 Ranı Aus Kour, &
 D 1828*

She was a woman of great ability,
 and her wise administration of the
 Patiala State, during part of her
 husband's reign and during the minority of her son,
 was the admiration of the neighbouring States and
 was warmly praised by the British Government.
 Her ambition may easily be forgiven, and it was no
 more than natural that she should be unwilling to
 part with the power she had held so long and used
 so wisely.

A few incidents of rather earlier date in Patti

*The claim of Pat-
 tiala to the Bilaspur
 estate, A. D 1819*

ala history should be here recorded.
 In 1819, died Ranı Dya Kour,
 widow of Sirdar Sher Singh of
 Kalsia and the owner of the Bilaspur estate. To
 this inheritance the Raja of Pattiala advanced
 a claim, as his sister had married Sirdar Hari Singh,
 second son of Jodh Singh, the head of the Kalsia
 family. Hari Singh was dead, and the Pattiala

* Captain Murray to Mr W C Elliott, dated 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 18th, and 28th of October 1823. Mr Elliott to Captain Murray dated 18th September, and 29th September. General Rennell to Agent to Governor General Delhi dated 30th September 1823. Govern-ment of India to Mr Elliott 21st November 1823.

claim was utterly preposterous and invalid according to Sikh law, and the estate was offered to Sobha Singh, the eldest son of Jodh Singh, on terms that he did not care to accept and in consequence it lapsed to the British Government.*

In the same year, 1819, the ill-feeling between Nabha and Patiala, which had for long existed, became so great as to threaten hostilities between the two States. One of its causes was a dispute between the zamindars of Kowlasherí, a village belonging to Patiala, and those of Phulisherí, a Nabha village. Raja Jaswant Singh complained of the encroachments of the Patiala zamindars, and the matter was referred to arbitration and decided in favour of Nabha. Raja Karam Singh then sent sepoy's to Kowlasherí, under the pretence of protecting it against the rival village, but their presence had its natural effect in disturbances in which lives were lost on both sides.

There was similar case between the villages of Bhadour and Kangar, in which the Patiala Raja was also in the wrong, and, lastly, a fierce dispute regarding the Hariana lands, which was settled in a summary manner by the British Government taking possession of the subject of dispute †. This last question will more conveniently be considered later, as the case was not finally decided till 1856.

* Amhala Settlement Report Southern Parganahs, pp 15-28

† Captain Birch to Agent to Governor General, 27th, 28th, 29th April and 27th May 1820. Captain R. Ross to Resident Delhi, 14th January, 3rd April and 20th August 1822.

† Captain Birch to Resident, 22nd November, 17th November 1820, and 27th January 1821.

Raja Karm Singh had not freed himself from the tyranny of his mother when he was subjected to the extravagant claims and pretensions of his half-brother Kour Ajit Singh. This was the youth whom, it may be remembered, the Raja's grand-mother, Rani Khem Kour, had intrigued to place on the throne ten years before. This lady died in June 1821; but many others, especially his chief adviser Gopal Singh, continued to encourage the pretensions of the young Prince and sow discord between him and his brother. In 1820, he left Pattiala with his mother, refusing to live on her jagir of 12 villages, and went to reside at Dehli where his extravagance soon loaded him with debt, and, in 1823, he usurped the title which belonged of right to the reigning representative of the family, and had engraved on his seal *Mahá-rája Rájagán Máhárája Ajit Singh Mohindar, Báhádar.*

This title of Raja had been granted to Ala Singh of Pattiala by Ahmed Shah Abdáli, and the higher title of Maharaja by the Emperor Akbar II of Dehli, in 1810, on the recommendation of General Ochterlony.

The Prince had no right whatever to adopt either one title or the other, for no one of the Pattiala family, except the one on the throne, had ever received a title higher than that of Kour or Prince. Raja Karm Singh was most anxious to make friends with his brother and to remove all cause of complaint. He sent his Minister, Barkat Ali Khan, to Captain Murray, with a *carte blanche* to that officer to propose and conclude any arrangement which might satisfy the

Prince, with a list of 21 towns and forts, any one of which he might choose for a residence. The absurd pretensions of Ajit Singh and his friends made negotiation difficult. He desired the territory to be divided and a great portion of the revenue alienated for his benefit, although he knew that the rule of primogeniture was in force in the Pattiala family. Then he demanded either the towns of Sefabad, Sunam, or the strong fort of Batinda to be given to him. The first of these, only three miles from Pattiala, was a favourite hunting place of the Raja; the second was the retreat in the rainy season and contained the houses of the chief officers of the Court, the third was the strongest fort in the Pattiala territory. Finding that these demands were not likely to be granted, he applied for a fort with an adjacent town, such as Dhode and Mansurpur, or Hariana and Burnala. The Raja replied that he could not consent to alienate so much of his territory as would create a dangerous precedent, and allow his children, in after years, to demand an equal independent provision. He offered, however, to give one of the four places mentioned or two of less importance. The Kour then declared his fixed determination of accepting no less than the districts which had lately been resumed from Ranj Aus Kour and incorporated with Pattiala, worth about two lakhs of rupees. This declaration necessarily brought the negotiations to an end for the time.

Ajit Singh now perceived that the British Government would not support his claims, and that unless he accepted

He finally agrees to accept Rs 50,000 a year

his brother's terms, he might receive nothing. Yet such was his pride, that after he had agreed to accept an estate (*jardid*) of Rs 30,000 and a personal allowance of Rs. 5,000, in addition to the jagir of Rs. 15,000, then held by him and his mother, he, at the last moment, refused the provision and returned with his mother to Delhi.

Here he lived till 1823, when, having grown *His marriage, A* wiser as he grew older, he become re-
P 1829 conciled to his brother, accepted the provision made for him and went to live at Pattiala, where his marriage was celebrated with great splendour in June of the following year *

Raja Karam Singh showed his loyalty and good-will to the British Government by coming forward at a time of some financial difficulty and subscribing 20 lakhs of Rs (£200,000) to the 5 per cent loan of 1827 This money was paid without any limitation as to the period of re-payment and in spite of the sneers of the neighbouring Chiefs at his thus parting with his family treasure.†

In the year 1828 a boundary dispute between Nabha and Pattiala was arranged, which deserves mention, not only from the length of time that it had continued and from the importance attached to it by the

* Captain Murray to Agent to Governor General 9th and 17th May 1823, 16th January and 23rd February 1824 Agent to Governor General to Captain Murray, 21st January, 21st February 1824 Captain Murray to Sir E Colebrooke, 17th January 1828 Sir E Colebrooke to Captain Murray 15th June 1829 Mr. Metcalfe to Sir D Ochterlony dated 30th September 1829

† Deputy Secretary to Government to Captain Murray, 29th May From Assistant Resident Delhi, dated 10th June and 14th September 1827 From Captain Murray to Sir E Colebrooke 12th January 1828

Chiefs concerned, but also from its being an immediate cause of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's first invasion of the country to the south of the Satlej

Two miles from the city of Nabha is the little village of Doladhi, which, in 1807, was settled and ploughed by Bhai Tara Singh, an *Ahlikar* (official) of the Patiala State. Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha was indignant at this encroachment on his town land, and remonstrated, but, receiving no redress, he occupied the land by force and the Bhai was slain in the skirmish that ensued. Raja Sahib Singh of

Bhai Tara Singh slain

Patiala, furious at the loss of a favourite officer, marched to Nabha and defeated Jaswant Singh at Nirwana, who shut himself in his capital and sent his friend Raja Bhag Singh of Jhund to ask help from Lahore. Ranjit Singh, on his arrival, besieged Sahib Singh in

The arbitration of Maharaja Ranjit Singh

Mansurpur, and destroyed the wells of Doladhi, which he made over to the Patiala Chief, forbidding the wells to be repaired or a strip of waste land, which he pointed out, to be ever cultivated. For twenty one years the neutral land of Doladhi remained untilled, and if either Patiala or Nabha attempted to cultivate it the greatest jealousy and ill-will was the immediate result. In 1827 the old quarrel was

The quarrel revived in 1827

revived, Nabha accusing the Doladhi villagers of encroaching on the disputed land and Patiala retorting. The Chiefs refused to appoint arbitrators, and Captain Murray, the Political Agent, was himself compelled to visit the spot and draw the boundary line,

The point was a difficult one to decide. The decree of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, given in 1807, could not be held valid, for the proclamation of the British Government of 1809 only guaranteed the maintenance of the States at that time, and in 1809 Nabha had become more powerful than Pattiala which had not been able to recover the land for which Bhai Tara Singh had fought and died. But Captain Murray was successful in fixing a boundary line which pleased neither party. The Raja of Nabha was only partially discontented; but the Pattiala Chief was entirely so, and the case was referred for orders to Dehl.*

The agents of the Kythal and Jhind Chiefs, together with the British officials, were then sent to fix a new boundary line between the wells of Doladhi and the city of Nabha, to remove the pillars fixed by Captain Murray and to destroy all cultivation on the disputed land. The new decision was favorable to Pattiala, and the Raja of Nabha became eager to preserve the boundary pillars which he had before been so anxious to destroy. But his remonstrances were unavailing, the cultivation was destroyed by the cattle of Nabha and Doladhi; the pillars, which the Nabha officials refused to remove, were thrown down and the new line marked out.

* Captain Murray to Sir E. Colebrooke 12th April, and Sir E. Colebrooke to Captain Murray dated 11th May and 18th June 1828

Sir E. Colebrooke to Captain Murray dated 25th July, 30th September, 2nd and 13th October. Captain Murray to Sir E. Colebrooke 30th July, 4th, 5th, and 21st October 1828

The Raja of Nabha appealed against this decision, which only injured him inasmuch as it was a triumph for Patiala, and daily complaints were made of encroachments and quarrels, until the direct injunction of the Resident at Dehli compelled the boundary, fixed under sanction of the British Government, to be respected *

The Raja of Nabha was still dissatisfied, and directly charged Sir E. Colebrooke with having been unduly influenced by the Patiala authorities, and a commission was appointed to sit at Delhi and investigate the case. The conclusion of the Committee was thus expressed in a note by Mr Trevelyan, Assistant to the Resident at Dehli — "I will conclude by remarking that the proceedings afford strong grounds for confirming Captain Murray's decision, and the proceedings held before the Special Commissioners by evincing the motives which induced Sir E. Colebrooke to set it aside, afford still stronger. Should it please His Lordship in Council to confirm Captain Murray's decision on the Doladhi case, in consideration of the unlawful means that were taken to set it aside, a memorable example will be afforded to all Hindostan, which will have more effect in checking these illicit practices than the punishment of many delinquents."

The Governor General, agreeing with the opinion of the Commissioners, authorized the Resident at Dehli, if he thought fit, to set aside Sir E. Colebrooke's decision and to confirm that of Captain Murray, which was done, and the boundary pillars

* Captain Murray to Sir E. Colebrooke 13th December 1828 and letters to Maharaja of Patiala and Raja of Nabha

set up by the last named officer were restored. * To this Dóladhí quarrel, trivial as was its origin and worthless as was the subject in dispute, may, more

The grave results of this dispute distinctly than to anything else, be traced the ill-feeling which has existed between Pattala and Nabha for sixty years, which beyond all doubt had a considerable influence over the Nabha policy during the first Sikh war, and which has not, even to this day, entirely disappeared

The Maharájkian Sikhs had formed another constant subject of dispute between *Supremacy over the Maharájkian Sikhs.* the Phulkian Chiefs, Pattala, Nabha and Jhind, each claiming supremacy over them. These jagirdars were of Phulkian origin, and, in 1833, were estimated at between forty to fifty thousand souls, inhabiting twenty-two large villages, the total area of which was about forty thousand acres

Their customs were peculiar, and each individual *Their peculiar customs and character* claimed to be absolutely independent, and neither son nor brother remained in subjection after he was able to cultivate his share of the land. The soil they owned was unirrigated, yet it nevertheless yielded abundant harvests. But although no more than simple agriculturists, the Maharájkians had given up none of their warlike habits. Each man carried arms, which he never laid aside, even at the plough, for the whole community was of so turbulent a character, that no one was safe from the encroachment of his

* F Hawkins, Esquire, officiating Resident to Secretary to Government of India, 12th January 1830, with note by Mr C Trevelyan Government of India to officiating Resident, dated 29th January. Officiating Resident to Colonel Murray dated 6th March, and to Secretary Government 12th December 1830. Letter of Raja of Nabha to officiating Resident dated 13th November 1830

neighbour. Such being the case, it may seem strange that these men had been so long able to preserve their independence, were they not always ready to unite against any common enemy, and their strength, bravery, and warlike habits, caused them to be respected. They had scarcely any sort of Municipal Government and their only law was of equal division of inheritance.

During Muhammadan days the Maharájkians had paid tribute to Dehli, and, when the empire fell, they naturally referred to the neighbouring Chiefs to arbitrate in their disputes, some going to Nabha, some to Jhund, and others to Pattiala, and as these States had Police and Revenue posts on the boundary, they were always ready to send troops into the Maharájkian territory whenever their help was asked. This state of things led to the usual results. The Chiefs whose assistance was asked gave it with the sole object of strengthening their own personal influence and power rival factions called in rival Chiefs, and the people gained very little benefit from the foreign interference, while jealousies and feuds continually increased. Weary, at last, of perpetual disorder, the Maharájkians solicited the help of the British Government. The case was a very difficult one to decide. Pattiala, Nabha and Jhund, each claimed superiority, but to this they had no title, nor could they show that, at any time, they had received from the Maharájkians any kind of acknowledgment of such superiority. But the people were so wild and lawless that some strong hand was necessary to control them. The idea of divided authority exercised by the

The causes which led to the interference of the British Chiefs with the Maharájkians

Who, at last solicited the protection of the British Government

three Phulkian houses was felt to be impracticable, and at length the Government decided to make over the villages, for a term of years, to Pattiala, as being the strongest and the most likely to keep its troublesome neighbours in order. Certain conditions were however appended to the grant, to which the Maharaja of Pattiala, would not accede, and persisted in maintaining exclusive rights of unconditional jurisdiction, rights which had been repeatedly denied by the British Government. The result was that the Maharajians, in August 1833, were brought under direct British superintendence, and the Phulkian Chiefs were warned not to interfere in the affairs of the community, which became peaceful and well-behaved, as soon as the rival influences of Nabha and Pattiala ceased to agitate it*.

This change in the character of the Maharajians for the better was very marked, and was apparent immediately they had come under British control. No harsh rules or unintelligible procedure were prescribed for them, but simple village courts were formed in which the elders were to decide upon most disputed cases. The result was that, in a few years the bloodshed and affrays which were before so frequent, became almost unknown, and the confidence of the people in the intentions of

* Resident Delhi to Political Agent 6th May 1828, 16th February 1829, 23rd March 1831, 5th May and 16th September 1831, 21st July 1832. Political Agent to Resident 27th January 1829, 13th April, 4th May and 3rd September 1831, 29th January, 17th June 1832, 23rd July 1833. Agent to Governor General 12th December 1832, and 16th September 1833.

Secretary to Government 5th November 1832, and 22nd August 1833.

the British Government was such that they begged that a Thanah or Police Station might be placed in their midst though they had always refused to admit any such post belonging to the neighbouring Chiefs and would have resisted such an encroachment to the death. They gave up, almost entirely, the practice of female infanticide, which had been before universal. Their excuse for the prevalence of this crime was singular enough. When told that it was expressly forbidden in the precepts of their Guru, Govind Singh, they replied that it had been impossible for them, during the times of anarchy that had prevailed since they had adopted Sikhism, to find leisure to become acquainted with the doctrines of their Scripture, and that the first notice that they had ever received of infanticide being an offence against their religion was in an injunction issued some years before by the Rajas of Patiala and Nabha. They, however, engaged to suppress the crime, and they were both sincere and successful the punishment of forfeiture of his estate being ordained for any one who should commit it.

In 1834, several cases occurred, requiring no special mention, between Patiala and the British Government relative to boundary disputes; trespass of Patiala troops in the Hissar district, and encroachments of Patiala zamindars on British territory, but these were all easily and satisfactorily arranged. One dispute, before alluded to, must be now related with some

* Agent to Governor General to Political Agent 28th April 1836
Political Agent to Agent to Governor General 31st August 1836

detail,* for it gave more trouble to the English Government than any other with Pattiala and remained a fruitful source of jealousy and suspicion for upwards of twenty years. This was the case regarding the Harriana and the Bhatti districts, conquered respectively from the Mahrattas and the Bhattis in 1803 and 1818.

After the victory of Dehli in 1803, the British Government succeeded to all the possessions of Sindhia north of Agra, including the Gangetic Provinces and the Dehli territory west of the Jamna. To the north lay the States of Pattiala, Kythai and Jhind, but between them and the inhabited portion of Dehli territory, was a strip of waste land, now known as the Sirsa and Hissar districts.

The nature of the country.

This country consists of vast plains covered with grass and a scrubby brushwood, while the only elevations which break the monotonous level are sand hills, which seem to speak of a time when the tract was a wilderness of drifting sand. But Bhattiana had once been more prosperous than it was in 1803. Just twenty years before, a terrible

The famine of 1783.

famine had desolated the land, the mountain streams, to whose water the people trusted for their scanty cultivation, had dried up, no rain had fallen, and the vast herds of cattle, for which Bhattiana had been renowned for many hundred years, died. The villages were deserted, and, to this day, the country has not recovered the fatal famine of 1783.

* Agent to Governor General Delhi to Political Agent Ambala 11th January, 7th February, 3rd and 19th April, 30th June, 23rd August, 3rd September. Political Agent to Agent to Governor General 12th March, 3rd and 12th May 1834.

The inhabitants of this country were a pastoral race, fierce and restless in their habits and impatient of any control. They lived for the most part in open villages, or wandered about with their flocks in search of pasture. A few towns, or rather fortified villages, were scattered through the waste, which the Bhatti tribes made their rendezvous on the approach of a common danger. These were Fatahabad, Sirsa, Ramia and Ubohar. The Bhatti race was little more than a band of robbers, and it was their boldness, the rapidity of their movements and the savage character of their country, which had saved them from being crushed by powerful neighbours whom they had continually irritated by their raids.

Raja Amar Singh of Pattiala had more than once, it is true, invaded the Bhatti country, stormed the strongholds of the robbers and exacted from them a reluctant submission. But his influence lasted for little longer than the time that his army was in the country, and, after his death, the Bhattis completely recovered their independence, his son, Sahib Singh, being a child, and the Pattiala State in too great confusion to waste much time and money on a region so unproductive as Bhattiana.

Between 1795 and 1799, George Thomas extended his authority over all the Hissar, Hansi and Sirsa territory*. He fell before the Mahrattas in 1802, who, in their turn, were overthrown by the English in the following year †

* *Vide, ante p 81*

† *Vide, ante p 89*

The new masters of the country were either ignorant of the amount and value of inheritance they had gained from the Mahrattas, or were too apathetic to attempt to secure it, and, from 1803 to 1818, no steps were taken to define the boundary of the Sikh States. The right of the British Government to the territory had not, however, been allowed to lapse. In the year 1810, an expedition was sent against Khan Buhádar Khan, a Bhatti Chief, whose raids into British territory had been frequent. He was overpowered and expelled the country, while the tract of Fatahabad, which he had held in possession, now included in the district of Hissar, was formally annexed to the British territory.

But of the country to the west, from Sirsa to the Bahawalpur deserts and the Satlej, the Bhattis retained the undisturbed possession until 1818, when another of their leaders, Zabta Khan, roused by his forays, the wrath of the British Government, as Khan Bahadar Khan had done. A force was sent against him, and the territory, now known as the district of Sirsa, came under the English rule.

During these fifteen years, while the English had paid no attention whatever to the state of the border, the Sikh Chiefs had not been idle. They had understood that the wild country, then almost depopulated, would, under good management, become valuable, and in anticipation of the time when the Government would understand its value, they steadily labored at manufacturing the strongest possible claims

to as large a portion of it as they could annex without opposition

From the accession of Raja Sahib Singh till

The constant and systematic encroachments of Pattiala on the frontier

their overthrow by the English, the Bhattis had remained the real masters of the country, with the exception of the short interval of the rule of George Thomas, who, however, made no attempt to interfere directly with the authority of the Bhatti Chiefs over their respective clans. They had successfully resisted all attempts of Pattiala to subdue them, and had done much to prevent the encroachments which, from 1803, Pattiala was constantly making, advancing her villages further and further into the waste and bringing cultivators from her own settled territory to found new hamlets in Bhattiana.

The overthrow of the Bhattis by the English

The defeat of the Bhattis an advantage to Pattiala

removed the last barrier to Pattiala encroachments, and that State immediately made the most of the opportunity. In 1821, passing over the belt of waste land, she planted an out-post of 20 soldiers in the village of Gudhab, within 14 miles of the British Police post at Sirsa, and waited to see if this audacity would be noticed. No remark was made, and, the next year, the post was further strengthened by a detachment of 40 horse, and, in 1823, cultivators were brought from the interior of Pattiala and induced by large rewards to appropriate and cultivate the surrounding waste. Similarly, in 1827, the Maharaja of Pattiala took possession of Ubohar, sixty miles to the north-west of Gudhab, repaired the fortifications and began to found villages and occupy all the neighbouring country.

*Mr. William Fraser, the District Officer, had, in 1818, called the attention of Government to the unsettled state of the frontier, but no notice was taken of the report. Subsequently, the Honorable R Gardner, and Mr S Brown, successively in charge of the district, had reported to the same effect, but it was not till 1835, when Sir Charles Metcalfe was Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Provinces, and Mr William Fraser, Resident at Delhi, both gentlemen most intimately acquainted with the case, that it was determined to bring the matter to a satisfactory settlement. Mr Ross Bell, the Acting Collector of Hissar, was selected for the duty, and, for his guidance, certain principles were laid down which were to be closely and invariably followed

The attention of the English authorities aroused

Mr Bell appointed to report on the question, A D 1835

These principles were that whatever belonged to Pattiala at the time of the British conquest of Haryana in 1803, should be adjudged to that State, and whatever belonged to the Government which the English had superseded, should be adjudged to the latter. With regard to the district of Fatahabad and the portions of the Bhatti country conquered in 1810, and to the remaining portion of that country conquered in 1818, the same principle was to hold good and the *status* of those years to be maintained.*

The principles which were to guide him.

Mr Bell, who was appointed to investigate the whole question, submitted an able and voluminous report, of which the

The conclusion at which he arrived

* Secretary to Government Agra to T T Metcalfe, Agent to Governor General, 11th July 1835.

following conclusions were accepted by the Government. The first tract of country was Hariāna. When George Thomas was finally defeated by the Mahattas in 1802, nineteen districts fell into their hand. Bheir, Rohtak, Mahem, Hansi, Hissar, Agroha, Burwala, Siwanī, Buhā, Ahurwan, Fatahabad, Sirsa, Rama, Bhatner, Sufidun, Dhatrat, Jamalpur, Tohana, and Kassuhan. Of these, the first thirteen were placed immediately under Sindhia's officers, and, with the exception of Bhatner, were subsequently annexed to the British dominions. Sufidun and Dhatrat were transferred to Raja Bhag Singh of Jhind, and the last three districts, with the forts of Badsikri and Kanhourī, alone remained in dispute.

Kassuhan consisted of 16 villages, originally belonging to Pattiala. It had been conquered by George Thomas in 1798, and again wrested from him by Louis Bourquin, the Lieutenant of General Perron, who made it over to the charge of Bhai Lal Singh of Kythal, by whom it was, on the cessation of hostilities, retransferred to Pattiala, with whom it had remained ever since. This district, with its intervening villages was adjudged to the Raja of Pattiala.

Another strip of land called the Ilaka Gorakpur, and consisting of 15 villages, had been in turn held by Thomas and Bourquin, and, on the defeat of Sindhia, had been granted to three Chiefs by the British Government, but, in 1809, had been annexed to British territory. The Raja's claim to this tract was based upon four letters addressed by General Perron and Bourquin to Captain Manuel Deremao, directing him to make

over the district to the Raja, and Lord Lake's order guaranteeing all lands in the Raja's possession at the time of Sindhia's overthrow. There was, however, no evidence to show that the Raja had ever possessed, and the district was adjudged to the British Government.

The circumstances of the fort of *Badsiri* were precisely similar to those of *Kassuhan*, and the claims of the Chief were acknowledged, as also in the case of the fort of *Kanhouri*, originally belonging to *Kythal*, wrested from that Chief by *Thomas*, but recovered previous to 1803.

The last *Harriana* districts for consideration, were *Jamalpur* and *Tohana*. From 1750 to 1777, they had been overrun by *Bhatti* and *Sikh* marauders, and, in the last named year, were seized by *Raja Amar Singh of Pattiala*. From 1798 to 1802 they were held by *Thomas*, and at the time of the *Mahratta* overthrow by *General Perron*. The *Pattiala* Chief certainly did not obtain possession till 1809, for the intervening land was owned by the *Bhattis* and the right of the British Government was clear. It may be mentioned, to show what peace and security had done for the *Cis-Satlej* States, that whereas, in 1803, there were in these districts only eleven inhabited estates, in 1836 there were no less than 122. These districts allotted to the English Government were the last affected by the conquests of 1803.

The district affected by the conquest of 1809, was *Fatahabad*, consisting of 46 villages, 25 in possession of *Patti-*

ala, and 21 in possession of Kythal Raja Amar Singh conquered Fatahabad, Rania, and Sirsa, holding them himself, with the exception of a few villages made over to Nabha and Kythal. In 1783, the country was laid waste by famine, and the next year the Bhattis regained possession and held it till 1811, two years after the annexation of Fatahabad to the British territory. The Sikh Chiefs, having ceased to hold the district in 1783, had no right, and Fatahabad was anew declared British territory.

Since, in the same way, was in possession of The district of Sirsa the Bhattis till 1818, when their revolt took place, and the claim of the Sikh Chiefs was disallowed, except to four villages one of which Panchuari, was gained by Nabha in 1812, and Singha, Udarthana and Jhanda, by Pattiala in 1814. Of the remaining 24 villages, 14 were, in 1836, in possession of Pattiala, 6 of Kythal, and 3 of Nabha.

The Pargannah of Rania was the last for consideration. The district of Rania It was of considerable extent, with 109 inhabited villages, of which 77 were in possession of Pattiala, and the remainder held by Kythal, Nabha, Jhumbah, Arnowl and Shahzadpur. The claims of these States were absolutely rejected. The district was conquered by the Sikhs under Raja Amar Singh. At his death, in 1780, the Bhattis recovered the greater portion of the territory, and, three years after, aided by the great famine, made themselves masters of the remainder, from which time, till 1821, three years after the annexation of the Bhatti

country to British territory, the Sikhs had held no portion of Rania whatever *

The Government generally admitting these conclusions as correct and final, was yet anxious not to exert its power to obtain anything not justly its due, declared itself willing to take a liberal view of any points that might be really doubtful and directed the Agent at Ambala to submit any such points for further orders

The Home Government, which naturally knew less than the Indian Government of the character of the Sikh Chiefs, was still more anxious to guard what were curiously described as their rights. The Directors' despatch of the 11th February 1838, admitted the principles which had been laid down to regulate the decision of the case as just,

but asserted that it was a matter for compromise and not for arbitrary assertion of right. That if the Sikhs could really prove that General Perton had agreed to give up to them certain districts, to which, at that time, they asserted their right and which they were expecting to receive when the country came into possession of the English, then

* Mr T Metcalfe to Government North Western Provinces, dated 15th September 1836 Government North Western Provinces to Mr Metcalfe, 29th October 1836

Resident Delhi to Colonel Ochterlony of 9th May 1814, and 14th November 1816 Sir D. Ochterlony to Resident, 18th May 1814, 17th November 1816, 27th April, 15th June, and 13th September 1817

Captain Birch to Sir D Ochterlony, 11th August 1820, and 27th January 1821

Agent to Governor General to Mr Clerk, Political Agent, 30th March and 11th May 1836

Mr Clerk to Agent Governor General, 3rd May 1836.

Mr Bell's report with Agent to Governor General's letter dated 15th September This report, with annexes, fills several volumes

that Lord Lake's guarantee of their actual possessions would be too strictly construed by affirming that the accident of their not having actually received possession cancelled all equitable claim on their part, and, secondly, that any right founded upon the sort of possession which a roving tribe like the Bhattis could be considered to maintain over any country, was not such as would be creditable to English liberality to assert without qualifications, after allowing the other claimants, without official remonstrance, to expend money in bringing the country into cultivation.

It was, no doubt, for the Government itself to decide which of their just claims they would resign, but if an officer of Government had acted, without specific orders, in the sense of this despatch, he would have justly deserved censure. Any right which the Sikhs could possess through a promise of General Perron's was as valid, as if, previous to the battle of Waterloo, the Emperor Napoleon had promised to give Belgium to Italy. After the complete overthrow of the Emperor, the European powers would hardly have insisted on fulfilling his promise. The Mahrattas held Hissar and Sirsa in 1803 after the overthrow of Thomas, and had given no single acre of it to the Sikhs. It was easy enough to forge letters and papers proving such promise, but it was not pretended that the promise was ever carried with action. No one could say that Perron ever intended to fulfil it. But for the English, the enemies and the conquerors of the Mahrattas, to consider it a point of honor to carry out their promises, was an extravagance of sensitive-

The view of the case taken by the Home Government was a very generous one

ness, of which, fortunately, very few traces are found in our foreign policy.

The argument which was used in favor of the Sikh Chiefs, whose audacity was their only title to consideration, might have been employed, more logically on behalf of the Bhattis, yet any right of possession which a tribe like the Bhattis could assert was questioned. The Bhattis were, certainly, a pastoral rather than an agricultural race, but they possessed towns and villages, and the tradition of possession of the very same soil for hundreds of years. If the argument against their claim to possession, drawn from their roving habits, was correct, very few people would be able to maintain their right to the lands of their forefathers, unless strong enough to defy attack.

The out-cry made by the Maharaja of Pattiala was loud enough, but it was utterly unreasonable. This Chief had, throughout the whole enquiry, acted himself, and instigated the other Sikh Chiefs concerned to act in the most contumacious manner. He had refused to acknowledge the right of Mr Ross Bell to make enquiries; he had forbidden the cultivators of the disputed villages to give any information of the time at which they were settled, he had thrown every obstacle in Mr. Ross' way, and had thwarted him to the best of his power. The reasons which induced Pattiala to act thus were clear, and were certainly not deserving of the consideration shown to him by the Home Government. The Maharaja was in possession of the whole of the disputed land and would only lose

The argument might be used more justly in favor of the Bhattis than the Sikhs

The conduct of the Maharaja was deserving of consideration.

His reasons for opposition to the enquiry

by the enquiry For the last twenty years, ever since Mr Fraser had first brought the question of the boundary to the notice of Government, Pattiala had, on various pleas and pretexts, opposed the settlement of the question, and, while the British Government was patiently considering her objections, she was making still further encroachments and only desisted delay in order to strengthen her fraudulent claims. The Pattiala Chief finally refused to arbitrate at all, hoping thus to postpone the settlement of the case indefinitely, but Mr. Ross Bell was ordered to decide according to the evidence accumulated, and the result was, as has before been detailed, that a vast tract of land, more than a hundred miles long and from ten to twenty miles broad, was transferred from the Maharaja of Pattiala to the British Government.

There was, then, no reason for re-opening the case, and many reasons for allowing *the reasons against re-opening the case* Mr. Ross Bell's decision to remain final. It was hopeless to expect that officers of such knowledge and experience could be found to deal with the case a second time. Before the enquiry was ended, Mr William Fraser had been murdered at Dehli, Sir Charles Metcalfe, in 1837 left India for ever, and Mr Ross Bell was sent as Political Officer to Sind, where he soon after died. To re-open the case, decided by officers so distinguished and so complete masters of the subject, was to ensure a less just and satisfactory decision. Moreover, if the Maharaja of Pattiala had suffered in any way by the result, he had himself alone to blame. He had done everything in his power to prevent the success of the enquiry, and he richly deserved to suffer for his litigious and dishonest conduct.

The remonstrances of Pattiala had, however, their effect, and on 1st January, 1840, instructions were issued to Mr. Conolly to effect some sort of compromise, not in any way surrendering the principle which had been originally laid down, but pressing it against the Sikhs less rigorously. Accordingly, in May 1840, he submitted his report, which was more in favor of the Sikhs than the Report of Mr Ross Bell had been adverse to them. He proposed to give up the most valuable portion of the Hissar district, and his conclusions were accepted by the North Western Provinces Government, and from the Report of the Collector of Hissar the following tabular statement is taken, which shows the financial result of Mr Conolly's decision, so far as the Hissar district was concerned.*

	No	Cultivation in acres	Total area in acres	Approximate value
Villages to be restored	119	99,408	2,72,415	Rs 90,000
Villages to be retained	147	68,788	2,55,623	60,000
TOTAL,	266	1,68,191	5,28,038	1,50,000

After Mr Bell's decision had given so large a tract of country to the British Government, Sirsa Rania and Ubohar were separated from Hissar, and

* Mr Conolly's Reports dated 5th December 1839 and 23rd May 1840 Secretary to Government of India to North Western Provinces Government 7th January 1840 Resolution of North Western Provinces Government dated August 1840 Collector of Hissar to Government North Western Provinces, 23rd September 1840.

No definite proposals submitted with reference to Sirsa formed into a new district under the name of Sirsa. - On this frontier, Mr. Conolly also reported, He was inclined to give up forty or fifty villages, but the want of an accurate map prevented him from making definite proposals.

The Maharaja still discontented. The Maharaja of Pattala, although he had obtained so much when he had right to nothing, still held out with characteristic obstinacy, and asserted his right to the whole of the tract. He drew upon himself a just rebuke from Government, and was directed either to accept the decision or reject it, in which case the whole tract would be, at once, resumed by Government*.

The Hissar boundary finally settled, April 1842 - This language brought him to his senses, and he consented to take over the villages assigned to him on the Hissar frontier, and was paid their revenue, less 20 per cent for the cost of management, from the time that they had been in English possession. This final transfer was made in April 1842, since which time perfect tranquility has existed on the Hissar frontier.

The Bhattiana frontier still undecided The proposals of Mr. Conolly with regard to the Bhattiana frontier, though not precise as to the number or names of villages, for want of sufficient information, included the cession to Pattala of the waste land adjoining her border villages. He assumed that the inhabitants of these villages must have made some use of the waste land.

Mr. Conolly's opinion

* Secretary to Government North Western Provinces dated 11th April and 7th August 1841 to Political Agent Ambala.

for grazing, and proposed to surrender all that was within the ordinary range of occupation from Sikh villages.

The Government of North Western Provinces, while remarking on the indistinctness of the proposal, adopted and confirmed the principle, on Mr. Conolly's assurance that it was capable of being practically worked out; and Captain William Brown was directed to survey the country, and Captain Robinson, the Superintendent of Hissar, to decide on the villages to be ceded. The survey was completed in 1842, and Captain Robinson sent his results to Mr. Conolly, at Rai Bareilly, for approval, who replied that the proposed line of border was in exact accordance with the principles he had suggested in his report of the 6th August 1840.

The report of Captain Robinson, mentioned 42 villages to be restored to Patiala, and 102 to be retained.* But on this report no action was taken. The Maharaja was himself to blame for much of the delay. He refused to negotiate with Mr. Conolly, as he had before refused to negotiate with Mr. Bell, and in April 1841, it was intimated to him that he must accept this compromise, or the Government would decline to give him anything at all. He obstructed the officers engaged in the survey of the tract,† and in 1844, Colonel Richmond, writing to the North Western Provinces Government, ‡ states

* Report dated 23rd March 1843

† Do para 91

‡ No 162, dated 9th September 1844

that the Maharaja still continued to brood over what he considered a deprivation of territory. Lastly, Colonel H. Lawrence, in 1846, informed the Governor General* that the Maharaja had again revived the boundary dispute "in a very disrespectful *critique* "on the orders of Government, and especially on the "amended judgment given by Mr Conolly," and finally recommended that he should be rebuked for his litigious spirit, and given a month to finally make up his mind.

The Sikh war then broke out, and prevented the disposal of the case, which was transferred from Agra to Lahore, then the second Sikh war and the annexation of the Punjab, and it was not till 1850-51, that Mr. Edmonstone, Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States, attempted to settle the dispute, but he could not find leisure to dispose of it, and Mr. G. Barnes, his successor, finally reported on it in 1855. †

His proposals were unfavorable to the Maharaja. He considered that, although Pattiala was really entitled to nothing, yet that the principle asserted by Government having been approved, something must be given. No details were, however, sanctioned, and it was for the Government to give what they thought expedient and just. He accordingly proposed to give 20 villages, or, if this was considered insufficient, seven more, specially selected with reference to the configuration of the frontier,

* No 205 dated 26th September 1846.

† Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States to Punjab Government, No 219, dated 22nd September 1855.

and the necessity of preserving the customs line which had been established with great labor and expense. All the villages inconveniently near the customs line Mr. Barnes proposed to retain

The Chief Commissioner of the Punjab did not agree with these proposals. He admitted that Colonel Richmond's letters and the Maharaja's replies* proved that the latter had not agreed to the decision made by Mr. Conolly, and that the Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Provinces, with the sanction of the Supreme Government, had intimated that if Pattiala did not accept the terms, the offer would be cancelled. †

But this threat had never been formally carried into effect: the discussion on the question had been several times renewed, and the Maharaja had been permitted to urge his claims again and again. Some delay moreover was due to the action of the British Government, and the revenue of the tract made over to Pattiala might fairly be paid her from 1843. As to the number of villages to be ceded, although the Government was not strictly bound by the arrangements of 1845, no orders having been issued on Captain Robinson's report, yet there was no doubt that by the spirit of Mr. Conolly's award, which had been approved by the Government, Pattiala should receive the 41 villages proposed by him, or their fair equivalent if inconvenience would arise from the customs line passing through foreign territory ‡

* Letter from Maharaja Pattiala to Agent to Governor General, dated 29th February 1841, 26th April 1842, 27th April 1844 8th April 1848
Colonel Richmond to Maharaja 17th February 1844, 15th April 1844

† To Agent to Governor General Ambala 7th September 1841

‡ Chief Commissioner to Government of India, No. 9 dated 7th January 1856

The Supreme Government made no secret of their regret that the question, after *The final orders in the case, A D 1856* its decision by Mr. Ross Bell, had been re-opened, but this step having been taken, and the Government having accepted Mr Conclly's award, it was necessary to abide by it. The Government accordingly approved of the villages suggested by the Commissioner Cis-Satlej States and others, making 41 in all, as originally proposed, being given to the Maharaja, with arrears of revenue from 1843 to 1st May 1856 *

There was some difficulty in arranging the transfer of villages, and the North *The transfer of villages* Western Provinces Government objected to several being given up on account of the existing arrangements of the customs line, but, eventually, this objection was withdrawn. Twenty-six villages were made over by the Superintendent of Bhattiana, and, for the balance of revenue still due, Rs 4,131, the Bhadour Sirdars transferred to the Maharaja the five village of Aspal, Mandehar, Suhoki, Bani and Bhadra, worth Rs 4,120 per annum, being compensated by an assignment on the revenues of Government villages to a like amount.†

* Supreme Government to Government Punjab, No 1251, dated 26th February 1856

† Commissioner Cis-Satlej States to Government Punjab, No 159 dated 16th June, and Government Punjab to Commissioner Cis-Satlej States, No 547 dated 8th July 1856

Government North Western Provinces to Government of India, No. 2218 dated 31st March 1856 Government of India to Government North Western Provinces, No 2274 dated 25th April Officiating Commissioner Customs North Western Provinces, to Govt. North Western Provinces, No 45 dated 10th March Secretary to Government Punjab to Government North Western Provinces 11th January and 12th April Government North Western Provinces to Government of India, No 3102 dated 29th May Government of India to Government Punjab, No 3412 dated 20th June

This long dispute, the origin of which was in 1803 and the conclusion in 1856, *The importance of the case* has deserved attention from the great intricacy of the questions involved, the large interests at stake, and the obstinacy with which every inch of ground was contested by the Maharaja of Patiala. If so much importunity and obstinacy were successful, they almost deserved success, and if the British Government, in the final decision, obtained far less than was its clear right, it could, at least, afford to be magnanimous

It is now necessary to go back in the history of Patiala, and allude to its connection with the Kythal State Bhai Udey Singh, the last Chief, was bed-ridden for some years before his death and unable to keep his State in order. This indeed he was always too weak and debauched to do, but, in 1838 and 1839, the disorder and affrays on the Kythal and Patiala Frontier became so serious, that trade was interrupted, and the peace of the whole country disturbed*. In the time of Bhai Lal Singh the two States had been firm friends, but now they secretly encouraged acts of plunder and aggression on each other's villages. Bands of armed men, 300 or 400 in number, would openly assemble, cross the border, plunder and burn villages, and kill the inhabitants, till all the smaller villages in the neighbourhood were deserted. This state of things was only partially stopped by a strong remonstrance addressed

* Despatch of Court of Directors dated 13th February 1838 to Government of India

Government of India to Agent to Governor General Delhi 28th July 1838

by the British authorities to the several Chiefs, insisting upon their putting an end to disorder, which not only injured their own territory, but that of the British Government *

Bhai Udey Singh of Kythal died on the 15th of March 1843, and the Chiefship, with territory to the amount of one lakh of rupees per annum, devolved upon Bhai Gulab Singh of Arnowli, while the remaining territory, including Kythal, and worth about 4 lakhs of rupees per annum, escheated to the British Government To the Rajas of Patiala, Nabha and Jhind, this lapse was odious They were connected with the Bhai of Kythal, and they wished to retain the whole of their large possessions in the family, and they also imagined that the precedent was one which might be, at some future day, employed against themselves. The Patiala Raja had other and more personal motives Bhai Udey Singh had lent to Ajit Singh, the spendthrift brother of Raja Karam Singh, large sums of money, and he feared that the British Government might exact payment of the bonds from him He therefore prepared to oppose, as far as was safe, the resumption of the estate, and his agents, with those of the other Rajas, went to Kythal, where Mr Greathed had arrived on a special mission to enforce immediate compliance with the demands of Government. The Kythal ministers would not give any definite answer to these demands, and the Envoy addressed the Phulkian

* Mr S. S. Brown, Magistrate Western Division Delhi Frontier to Agent to Governour General 18th September 1839

Agent to Governour General to Political Agent Ambala, dated 26th September 1839

Rajas, desiring them to withdraw their deputies from the Kythal Council, as otherwise they would incur the imputation of supporting the contumacy displayed. At first some disposition was shown to disregard this request; but, on a serious warning being addressed to the Rajas, they withdrew their special agents and directed those ordinarily in attendance to confine their communications with Kythal to the forms of condolence and to admonitions against disobedience of the orders of Government.*

But their intrigues had already produced sufficient mischief, and, on the 10th

The result of their intrigues.

April, an insurrection broke out at

Kythal, which soon became general and which the force with Mr. Creathed was not strong enough to repress. Reinforcements however quickly arrived, and the town and fort of Kythal were soon in possession of the British. The Maharaja of Pattiala now thought it time to show his loyalty, and, with

1,000 horse and two guns, surrounded the party of

The insurrection of Kythal suppressed. The action of Pattiala.

Teg Singh, the leader of the insurgents, who had fled from Kythal,

and after a short skirmish, in which a few men were killed and wounded on either side, took him prisoner. Several other leaders of less note he also intercepted and captured. With Teg Singh were taken four elephants, two brass guns, one lakh and a half of rupees and a considerable quantity

* Mr Clerk, Envoy to Court of Lahore to Government of India, 16th March 1843, to Mr Creathed, 18th March, to Raja of Pattiala, 17th, 27th, 30th, March Mr Creathed to Envoy to Lahore, 25th, 27th March and 8th April; to Raja of Pattiala 24th March.

of other property, all of which the Raja forwarded to Mr G Clerk at Ambala *

The insurrection was crushed as speedily as it had broken out, but the Rajas were no better pleased than before at seeing the Kythal estate pass out of the hands of the then representative of the family. The British Government had ruled that only the acquisitions of Bhai Gurbaksh Singh, the great-grand-father of the chief recently deceased and of his second cousin Gulab Singh, the new claimant, should be inherited by the latter, and the amount of these acquisitions it was most difficult to determine. The Rajas, who alone could give accurate information, at first declared ignorance of the matter, and, at last, only replied in general terms, urging the claims of the nearest of kin or of the widow to the whole of the territory. Their objections were, however, set aside and the case finally settled at the close of 1844 †

The beginning of the year 1845 did not find any of the great Sikh Chiefs south of the Satlej well disposed towards the English Government. The disastrous campaign in Afghanistan had produced upon them an effect even more powerful than on the

* Mr Clerk to Government of India, 11th, 17th and 25th April. To Raja of Patiala, 11th, 12th and 14th April 1843. Mr Greathed to Mr Clerk, 10th April. Raja of Patiala to Mr Clerk, 13th, 15th and 16th April 1843.

† Colonel Richmond, Agent to Governor General, to Government of India 14th October 1844. Maharaja of Patiala to Agent Governor General, 29th September. Secretary to Government North Western Provinces to Major Broadfoot, Agent Governor General 28th December 1844. Court of Directors' Despatch, No 33, dated 25th October 1843.

Lahore Court, which, presided over by a series of adventurers and debauchees whose only thought was of personal advantage and degrading pleasures, allowed the country to drift helplessly into the war which was in one sense its ruin and in another its salvation. But the Cis-Satlej Chiefs had abundant leisure to observe the signs of the times. From Sir David Ochterlony's first advent till the Afghan campaign they had been governed with a strong hand. They had understood that it was the British power alone which had saved them from absorption by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and they had believed that this power was invincible, since they had never seen it successfully opposed. But the result of the Kabul expedition dispelled this belief. Seeing that their resources, in money and supplies, were required for the English armies, they began to think that they were necessary to the existence of the British power, not that it was essential to their own. All fear of the Lahore Monarchy was now over there was no longer a strong and sagacious ruler like Ranjit Singh, who made British protection sound pleasantly in the ears of neighboring princes; and this protection now seemed little more than a restraint, without which each Chief fancied that he himself might play the part which, under similar circumstances, the Raja of Lahore had played with so much brilliancy and success.

There were, however, certain indications that, in any conflict with the Sikhs which might be approaching and which some knew to be inevitable, the Phulkian Chiefs would take different sides.

The Jealousy between Patiala, Jhind, and Nabha

The Pattiala and Jhind Rajas felt a bitter and inveterate hostility to the Raja of Nabha, whose imbecilities and their punishment have been detailed elsewhere. Raja Devindar Singh of Nabha, was the natural head of the Phulkian house, the representative of the elder branch of the family, and the hereditary "chaudhri:" a title which the Chiefs had held when they were still zamundars and which they were proud to retain.

Of Pattiala, which possessed five times his income and territory, he had always *The absurd claims of the Nabha Raja.* been jealous, and his great desire was to obtain from the British Government the title of Maharaja and precedence of Pattiala, the Chief of which he would never permit to be named in his presence by a higher title than Raja. The Jhind Chief he treated with contempt, affecting to consider him not entitled to the rank of Raja at all, being only collaterally related to the former Chiefs. Both these States were thus inclined to oppose any cause which the Raja of Nabha favored, and one reason of the latter's hostility during the war was the hope that the Sikhs would allow him to assert the supremacy over Pattiala, which was the first desire of his heart.

When hostilities with the Lahore Government became certain, at the close of 1845, *The loyalty of Pattiala in 1845* Maharaja Karam Singh declared his loyalty and devotion to the British Government and his readiness to furnish all necessary supplies for the army and a contingent for active service. But he was at this time dangerously ill, and, anxiety completing *Death of Maharaja Karam Singh, A. D. 1845* what disease had begun, he died on the 23rd of December, the day

after the battle of Firoshahr, and was succeeded by his son Narindar Singh, then 23 years of age

The new Chief was even better disposed towards the British Government than his father had been, but it would be idle to assert that in him or in any Sikh Chief south of the Satlej, there existed, at this time, an active spirit of loyalty, such as, in 1857, induced this very Prince to strain every nerve and enlist every available man to fight for the English, or which led the Rajas of Jhind and Kapurthalla to head their troops and help Englishmen to capture Dehli and reconquer Oude. In 1845 the feeling south of the Satlej was strongly in favor of the Khalsa, and although the Chiefs of Pattiala and

The sympathies of the Pattiala Chiefs with Lahore

Jhind knew that their interests were bound up with those of the English, their sympathies were with Lahore. No information was given to the British authorities of the intention of the Sikh army to cross the Satlej on the 11th of December, although this intention was well known to every Chief south of that river, where every Jat village contained soldiers of the Lahore army, regular or irregular, by whom a constant communication was kept up with the "Panches," or Committees, of the army, and to whom the intention to invade British territory was universally confided.

No information of the intention of the Sikh army to cross the Satlej given to the English authorities.

Pattiala furnished supplies and behaved fairly, though unable to keep her troops steady

Yet, in comparison with other States, Pattiala did good service, as Major Mackeson, Captain Mills and Mr Cust, have testified. From the first, supplies and carriage were freely given,

and the conduct of the contingent only proved that the authorities at Pattiala were not always able to control troops whose sympathies were with the Lahore army. At the investment of Gongrana the contingent behaved well, though it was unsuccessful in intercepting the garrison when they vacated the fort; but a detachment of the same contingent, consisting of 200 horse, had, on a previous occasion, when garrisoning Badhowal for the English, given up that post without a struggle to an overwhelming force of Sikhs, which the contingent joined in a body, a desertion at the time highly prejudicial to the English cause*.

At the conclusion of the war the Maharaja of Pattiala was rewarded for his services by the grant of a *Sanad* expressing the high sense which the Government entertained of his loyalty,† and of certain estates resumed

The Maharaja rewarded for his services

* From Major Mackeson, Commissioner Cis-Satlej States to Agent Governor General of 27th July 1843 Agent to Governor General to Government of India, 18th September 1846 Mr R. Cust, Assistant Agent to Governor General to Commissioner Cis-Satlej States of 7th March 1846

Captain Milla, Assistant Agent to Governor General to Commissioner Cis-Satlej States 1st February 1846

Patras from the office of Agent Governor General to Pattiala authorities of 27th December 1845, 9th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 17th January and 13th February 1846 Major Broadfoot, Agent to Governor General to Government of India, 26th April 1845

† *Sanad to the Maharaja of Pattiala, dated 22nd September 1847*

The Right Honourable the Governor General having resolved to bestow certain lands on the Raja of Pattiala as a mark of consideration for his attachment and services to the British during the late war with the Lahore State, and the Raja of Pattiala having requested that he may at the same time receive a renewed assurance of protection and guarantee of his rights in his former possessions, the Governor General is pleased to confer this assurance in the form of a *Sanad* or grant as follows, in order that the Maharaja and his successors after him, may, with perfect confidence, continue to exercise the same rights and authority in his possessions as heretofore.

The Maharaja's ancient hereditary estates, according to annexed schedule, shall continue for ever in the possession of himself and his

from the Raja of Nabha. Lands to the value of a lakh of rupees, per annum, belonging to this Chief were confiscated, of which Rs 22,766, were taken by the British Government as commutation for the service of horse, and the remainder, Rs 71,224, divided equally between Patiala and Faridkot. The Maharaja also received a gift of a house belonging to the rebel Raja of Ladwa, situated at Hardwar *

successors, with all Government rights thereto belonging of Police jurisdiction and collection of revenue as heretofore. The Maharaja's chaharmanians, feudatories, adherents and dependents, will continue bound in their adherence and obligations to the Raja as heretofore. His Highness will exert himself to do justice and to promote the welfare and happiness of his subjects, while they on their part, considering the Raja as their true and rightful lord, must obey him and his successors accordingly, and pay the revenue punctually, and be always zealous to promote the cultivation of their hands, and to testify their loyalty and obedience. The Maharaja has relinquished for himself and his successors for ever all right to levy excise and transit duties, which have been abolished throughout the Patiala territory. His Highness also binds himself and his successors to the suppression of suttee, infanticide and slave dealings within his territories. If, unknown to the Maharaja's authorities, any person should be guilty of these acts, the Maharaja's authorities will, on conviction, punish them with such severity as to deter others. The British Government will never demand from the Maharaja and his successors and their dependents abovenamed anything in the way of tribute or revenue or commutation in lieu of troops or otherwise, for the reason that His Highness will ever continue as heretofore sincerely devoted to the service and interests of the British. The British Authorities will not entertain complaints of the Maharaja's subjects or dependents, or interfere with the Maharaja's authority. Should an enemy approach from any quarter to this side the Beas or Satlej for the purpose of conquering this country, the Raja will join the British Army with his forces and exert himself in expelling the enemy, and act under discipline and obedience, and in time of war place the resources of his country at the disposal of the British Government. His Highness engages to have made and to keep in repairs, through his own officers, the Military roads through his territory, for the passage of British Troops from Umballa and other stations to Ferozpoor, of a width and elevation to be determined on by the Engineer officer charged with the duty of laying down the roads. His Highness will also appoint encamping grounds for British Troops at the different stages, which shall be marked off, so that there be no claims made hereafter on account of damaged crops.

* Government of India to Agent to Governor General, 1st May 1846

Agent to Governor General to Commissioner Cis-Satlej States, 9th May 1846

Agent to Governor General to Government of India, 18th September 1846

The services, the ingratitude, the rewards and the punishments of the great Cis-Satlej Chiefs, will be recorded in detail in their family histories, but, as Patiala is the representative and head of all, it is necessary to explain here the effect which the Sikh war had upon the general relations of the British Government with the States, small and large, south of the Satlej. It has been seen that from the year 1809, when the Chiefs were taken under British protection, till 1845, their relations with the Government had undergone no change. Protected, by the proclamation of 1809, against the ambition of Lahore, and, by that of 1811, from one another, the Cis-Satlej Chiefs had enjoyed thirty-six years of absolute peace and security. No tribute was demanded from them, though they were required to aid the Government with all their force in the event of war, but no special contingent had been fixed, and through all these years no occasion had arisen to test their fidelity and then gratitude. They were allowed absolute civil, criminal and fiscal jurisdiction within their respective territories, subject to the general authority of the Governor General's Agent, while the Government most scrupulously abstained from any interference with their internal and domestic affairs. To the Cis-Satlej Chiefs the British Government had been an unminged good. Under its strong protection, which asked for no return, save good conduct and loyalty, they had greatly prospered. To the north of that river which had been fixed as the boundary of Ranjit Singh's ambition, there was, in 1845, no independent Chief, what-

The change effected by Sikh war in the relations of the British Government with the Cis-Satlej States

The advantages which British protection had given the Chiefs

The contrast between their position, and that of the country north of the Satlej

ever, with the exception of Nihal Singh Ahluwaha, whose existence, always precarious, was only due to the indirect action of the British Government. Every one else had fallen before the strong, shrewd, faithless ruler of Lahore. The great Katoch family of Kangra, which had ruled in the hills through all historic time, had been driven as exiles from the Punjab, Mandi and Suket were Sikh provinces, the ancient tribes of the north, the Ghakkars, the Awáns, the Janjoahs, who had held their own against the Emperors of Dehli, were now tenants on the lands which they had once ruled as lords, the Afghans had been driven beyond the Khyber; and the whole frontier side, after a thousand fights, had been compelled to acknowledge Lahore as supreme. Kashmir had been conquered, and the chivalrous ruler of Multan had been slain with his sons in the hopeless defence of his capital.

South of the Satlej there had been neither war nor conquest. With the exception of a few estates which had lapsed from failure of heirs, the descendants of the Chiefs who had welcomed Sir David Ochterlony, in 1809, still ruled over the territory which they at that time possessed.

Their prosperity had been so great; the benefits which British protection had conferred on them were so undeniable; and ingratitude for benefits conferred is so certain, that it was no matter for surprise when, at the first opportunity, certain Chiefs turned against the power which had befriended them and openly or secretly joined the ranks of its enemies. But the British Government was still strong to punish. The Raja of Nabha was deposed, and one-

The ingratitude of the Chiefs and their punishment.

fourth of his territories confiscated and divided among the faithful allies of the English. All the Cis-Satlej possessions of the Raja of Kapurthalla were forfeited, the Chiefs of Ladwa and Rupar were removed, as prisoners from the province, and the whole of their estates confiscated, as was that of the Sodhis of Anandpur

But the time had arrived when an entire change in the character of the relations of the Government with the Chiefs had become necessary. There was nothing whatever to admire in the internal management or administration of their States and there was certainly no sign that the people preferred native rule, the rule of their own hereditary Chiefs, to that of the English. The history of every State proves that the reverse was the case, and that it was with the universal satisfaction of the peasants that any estate came under the direct management of the British Government. Thirty-six years of peace had somewhat tamed the barbarous Sikh barons, but their civilization was still imperfect, and their progress had not been such as to wipe out the memory of the days when their administration was but an organized system of rapacity and oppression, when each one did what seemed most advantageous to himself, without any thought of the rights or wrongs of others; when fraud of the grossest kind, debauchery the most degrading, and an entire absence of any principle of truth and honor were the characteristics of almost every Sikh State South of the Satlej

The relations of Government and the Chiefs undergo a change

Their mal-administration

Nor had the majority of the Chiefs shown their loyalty, in 1845, in any more conspicuous manner than, in not joining the enemy. Gratitude they did not understand, and to show them any special consideration at the close of the campaign was unnecessary. Several most important measures were then adopted by the Government. The first was the abolition of all police jurisdiction in most of the States; for the existing system was so favorable to crime, that, in the midst of half a hundred conflicting authorities, the capture of a criminal was well nigh impossible. The second measure was the abolition of transit and custom duties, which were as injurious to trade as the police system was fatal to justice; and the last was to accept a commutation for the personal service of the Chief and his contingent.

The following are extracts from the Despatch of the Governor General of the 17th November 1846, giving his views at length, and the resolution at which he had arrived:—

1 “It is impossible to read the Reports drawn up by Lieutenant Colonel Lawrence, C. B., and Major Mackeson, C. B.; and to examine the documents by which their proposals are supported, without coming to the conclusion that it is the duty of the Government of India to correct the inefficiency and danger inherent in the present system of our relations with the Sikh Protected States, provided the remedies to be applied can be reconciled with justice and good faith.

2. "This system has lasted for nearly 40 years, during which period, judging from the experience of the last campaign, no progress has been made in gaining the attachment of the Sikh population under British protection.

The views of the Governor General on the sentiments of the Chiefs and people of the Cis-Satlaj in 1845, and the policy necessary to adopt towards them

The people seldom have any opportunity of feeling the benefits of British rule, being in all their internal affairs governed by their own native Chiefs. Although of warlike and predatory habits, they were never taken into our service, whilst their own national and religious feelings disposed them to consider the Sikh Army, into whose ranks they were admitted by thousands, as composed of friends and relations. The Panchayat system, good pay and loose discipline, were infinitely more agreeable to their habits than the stricter system of our regular system.

3. "Our protection was felt by the Chiefs during Ranjit Singh's career of conquest, but as regards the people of these States, our intercourse was not of a nature, by the benefits we could confer, to secure their attachment

4. "Every village had some relations in the Sikh ranks, and if questioned by our officers to what Regiment he belonged, the soldier usually replied, in a tone of defiance, that he was a soldier of the Khalsa army on furlough at his native home. On the breaking out of the war, these men came over to their villages as emissaries, and whenever the hostile feeling against the British Government could be prudently exerted, no occasion was omitted for so doing, by intercepting stragglers and plundering baggage. Even in the case of the troops of the Maharaja of Patiala, the most faithful of our

adherents, when the affair of Buddeewal was going against us, and the baggage was sent off from the main body, the whole of the Pattiala cavalry, about 200 in number, went over bodily to the enemy, and the villagers in the rear cut up our sick and plundered the camp-followers. This force, employed at Loodiana, conveyed daily information to the enemy. I notice these facts because this contingent was esteemed to be the most trustworthy in consequence of the fidelity of their Chief to the British cause.

5. "It is scarcely necessary to dwell upon the fact that the hearts of the Sikh population in our protected States were with the men of their own tribe and sect, and decidedly averse to the British Government.

6. "The disaffection to the British power, which for years had protected them, may be said to have been almost universal from the Jamna to the Satlej, with the exception of a few villages which for years had been administered by British Officers.

7. "The great majority of the Petty Chiefs, some of whom held offices at Lahore, and to many of whom the Lahore service held out the prospect of making their fortunes, were as adverse, as their own ryots, to the British Government, in fact neither these petty Chiefs nor their ryots derive any direct and manifest advantages from British protection. The door for employment with us is closed against them, with the Lahore Government it was open.

8. "Throughout the Lahore districts and the Aloowala Estates, now about to be brought under the direct superintendence of British officers, the case will be different. Liberal assessments and strict justice over the Sikh States ceded to us, will,

I should hope, in a short time create a feeling very favorable to British rule, as contrasted with that of the Native Chiefs. The estates now belonging to the East India Company will comprise about one-half of the territory between the Jamna and the Sutlej

9 "But these papers demonstrate that the hostility was not confined to the less wealthy Chiefs.

10 "The Raja of Ladwa, with an estate of £10,000 a year, almost openly avowed his treason, and, after a time, went over to the enemy with all his troops and artillery

11 "The Raja of Nabha, with an estate of £40,000 a year, did not hesitate openly to defy the British Authorities by a total disregard of the orders he received.

12 "At the time when this hostile feeling was so unequivocally expressed, the British army had been successful in capturing 100 pieces of the enemy's artillery, and in compelling the Sikh army to cross the Satlej

13 "There can be no doubt, if we had suffered reverses, that, as in the case of the Pattiāla troops at Buddleewal, the contingents would have joined the enemy and we should have had a general rising of the population in our rear as far east as Kurnal, cutting off our supplies and our small detachments, and making war upon us to the knife.

14 "When the war suddenly broke out I felt, notwithstanding this hostile feeling on the part of the population, that it was quite impossible to apply a Military remedy by detachments in sufficient strength to keep up our communication with the rear. This could only be partially and occasionally

done by the Regiments marching up to the south no detached forces could be afforded of sufficient strength. It was absolutely necessary to concentrate every man where the battle was to be fought against a well-appointed and well-drilled army, inferior to none in Asia for its courage and its national pride, and superior to every other native army except our own, from its European system of discipline.

15. "Minor points were risked by bringing away 5,000 men and 12 field guns from Loodiana, the same measure was adopted at Ferozepur on the 21st December, and my deliberate conviction is, that if the British army had concentrated its forces on Umbala, allowing the Sikh army to advance through the Protected States to meet us, that the whole population would have risen in arms against us."

16. "I state this conviction in reference to the policy of the questions now before me in these reports."

17. "There can be no doubt that the security of this part of the country demands a modification of the existing system, as far as it can be effected, consistently with good faith and an adherence to treaty."

18. "These papers incontrovertibly shew the existence of a disaffected feeling on the part of the Chiefs and the people, either by overt acts, or by neglecting to obey orders, which they were lawfully bound to fulfil."

19. "The refusal to obey the orders given to afford supplies, and to join the British army with their contingents, is clearly established by proof. The

evidence is ample to justify the general measures proposed of no longer permitting these States to raise contingents of their own, but to pay to the British Government a ratable annual sum in lieu of personal service. These contingents were not forthcoming when wanted the disobedience was wilful and almost universal, and by the 4th and 5th Articles of the Declaration of Protection, these obligations are laid down in the most precise terms, *viz*, that the contingents are bound to join the British forces in war and their Chiefs to provide supplies. This betrayal of their duty did not arise from any want of power to fulfil the requisitions made on them. Supplies came in most abundantly as soon as the struggle was decided, and not before.

20. "The delay was persisted in for the purpose of impeding the operations of the British army at a most important crisis, by crippling our means of movement, and after the experience of the past, it can never be tolerated that the territories under British protection, who pay no taxes and contribute nothing to the State, shall furnish from 10 to 15,000 soldiers to the ranks of a neighbouring power, and shall, in time of war, evade, with impunity, to fulfil the very moderate demands which the paramount power has thought it right to exact.

21 "These States have, in reality, (with very few exceptions), forfeited their privileges by their repeated acts of disaffection and disobedience during the war, they have shewn that their contingents are not to be depended upon, they cannot be distinguished from the enemy, they are neither an efficient or a faithful force, and are worse than useless, for they are positively dangerous.

22 "To abolish the existing practice of each petty Chief furnishing his contingent for the service of the paramount power, and substituting in lieu of it local corps, commanded by our European officers, recruited from the Sikh population and paid by the Sikh Chiefs indirectly, will, to a certain extent, remedy the mischief of the present system

23. "I therefore, without hesitation, sanction the proposition, that the moderate rate proposed shall be taken in commutation of personal service, making the exceptions recommended by the Political Agent, and including the Chief of Mumfote in the number of the excepted Chiefs.

24. "I also sanction, on the same ground, *viz*, that these States have forfeited their privileges by their disobedience, the abolition of all transit and custom duties, which, levied through so many independent small States, is a system most ruinous to the trade of the country, and ought to be, as it has been in our Provinces, abolished. I approve of the exceptions to be made in favor of the Chiefs who conducted themselves with loyalty to the British Government, and I trust the equivalents for their loss by the abolition, will be given so as to afford satisfaction

25 "I also entirely approve of the proposal to take this opportunity of settling the rules of succession to property, by a recorded declaration of what the rule is to be for the future in the families of the landholders

27. "With regard to paras 16 and 17, proposing to resume all the Sikh Protected estates, and then granting new Sunuds from the Government,

I consider the same ends will be obtained by carrying out the proposals of the Political Agent, as detailed in the preceding paras to 16 and 17 which I have sanctioned. A general measure of resumption would create alarm, and must be preceded by a public declaration of the disloyalty of the largest portion of the Sikh Protected States, explaining the grounds of forfeiture, which general measure, not being absolutely necessary, had better be avoided. The object in view seems to be as well obtained without it

28 "I therefore prefer to apply the remedies proposed, as being justified by the misconduct of the Chiefs during the late war, without proclaiming that misconduct to all India.

29 "The preceding observations apply to the general measure proposed "

The only States exempted from the action of these reforms were Pattiala, Jhind, Faridkot, Maler Kotla, Chichrowli, (Kalsia) Raikot, Buria and Mamdot* Nabha was treated exceptionally and part of its punishment was the abolition of all transit duties, with the exception of the customs of the town of Nabha itself † Every care was taken that the changes thus effected should not needlessly offend the susceptibility of the Chiefs, and their persons were exempted from police jurisdiction, except under the direct orders of the Commissioner.

* The estates of Raikot and Buria have since lapsed. Mamdot was annexed in 1855 for the gross mis-government of the Chief but on his death in 1863, was restored to his brother, who, however, has no fiscal jurisdiction.

† Secretary to Government, to Agent to Governor General, 17th November 1846

These arrangements were completed in March 1847, and a few months later it was ruled that the Chiefs and their subjects were amenable to the British Judicial Courts, if the defendant resided within jurisdiction of these Courts or if the cause of action arose there. But if the defendant was a subject of an independent State and the cause of action arose in such State, the case was not cognizable by the British Courts. Nor could any authority be exercised over the person or property of a foreign subject amenable to the Courts, when he was beyond its jurisdiction. In that case a notice was directed to be served on the defendant, through the agency of the Political Officer, and should he not appear, an *ex-parte* judgment would be given, and the decree, if granted against the defendant, would be executed against any property he might possess within the jurisdiction of the Court or against his person if found therein.*

After a short trial it was found that, when their police jurisdiction was gone, the Chiefs were unable to collect their revenue, and the Commissioner proposed the execution of a regular Settlement to protect the interests of the Chiefs and the people alike. The time for this might perhaps be considered to have not yet arrived, in which case papers might be drawn up for every village, defining the rights and obligations of both parties,

* Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States, dated 9th and 13th June 1848

But the circumstances of the case again changed

The insurrection of 1848, and the annexation of the Punjab

before the Government was able to reply to these recommendations.

The Sikh army had again taken arms to expel the foreigners who were loyally doing their best to make a Sikh Government possible, and the result was the annexation of the Punjab. From Calcutta to Peshawar the whole country was in the hands of the British, and there were no political reasons, save those arising from considerations of good faith and equity, which could influence the Government in its determination of the amount of power to be left to the Cis-Satlaj Chiefs. Accordingly, in June 1849, it was declared that, with the

Civil, Criminal and fiscal jurisdiction abolished in all the States, save those before mentioned.

exception of the nine States before mentioned, all the Chiefs would cease to hold sovereign powers, would lose all civil, criminal and fiscal jurisdiction; and would be considered as no more than ordinary subjects of the British Government in possession of certain exceptional privileges. The political power of the District officers was abolished, and the Commissioner of Ambala appointed the only referee in disputes between the Chiefs. The zamindars were declared to have the power of claiming an assessment in money or grain, or a regular Settlement, and records of rights were directed to be prepared, where the British Government held any shares of the estate, no option was permitted, and the whole was to be measured and assessed, and such an estate was to be brought under British jurisdiction in police and revenue matters, even though a sovereign Prince might be a co-sharer, but exchanges of such co-parcenary tenures were permitted to be effected. Regular Settlement operations were also to be

carried on in estates under the police jurisdiction of the British Government, in those from which an appeal lay to Government or in the concerns of which the Governor General's Agent had ever authoritatively interfered. Also in those estates which would escheat to Government on failure of heirs, or those held by the sovereign Princes with concurrent police jurisdiction.*

With this decision of the British Government, fell, for ever, the power of the petty Cis-Satlej Chiefs, who had too long been permitted to play at independence, which for them 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. It was with a satisfaction, too enthusiastic to be insincere, that the people of these States came under the direct administration of the British Government, while their loyal and peaceable conduct since that time proves that they have not yet found cause to regret the change.

The necessary result of the British Government assuming the direct management of so large a portion of the Cis-Satlej territory was the readjustment of the relations of those Petty Chiefs who were half subject to and half independent of the larger States. The most intricate and tedious of the cases which thus arose, related to what were known as *Cha-*

* Mr Erskine, to Chief Commissioner Punjab, 7th February 1849 Board of Administration to Commissioner, 8th June 1849 Board to Commissioner 3rd May, 29th June and 18th October 1849

For the whole question of escheats and the rights of collaterals reference must be made to "The Law of inheritance to Chiefships," by the author of the present work

*hárumi** villages, in which the Maharaja of Pattiala and various petty Sikh Chiefs were co-sharers. Colonel Mackeson had, in 1850,† reported to the Board of Administration, with regard to the majority of these villages, declaring them to have rights independent of Pattiala, and, consequently, to be entitled to a separation from her should they so desire. This separation was desired by them, and the Board of Administration reported at length on the subject to the Government of India, which issued orders to at once take up and dispose of the case ‡. The Singhpuria Sirdars and the Lidhrán Chiefs had not originally been included by Colonel Mackeson in his report, but were subsequently added. The *Chahárumi* villages, 97 in number, were grouped into several distinct estates, and the shares held by the Sikhs and by Pattiala, had been fixed at the time of their first conquest, when the several Chiefs were stronger and Pattiala weaker and unable to claim the lion's share of the new territory. In the division of

The principle of division.

these petty baronies or co-seignories, it was directed that the villages should be assigned to the different claimants with regard both

* A "Chaharumi," is a share entitled to a quarter (*Chaharam*—fourth) of the *gross produce* of the village; two shares, or a half, go to the cultivator, and a quarter to each of the lords of the estate. This is the definition accepted in the Punjab, and by the Chiefs themselves in their depositions before Sir D. Ochterlony in 1816. In the course of the present case, however, Pattiala tried to maintain that the Sikh co-sharers, the Chaharumis, were only entitled to a quarter of the *revenue*.

† Colonel Mackeson's Report, No. 16, dated 8th January 1850.

‡ Board of Administration to Government of India, No. 21, dated 6th January 1852.

Government of India to Board, No. 399 dated 27th February 1852, and Commissioner Cis-Satlej States, to Settlement Officer Ambala, No. 1484, dated 5th August 1852.

to shares and to topographical considerations; that, in those allotted to Pattala, she would collect the revenue and exercise full jurisdiction, while the Sikh co-sharers would collect the revenue in the villages allotted to them but in every other respect would be under British jurisdiction

The estates affected. The estates affected were the following.—

	<i>Villages.</i>
Shill,	9
Gurárgan,	10
Gudherah,	7
Burás,	4
Todar Májra,	8
Chuni Machhli,	39
Singhpúrah (Banúr),	15
Ladhrán,	5
TOTAL,	97

On these estates, Mr Melvill, Settlement officer of Anibala, was directed to report, which he did, at great length, in 1853 * The enquiry into the rights of the claimants was one of extreme difficulty. It was necessary to understand in what proportion the shares were held at the first acquisition of the villages, what encroachments had been made; and whether these encroachments had been so recent, or so persistently resisted, as to give the injured party a claim to redress.

* P S Melvill Esquire, No 128, dated 25th May 1853, to Commissioners Cis-Satluj States

The Patiala State, as has been several times shown in its history, has felt no *Patiala unscrupulous in her encroachments* scruples in possessing itself of the territories of its weaker neighbours, nor regarding the means of obtaining such possession. Previous to 1809, violence, without any shadow of excuse, was the usual means employed, while, subsequent to that time, fraud, corruption and intimidation were used, too often with success, for the agents of the British Government could only judge from such evidence as was put before them, and Patiala evidence was mostly bought, and reference to arbitration was merely reference to persons whose opinions had been, for sufficiently strong reasons, formed in favor of Patiala, entirely independently of the merits of the case and indeed before the case had been submitted for their decision.

The final recommendations of the Settlement Officer were as follows,—

Designation of Chaharumis	PATIALA'S SHARE		CHAHARUMIS SHARE		Excess given to the Chaharumis	Deficiency given to the Chaharumis.
	No of villas	Jama	No of villas	Jama.		
Shul,	5	2 416	4	3,011	297	
Gurungar	3	4 278	8	3,485		391
Burax	4	1 563	3	1,325		88
Talar Majra	4	1 113	4	2 301	291	
Chand Machhi	20	12 005	19	11 991		7
Baur	9	10,310	6	2,134		4 163
Lohran,			5	2,330	1,165	
Khas Patiala			4	2 954	2 954	
Gudherah						
TOTAL,	44	35 277	62	31,833	1,647	1,774

The four khás villages, Budali, Budiala, Tolah Majra, and Moti Majra, were the property of Pattiala, but being surrounded by estates under British jurisdiction, were proposed for exchange with two others Naya Shahr and Badalah, which the Maharaja had some wish to retain, as he had lately located some traders in the former village. The two villages assigned to Sirdar Kahn Singh of Burás, belonged to Pattiala, and were allowed him as a matter of convenience, with regard to residence and the boundary line, instead of assigning him a share in the four Buras villages.

The arrangement, after much discussion and some modifications, was laid before Government,* and the Pattiala officials were allowed to urge any further objections they might have to the scheme. With reference to the estates of Todar Majra and Ludhran, no objection whatever was made, but in the Shil, Gurangan and Gudhera estates, which had been divided in equal shares between the Chaharumis and Pattiala, and to which division and the allotment of villages the latter had advanced no objection whatever before the local officers, the Maharaja, before the Chief Commissioner, claimed more than a half share. A proceeding of Mr Clerk, the Governor General's Agent at Ambala, of the year 1842, was produced in support of this claim, by which it certainly appeared that Pattiala had, in these estates,

Pattiala objects to the decision, and claims more than a half share

And produces proofs in support of her assertion

* Commissioner Cis-Satlej States, to Financial Commissioner, No 111, dated 3rd April 1854.

Memorandum by G F Edmonstone, Esquire, late Financial Commissioner, dated 21st April 1854. Financial Commissioner to Government Punjab, No 221, dated 17th June 1854.

been accustomed to collect on certain kinds of crops about $\frac{2}{3}$ ths and the Chaharumis $\frac{3}{4}$ ths only while the village account books produced by Pattiala were to the effect that the Pattiala collections, for many years past, had been in excess of those of the Chaharumi Sikhs to the amount of Rs 863 per annum, to which amount Pattiala required to be further reimbursed

The question really at issue was, whether the original share of Pattiala was larger than that of the Sikhs, and, if not larger, whether the Sikhs had accepted the encroachments by Pattiala on their right, or had resisted them. It was evident that the shares were originally equal, the villages having been conquered by the Sikhs and Pattiala conjointly, and a half share conferred on Raja Amal Singh by Ahmad Shah Durani. The encroachments of Pattiala had been continuous, violence and fraud being alike used to increase her own rights at the expense of the Sikhs, but the latter had never acquiesced in this state of things. Between 1830 to

1844 they had had given in some three hundred petitions praying for protection and redress. In these they constantly reiterated their claim to a full half share. Even after the *Dastâr-ul-amal*, or Rules of practice, had been drawn up by Mr Clerk in 1842, the Sikhs continued to remonstrate against its terms, declaring that the papers on which it was formed were false and fraudulent. There is little doubt that this was the case: the village accountants and headmen who compiled the annual accounts were in complete subordination to Pattiala, and dared

The shares of Pattiala and the Chaharumis were originally equal.

The Chaharumis had always resisted Pattiala encroachments.

The proofs produced by Pattiala were unworthy of credit.

not express any view opposed to her, and there was nothing to show that in the document finally framed, the arguments of the Sikhs had been fairly considered, or their long and persistent opposition to Pattiala claims taken into account. The Government accordingly ruled, with reference to their former instructions, that the estates should be equally divided, an aggressor not being permitted to profit by encroachments which had been continuously resisted.*

Pattiala gained an advantage in the Banur estate, shared with the Singhpuria Sirdars, in the possession of the town of Banur, the second in importance in the whole territory. To compensate the Chiefs for this, a somewhat larger moiety of the income than their proper share was allowed them, the village of Baddali, formerly in Pattiala, having by this distribution been assigned to the Singhpurias and then annexed to British territory, a payment of Rs 10 per cent. on the value of the share was allowed to the Maharaja to compensate him for the loss of the remote and contingent interest in the succession to lapsed sharers.

With reference to the state of Burhas, which was so isolated that it was considered better to make over the four villages to Pattiala, and allot the Sirdar villages elsewhere, the Maharaja objected to the proposed

* Punjab Government No 50, dated 27th January 1855, to Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States. Nos. 41 and 139, dated 10th February and 9th May from Deputy Commissioner Ambala to Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States, and Nos 42 and 138, dated 23rd February and 22nd June to Government Punjab. Government Punjab, No 533, dated 18th July to Government of India, and Government of India's No 3799, dated 28th October 1855 to Government Punjab.

payment of 10 per cent on the revenue to compensate the Sirdar for the inconvenience of moving; and the Government allowed this objection, considering that although the Chief of Burhas was entitled to compensation, it should be paid by the British Government and not by Patiala who had had nothing to do with his compulsory removal.

The last case was that of Chuni Machhli.

*The Chuni Machhli
estate*

Here the dispute had reference to the important village of Barwala, which both Patiala and Sirdar Jaswant Singh, the co-sharer, desired to retain. The Maharaja's claim was based chiefly on the alleged possession of a fort and certain family cenotaphs in the village, but, on enquiry, it appeared that the fort was nothing more than a defensible house, while the cenotaphs were admitted to be in Barnála, a totally distinct village, it apparently being hoped, as was nearly the case, that the difference of a letter in the name would be overlooked. It appeared, however, that the possession of the village of Barwala, was far more necessary to Sirdar Jaswant Singh than to Patiala, and it was included in his share of the estate *

Thus terminated, with some approach to equal

*The termination
of the case*

justice, a conflict which had been going on between Patiala and the Chaharuni Sikhs ever since the British connection with the Cis-Satlej territory. If justice was at length done, it was owing to the long, painful and patient enquiry of British officers, and owed nothing

* Punjab Government to Government of India, No. 553, dated 18th July, and Government of India to Government Punjab, No. 3799, dated 26th October 1855

to the sense of generosity or justice of Pattiala. Neither in this case nor in any of a similar nature does the conduct of Pattiala appear to advantage. Unwilling to yield to the British Government, to whose protection she owed her existence, the rights which every paramount power necessarily claims, and jealous of every advantage gained by a neighbour, she abused the patience with which the Government attended to her every remonstrance and investigated her every claim, to press claims the most extravagant and unfounded, to support them with fraudulent evidence, and to prevent, in every possible manner, the British officers, whose duty was sufficiently arduous without her wilfully adding to its difficulty, from obtaining a fair view of the case. Justice, in the eyes of Pattiala, consisted in the British Government surrendering everything to her, and she considered herself treated with exceptional harshness if their undoubted rights were accorded to her weaker neighbours. Every neighbour was for Pattiala a rival, and every rival an enemy against whom all arms were legitimate. It would be unfair to assert that in this conduct Pattiala was singular. What is considered unfair and dishonorable in English politics, is the ordinary practice of most native States. Founded upon violence, they ruled and increased their dominions by force, so long as this was possible. A stronger power than themselves has now insisted upon peace, and they attempt to win by fraud what they are unable to gain by force.

There were several other Pattiala cases, besides that of the Chaharumi Sikhs, difficult to settle, a brief account of

The case of the village of Bugar.

which is necessary here. The first of these relates to the village of Bugar, and the case is chiefly interesting from a ruling of the Supreme Government with reference to the investigation of rights which had accrued previous to 1809. This village, which

Granted to Biba Fatoh by her brothers Rama and Titokha

must not be confounded with one granted to Pattiala in 1855, had been originally given by Rama and Tilokha, the sons of Phul, to their sister Fatoh, whose descendants still own it. Both Pattiala and Nabha, the descendants of the original grantees, claimed jurisdiction over Bugar, and the jagirdars were divided into two parties, favoring the claim of the respective States, while the cultivators of the

Dispute as to Pattiala or Nabha supremacy

village asserted that both Nabha and Pattiala exercised jurisdiction and inflicted fines. The Commissioner Cis-Satlej States held that neither had a right to the village, which had been granted when the ancestors of the Pattiala and Nabha Chiefs were mere zamundars, subjects of the Delhi Emperor who received the Imperial share of the revenue of Bugar as of other

On the supremacy of the British Government

villages, and that the British Government, in taking the place of that of Delhi, had succeeded to its jurisdiction also. It was, besides, unjust to the people to make them over to either State, for partisans of the one would be, in any case, oppressed by the triumphant partisans of the other, while to continue the joint jurisdiction of both in a single village was impossible.

The Government of India declined to take this view of the case. The argument drawn from the status at the time of the grant was asserted to be fallacious, for the proclamations of Sir D. Ochterlony, in 1809 and

Which declines to assert any claims

1811, had absolutely shut the door against the investigations of anterior rights, and guaranteed the Chiefs of the Cis-Satlej in the exercise of the same rights and authority, within their possessions, which they enjoyed before they were taken under British protection. As the village, at the date of the proclamation, was under the jurisdiction of either Pattiala or Nabha, it would be a breach of the agreement then made to extend the British authority over the village. The inconvenience to the people by giving Bugar to either State might be great, but this, though matter of regret, did not, in any way, affect the merits of the question, or render a breach of the distinct understanding on which the Government assumed the protection of the Cis-Satlej States any less objectionable. It was manifest that the Government could not interfere in favor of the rights of all the people of India, to whomsoever they might happen to be subject; and it was ordered that the village should be given to Pattiala or Nabha, as appeared the most appropriate.

After some further discussion, the village was assigned to the Raja of Nabha, the Maharaja of Pattiala acquiescing in the decision.*

The second case referred to the estate of Khumánun, consisting of 58 villages, and situated a few miles north of Sirhind. Pattiala had in it no proprietary rights, but

* Commissioner Cis-Satlej States to Government Punjab, No 184, dated 16th August 1855. Government Punjab to Government of India, No 630, dated 29th August. Government of India, to Government Punjab, No 643, dated 15th October 1855.

Commissioner Cis-Satlej States to Government Punjab, No 106, dated 4th May 1857. Government Punjab to Commissioner, No 400, dated 25th April, and to Government of India, No 624, dated 4th September 1857. Government of India, No 4641, dated 19th November 1857.

in 1815, it was entrusted to her by Sir D. Ochterlony, for administrative purposes, and the Pattiala Chief was empowered to exercise criminal jurisdiction and 'exact service. When the English first took the Cis-Satlaj territory under their protection, they seem to have fancied that the whole was under the jurisdiction of a few great Chiefs, and it was only gradually that it was discovered how numerous were the small communities claiming virtual independence. The Government at length sought to lighten its own labors by making the principal Chiefs responsible for the conduct of their weaker neighbours, authorizing them to hear and decide their disputes, and this course, though it gave a power to some States which was not unfrequently abused, on the whole worked well. In 1815, the Sikhs of Khumánun, a large co-parcenary body, were so transferred to Pattiala jurisdiction. The next year the Sikhs of Panjokra, Syadpur, Dhanori, Lakhnour, Khumbra and Barail, and, in 1821, the Chaharumis, co-sharers with Pattiala, were referred to her for general control and, in 1823, the Sikhs of Tullakour: *

*Transferred to Pat-
tiala jurisdiction in
1815*

*The arrangement
allowed to continue
in 1847.*

Colonel Mackeson, in his report of 1847, suggested that the Khumánun Sikhs might be permitted to select whether they would remain under Pattiala or come under British jurisdiction, but the Government of India, while admitting that it would be desirable to assume the direct control of the estate, declared that it was not desired to alter the position or

* Of these, the Khumánun, Tullakour, Dhanori and Lakhnour Sikhs are still under Pattiala jurisdiction for life of the Maharaja, paying commutation tax in lieu of service to Government.

limit the authority of the Pattiala Chief, as exercised before the Satlej campaign, but rather to improve and increase them, in consideration of the excellent service then rendered by him, and declined to alter the arrangement which would be reconsidered at the death of the Maharaja. *

In 1855, when the Chaharuni tenures came under consideration, that of Kham-
Difficulty of main- taining the rights of Government. anun was also discussed. The British Government had not given up its rights as paramount over the estate. It exacted a commutation of Rs 4,128 a year, and claimed all escheats. But there was much difficulty in discovering what escheats lapsed, and their real value, of which it was evidently not the interest of Pattiala to inform the Government. To obviate this, it was ruled by Mr. Edmonstone, when Commissioner Cis-Satlej States, that enquiries into escheats should not be made on the ordinary basis, viz., the year of protection, 1809, but that existing possession should be made the foundation for regulating rights of the British Government to future escheats, while the Maharaja was to file papers showing the approximate value of the share, the amount of which would be added to the annual amount of commutation paid by Pattiala. †

This rule had worked badly, and it was then proposed either to request the Maharaja to prepare

* Commissioner Cis-Satlej States to Secretary to Government of India, No 125, dated 9th June 1847

Government of India, No 2352, dated 5th October 1847, to Commissioner Cis-Satlej States.

† Mr Melvill to Commissioner Cis-Satlej States, No 102, dated 30th December 1852. Commissioner Cis-Satlej States, to Mr Melvill, No 35, dated 11th January 1853

a complete rent-roll of the whole estate with the value of each share, or to make a regular settlement of all the villages. But the Government unwilling to adopt the latter course, as it was thought likely to give umbrage to the Maharaja, the estate having been so long under his sole jurisdiction, and it was finally determined to leave the existing arrangements as they were during the life-time of Maharaja Narindar Singh *

Some doubt was, after this, expressed as to the intention of Government to relinquish all claims to escheated shares, and it was found necessary to intimate to the Maharaja that the just claims of Government were in no way abandoned. He was directed to file, within three months, a list of sharers and their collateral descendants, showing the shares held by them, and the ancestor from whom they derived their right; and his acquiescence in this was a condition on which his jurisdiction over the Khumânun estate was continued. The rules of succession of 1851 were applicable to this estate, according to which, collaterals, claiming from a common ancestor, would succeed to so much of the estate as was in possession of that ancestor in 1809 †. The Maharaja nevertheless delayed the required report till the 7th May 1857. The number of lapses

* Commissioner Cis-Satlej States, to Government Punjab No 204, dated 5th September 1855. Government Punjab to Government of India No 762, dated 11th October. Government of India, No 3894, dated 2nd November 1859, Government Punjab to Commissioner Cis-Satlej States, No 983 dated 14th November 1852.

† Commissioner Cis-Satlej States to Government Punjab, No 282, dated 19th December 1855. Government Punjab, to Government of India, No. 934 dated 27th December. Government of India to Government Punjab, No 837 dated 13th February 1856. Government Punjab, to Commissioner Cis-Satlej States, No. 134, dated 21st February 1856.

were only two, amounting to Rs. 1,650 per annum, which was very small, considering that the number of sharers was 225. This amount was charged against the Maharaja from the date of the lapses.* Two years later the Khumánun estate was transferred to Pattiala in perpetuity.

Maharaja Narindai Singh had always expressed a great desire to visit England. *The proposed visit of the Maharaja to England.* The Sikhs are not a race much addicted to travelling, and no Sikh Chief, of any consequence, had ever left India and very few had travelled as far as Calcutta. In 1854 he formally asked permission to visit England and that an English officer might be appointed to accompany him. The consent of Government was given, on the condition that satisfactory arrangements were made for the administration of the Pattiala State during his absence. A council of Regency was appointed, consisting of three officers, who were to have full powers, and, in case of difference of opinion, the majority was to decide, and, in compliance with the suggestion of the Government of India, the Maharaja abandoned his intention of taking with him a suite of 500 persons in favor of a smaller number. *Arrangements during his absence.* All arrangements were completed, but the Maharaja, at the last moment, postponed his departure, and before he had again made *The design abandoned.*

* Government of India to Government Punjab, No 2131, dated 11th June 1858 Government Punjab to Commissioner Cis-Satlej States, No. 421 dated 23rd June Commissioner Cis-Satlej States to Government Punjab, No 197, dated 9th July Commissioner Cis-Satlej States to Deputy Commissioner Ambala, No 601, dated 20th April 1857, and Deputy Commissioner Ambala to Commissioner Cis-Satlej States, No. 204, dated 5th July 1858

up his mind to start, the mutiny broke out, and his presence was necessary in his own State *

After the mutiny, Narindar Singh again determined to visit England His services, during 1857, had been so brilliant, and the acknowledgments of the Government so warm, that he believed that in England he would receive a very flattering reception His expectation would no doubt have been realized, but, unfortunately, a second time, domestic affairs and political questions forced him to abandon the intention after all arrangements had been completed and an English officer, Major R. Lawrence, Military Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, had been selected to accompany him.†

The mutiny put on its trial the great experiment which the British Government had been laboriously working out since 1809, with regard to the Cis-Satlaj States, and it indisputably proved that the Sikh Chiefs knew that they had been treated with generosity and consideration by the paramount power.

During the disturbances of 1857-58, no prince in India showed greater loyalty or rendered more conspicuous service to the British Government than the Maharaja of Patiala. He was the acknow-

* Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States, Nos. 154 and 205, dated 13th July and 23rd August 1854, with enclosures Government Punjab to Government of India, Nos. 642 and 717, dated 19th July 6th September Government of India's Nos. 3648, 800 and 885, dated 18th August, 25th September and 15th November 1854

† Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States to Government Punjab, No. 289, dated 16th October 1858 Government Punjab to Government of India, No. 791, dated 30th October

The influence of the Maharaja ledged head of the Sikhs, and his hesitation or disloyalty would have been attended with the most disastrous results, while his ability, character and high position would have made him a most formidable leader against the Government. But following the honorable impulses of gratitude and loyalty, he unhesitatingly placed his whole power, resources and influence at the absolute command of the English, and during the darkest and most doubtful days of the mutiny he never for a moment wavered in his loyalty, but, on the contrary, redoubled his exertions when less sincere friends thought it politic to relax theirs

His immediate action on the side of the British Government, When the news reached Pattiala of the mutinies at Dehli and Meerat and the doubtful attitude of the native troops at Ambala, the Maharaja placed himself at the head of all his available troops and marched the same night to Jesomli, a village close to Ambala, sending, at the same time, his elephants, camels and other carriage, to Kalka, for the transport of European troops to Ambala from the hill stations of Kussowli, Dagshai and Sabathu. From Jesomli he marched to Thanesar, and placed there a force of 1,300 men, with four guns, for the protection of the district.

"This straightforward and loyal conduct," wrote the Commissioner of the Cis-Satlej States, "was of infinite importance to our cause at that time. Peoples' minds were agitated with various rumours about the cartridges, about the adulteration of flour and other subtle designs to destroy

“ their caste When the Maharaja placed himself
 “ boldly and heartily on our side these mischievous
 “ reports began to be discredited The Maharaja was
 “ an orthodox Hindoo, whose position and career
 “ alike commanded respect His support at such a
 “ crisis was worth a Brigade of English troops to us,
 “ and served more to tranquillize the people than a
 “ hundred official disclaimers would have done ”

Thanesar, Karnal and the station of Ambala,
His services at Am- were held by Pattiala troops, who
bala, Thanesar and also guarded the Grand Trunk Road
Dehli. from Karnal to Phillor The Maharaja constantly,
 expressed his earnest wish to lead a contingent to
 Dehli, but, both by the Commander-in-Chief and
 the Civil Authorities, he was dissuaded from this,
 as his presence in the Cis-Satlaj States was con-
 sidered of the highest importance He sent, how-
 ever, 500 horse and foot, under the command of
 Sindar Partab Singh, and these troops did good
 service during the siege and at the assault of Delhi,
 and the assistance rendered by Pattiala was warmly
 acknowledged by General Wilson in his despatch
 of the 22nd September 1857.

At the commencement of the disturbances the
 Maharaja received a letter from the King of Dehli,
 urging him to come over his side, and promising
 him rewards for so doing This letter the Maharaja
 gave to the English authorities

Besides troops at Dehli, Karnal, Thanesar and
In Sirsa, Rohtak Ambala, the Pattiala Chief sent
and Hussar a detachment with General Van-
 Cortlandt, and materially aided in restoring order
 in Sirsa, Rohtak and Hussar, another detachment

was employed at Saharunpur and Jagadri and was twice engaged with the mutaneers; on the revolt of the 10th Cavalry at Firozpur, his troops followed them up, and in a skirmish that took place, several of his men were killed and wounded.

The Maharaja, in his own territories, furnished supplies and carriage, and kept the roads clear for all Government troops passing through from the Punjab to Dehli; and all refugees from Sirsa, Rohtak and Hissar, who came into Pattiala, were received with kindness and supplied with everything they required.

He also gave a loan of five lakhs of Rupees to Government, and expressed his willingness to double this amount, but no more was required of him.

The Pattiala contingent employed in the British cause during 1857, consisted of 8 guns, 2,156 Horse, 2,846 Infantry, with 156 Officers, the most distinguished of whom were Sirdar Partab Singh and Syad Muhammad Hassain, who commanded the detachment at Dehli; Kour Dip Singh at Thanesar; Sirdars Hira Singh and Hazara Singh at Ambala, Sirdars Karam and Kahan Singh at Hissar; Sirdars Dal Singh and Fatah Singh at Hansi; and Sirdar Jiun Singh at Firozpur *

* No 77, from the Commissioner Cis-Satley States to Chief Commissioner Punjab, 9th March 1858, enclosing statement of the Maharaja's services No 34 of 13th April 1858 from Chief Commissioner Punjab to Government of India

Commissioner Cis-Catley States Nos 8, 133, 150, 200, 352, dated 8th January 12th May 21st May, 12th July, 12th November 1858 Commissioner Hissar's, Nos 38, 44, 140, dated 15th June, 22nd June, 30th October 1858 Commissioner Dehli's, No. 31, dated 4th November 1857

Most of the services of the Maharaja in 1858 were rendered at Dholepur, a small Rajput State, between Agra and Gwalior, the Chief of which, Rana Bhagwant Singh, had married his daughter Early in September 1857, the combined insurgent forces of Indore and Gwalior entered the Dholepur State. Most of the Rana's troops and officials joined the rebels, who ravaged the district, defied the Chief's authority and even threatened his life until he consented to their demands. At length they left Dholepur, taking with them the Rana's guns, for Agra, where they were totally defeated by the Agra garrison and the Delhi Column under General Greathed, on the 10th of October. But Dholepur remained in a state of anarchy, and the Chief was unable to restore order, till, with the consent of the North West and Punjab Authorities, the Maharaja of Pattiala sent there a force of 2,000 men and two guns, under the command of Nihal Chand and Diwan Jagdesh Singh Motando, two of his ablest officials * Although Dholepur was tranquillized, the neighbouring States were in so disturbed a condition that the Pattiala troops were directed to remain there Gwalior, which had already been the scene of rebellion and bloodshed, was again attacked by the rebels, and, for a time, held by them The Maharaja Sindiah fled to Dholepur, on the 2nd of June, and was supplied with an escort of Pattiala troops to Agra. A British force then marched

* Letter of Colonel Riddell, Commanding Dholepur force, to Diwan Nihal Chand, dated 2nd February 1858

No 784 of 27th July 1858, from General G. Lawrence, Agent Governor General Rapputana to Government of India No 6 of 10th February 1858, from Major Macpherson Political Agent Gwalior, to Agent Governor General for Central India.

against the rebel army at Gwalior, and the Pattiala Chief increased his force at Dholepur by every available man. He guarded all the ferries on the Chumbal river, collected supplies for the British army, and a detachment of 500 of his troops served under General Napier in the action at Ahpur, on the 19th of June, when the rebels, who had been defeated before Gwahor, were again attacked and routed.

A month later, at the requisition of Sir R. Hamilton, a Pattiala detachment of 600 infantry and 300 horse was moved from Dholepur to Gwahor, where it remained, doing excellent service, reducing rebellious villages and acting as guards and escorts.

In February 1858, the Maharaja, at the request of the Chief Commissioner, sent a force of 600 foot and 200 horse, afterwards doubted in strength, to Jhajjar, where they were employed during the whole year under the Civil authorities, in maintaining the order of the district. Two months later the Chief Commissioner of Oude applied for a regiment fully equipped for service in that province. Although all his regular troops were employed at this time on active service, the Maharaja raised 820 infantry and 203 sowars, and despatched them to Oude without delay, where their services were most useful *.

The Pattiala Chief was splendidly rewarded for his services by the Government

The rewards given to the Maharaja for his services.

* No 53, from Commissioner Cis-Satlaj States to Secretary to Government Punjab, dated 16th February 1859. Government Punjab, to Government of India, No 161, dated 23rd February. No. 2216, from Government of India, to Government Punjab, dated 23rd April 1859. Kharita addressed to Maharaja of Pattiala by His Excellency the Viceroy, dated 21st April 1859.

Firstly—The Narnoul division of the Jhajjar territory, the ruler of which had rebelled, valued at Rs 2,00,000 a year, was granted to him on condition of good behaviour and service, Military and Political, at any time of general danger or disturbance.

Secondly—The jurisdiction over Bhadour, long the subject of dispute, was ceded to him, with the right of escheats, the reversion to lapsed estates therein, and the annual commutation tax amounting to Rs 5,265.

Thirdly—The confiscated house in Dehli formerly belonging to the Begam Zenat Mahal, and valued at Rs 10,000, was granted to him and his honorary titles were increased.*

It had been first proposed to give the Maharaja territory adjoining his own State, to the value of Rs 50,000 a year, but this idea was abandoned; for it was undesirable to transfer territory which had been for many years under British rule, the more especially as there was new territory which had been

The reason for granting Jhajjar territory to Patiala

territory adjoining his own State, to the value of Rs 50,000 a year, but this idea was abandoned; for it

* The titles of the Maharaja in 1857 were—

Mahārāja Dhirāj Rājeshar Mahārāja Rajagān Narindar Singh Mohindar Buhadar

They were increased in 1858 as follows —

Farzand Khās, Dowlat-i Inglisā, Mansūr Zamān, Amīr-ūl-Umra, Mahārāja Dhirāj, Rajeshar Sri Mahārāja Rajagan Narindar Singh Mohindar Buhadar

No 34, from Secretary to Government Punjab to Government of India, dated 13th May 1858

No 1549 from Government of India to Chief Commissioner Punjab dated 2nd June 1858

The term "Dowlat i-Inglisā" meaning "of the British Government" was inserted later "Farzand Khās" signifying "choicest son" and requiring some after qualification to shew whose son the Chief was

Commissioner Cis-Satluj States, No 337, dated 30th December 1859
Government of India, No 8 dated 4th January 1860

only recently annexed, that of the rebel Nawab of Jhajjar, which was not too far from the Patnala territory to prevent the Maharaja exercising over it an efficient control. It was, moreover, an advantage to have a Sikh Chief, whose loyalty had been so well tried, located in the midst of the turbulent and, at that time, disaffected Muhammadan population of the Jhajjar territory and interposed as a barrier towards the independent States of Alwar and Jaipur, with its feudatories of Shaikhawati and Ketri, whose army and population had shown themselves unfriendly during the mutinies. The Narnoul division of the Jhajjar territory, which was granted to the Maharaja, was the frontier division adjoining the above named States. The revenue of Narnoul was estimated at two lakhs of rupees, on the faith of the assessment fixed by the Nawab of Jhajjar, which was in excess of that sum. It did not, at any rate, on its first acquisition by the Maharaja, yield more than Rs. 1,70,000, inclusive of fines and miscellaneous revenue, and this was made the ground for a request for further grants to complete the two lakhs of territory which had been assigned to the Maharaja. But the Government had made no promise and given no guarantee that the territory would yield as much as two lakhs of rupees, nor was there any means of ascertaining its income, except from the assessment of its late owner, which was in excess of two lakhs, and it was reasonably supposed that under another native ruler it would yield at least as much.

The Government were thus under no obligation whatever to make up to the Maharaja the amount defi-

The territory granted was not as valuable as was supposed.

But the Government had given no guarantee of its value.

cient; for, although he had been told the approximate rental, he was quite aware that the territory would yield somewhat less, and that it was made over to him for no specific revenue, but simply for what it was worth.*

The claims of the Maharaja received every consideration, and in September 1859, the Commissioner Cis-Satlej States made a further and full enquiry into them,†

But the Government, unable to admit any claim to compensation on account of an alleged deficiency in the income of the grant, was yet willing to make a further grant of territory to the Maharaja in acknowledgment of the good service he had done, and a proposal was submitted by the Commissioner Cis-Satlej States to transfer to Pattiala portions of the pargannah of Kanoudh and Budwana, in the Jhajar territory, with an income of about a lakh of rupees per annum, the Pattiala Chief giving a *nazarána* equivalent to 20 years revenue ‡

These pargannahs were the southernmost portion of the confiscated territory of Jhajar, and it would have been inconvenient for the Government to retain them, as it would entail the maintenance

The districts of Kanoudh and Budwana assigned to Pattiala

* No 53, dated 16th February 1859, from Commissioner Cis-Satlej States to Secretary to Government Punjab No 161, dated 23rd February 1859, from Secretary to Government Punjab to Secretary to Government of India No 2216, of 23rd April 1859, from Secretary to Government of India to Secretary to Government Punjab

† Commissioner Cis-Satlej States Nos 264 and 274, dated 27th September and 1st October 1859 to Government Punjab

‡ Memorandum by Commissioner Cis-Satlej States, dated 22nd December 1859, and Memo. by Lieutenant Governor Punjab, 31st December 1859.

of a separate judicial and revenue establishment. The Chiefs of Pattiala, Jhind and Nabha were, on the other hand, most anxious to acquire this territory, which lay adjacent to that conferred upon them in 1858. There was, besides, an advantage to Government in clearing off the large debts which were due to Pattiala and Nabha for loans advanced in 1848 and 1857. These amounted, in 1860, to the following sums —

The Pattiala and Nabha loans.

Pattiala, 5 per cent loan of 1848, Rs. 16,96,000*

Do., 6 per cent loan of 1857, „ 2,36,000

Total, .. Rs. 19,32,000

Nabha, 5 per cent loan of 1848, Rs. 7,00,000

Do., 6 per cent loan of 1857, „ 2,50,000

Total, ... Rs. 9,50,000

There was also a large sum due to Pattiala for interest which had not been drawn since 1857, which was separately considered. The Raja of Jhind had never had any pecuniary transactions with the British Government, but, considering the great services he had rendered during the mutiny and his desire to acquire additional territory, it was determined to give him a share with the other States. To Pattiala were assigned villages of Kanoudh, with the town and fort, worth Rs. 98,000 a year; to Nabha villages worth Rs. 48,000, and to Jhind, villages worth Rs. 21,000. Twenty years purchase of the share allotted to Pattiala would be more than the principal of his debt, but the balance

* The sum lent by Pattiala in 1848-49, was Rs. 30,00,000, and in 1857, Rs. 5,00,000

was deducted from the interest still due. In the same way with the Nabha grant, while the Raja of Jhind paid for his new territory a *nazardna* of Rs. 4,20,000. The remainder of the district of Jhajjar was then absorbed into the Rohtak district *

There still remained a balance of interest due to Pâtiala, amounting to Rs 3,10,666, principally on the 5 per cent loan.

*The estate of Khirm
annu granted in lieu
of interest due*

To reduce this, the district of Khumanun, which has been before described, was made over to Pâtiala, the Government giving up the commutation tax of Rs. 4,128 per annum, and the right to escheats, estimated at 10 per cent on the gross rental of the estate, which was worth Rs. 48,000. Four out of seven villages, shared with

*And the accounts
finally closed*

the British Government, Chri, Phuror, Lakhaupur and Amargarh, were also made over to Pâtiala, and the value of the estates and rights ceded to him amounted to Rs 1,76,360. On the 30th of June 1860, the balance due to Pâtiala was Rs 93,767-15-10, which was paid to him in cash and the transactions closed †

*Sanads granted for
the new territory.*

Sanads were granted to the several Chiefs for their new territory, and

* Commissioner Cis-Satlej States to Government Punjab, No 87, dated 23rd May 1860. Government Punjab to Government of India, No 347 dated 4th June. Government of India to Government Punjab, No 1977, dated 14th June 1860. Despatch of Secretary of State, No 12, dated 30th January 1861.

† Commissioner Cis-Satlej States to Punjab Government, No 109, dated 14th June 1860. Punjab Government to Government of India, No. 423 dated 3rd July. Government of India to Government Punjab No 2779, dated 18th July 1860. Despatch of Secretary of State for India, No. 12, dated 30th January 1861.

Commissioner Cis-Satlej States to Government Punjab, No 187, dated 22nd September 1860.

complimentary letters addressed to them by the Governor General.*

There were other privileges and concessions granted to the Maharaja of Patiala and the Rajas of Nabha and Jhund, of the greatest value and of a character which changed materially the nature of their relations with the British Government. In 1858, these Chiefs had united in soliciting certain concessions which were referred to the Secretary of State and some granted at once; others, including the most desired of all, the right of adoption guaranteeing the perpetuity of their rule, a little later.

** Translation of Sunnud or grant of portions of the Pargunnahs of Kunouah and Boodwanah, district Jhujur, and of Haquah Khumanan, district Ambala, bestowed upon His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala by His Excellency Earl Canning, G C B., Viceroy and Governor General of India*

Preamble—WHEREAS the devotion and loyalty of His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala and of his ancestors have always been conspicuous since the establishment of British supremacy in India, His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General being desirous of marking his high appreciation of those qualities, has been pleased to bestow upon the Maharaja portions of Pargunnahs Kunouah and Boodwanah of the district of Jhujur, containing one-hundred and ten villages (110) according to vernacular list annexed, assessed at a yearly revenue of ninety-six thousand nine-hundred and forty Rs (96,940) and to accept from His Highness a "Nuzzwanah" of nineteen lakhs thirty-eight thousand and eight hundred Rs. (19,38,800) Further, His Excellency has been pleased in like manner to bestow upon the Maharajah the Haquah of Khumanan, district Umballah, with the service commutation tax, and the right to escheats, and to accept from His Highness a Nuzzwanah of one lakh seventy-six thousand three hundred and sixty (1,76,360) Rupees.

It is accordingly ordained as follows —

ARTICLE 1.—The territories above-mentioned are conferred upon His Highness the Maharaja Patiala and his heirs for ever

ARTICLE 2.—The Maharaja and his successors will exercise the same rights, privileges, and prerogative in these newly acquired territories as His Highness at present enjoys in his ancestral possessions, according to the terms of the Sunnud, dated 5th May 1860, and signed by His Excellency Earl Canning, Viceroy and Governor General of India.

ARTICLE 3.—The Maharaja and his successors will continue to maintain the same loyal relations with the British Government, and to fulfil the same obligations with regard to these newly acquired territories, as were imposed upon His Highness by the terms of the Sunnud, dated 5th May 1860, relating to His Highness' ancestral possessions.

The first request related to the power of inflicting capital punishment. This ^{*The power of inflicting capital punishment.*} had been taken from the Chiefs after the first Sikh war, although no allusion had been made to it in the granted Sanads, for reasons given by the Secretary in his letter conveying the Government orders*.—“You must impress upon the Maharaja and upon the other protected Chiefs under your jurisdiction, that no mutilation will be allowed within their respective territories, and that, in no case can they be permitted to execute the extreme sentence of the law and deprive of life without the approval and consent of the Agent, to whom each case considered deserving of capital punishment must be submitted, after receiving the final orders of the local authorities. No stipulations to this effect have been inserted in the Sanad, in consequence of the desire expressed by the Raja of Jhind that such might be omitted, but you will require both His Highness and the Maharaja of Patiala to conform implicitly to the above instructions of Government, as if the stipulations were formally entered in the Sanad.”

This deprivation of the power of inflicting capital punishment was regarded by the Chiefs as limiting their independence more than any other of the regulations which were issued after the Satlej campaign. The Maharaja of Patiala would never apply for sanction to inflict it, and the practical result of the order was the abolition of capital punishment in his territory. Indeed, between 1847 and 1856, only three applications for sanction were made to

* Para 19 of No 2352, dated 5th October 1847 from Secretary to Government of India to Commissioner (is-Satlej States)

the Agent, two from the Raja of Jhind, and one from the Raja of Faridkot.*

The three Phulkian Chiefs, accordingly, solicited, in 1858, that the power of life and death might be again restored to them. During the mutiny, indeed, it had been restored, for, without it, they could never have maintained order in their territories, and they were then specially authorized to execute heinous offenders without reference to the Commissioner, and the Government, in 1858, granted them the right fully and absolutely, as they desired, considering that they might with safety be entrusted with the power, that they would, as a rule, be more sparing of its exercise than European officers would be, and that, under the existing system, the Commissioner could exert no real check, except a moral one, which would not be lessened by conferring the power. If the moral check should fail, there remained the power of sequestration or absolute deprivation of powers which had been abused, which, in 1856, the Government had used against the Nawab of Mamdot.

The second request of the Chiefs was, that in case of a minority in any one of the three houses, a Council of Regency, formed of three of the old and trusted servants of the State, should be appointed by the British Agent and the other two Phulkian Chiefs, while, from this Council, strangers and the relatives of the minor should be excluded. The Government agreed to this request.

* Commissioner Cis-Satlej States to Secretary to Government Punjab, No 13, dated 16th January 1858 and No 39, dated 21st January, from Secretary to Government Punjab to Commissioner Cis-Satlej States.

The third and fourth clauses of the memorial of the Chiefs asked for the right of adoption, in default of male issue, from among the members of the Phulkian family; and, in case of the death of a Chief without male issue and without having adopted an heir, that the two remaining Chiefs should have power to elect a successor from the same family.

The right of adoption.

The privilege of adoption was one which the Chiefs desired with the greatest earnestness. Hitherto, among the Sikhs, Cis and Trans-Satlej, adoption, though carrying with it all the right of succession to private property enjoyed by the son of the body, had never been acknowledged as conferring any right of succession to a Chiefship. In the Punjab proper, the Maharaja at Lahore, and, south of the Satlej, the British Government, claimed, as paramount, the right of inheriting all estates to which there were no near male heirs, among whom the adopted son had no place, and the families of Ambala, Ferozpur, Bilaspur, Rupar, and many others, had vainly endeavoured to secure for adopted children a share at least in the estate.

By custom and law the adopted son had no right to succeed

The British Government, too, had, in 1837, excluded females from the succession to the Phulkian States, and although allowing the right of collaterals, had only admitted their right to such property as had been held by the common ancestor from whom they derived their claim.

The policy of the Government with regard to collaterals

The Cis-Satlej Chiefs thus lived in a perpetual fear that one portion of their possessions, in the event of their dying childless, would pass to distant kins-

The Chiefs feared the extinction of their families and the lapse of their estates

men with whom they were at constant feud, while the most ancient and dearest loved portion would become an escheat of the British Government, which threatened in course of time to absorb them all. Nor was this fear at all unreasonable. The number of lapses that had fallen to the Government from the time of its first connection with the country north of Dehli was very great; and Chiefship after Chiefship had been absorbed in the British territories.

*Their debauched
lives made their fear
reasonable.*

The debauched lives of the Sikhs, and their addiction to intoxicating spirits of the fiercest quality, were all in favor of the paramount power, if the policy of that power was annexation. Vainly did a Sikh Chief marry a succession of wives; his excesses had brought their curse with them, and no son was born to inherit his wide estates. It was, then, with a keen desire, that the Chiefs solicited the privilege of adoption. To them, as to all Hindus, the adopted son was as dear and as much their own as one born of their body, and Hindu law and custom had ever held him as such. It was in succession to Chiefships alone that the right of adoption was denied, and the Rajas asked themselves whether the English protection had not been bought at too dear a cost, and whether the policy, which had given to the British Government the finest portion of the territories won by the Khalsa in the days of its first triumphs, had been so disinterested as that Government had always declared. It is not that they would have fared better with Ranjit Singh.

*Ranjit Singh had,
like the British Go-
vernment, denied the
right of adoption.*

he asserted the rights of a sovereign more jealously than ever the British Government had done, and neither allowed the claims of adopted

sons nor of the nearest collaterals. But his conquests and annexations were made in the name of the Sikh nation, and for the glory of a religion of which its professors had not yet had time to grow weary. So it happened that, at the time of the campaign on the Satlej, many of the Chiefs thought that if it were their fate to be absorbed, it were better to become a portion of the monarchy whose seat was at Lahore, than of that which ruled them from Calcutta, not unkindly nor unjustly, but with which they had little sympathy; which sternly repressed anarchy and confusion, and forbade them to increase their possessions at the expense of their neighbours.

The British Government saw at once the significance of the request made by the Chiefs. To allow it, was to change the policy which had been sanctioned by long usage, and which had been, to a certain extent, successful. It was at least difficult to prove that any of the dangers which had, from time to time, gathered thick around the Government were due to the sense of insecurity in the permanence of their rule, felt by the native princes of India. Were the right of adoption granted, the Government must give up all hope of future escheats; for so long as one male of the Phulkian race existed he would unite under himself all the possessions of the family. In 1858, there were 34 males of this family living, and as time progressed the family might be expected to multiply. Yet the Government had begun to doubt the wisdom of the policy which, till 1857, it had followed. The mutiny had taught it some lessons, and had disposed it to try experiments which were

The great importance of the question

The policy of the Government had changed since 1857.

opposed before, because they were new. In open Durbar, the right of adoption had been conferred on the Raja of Chirkari, the Maharaja of Rewah; the Maharaja of Gwalior, and the Maharaja of Jaipur; and the Phulkian Chiefs had, thus, reason to hope that it would not be denied to them. In this, however, they were at first disappointed.

The Governor General stated that the right of adoption, and on failure of adoption, the right of electing a successor from among the descendants of Phul were important innovations on the custom which had always prevailed among the Chiefs of the Cis-Satlaj territories, and could not be sanctioned.

But the Home Government took a view of the case more favorable to the wishes of the Chiefs — “The request” wrote the Secretary of State, “preferred by the Maharaja of Pattiala and the Rajas of Jhind and Nabha, to be permitted, in all cases of failure of male issue, to adopt an heir from among the descendants of their common progenitor Phul, and, in case of such heir by adoption not being named before the decease of any one of the three, for permission to the surviving Rajas to elect a successor from the same stock, has not been complied with by your Lordship’s Government. But, advertng again to the very great services rendered by these Chiefs; to their long tried loyalty and fidelity to the British Crown, and to the great anxiety which they evince to obtain this boon, Her Majesty’s Government are of opinion that you might expediently, as a special case, concede to them the desired privilege; and to request, therefore, that you will

“take steps to communicate, with as little delay as possible, this decision to the Chiefs concerned; and request them to supply you with an authenticated list of the existing descendants of Phul, to be periodically revised by them. Her Majesty’s Government are, however, of opinion, that, in consideration of this concession, you should levy a *nazarāna* of a year’s revenue on the occasion of every case of adoption or election in the manner above described. It should be distinctly made known to them that, in no case of direct lineal descent, will any *nazarāna* be demanded.”

The concession thus granted, was valued by the Chiefs more highly than the new territory, the reward for their loyalty, and later it was extended to other Chiefs in the Punjab, Sikh, Rajput, and Muhammadan. Till now these Chiefs had believed, and with justice, that the British Government, while it would neither use violence nor fraud to obtain their territories, would, nevertheless, gladly annex them to its own dominion should misfortune leave them without male heirs. They had at last learnt that it was possible to be strong and yet generous, and that a Government like the British, before which organized opposition was hopeless and against which surprise had been tried in vain, might be content to trust rather to the affection and confidence of its feudatories than to their weakness or their destruction.

* No. 104, from Chief Commissioner Punjab to Government of India of 16th June 1858. No. 3047, from Government of India, to Government Punjab, of 23rd May 1859. Secretary of State to Government of India, of 1st December 1859.

The fifth request made by the Phulkian Rajas, was that no women should have admission into the Council of Regency, or have any participation in affairs of State, either on the ground of the youth of the Chief, or on any other pretext whatever; and that no complaints of any sort, preferred by women of their family, should be received by the British Government.

The Government agreed to the exclusion of women from participation in affairs of State, considering that nothing but evil could accrue from the supremacy of women, uneducated and secluded as is the custom in Hindostan.* It refused, however, to promise never to interfere in case of complaints on the part of female relatives of the Chiefs. The Government had not been accustomed, as a rule, to interfere in such cases, but it was impossible to surrender the right to do so, when its protection was especially invoked, as in a case that had recently occurred, where the Raja of Faridkot kept his two sisters-in-law in confinement until the interference of Government compelled their release.

The Chiefs, moreover, requested that the British Government should bind itself not to interfere on behalf of relatives, connections, or dependants of the family. The Government would not pledge itself to such a promise, though its interference never had been, nor would be great.

* It was not the custom for women to be secluded in early Sikh days. In Patiala the custom was introduced so late as the reign of Raja Karam Singh, and, as has been shown, the ladies of the family have shown quite as much or more political ability than the men.

Seventhly.—The Chiefs asked for *Sanads*, guaranteeing to them their hereditary possessions in perpetuity, under the hand and seal of Her Majesty the Queen.

The request for Sanads under the hand and seal of Her Majesty, and for exemption from the jurisdiction of the Civil Courts, refused.

This request was submitted for the consideration of the Secretary of State for India, but, on the recommendation of the Governor General, it was not complied with. Such a concession was considered unnecessary, as the fullest powers had been conferred on Her Majesty's representative in India, and *Sanads* would acquire no additional force or sanctity by execution in England; while such execution would be both inconvenient and impolitic, as all *Sanads* formerly granted would require renewal or a suspicion of their validity might be raised; and not only *Sanads*, but treaties, would be affected, to the renewal of which there are two parties, and some of which, still in force, were of such a nature that it would be most impolitic to cast loose the obligations of the engagement.

The last request was that no claims against subjects of the Chiefs should be entertained in British Civil Courts. Previous to 1853, all suits against foreign subjects had been referred to the tribunals of the territory in which the defendant ordinarily resided, since that time,* if the cause of action arose in British territories, or the defendant possessed property therein, the suit could be heard and determined in the ordinary way. Although this system had not worked altogether well, yet it was fair, seeing that foreign subjects ordinarily used the British Courts to prosecute claims against par-

* Board of Administration, 13th October 1849

ties resident in British territory, and to ensure reciprocity for British subjects it was necessary to maintain it. This request, upon which the Chiefs did not lay much stress, was accordingly refused.*

In January 1860, Lord Canning, the Viceroy and Governor General, visited the Punjab, and, on the 18th of that month, he held a private Durbar at Ambala, for the reception of the Chiefs of the Cis-Satlej States and the Simla Hills, at which the Maharaja of Patiala, the Rajas of Jhind, Nabha, Bilaspur and Keonthal, the Nawab of Maler Kotla and the Sirdar of Bassi had audiences. The next day an open Durbar was held, at which were present all the Rajas, Chiefs, Sardars and Native gentlemen of the Cis-Satlej States and the neighbouring districts. In investing the Maharaja with his khillat, the Viceroy addressed him in the following terms.—

“ Maharaja of Patiala—

“ It is very agreeable to me to have this opportunity of thanking you, personally and in public, for the valuable services you have rendered to the State. I esteem them, not more for the effective aid which they gave to the forces of the Government, than for the promptness with which they were offered, and for the example of hearty and unhesitating loyalty which you thereby set before the Queen's subjects in Upper India from the very beginning of the strife.

* No 84, from Government of India to Secretary of State, dated 3rd June 1859. No 149, from Commissioner Cis Satlej States to Chief Commissioner Punjab, dated 20th Mar 1858. No 104, from Chief Commissioner Punjab to Government of India, dated 16th June 1858. No 3047, from Government of India to Government Punjab, dated 25th May 1859. No 64, from Secretary of State to Government of India, dated 1st December 1859. No 9, from Governor General of India to Secretary of State, dated 28th January 1860.

" I need not recount those services they are
 " well known to every one here present, and the
 " history of them is recorded in the history of the
 " operations by which the British troops sustained
 " and asserted the power of England in this part of
 " Her Majesty's dominions There is no fear there-
 " fore of their being forgotten

" But I desire to assure you, before this Durbar,
 " of the satisfaction which the Queen's Government
 " has had in augmenting your honor and possessions,
 " and of the wish which it entertains that these
 " may long remain under the rule of descendants
 " of your own,—brave and loyal as yourself

" I have directed that a grant be prepared con-
 " firming your title to these possessions, and to all
 " the privileges attached to them. I have also
 " directed that it be recorded, that if, unhappily, lineal
 " heirs should fail you, your adoption of a successor
 " from the ancient Phulkian house, of which your
 " family forms a part, will be recognised and res-
 " pected."*

The grant referred to in this speech, confirming
The Sanad of adop- to the Maharaja all his territories,
tion. ancestral and acquired, conferring
 the right of adoption on failure of male issue and of
 election of a successor under certain circumstances
 set forth, was given to the Maharaja by the Viceroy
 on the 5th of May 1860 †

* Notification No 172A, dated 20th January 1860.

† Translation of the Sanad of the 5th of May 1860

Since the establishment of British authority in India, His Highness
 the present Maharaja of Patiala, and his predecessors have always been
 steady in their allegiance. They have frequently received rewards for
 their fidelity. In the accession of fresh honors, dignity and territory.
 More recently His Highness, the present ruler of Patiala, has surpassed
 the former achievements of his race by the constancy and courage he
 evinced during the mutiny of 1857-58. In memory of his unwavering

On the 1st November 1861, Maharaja Narindar Singh was invested with the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, at Allahabad; and, about the same time, he was appointed a member of the Governor General's Council for making Laws and Regulations. The Maharaja accordingly left for Calcutta, arriving there in time for the opening of the session, on the 15th January 1862.

The Maharaja invested with the order of the Star of India.

Appointed Member of the Legislative Council

and conspicuous loyalty, His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India has conferred additional honors and territory upon the Maharaja for himself and his heirs for ever, and has graciously acceded to His Highness's desire to receive a Sanad or grant under the hand and seal of the Viceroy, guaranteeing to the Maharaja the free and unreserved possession of his ancient territories, as well as of those tracts bestowed on his Highness and his predecessors at various times by the British Government. It is accordingly ordained as follows.—

Clause I—His Highness the Maharaja and his heirs for ever will exercise full sovereignty over his ancestral and acquired domains according to the annexed list. All the rights, privileges, and prerogatives, which His Highness enjoys in his hereditary territories, he will equally enjoy in his acquired territories. All feudatories and dependants of every degree will be bound to render obedience to him throughout his dominions.

Clause II—Except, as provided in Clause III, the British Government will never demand from His Highness or any of his successors, or from any of his feudatories, relations, or dependants, any tribute on account of revenue service, or on any other plea.

Clause III.—The British Government cordially desires to see the noble house of Patiala perpetuated, and in this spirit confers upon His Highness and his heirs for ever, whenever male issue may fail, the right of adopting a successor from among the descendants of the Phulkian family. If, however, at any time any Maharaja of Patiala, should die without male issue and without adopting a successor, it will still be open to the Rajas of Nabha and Jhind, in concert with the Commissioner or Political Agent of the British Government, to select a successor from among the Phulkian family, but in that case a *nazarana* or fine equal to one-third of the gross annual revenue of the Patiala State shall be paid to the British Government.

Clause IV—In 1847 the British Government empowered the Maharaja to inflict capital punishment after reference to the Commissioner. It now removes the restriction imposed by this reference, and invests His Highness with absolute power of life and death over his own subjects. With regard to British subjects committing crime and apprehended in his territory, the Maharaja will be guided by the rules contained in the Despatch of the Honorable Court of Directors to the Madras Government, No. 3, dated 1st June 1836. The Maharaja will exert himself to execute justice, and to promote the happiness and welfare of his people. He

During the absence of the Maharaja, the Commissioner of the Cis-Satlej States, at the request of the Chief, was directed to exercise a general supervision over the affairs of the Pattiala State, aiding with his counsel the officers who had been appointed to conduct the administration of the country, and taking care that the wishes of the Maharaja were loyally carried out.*

The Pattiala Chief remained in Calcutta the whole time that the Legislative Council sat, and, on the approach of summer, returned to his capital where everything had gone on satisfactorily.

engages to prohibit Sati, Slavery and Female Infanticide throughout his territories, and to punish with the utmost rigor those who are found guilty of any of these crimes

Clause V—The Maharaja will never fail in his loyalty and devotion to the Sovereign of Great Britain

Clause VI—If any force hostile to the British Government should appear in this neighbourhood, the Maharaja will co-operate with the British Government and oppose the enemy. He will exert himself to the utmost of his resources in providing carriage and supplies for the British troops, according to requisitions he may receive.

Clause VII—The British Government will not receive any complaints from any of the subjects of the Maharaja, whether mafidars, jagirdars, relatives, dependants, servants or other classes.

Clause VIII—The British Government will respect the household and family arrangements of the Maharaja, and abstain from any interference therein

Clause IX—His Highness the Maharaja will, as heretofore, furnish, at current rates, through the agency of his own officers, the necessary materials required for the construction of rail-roads, railway stations, and imperial roads and bridges. He will also freely give the land required for the construction of rail-roads and imperial lines of road

Clause X—The Maharaja and his successors, &c will always pursue the same course of fidelity and devotion to the British Government, and the Government will always be ready to uphold the honor and dignity of the Maharaja and his house

SCHEDULE OF TERRITORIES BELONGING TO THE MAHARAJA OF PATTIALA.

Ancestral—Parganah Pattiala khas and Banour

Ilakas Murdanpur, Ghanour, Ranmazra, Amargarh, Chinrathal, Sonan, Rajpura, Anahadgarh or Barwala, Sherpur, Bbiki, Banur,

* Government of India to Government Punjab, No 210, dated 27th December 1861 Letter from Secretary to Government of India to Maharaja, dated 10th December 1860, and No. 188, the same date, to Commissioner Cis-Satlej States.

In March 1862, the right of adoption granted in 1860 was confirmed by a special Sanad *

It was a calamity for Pattiala that the life of the most enlightened ruler she had ever possessed was destined to be short. In the beginning of November 1862, the Maharaja fell ill of fever, and though his illness was not at first considered serious, he

The death of Maharaja Narindar Singh, November 1862

Bhawanigarh urf Doda, Boha Suidargarh urf Dodhal, Akalgarh or Manak, Kaimgarh or Kulbanan Diba, Bāngarh or Narwana, Pimor, Govmgarh or Batindak, Rangarh or Ghuram, Salubgarh or Pael, Fatahgarh or Sirhind, Alamgarh or Nandpur Kalour

Acquired territories—Ilaka Umrallah The Hill district of Bechal, the Hill district of Keonthal ilaka Chamkorian, Paiganah Bassat Muik Hydar, Fatah Jhuner, Mubla, and Narnoul.

List of Feudatories—Sikhs of Lunda, Lohari, Bhet Kot, Gunat, Chakia, Rara, Kottia, Bulara Bulari, Budadi Bhat, Bir Singh Ranpur, Kot Duna The Jagirdars, of Bhadour and Jiundau.

The Jagirdars of Khumauuz, Tullakou, Dhanouri and Lukhnour, are at present under the jurisdiction for life of the Maharaja of Pattiala, but paying commutation tax in lieu of service to the British Government

Ilaka Bhai Bupa shared with Nabha and Jhind

SANAD OF ADOPTION.

Dated 5th March 1862.

* Her Majesty being desirous that the Governments of the several Princes and Chiefs of India who now govern their own territories should be perpetuated, and that the representation and dignity of their houses should be continued, I hereby, in fulfilment of this desire, repeat to you the assurance which I communicated to you in the Sanad under my signature, dated 5th May 1860, that, on failure of natural heirs, the adoption by yourself and the future Rulers of your State of a successor, from the ancient Phoolkian House, of which your family forms a part, will be recognized and confirmed, and that if at any time any Maharaja of Pattiala should die without male issue, and without adopting a successor, it will still be open to the Rajas of Jhind and Nabha, in concert with the Commissioner or Political Agent of the British Government, to select a successor from among the Phulkian family, but in that case a muzzuranah or fine equal to one-third of the gross annual revenue of the Pattiala State shall be paid to the British Government.

Be assured that nothing shall disturb the engagement thus made to you so long as your house is loyal to the Crown and faithful to the conditions of the treaties, grants or engagements which record its obligations to the British Government

was unable to regain his strength, and died on the 13th November, aged thirty-nine, after a reign of nearly seventeen years *

The character of Narindar Singh has been shown in the preceding pages. He inherited from his father and grandfather a jealousy of the English Government and a disposition to assert his own dignity, rights and pretensions in a factious and litigious spirit, which turned into a conflict every enquiry which the Government were compelled to make, and which they desired to conduct with the utmost delicacy and consideration for Pattiala. The events of 1857-58 changed the disposition of the Maharaja altogether. He was wise enough to understand what the inevitable result would be; and, like a brave soldier as he was, his sympathies were all with the few Englishmen, holding gallantly their own throughout India, against tremendous odds. The generous manner in which he was rewarded by Government after the mutiny and the grant of the right of adoption, with its assurance that the British Government did not desire the ruin of the Cis-Satlej Chiefs but their continued prosperity, removed all mistrust from his mind, and, had he lived, Narindar Singh would have been one of the most valuable friends of the British Government in northern India.

The Punjab Government issued a Gazette Extraordinary on receiving the news of his death, the terms of which will show the estimation in which he was held —

* Commissioner Cis-Satlej States to Punjab Government No 852, dated 14th November 1862. Deputy Commissioner Amulala No 852, dated 14th November

"The Hon'ble the Lieutenant Governor has
The Gazette Order "received, with the deepest regret,
announcing his "intelligence of the demise, on the
death. "13th instant, of His Highness the Maharaja of
 "Patiala.

"His Honor, in announcing the melancholy
 "event, laments the removal, in the prime of life and
 "usefulness, of a Feudatory Prince, who, at the time
 "of the mutiny of the Native Army in 1857, perform-
 "ed the most eminent services to the Crown, and who
 "administered the Government of his territories with
 "exemplary wisdom, firmness and benevolence."

Maharaja Narindar Singh had a half-brother,
Dip Singh the brother of the deceased Dip Singh, who died, without issue,
Chief. a short time before him, in 1862,
 aged 35. He was not a man of any note. He
 enjoyed for life the income of the district of Karhal,
 about Rs. 25,000 a year; but generally lived in
 Patiala. Some suspicion of his loyalty was enter-
 tained at the time of the mutiny, but there is no
 reason to believe that he was in any way implicated.

Narindar Singh married seven wives, who bore
 him one son and three daughters.
The family of the The eldest of these was Basant
Maharaja. Kour, born in 1845, and married to the Rana of
 Dholepur. The second daughter is now dead. she
 married Sirdar Narain Singh, son of Sirdar Dewa
 Singh of Sialba. The third was Bishan Kour, born
 in 1849, and married, in 1859, to Maharaja Jaswant
 Singh of Bhartpur. From this last marriage the
 happiest political results were hoped, which unfor-
 tunately have not been realized. The wedding
 ceremonies were conducted on a scale of great splen-
 dour, though the Maharaja of Bhartpur was induced

to depart from the custom of distributing large sums of money among the congregated multitude of mendicants, vagabonds and thieves. Among the Chiefs assembled at the ceremony were the Rajas of Jhind and Nabha, Raja Jowahir Singh, Raja Gurbaksh Singh of Manmajra, Sirdar Jun Singh Buria, the Nawab of Maler Kotla, Sirdar Dewa Singh of Kalsia, the Nawabs of Loharu and Karnal. Presents were given amounting in cash to Rs 62,608, thirteen jewelled ornaments; 404 articles of ladies' dress, 94 horses, 18 of them with gold trappings, two elephants, and two pairs of Kashmir shawls. The Maharaja of Kashmir sent a present of Rs 21,000, the Raja of Kapurthalla Rs 1,100, 31 articles of dress and two horses, and the Maharaja of Jodhpur Rs 500 and an elephant. The British Government gave a marriage gift (*neotâ*) of Rs. 5,000, *

Mahindai Singh, the only son of the Maharaja, was born on the 16th September 1852, though his birth was not announced to Government till the 14th January 1853. He was consequently only ten years old at the time of his father's death, and it was necessary to make immediate arrangements for carrying on the administration.

* Government Punjab to Government of India No. 860, dated 28th December 1859. Government India to Government Punjab No 76 dated 9th January 1860. Commissioner Cis-Satlcy States to Government Punjab No 28 dated 20th February 1860. Dispatch of Secretary State, No 45 of 1860, dated 31st May.

A "Neotâ," or wedding present, has occasionally been given by Government as a mark of special favor, but it is not necessary, nor warranted by precedent. The only instances are, that in the text, the marriage of the Maharaja himself 5th March 1865, a like amount 5 000 Rs., the marriage of Prince Randhir Singh, Ahluwalia, 21st February 1848, Rs. 1100, the marriage of his brother Prince Bikrama Singh, 16th February 1849 a like amount; and, lastly, the marriage of the third brother Sukhot Singh, 5th February 1852, Rs. 1 100 the father Raja Nihal Singh giving a return present of jewels of equal value.

It will be remembered that in June 1858, a paper of requests from the Phulkian Chiefs was submitted for Government sanction; one of the paragraphs of which proposed that in the event of the death of any one of the three Chiefs, leaving an infant heir, "a Council of Regency, consisting of three of the old and trusty and most capable ministers of the State may be selected by the British Agent, acting with the advice of the other two Chiefs, and that no stranger be introduced into the Council of Regency, except with the consent of these two Chiefs, and in the event of misconduct on the part of any one of the Council, a successor to the Regency be appointed by the same means; in no case should any relatives of the infant heir be admitted to the Regency"

This request was sanctioned by the Government of India. When Maharaja Narindar Singh felt himself to be dying, he called to him the Chief Officers of his State and gave them his last commands; which were to adhere to the British Government as he had done, to teach his son to follow in his steps, and, in the administration of the State, to maintain the arrangements which he had made. The Maharaja must be considered to have referred to the agreement between the Chiefs and the British Government, as to the measures to be adopted in the case of a regency; but a later paper was produced, a *Dastur-ul-amal*, or Rules of Practice, drawn up on the 13th October 1860, for the guidance of the Ministers in the event of a

A later document produced, which the Ministers consider of superior validity to the former agreement.

Regency. This paper was not in any way in supersession of the agreement sanctioned by Government in 1858, it entered much more into details and made no mention whatever of the number of the Council of Regency, or the assistance in their selection to be given by the British Agent or the Chiefs of Jhind and Nabha. The Patiala Ministers tried to show that this document virtually superseded the agreement of 1858, and declared that the Raja's last wish that the arrangements he had made should be maintained, signified that the Ministers then in power, should continue to hold office, and that no Council of Regency, consisting of three members should be appointed. Such a Council, they urged, would be injurious to the best interests of Patiala. The members composing it would obtain too much

The objections of the Ministers to the Council

power, and discord and jealousy would be introduced into the State; while the new appointments would cause additional expense and necessitate inferior men being nominated to their former appointments. All the Chief officers of Patiala were in favor of the administration being left, as before, in the

Their proposals.

hands of Diwan Kulwant Rai, Financial Minister, Abdul Navi Khan, Munshi or Secretary, Bakshi Bassawa Singh, Military Minister, and Syad Muhamad Hassan, *Adulati*, or Judicial Minister, with perhaps the addition of the tutor of the young Prince, an office not then filled up

The Agent Cis-Satlej States addressed the Rajas of Jhind and Nabha on the subject of the Patiala administration, enquiring their views and asking why the purport of the *Dastur-ul-amal*, or

The opinion of the Rajas of Nabha and Jhind.

Code of Rules, had not been communicated to Government. These Chiefs approved of the continuance of the existing Ministry at Pattiala, and politely represented that, under the terms of the Sanads granted them by Lord Canning, the late Maharaja was not under any necessity of stating his intention to the Agent, as full independence had been granted to him, and full power to make any arrangements which might seem to him appropriate for the administration of his territory.

A simple but, at the same time, a most important question, was thus raised as to the interpretation of the Sanad of the 5th of May 1860. The first clause of this agreement, similar to that made with the Rajas of Jhind and Nabha, contained these words—“His Highness the Maharaja and his heirs for ever will exercise full sovereignty over his ancestral and acquired domains” It is true that this Sanad was granted subsequently to the sanction accorded to the “Requests” of the Chiefs, containing the Regency arrangement, but did it give to the Maharaja any such powers as to set aside a solemn agreement, sanctioned by the British Government at the request of the Chiefs? Of what nature was the “full sovereignty” accorded to the Maharaja? The original Sanad contained the Persian words “*hush-i-dastur-i-kadim hukmran bushand*,” signifying that the “full sovereignty” was such as has had been enjoyed

The first clause only restored the powers which the Chiefs had lost.

* From Commissioner Cis-Satlej States to Punjab Government, Nos 278 and B, and 292, dated 21st November, 25th November, and 26th December 1862. Original *Dastur-ul-amal*, of thirty one Articles, dated 2nd Asoj Badi 1917 Sambat, (13th October 1860). Letters of Rajas of Jhind and Nabha to Agent Governor General dated 21st and 20th December 1862. Secretary to Government of India No 1213, dated 30th December 1862.

according to ancient custom. This undoubtedly meant that it was the intention of Government to acknowledge the independent sovereignty of the Chiefs in the manner allowed in 1809 and 1811, and restore the power of capital punishment withdrawn in 1847, but in no way to preclude the exercise of all interference in matters of extraordinary importance by Government.

Clause VIII of the Sanad, by which the Government promised to respect the household and family * arrangements of the Maharaja, and abstain from any interference therein, did not prohibit interference in a matter of the highest political and public importance, such as the formation of a Regency, the arrangements for which had been sanctioned on the formal request of the Chiefs themselves

The term "full sovereignty" was a loose rendering of the original version which the Chiefs had clearly understood as restoring to them the power they lost after the Satlej war. The interpretation of treaties is no difficult matter if the intention of the contracting parties is known, and former treaties exist to explain the meaning. One Sanad does not cancel another unless this is specially provided, nor had any Chief the power, by a document to which no sanction had been accorded, to cancel a solemn engagement into which he had entered with the British Government. If "full sovereignty" meant a power such as this, the rights of the British Government, as paramount, would altogether disappear. "Full sovereignty," as far as Sanads are con-

*"Full Sovereignty"
has a conventional
meaning*

* "Intizam-i-Sandaru" — Internal arrangements.

cerned, is a conventional term, and signifies such independence as is compatible with the claim which the British Government asserts to general control, active loyalty, and regard to all engagements which have not been expressly modified or cancelled.

There is no reason to believe that Maharaja Narindar Singh had any thought of setting the Code of Rules, which he had framed, in opposition to the agreement of 1858 regarding the Regency. Indeed this document expressly declared that it was executed for the purpose of supporting the paper of Requests which contained the agreement. The Maharaja looked confidently to the British Government as his best friend, although he had, perhaps, more than any Chief in North India, a high regard for his own dignity, and when he left for Calcutta as a member of the Legislative Council, it was at his particular request that the Commissioner of Ambala was enjoined to generally supervise the affairs of the Pattiala State.

The Government held that the agreement of 1858 must be assumed to remain in force, and directed that a Council of Regency, consisting of three members, should be appointed. This was done, and the members selected, with the approbation of the Rajas of Nabha and Jhind, were Sirdar Jagdeo Singh, Bakshi Rahim Baksh and Bakshi Udeh Singh.*

It is undesirable, for obvious reasons, to give any detailed account of the administration of the Pattiala State

No detailed account of the Regency desirable.

* Government Punjab to Government of India, No 49 dated 24th January 1863. Government of India, No. 126 dated 13th March 1863. Despatch of the Secretary of State, No 60 dated 15th August 1863.

since the formation of the Council of Regency. Like every Native State in a similar position, with the Chief a minor and the interference of Government limited by engagements which it had no desire to infringe, the atmosphere of Patiala has been, for some years, one of intrigue, in which a few have labored for the advantage of their Prince and the country, while the majority have thought more of creating confusion in every department of the State, to conceal their own inefficiency and dishonesty. But it must be left to another hand, at a future time, when the strong feelings which now exist with regard to Patiala affairs have subsided or are forgotten, to write the story of these unhappy days.

Bakshi Udeh Singh died on the 26th September 1863, and, in January of the next year, Bassawa Singh, who had been first on the ministry proposed by the Patiala Court, was appointed in his place with the approval of the Rajas of Nabha and Jhind * His tenure of office was very short, for he died in 1866, as did Bakshi Rahim Baksh.

On the visit of the young Maharaja to Simla, in the autumn of 1866, the Viceroy confirmed the appointments of Moulvi Muhummud Hassan and Sirdar Fatah Singh, as members of Council, in the room of those deceased. The former was at the head of the Department of Criminal Justice, and the latter Governor of the district of Narnoul.

* Commissioner of Frontier States to Government, No. 3 dated 4th January. Government Punjab to Government of India, No. 17 dated 8th January, and Government of India, No. 84 dated 26th February 1864.

In December 1867, Diwan Kulwant Rai, the *Diwan Kulwant Rai banished* head of the Revenue office, and Bakshi Bir Singh, Commandant of the Forces, with some of their adherents, were banished from Pattiala. The Council, which had for some time been very unanimous, soon after this split into two parties, and in June 1868, the Agent of the Lieutenant Governor appointed Abdul Navi Khan, Keeper of the Seal, an Extraordinary Member of the Council. Affairs in Pattiala did not, however, progress more smoothly than before, and, in February, 1870, the Maharaja was invested with full powers and the Council of Regency was dissolved.

Full powers are bestowed on Maharaja Mahindar Singh in February 1870. Maharaja Mahindar Singh is now eighteen years of age. His education has been carefully conducted by Ram Chandar, an eminent Mathematician of Dehli, who long performed delicate and difficult duties at Pattiala with singular courage and honesty. His labors appear to have been successful. The young Maharaja is well educated for a native Prince, knowing English, Persian and Gurmukhi. Possessed of great natural intelligence and force of character, there can be little doubt that Mahindar Singh will choose to rule his territory himself, and not surrender his power to unworthy subordinates. The troubles of the Regency have taught him many lessons, which will not be quickly forgotten. He, at any rate, will not begin his reign as his father did, with any suspicion of the intentions of the British Government. He knows well that its only wish is to see him prosperous and contented, while education has taught him that no Prince can be distinguished

Character of the young Prince.

or worthy of honor, who does not rule for the benefit of his people

There remain a few incidents worthy of record in Pattiala history. First may be mentioned the visit of the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab to Pattiala in January 1867,* In March 1869, Maharaja Mahindar Singh attended the Durbar held at Ambala in honor of Amir, Sher Ali Khan of Kabul, and, in February 1870, visited Lahore, to meet His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, when the usual ceremonial visits were exchanged between the Prince and the Maharaja.

* It may be interesting to give the programme of this visit as a picture of the ceremonies which custom enjoins in meetings with Native Princes. A similar ceremonial would be followed in the case of the Nawab of Bahawalpur, who is of equal rank with Pattiala.

Programme of proceedings on the occasion of the visit of the Honorable the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab to His Highness the Maharaja of Pattiala

The Honorable the Lieutenant Governor will leave his camp at 7 o'clock, A. M.

Two Ministers of State of the first class will come out two miles from the city to meet the Lieutenant Governor.

His Honor will be met by His Highness the Maharaja and his retinue at the village of Chourah.

At this place the Lieutenant Governor will mount the Maharaja's elephant, and proceed to the camp, sitting on the Maharaja's right.

The Maharaja will have a suitable guard of honor drawn up in the vicinity of the town of Pattiala, who will salute the Lieutenant Governor as he passes.

A salute of 19 guns will be fired as the cortège proceeds from the walls of the town, and on the Lieutenant Governor reaching his tents.

The Maharaja will accompany the Lieutenant Governor to his tents and there take leave.

Two Ministers of the State of the first rank will come from the Maharaja to enquire after the Lieutenant Governor's health.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA'S VISIT

In the evening, at 4.30 P. M., the Maharaja will pay a visit to the Lieutenant Governor. In the absence of the Deputy Commissioner, the Deputy Inspector General of Police will proceed on an elephant to accompany the Maharaja. The Military Secretary, Private Secretary, and Aide-de-Camp will go half way on elephants to meet him; the

During the present year, 1870, a scheme of great importance to the Pattiala territory has been finally decided, which had been for many years under discussion. This is a canal from the Satley near Rupar to irrigate the Pattiala and Ambala districts

In February 1861, the late Maharaja Narindar Singh, at an interview with the Lieutenant Governor at Pinjor, expressed a desire to construct, at his own expense, a

Agent and Secretary to Government will receive him on alighting. The Lieutenant Governor will come forward two or three paces beyond the edge of the carpet to meet the Maharaja.

The Agent will sit on the Maharaja's right, and the Maharaja's retinue on the right of him.

On the Lieutenant Governor's left will sit the Secretary to Government and the Staff of the Lieutenant Governor.

The Maharaja's officials will then present the usual nuzzars.

Khullats will then be brought in for the Maharaja and the Officials of the Pattiala State, and after the ceremony of *utur* and *pan* the ceremony will conclude.

The ceremony of taking the Maharaja back will be the same as those for bringing him reversed.

A salute of 17 guns will be fired on the Maharaja's coming and going, and the troops present in the Lieutenant Governor's camp will present arms.

RETURN VISIT

On the following day, at 4-30 P.M., four Ministers of State of the first rank will come to fetch the Lieutenant Governor, and the Maharaja himself will come halfway to meet His Honor, and on meeting, the Lieutenant Governor will take the Maharaja up with him on the elephant.

At the gate the troops will present arms.

In the Durbar, the Lieutenant Governor will sit on the right of the Maharaja, and on his right, the Secretary to Government and the other officials present. The Agent will sit on the Maharaja's left. State chairs will be provided for the Lieutenant Governor, the Maharaja, the Agent, and the Secretary to Government, the rest will be plain chairs.

The officers of the Pattiala State will present the usual Nuzzars. The Lieutenant Governor's Peshkush will then be brought in, after which *utur* and *pan* will be given by the Maharaja himself to the Lieutenant Governor, the Agent, and the Secretary to Government, and by the Council to the other Officers, and the Lieutenant Governor will take leave and return. The ceremonies on return will be those of coming reversed.

A salute of 19 guns will be fired on the arrival and departure of the Lieutenant Governor.

canal from Rupar, on the Satlej, into his own territory. He had some time before formed this intention, but the then Commissioner Cis-Satlej States considered the work impossible, and his idea was temporarily abandoned, however, in 1861, he again took it up and applied for the services of an Engineer officer to survey the line. An officer of experience reported that the country was well adapted for irrigation and greatly in want of it, and the Government expressed a strong desire to give every encouragement possible to a work so useful.*

The sudden death of the Maharaja prevented the realization of the project, and it was not till July 1867, that, on the motion of the Government of India, it was again revived, and Sirdar Jagdeo Singh, Member of the Patiala Council, and Abdul Navi Khan, Foreign Minister, deputed to discuss its details at Simla. Owing to the fierce dissension in the Patiala Council, great delay took place in the negotiations as to the terms on which that State should join in the work of constructing the canal, but, in December 1869, the Patiala Government assented to all the stipulations of Government, and the terms were finally determined in March 1870. The execution and supervision of the work is to be entirely

The scheme delay ed.
The conditions, finally determined upon, A. D. 1870.

On the morning of the 26th instant, the Lieutenant Governor will leave Patiala for Bazidpote, on his departure a salute of 19 guns will be fired.

The ceremonies of Ziafat, &c, will be carried out by the Maharaja, in communication with the Agent of the Lieutenant Governor.

* Commissioner Cis Satlej States No. 108, dated 6th May 1861. Letter of Maharaja of Patiala to Commissioner Cis-Satlej States. Memo by Secretary to Government Punjab, Public Works Department, dated 14th May. Government of India to Government Punjab, Public Works Department, No 1843, dated 30th May 1861.

in the hands of the British Government, whose officers are to have control over the water-supply in the main channel, leaving the distribution from the smaller channels with the Pattiala Government. The cost of the canal is to be borne by both Governments in proportion to the amount of water taken by their respective territories; a certain seignorage being paid, in addition, to the British Government, for the use of the water, of the Satlej, a river in British territory. The works of this canal have been already commenced at Rupar, and its completion will prove of the greatest benefit to Pattiala and largely increase its revenue.*

The Maharaja, in May 1870, presented to the *Donation to the University College* University College of Lahore the sum of Rs 70,000, of which Rs 20,000 was intended to found a scholarship in honor of the Duke of Edinburgh and to commemorate his visit to the Punjab †

Rani Basant Kour, sister of the Maharaja, had married the Raja of Bhartpur, and, early in 1869, after a long correspondence, she was allowed to visit her home at Pattiala, bringing with her the heir to the Bhartpur State, her son, only a few years of age. She remained at Pattiala for the

* Government of India No 220 dated 12th July 1867, to Government Punjab Commissioner Cis-Satlej States to Government of India No 203 dated 13th July Government of India to Government Punjab No 247 dated 7th August, with Memorandum No 1867 Government of India to Government Punjab, No 24 dated 30th November 1869, Government Punjab to Commissioner Cis-Satlej States No 1299 dated 10th December Government Punjab to Government of India No. 6-14 dated 3rd January 1870

† Letter of Maharaja to Agent Lieutenant Governor, dated 29th March 1870, and No 228, dated 30th May 1870, from Agent to Government Punjab.

rest of the year, but the child fell ill and died on the 4th of December of inflammation of the lungs.

The Rani of Bhartpur dies in February 1870

The Rani herself soon after this fell ill of fever, and, after an illness of nearly three months, died on the 17th February 1870, while her brother was at Lahore, during the visit of the Duke of Edinburgh.*

Maharaja Mahindar Singh has married three wives. The lady last married, *Birth of a son to the Maharaja, 1867* daughter of Mian Mehtab Singh Dhaliwal of Dina, a relative of the Raja of Faridkot, gave birth to a son on the 17th of October 1867 †

In May 1870, the Maharaja was nominated a Knight of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India. *Appointed to the Order of the Star of India.*

The area of the Patiala State is 5,412 square miles, the population is not accurately known, but is probably about 1,650,000, and the revenue is estimated at Rs 38,00,000 a year. A Military force of 8,000 men is maintained, and a contingent of 100 men is furnished by the Maharaja to the British Government for general service. *The area, population, and revenue of Patiala.*

The Maharaja is entitled to a salute of 17 guns, and ranks second of the Punjab Chiefs in Viceregal Darbars the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir taking the first place. The following statement of

* Commissioner Cis-Satlej States Nos. 341 and 352 dated 7th September 1868 and 9th December 1869 Government Punjab to Commissioner, No. 316 dated 17th September 1868, and 6th October No 389 to Government of India, 21st December 1869, and 7th June 1870 Government of India to Government Punjab Nos 1100 dated 29th September 1868, and No 189 dated 28th January 1870

† Commissioner Cis-Satlej States to Government Punjab No. 412 dated 3rd December 1867 Government of India to Maharaja dated 31st December 1867

the revenue of the Pattiala State for the year 1868-69 is supplied by the kindness of the Maharaja

*Statement of the Revenue of the Pattiala State for Sumbut 1925,
corresponding with financial year 1868-69.*

<i>Actual Revenue Receipts</i>					
1. Land Revenue, with other cesses and imports, ..	38,05,943	11	3		
2. Miscellaneous Receipts under different Heads, such as Law and Justice, &c	2,12,398	5			
TOTAL RECEIPTS,				38,18,300	3
<i>Land excluded from the State assessment.</i>					
3. The Bhadour Jagire, ..	77,770	15			
4. The Khamsoun and other Sikh Fendatories Jagire ..	1,20,628	4			
Total Revenue of the Jagedars or soldiers villages,			1,98,408	3	
5. Revenue which the State collects, and pays to the Sohdis, Bhakans and others, as <i>Masfi</i> ,	80,000				
6. Villages allowed to Sahds, Sohdis, &c., who collect the Revenue themselves,	1,32,213				
7. Minor Revenue Free grants (a) <i>Zamin dars</i> and (b) Miscellaneous, about Rs	1,00,000				
Total Revenue Free and Religious Grants,			2,00,013		
Rupees, ..				4,00,019	3
TOTAL REVENUE OF THE STATE, Rs.				42,78,928	3
OF THE ACTUAL RECEIPTS, Rs.			38,18,300	3	
The following (annual) allowances being made, i. e.:-					
8. Allowances to Headmen,	2,02,375	4			
9. Allowance (Adhkari) on Brahmans, Syeds and Faqirs,	80,708	3	3		
10. Usual <i>Panchnai</i> , &c., ..	10,900	1	6		
11. Masfidars,	18,178	12	6		
12. Panchi i Muahakhsah (Settlement allowances),	35,388	14			
TOTAL EXPENSES, ..			3,46,460	15	6
THE NETT INCOME FOR THE YEAR WAS RUPEES, ..				34,71,800	6

NOTES.

* The amount of No. 7, Rs. 1,00,000, is only a calculated one, but as the calculations were made carefully, it may be considered to be tolerably correct. The *Zamindars Masfi* (a), refer to those plots of

land (generally two or four ploughs) which have been excluded from the State assessment, and allowed to Biswadars, for distinction and maintenance. The second class *Miscellaneous* (b), includes those Revenue Free Grants which were allowed either for religious reasons or rewards for service.

† A per-centage is allowed to Biswadars from the total assessment of a village for distinction and maintenance. This is called "Inam-i-Panchan," and its right descends to the children of the Biswadars. A person receiving this *Inam* is at once acknowledge as a Biswadár. This per-centage varies from above Rs 10 to 9, 8, and less.

‡ Adhikari means half. It is an allowance to Brahmans, Syads and Fakirs, (Hindu or Muhammadan) agriculturists, who only pay half the demand in proportion to others. Thus it will be seen that Rs 90,703-3-3 were remitted to them in the year. This amount is subject to fluctuation, as such occupants transfer or abandon their holdings.

§ Panchal is a fixed sum, not on the principle of per-centage, and is allowed for the distinction and maintenance of certain families. It is not specially allowed to Biswadars, as No 8.

|| Certain persons, though entered as Jagirdars or Maafidars of entire or portions of villages, are not however in actual possession of their Jagir or Maafi. The state collects the Revenue from such village or portions of villages, and considers it as part of the State Revenue. The Maafidar being paid an annual pension equal to the amount of his Maafi.

¶ This Panchal is neither a distinctive nor a permanent one. It is allowed to Lambardars, at the option of the settlement officers during settlement operations, as a reward for services performed.

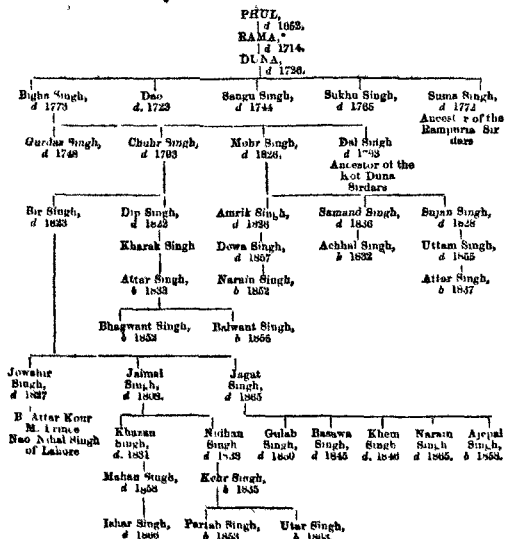
THE HISTORY

OF THE

Bhadour Chiefship.

11

The Sirdars of Bhadour are now altogether subordinate to the Maharaja of Patiala, but as this subordination is of recent date, it is necessary to give a brief outline of their history till the year 1858, when the supremacy of Patiala was allowed by the British Government by favor and not by right. The genealogical tree of the family is as follows —



* The Imperial Annals given in the following pages, of Aurangzeb and Timur Shah do not coincide in date with the recorded time of Chaudhri Rama's death

Duna, the founder of the family, lived at Chaudhri Duna Bhadour with his brother Ala Singh, until the latter left for Barnála in 1718, when Bhadour came into his sole possession. He was a man of peace, and, not being a Sikh, he did not join his kinsmen in rebellion against the Muhammadan Empire, by which he had been entrusted with authority, as "Chaudhri," over Sangrur, Bhadour and other districts, which his father Ráma had enjoyed according to Sanads of more than doubtful authenticity.*

The first is dated the 15th year of the Emperor Aurangzeb's reign, or A D 1673, and is directed to Chaudhri Duna. The second is dated A. H 1131, corresponding with A D 1719, and also purports to be a grant of the Emperor Aurangzeb, although that Prince died A H 1140, corresponding with A D 1707; or twelve years before the Sanad assumes to have been issued. The third Sanad dated, 1192 A H, or 1779 A D, is of the Emperor Timur Shah, to Sardar Chahr Singh.

If the first Sanad be a genuine document, Rama must have been dead at the time of its issue, that is, in A D 1673, as the deed is in the name of his son as Chaudhri, in succession to his father deceased. The date given in the margin for the death of Rama, namely, A. D 1714, would in that case be incorrect. But by comparison of many documents, the date given in the text would appear to be correct. The evidence in favor of its genuineness is stronger, at any rate than the evidence in favor of the authenticity of the Sanads. That authenticity is further rendered more doubtful, by the curious mistake as to dates occurring in the second Sanad. The genuineness of the third document cannot be disputed like the other two, from internal evidence, but the three must stand or fall together. They were put forward to suit a certain purpose by the Bhadour Sardars, and are inserted for what they are worth.

* Copy of a Firmán said to have been granted by the Emperor Aurangzeb to Chaudhri Duna, A H 1083, or A D 1673

WHEREAS it has been brought to our notice that by order of the late Emperor, Taluká of Phul &c was granted to Chaudhri Ráman, &c free, subject to the payment of Rs 85,000 per annum to the Government. And Chaudhri Duna and others, his (Ráman's) heirs are alive and in possession of the Taluká, and that they request that a Firmán may be issued, therefore the order is issued that the Taluka of Phul Bhadour and Tappa, &c. and the Chaudhri thereof shall be maintained to Chaudhri Duna and the other heirs. The Rs 85,000 which Chaudhri Duna paid to the Government, after the death of his father, he may realize their shares from his brother. At present the Rs 85,000 are remitted to him.

He should appreciate this kindness and pray for the prosperity of the Empire.

The office of Chaudhri was, in these days, hardly a desirable one, for it implied the collection of the Imperial Revenue, which the people were very rarely willing to pay, and no excuses were of any avail if the money was not forthcoming at the appointed time.

In 1725, the Muhammadan Governor of Lahore demanded the customary payment and Duná left for the capital, his brothers promising to send their quota after him. This they failed to do, and Duná, and his son Dau, were thrown into prison, in which the latter died.

The intercession of a friend, Shaikh Alayás of Khawáspur, obtained the release of Duna, but the hardships of his imprisonment destroyed his health, and, returning to Bhadour, he died there in the year 1726. He left four sons, of whom Bigha succeeded him; the youngest, Suma Singh, being the ancestor of the Rampuria Sardars.

His death, A. D. 1726.

Regarding Bigha little of importance is recorded. He, like his father, fell into difficulties about the revenue, and when the Imperial officers arrived to arrest him, he

The Officers, Governors, Jaghdars and Karris of the present and future times, should consider this a constant order and let the Taluka remain in the possession of the grantees. This tenure will be free from change and no fresh Sanad should be demanded.

Copy of Firmán, said to have been granted by the Emperor Aurangzeb to Chaudhri Duná, A H 1131, or A D 1719.

At this time the Firmán is issued to the effect, that Chaudhri Duná, of Bhadour, the son of Raman Phulwala, has always obeyed the Imperial orders and is in no way opposed to the welfare of all parties, therefore the Office of Chaudhri, of the Talukas of Sangrur, Dhanaula Bhadour and Hadaya &c (dependancies of the Pargana of Tehora), is bestowed upon him. He should esteem this a favor, and pay year by year Rs 60,000 of current coin to the Harír, and endeavour to secure the happiness of the people, and pray for the prosperity of the Empire.

Dated 19th Muharram, 1131 Hijri, (1719) A. D

generously proposed to give his eldest son, Gurdás Singh, in his stead. To this the mother of the boy would not consent, and carried him away with her to her father's home; and Bigha was imprisoned till he contrived to pay the amount of his arrears. In the mean time, Gurdás Singh had died, and his mother, distracted with grief poisoned herself. These melancholy events had so much effect upon Bigha, that he resolved to resign his office of Chaudhri and become a recluse, but the Phulkian Chiefs induced him to abandon this design, and he married a second wife who bore him Chuhr Singh and Mohr Singh. His third wife, was the widow of his brother Sukhu Singh. She became the mother of Dal Singh, from whom the Sirdars of Kot Duna, a village founded by Chaudhri Duna, have descended.

Bigha was succeeded by his eldest son, Chuhr Singh, in 1773. This Chief was the most famous of all the Bhadour stock, and his prowess and energy added much to his ancestral possessions, and the fame of "Chuhr Singh ke Bâr", his victories over the Burars, and his charity to the poor, are still sung, in many ballads, by the village bards. He was the acknowledged arbiter in all disputes; the people preferred their complaints before him, and he punished offenders severely. For all this Chuhr Singh was the most notorious robber on the border, cattle-lifting was not named in the code of offences which he punished, and to this very day, his old enemies, the Burars, if an ox or buffalo strays, will call it in the jungle "O' Chuhr lera!" (oh! carried away by Chuhr)

His prowess and fame,

Chuhr Singh succeeded in 1773

In the year 1799, Chuhr Singh was appointed Chaudhri and collector of revenue in the Pihora and Bhadour districts, by Timur Shah, who, in that year, had invaded India, desiring to recover some of the authority possessed by his father Ahmad Shah.*

After the death of Raja Amar Singh of Pattiala and the succession of the weak-minded Sahib Singh, the Bhadour Chief began to extend his possessions at the expense of the Pattiala State. He seized ninety villages in the neighbourhood of Bhadour, many of which he subsequently lost; attacked the Maler Kotla Afghans, whose villages were redeemed by Pattiala giving certain others in exchange, and even gained for a time possession of the district of Barnála. But in the midst of his successes, treachery put an end to his

* Translation of a Sanad of Timur Shah in the name of Chuhr Singh Phul, dated 11th Rajab, 1192 A. H. 1779 A. D.

At this time the magnificent mandate is issued, owing to the enhanced kindness of Royalty

The old Taluka of Pargana Sihara, together with the Ilaka of Bhalour, which is in your possession is granted to you as heretofore. You may realize the fees collected by the Phula, as were heretofore collected by your ancestors. And you should pay obedience to the Raja of Pattiala, and submit whatever you might have to say to the Hazm through the Raja of Pattiala.

It has also reached our ears that Hari Singh has raised a tumult in his country. You should ally yourself with the other Rajas and restrain him from injuring the creatures of God, and Muhammad Hussein Khan will be soon deputed in order to take possession of the country of Hari Singh through the Raja of Pattiala, and annex it to the Royal territories.

As Hari Singh originally come from Multan, his native country, he should return to it.

All matters connected with yourself have been explained to Muhammad Hussein Khan, and they will be determined and executed through the Raja of Pattiala.

You should wait on us, else your country will be taken possession of by the Government.

Hari Singh had proceeded to the Taluka of Nali. The Raja of Pattiala excluded him from thence. If Hari Singh should now go to the Jungul, let him not enter it.

As of old you should remain obedient to the Raja of Pattiala, and depend upon the royal favors.

life. On his road home from Barnala he remained to rest at the village of Ghanne, and was invited by a Burar of the name of Sujan to sleep in a small burj or tower for the night. Chuhr Singh, who was accompanied by his brother Dal Singh, suspected nothing; but their deceitful host, having drugged their liquor and seeing them in a deep sleep, surrounded the tower with armed men, and, piling brushwood against the walls and doors, set it on fire. Awoke by the heat and noise and finding all exit barred, the two brothers mounted to the roof, from which they shot arrows at their enemies till the roof fell in and both perished in the flames. This happened in 1793.

Birday Chuhr Singh and his brother murdered, A. D. 1793.

The news of their father's murder had no sooner reached his two sons, Bir Singh and Dip Singh, than they determined to avenge it. They set out in search of Sujan, and surprised him hawking, riding the horse of the murdered Chief. They killed him and seized Ghanne with the ten neighbouring villages forming the Ilaka of Malukha Pattiala troops joined in this expedition under the command of Albel Singh and Bakshi Seda.

Bir Singh, the elder son of Chuhr Singh, succeeded to the estate, but in 1813, after the Cis-Satluj States had been taken under British protection, the two brothers divided it equally between them.

The Bhadour estate equally divided between the brothers Bir Singh and Dip Singh.

On the demarcation of boundaries in 1809, Maharaja Ranjit Singh retained two Bhadour villages, Saidoki and Bhagta. The British Government did not insist on their surrender, but paid to

Bhadour Rs 2,000 per annum, as an equivalent, which sum was paid direct to the descendants of Bir Singh and Dip Singh, from 1813 to 1840, when Pattiala, with the design of supporting her unjust claim of supremacy over Bhadour, contrived to obtain its payment through her vakils.*

Dip Singh accompanied Raja Bhag Singh of Jhund on his visit to Lahore in 1805, and returned with him the next year, when Ranjit Singh made his expedition against Pattiala; but refused to join against the head of the Phulkian house, and left the camp of Ranjit Singh at Jagraon. This Sirdar died in 1822, and his brother the following year

** The death of Mr Singh and Dip Singh, A. D. 1822*

After the Cis-Satlej States came under British protection, the history of Bhadour is contained in that of Pattiala, and although its Chiefs asserted vigorously their independence, yet they admitted Pattiala to be their head and had no policy distinct from hers. There is, therefore, little further of interest to record. Kharak Singh, the son of

Kharak Singh.

Dip Singh, succeeded to his father's share of the estate, and, although a man of considerable character and ability, was more devoted to religion than administration, and built and endowed many temples and charitable institutions. At the time of the Satlej campaign he gave assistance to the British with a contingent, and furnished supplies to the army. After the campaign, when the whole

His service in 1848

The great dispute regarding supremacy over Bhadour, A. D. 1850

question of the relations of Government to the States and their relations to each other was discussed and settled, the con-

* Government of India to Sn D Ochterlony 2nd July 1813

nection of Pattiala and Bhadour could not but come under review, and since the question was disputed with especial warmth and earnestness, it is necessary to explain the circumstances of the case with some detail.

The proposals of the Board of Administration

The general orders of Government regarding joint-estates

regarding the joint-estates held by Pattiala and other Sirdars had been formally approved by Government, and, in obedience to their instructions, the estates had been divided and disputed questions regarding them adjusted.* But, at the date of Colonel Mackeson's report of 1850, no orders had been passed with

The number of Bhadour villages

reference to the territory of Bhadour, comprizing 58 villages, and situated on the southern border of the Ferozpur district, and over these villages the Maharaja of Pattiala exercised sovereign jurisdiction, as he did over all joint-estates before the final division above re-

The opinion of Colonel Mackeson and Mr. Edmenstone

ferred to. Colonel Mackeson held that the British Government possessed the right of escheat to heirless shares, but did not determine the exact relations between the Maharaja of Pattiala and the Bhadour Sirdars. Mr. Edmenstone, Commissioner of the Cis-Satlaj States, had been in favour of admitting the independence of Bhadour. He considered that the Phulkian families had each gained its principality by the sword, and that each, with the exception of Bhadour, was admittedly independent of the

* Colonel Mackeson's Report No. 16, dated 8th January 1850. Proceedings of Financial Commissioner, Nos. 76 to 83 dated 10th January 1852. Government Order, No. 393, dated 27th February 1852, and Financial Commissioner's Proceedings Nos. 118, 119, dated 13th March 1852.

other, and there was no reason that Bhadour should be considered an exception.*

The question whether Bhadour should remain *Mr. Barnes reports B. feudatory of Pattiala or be brought under the direct control of the British Government had been referred for decision in 1850, but no orders were issued, and it remained for Mr. Barnes, the Commissioner of the Cis-Satluj States, to report, in 1854, on the case †*

At this time, the descendants of Duna the founder of the Bhadour family, *The representatives of the family.* were represented by six separate branches, among whom the estates were divided according to ancestral shares, the Sirdars being Kharak Singh, Jagat Singh, Kehr Singh, Mahan Singh, Dewa Singh and Uttam Singh, whose relative position will be shown by a reference to the genealogical tree. The estate comprized 58 villages, and was valued at Rs 60,000 per annum; most of these villages were held entirely by the Bhadour Sirdars and seventeen in joint-tenure with Pattiala. The Sirdars received, moreover, a pension of Rs. 2,000 a year, in lieu of the two villages transferred in 1813, by Sir D. Ochterlony to Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and this pension they had enjoyed for upwards of forty years.

There were also eight villages in Ludhuana, held in joint tenure by the rebel Chief of Ladwa and the Bhadour Sirdars, who retained their share

* Letter No 325, dated 8th June 1850, and Financial Commissioner's Proceedings No 88 to 82 of 6th July 1850.

† No 21 of 4th February 1854 to Chief Commissioner.

‡ The genealogical tree at the commencement of the Pattiala history p 11, will explain the relationship between the families of Pattiala and Bhadour.

when the moiety of Ladwa was confiscated after the first Sikh war.

Patiala claimed supremacy over Bhadour, and the right to succeed as paramount to all legitimate escheats. The Maharaja asserted, in support of his claim, that Bhadour had been always subject to Patiala * Ala Singh, the founder of the Patiala family, gave Duna, the founder of the Bhadour house, the village of Shahnaki, to be held on a subordinate tenure, and the supremacy of Patiala had always been acknowledged by Bhadour, which never even contracted a matrimonial alliance with Nabha or Jhind without Patiala's consent. The Bhadour family never had exercised independent powers and their estates were not acquired by conquest. Bhadour was founded by Rama, father of both Ala Singh and Duna, and was then the capital of the joint-territory, Ala Singh made it over, after the death of Duna, to his heirs, and founded for himself a new capital at Barnala. So far then from this estate being a conquest, of Duna's, it was a grant from Patiala, and only came into the possession of the Bhadour family after his death. Moreover, the Bhadour Sirdars had themselves repeatedly admitted their dependence, and were still most anxious to remain in subordination to Patiala, which they regarded as their natural head, and to which they were bound by every tie of interest and affection. Patiala had, on their account, paid tribute to Ahmad Shah Durani, the Mahrattas, and Ranjit Singh; and her right to supremacy had been admitted by successive agents of the British Govern-

The arguments of Patiala in favor of her claim to supremacy

* Vide objections filed by Patiala Vakil in February 1854

ment, and notably by Mr. G. R. Clerk, who authorized the Maharaja to employ force to reduce to order the Bhadour Sirdars, stating, in his letter, that, on all previous occasions, at the instance of the British Government, Pattiala had maintained order in Bhadour*. So late as the 28th of August 1852, the Sirdars themselves had addressed the Settlement Officer, who required their attendance at Ludhiana, to the effect that they were then, and always had been, feudatories of Pattiala, and had no desire to deny or change relations from which they had always derived benefit.

Such were the arguments which Pattiala advanced to prove her supremacy. On the other side, it might be urged with great force that the custom of the Phulkian family was not to unite under one selected leader, but that each man of courage and capacity conquered what territory he could for himself, and left it in independent possession to his heirs. Thus had had been founded the Chiefships of Pattiala, Nabha, Jhind and Malod, and thus, it might be presumed, had it been with Bhadour. Pattiala had, it is true, far outstripped her rivals in the race for power, but her wealth and extensive territory had never given her a right to supremacy over the other Chiefs. Duna, the founder of Bhadour, was certainly not a warrior, but he nevertheless acquired a certain number of villages, while his grandson, Chuhr Singh, was one of the most distinguished Chiefs of his day. Even were the acquisitions of Duna made with the assistance of Ala Singh, yet he was nevertheless inde-

The argument on the other side of the question.

* Mr. G. Clerk, April 1835, and 1841

pendent of his brother, and was his equal not his vassal.

It was quite true that, in 1854, the Bhadour Sirdars were desirous of claiming the protection of Pattiala, but their reasons were evident and were not such as the British Government could allow.

The Bhadour Chiefs desired to come under Pattiala authority in 1854.

There were plenty of old records in the Agency Office which showed that these Chiefs had insisted on their independence and had rejected the pretensions of Pattiala, proving that a struggle between the States had always been maintained; complaints from Pattiala that Bhadour would not yield allegiance, and protests from the Sirdars against the unjust claims of their powerful neighbour.

They had always denied Pattiala suzerainty before.

The reason for the sudden change in the disposition of the Bhadour Chiefs is found in the change which the Sikh war had made in the relations of the Cis-Satlej States with the British Government. Before the war every State had exercised sovereign powers, and the Sirdars knew that if they were declared independent of Pattiala they would have full authority over their own subjects and would be practically under no control. For this reason they struggled against the pretensions of Pattiala. But the consequence of the war was the disfranchisement of all but the largest Sikh States. The Bhadour Chiefs would, separated from Pattiala, have sunk to the level of ordinary jagirdars, with no Civil or Criminal powers and even their revenue limited at the discretion of Government officers. Under Pattiala they would enjoy far greater power,

The reason for the change in their wishes clear.

and, as she was anxious to retain them as feudatories, she was disposed to allow them exceptional privileges and immunities, which the British system was unable or unwilling to grant. These considerations made the Sirdars as ready to acknowledge the supremacy of Pattiala, as they had before been to resist it,

That Bhadour had originally been independent was further proved by the joint possession of estates with the Raja of Ladwa, showing that it was able to ally itself with another Chief and make conquests on its own account. The large village of Bhai Rupa, in which every Phulkian chief held a share, was an additional proof, since, if Bhadour was merely a Pattiala feudatory, it would not have become possessed of an equal share in the estate. Lastly, the tenure of the 58 villages of the Bhadour territory, of which seventeen only were held conjointly with Pattiala, went some way to prove that these seventeen alone were acquired by Ala Singh and Duna together, and that the remainder, in which Pattiala held no share, were the sole and independent acquisition of the latter.

The British Government was unwilling to surrender to Pattiala a position which had always been denied and a supremacy which belonged to itself, the paramount power; or to refuse to the people the improved administration and the diminished assessment which would be the result of the State being brought directly under its own control; and, considering the independence of Bhadour sufficiently proved, directed that British jurisdiction should be extended

The claims of Pattiala rejected by Government.

over the 41 villages held by Bhadour alone, and that the 17 villages held in joint tenure by Pattiala and Bhadour should be divided according to the principles which had determined the division of other estates held in co-parcenary *

The Maharaja of Pattiala was not satisfied with the decision thus given against him, and addressed to the Chief Commissioner a remonstrance pointing out what he considered defective in the arguments which had been adduced to prove the independence of Bhadour. He urged that the order of Government was opposed to the letter of the treaty which declared that all his zaildars and feudatories should remain unmolested, and the Chief Commissioner directed further enquiries to be made and the objections of the Maharaja to be, if possible, satisfactorily answered †

Pattiala asserted her own right to succeed to heirless shares in Bhadour; but this claim could not be admitted by the British Government, which, ever since its first connection with the Cis-Satlej States, had, as paramount, claimed all such succession. The States were taken under British protection, and their independence and, indeed, their very existence were preserved; neither tribute nor contingent was demanded from them and the trouble and complica-

* Chief Commissioner to Government of India, No 160 dated 28th February 1854, and Government of India to Chief Commissioner No 1013 dated 17th March 1854. Government of India No. 399 dated 23rd February 1852

† Khairat of the Maharaja to Chief Commissioner of July 1854. Letter of Commissioner Cis-Satlej States to Chief Commissioner No 167 dated 28th July 1854, and Chief Commissioner's No. 653 dated 7th August 1854 to Commissioner Cis-Satlej States.

tions which this connection involved were enormous.

The rights of a Sovereign power, Was it to be supposed that, out of mere benevolence, so onerous a charge had been accepted? The British Government never professed to be absolutely disinterested, in its motives. In return for protection, it insisted on the rights claimed by every Sovereign power, of which the chief and the only profitable one was the right of succession to shares of estates in which the only heirs were distant collaterals.

A very large number of estates, comprising some of the wealthiest in the Cis-Satlaj territory, had thus come into British possession, including among them estates held by feudatories of Pattiala itself, such as Chamkurian, in 1812, and Serai Lashkar Khan, in 1835, the latter decision being confirmed by the Home Government.*

Nor had Pattiala itself ever exercised the right of succession to heirless shares, and the instance which the Maharaja adduced of the succession of Sardul Singh to the estate of his cousin Jodh was not a case in point, for that succession was simply through a marriage with his cousin's widow, and if Jodh's estates had lapsed to Pattiala, as an escheat, Sardul Singh would never have inherited them, seeing that he was at no time Chief of Pattiala, dying in the life-time of his father Ala Singh.

One of the *firmans* granted to Chuhr Singh by Prince Timur Shah, † is said to prove the feudal tenure of Bhadour and its subordination to Pattiala. This is

* Supreme Government dated 24th June 1835, Agent Delhi dated 14th August 1835

† *Vide ante* page 281

not the construction, however, which would generally be placed upon it, even were its authenticity certain, instead of being doubtful in the extreme, as has been shown in a previous note. It would rather seem to show that Bhadour was, and had been, from the first, independent.

A reference is certainly made to the Raja of Pattiala, who was to be obeyed and through whom any necessary representations were to be made, but this does not destroy the idea of independence which is created by an Imperial *Firman* being issued to Bhadour at all, and by the direction to form alliance with other Rajas to restrain the violence of Hari Singh. It was besides natural for Timur Shah to refer to the Raja of Pattiala as the head of the Sikhs Cis-Satlej, which indeed he was, though without any actual supremacy, since both Rajas Ala Singh and Amar Singh had been ennobled by his father Ahmad Shah, and though gratitude was a virtue rare among the Sikhs, yet the Pattiala Chief might be expected to entertain it and to be loyal towards Timur Shah, if his interests did not forbid loyalty altogether.

It has before been stated, that Duna, the ancestor of the Bhadour Sirdars, was a peaceful man, content with the office of Chaudhri, which he received from the Dehli Emperor, possessing none of the ambition of his brother Ala Singh. But there is nothing to show, as asserted by Pattiala, that Duna was, in any way, subordinate to his brother. The Maharaja declared that Bhadour was not a conquest, but founded by Rama, and considered the capital till after death of Duna, when Ala Singh

The manner in which Bhadour had been acquired was clear

gave it to his nephews, who had been entrusted to his care, as a mark of high favor and as a reward for services rendered to him by their father. It is true that Bhadour was not a conquest and that it remained the joint capital for some time after the death of Rama its founder; but it came into the hands of Duna by a friendly compromise between the brothers, not as the gift of a superior to an inferior. At the time when Bhadour was transferred, Duna was the head of the family, and Ala Singh had not yet made wealth and fame. What more natural than that he should have left the ancestral village to the head of the family, trusting to conquer an

The independence of Duna was also clear:

estate for himself elsewhere. That Duna was acknowledged as head of the family is evident from the two Imperial *Firmans* of Aurangzeb* by which he is authorized to collect the revenue of Rs 85,000 from his brothers, including Ala Singh; and it was as the representative of the family that he visited Lahore, where he was imprisoned and where his son Dau died.

In 1825, Maharaja Sahib Singh furnished Captain Murray, the Political Agent, with a list of villages over which he had jurisdiction, and he then, with reference to the Bhadour estate, entered, as belonging to the Bhadourias, 53 villages, and a share in Bhai Rupa, with 17 villages bestowed by himself on Chuhr Singh Bhadour, on account of service and bravery in his cause. The distinction drawn between the 53 villages acquired by Bhadour apart from Pattala, and the 17 villages, being a Pattala grant, is clear. Even this grant of the 17 villages

The list furnished by Raja Sahib Singh strong proof against Pattala.

* Vide ante pages 276-79.

to Chuhr Singh was not such a one as to imply any supremacy, for several of these villages were extorted from the almost imbecile Sahib Singh by his energetic kinsman, while others appear to have been given in exchange for the lands, taken by Chuhr Singh from the Maler Kotla Afghans, and which he restored.

There would be no advantage in following the arguments of Bhadour and Pattiala step by step, and determining the amount of truth in each. There can be no doubt that Mr Clerk, the Political Agent, who, on one occasion, did permit the Pattiala Chiefs to coerce the Bhadourias, which permission would have been better withheld, formed later a perfectly just estimate of the connection between the States. Writing to the Maharaja on the 8th of June 1835, he states as follows:—"In truth, the relations between Pattiala and Bhadour are of the following nature:—The Sirdars of Bhadour, since the date of protection, have existed on precisely the same footing as all other Chiefs of the Cis-Satlaj. The late Maharaja was accustomed to call the Bhadourias his uncles (*chhacha sahib*), whereas you designate them as dependants and vassals. Your wakil has been the usual channel for presenting applications from the Bhadour Sirdars in pending cases, and therefore Bhadour disputes have generally been referred to you. I and Mr Ross Bell have always counselled you that Pattiala is, as it were, the elder brother, and the Bhadourias younger brothers. The senior has the authority to discipline his younger brethren, and, in this view of your relations, the affairs

" of Bhadour have been usually consigned to
" you " *

That the Bhadour Chiefs acknowledged Pattiala
*Pattiala had at
ways been acknow-
ledged as head of the
family* as the head of the Phulkian family
is clear. Nabha and Jhind did the
same but Pattiala never claimed
to assert over them any supremacy. There is no
evidence to show that the Bhadour estate, or any
large portion of it, was a Pattiala grant, while
there is ample proof that it was an independent
acquisition. The British Government, often care-
less of its rights, and served by men who have not
been sufficiently jealous of its prerogatives, had un-
doubtedly allowed Pattiala to act towards Bhadour
in a manner which gave some color to the claim of
supremacy; and in the interval between the death
of Bir Singh in 1823, and 1847, the date of the
extension of British protection, the power and
aggressiveness of Pattiala constantly increased while
the capability of resistance on the part of Bhadour
as constantly diminished, for, while the right of
primogeniture kept Pattiala compact, the rule of
division among the sons had reduced the Bhadour
State to a number of petty Chiefships without any
cohesion or power of combined resistance.

The wishes of the Chiefs had also changed in
*The many changes
in the assertions of
the Chiefs.* 1847, and they preferred the license
which Pattiala promised them, if
her supremacy was allowed, to the dulness and
compelled moderation of their position as simple
jagirdars in British territory. At the present day,
with their position assured and the supremacy of

* Letter of Mr Clerk to Maharaja Sahib Singh 8th June 1835
Objections and arguments filed by Pattiala in 1854, and 1855, and
Letter No 221 dated 12th September 1855, from Commissioner Cis-
Satluj States to Government Punjab

Patiala acknowledged, the Bhadourias have again changed, if not their desire, their mode of expression, and assert their former independence as sturdily as they were wont to do forty years ago, and as obstinately as they denied it in 1847 and 1854.

In 1855, the supremacy of Patiala was refused *The claims of Bahawal finally rejected in 1855.* by the British Government, which declared its final determination to adhere to the former decision of the 17th March 1854, by which British jurisdiction was extended over the villages held by Bhadour, while those held in joint tenure by Patiala and Bhadour were to be divided on the principle which regulated the Chaharum tenures*. The Sirdars of Bhadour were, moreover, by a later order, exempted from the jurisdiction of the ordinary tribunals for acts done by them previous to the 27th of April 1855, the date on which the final order a Government were passed.†

There was still some difficulty in settling the *The joint estate divided* terms of the agreement, but, at length, Patiala agreed to accept as her share of the assessment, which amounted to Rs 7,676, the villages of Chota and Bara Bazidri, Bawant, Bilaspur Sunda; Gidhari, Mandian and Jahangirpur, worth Rs. 7,786 per annum ‡

* Government Punjab to Government of India, No 162, dated 9th February 1855 and Government of India to Government Punjab, No. 1824 dated 27th April 1855.

† Commissioner Cis-Satlej States to Punjab Government No 211, dated 17th September 1855 Punjab Government to Government of India No 741, dated 3rd October Government of India to Government Punjab: Na. 3729 dated 24th October 1855

‡ Deputy Commissioner Ferozpur to Commissioner Cis-Satlej States, No 314 dated 15th November 1855 Commissioner to Deputy Commissioner, No 1536, dated 17th November 1855 Commissioner Cis-Satlej States to Government Punjab, Nos 5256, dated 10th and 11th March 1856 Government Punjab to Commissioner Cis-Satlej, Nos. 209 and 210 dated 22nd March 1856.

Of the eleven villages to which Pattiala made certain villages specific claims subsequent to the final settlement of the Bhadour dispute, the Maharaja's right to one was allowed, and in the remaining six cases denied. With reference, however, to the four villages of Kot Duna, Bugar,* Rampur and Kotla Kowra, it was recommended that, under the special circumstances of the case, they should, as an act of grace, be surrendered to the Maharaja, although the right of jurisdiction was clearly proved to belong to the British Government.† A subsequent recommendation was made in favor of the village of Mán, which was held, in equal shares, by Pattiala and the Kot Duna branch of the Bhadour family, and lay in the midst of the Pattiala possessions. These five villages were accordingly made over to Pattiala ‡

The supremacy for which the Maharaja had struggled with so much pertinacity, but which he was unable to establish as a right, was granted as an act of grace and as a reward for loyal service to the British Government in the year 1858. All the rights of the paramount power were yielded to Pattiala the jurisdiction over Bhadour, the right

* This village must not be confounded with the village of the same name regarding which there was a dispute between Pattiala and Nabha, and which, in 1857, was assigned to the latter.

† Commissioner Cis-Satley States' No 155, 156, dated 10th July 1855 Punjab Government, No 670, dated 1st August 1855

‡ Deputy Commissioner of Ferozpur to Commissioner Cis-Satley States, No. 290, dated 24th October 1855 Commissioner Cis-Satley States to Government Punjab, Nos 22 and 281, dated 9th February, and 5th September 1857 Government Punjab to Government of India, Nos 180 and 623 dated 6th March and 9th September 1857 Government of India to Government Punjab, Nos 1617 and 4600, dated 14th April and 18th November 1857


of escheats; the reversion of lapsed estates; and the annual commutation tax, amounting to Rs 5,265 *

The supremacy of Pattiala having been thus allowed, it would seem almost unnecessary to have dwelt at so much length on the dispute regarding it, were it not of importance as showing the manner of the rise of the Cis-Satlej States, the nature of their mutual relations, and the motives which influence the statements of the Chiefs. Much of the difficulty of questions relating to these States is occasioned by the uncertainty which surrounded the law of inheritance; an uncertainty increased by the utter disregard of truth in the statements made by the Chiefs, unless the truth happened to favor the view which they desired to maintain. The more careful the search in the history of these States, the more certain it appears that no statement should be accepted without rigorous enquiry, unless made by a person absolutely devoid of interest in the matter at issue. The idea of preferring truth to his own interests never seems to have occurred to any Sikh Chief.

Sirdar Attar Singh, who succeeded his father *Sirdar Attar Singh of Bhadour* Kharak Singh in 1858, is the present head of the Bhadour family, and was born in the year 1833. He was educated at Benares, and there acquired a taste for learning

* Government Punjab to Government of India, No. 34, dated 13th April 1858. Government of India to Government Punjab, No. 1549, dated 2nd June 1858. Kharitah of Governor General to Maharaja of Pattiala of the same date. Some doubt was felt by the Maharaja as to the terms of this grant, and the Government of India subsequently declared that the Bhadour territory was to be held by the Maharaja and his lineal male heirs in perpetuity. Commissioner Cis-Satlej States to Government Punjab, No. 140, dated 20th May 1859. Government Punjab to Government of India, No. 386, dated 1st June, and Government of India to Government Punjab, No. 7712, dated 17th June 1859.

which is very rare among the Sikhs. He has a good library at Bhadour, stocked with valuable MSS, Sanskrit, Gurmukhi and Persian, and has founded a School, in which these languages are taught free of all charge, the very poor being fed as well as taught. Besides encouraging learning, Attar Singh is himself a good scholar and composes in a graceful style. In 1870 he was appointed one of the Senate of the Punjab University College. While a jagirdar of the British Government he did good service, in 1857, at Ludhiana and at Firozpur, with fifty horsemen, and received the acknowledgments of Government, and exemption from payment of six months' commutation.

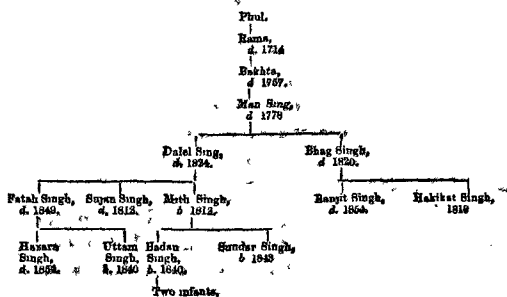


The Minor Phulkian Families :

MALOD ; BADRUKHAN , JIUNDAN ;
LANDGHARIA ; DIALPURIA ,
RAMPURIA AND KOT DUNA.

The family of Bhadour is the most important of the smaller Phulkian houses, but there are several others who must receive a brief mention here to render the account of the clan complete.

The chief of these is Malod, descended from *The family of Malod* Bakhta or Bakht Mal, the fourth son of Chaudhri Rama and brother of Duna and Ala Singh, the founders of the Bhadour and Pattiala houses



Bakhta, like his brother, Ala Singh, left the ancestral village of Bhadour, and founded, eight miles to the eastward, a village which he called after his own name. Nothing further is related of him, but his son Man Singh was a distinguished Chief. His mother was of the Man Jat clan ; and a popu-

lar tradition in the Punjab makes all of the Mán tribe brave and true. He conquered the district of Malod from the Maler Kotla Afghans in 1754,* and, dying in 1778, left two sons, the elder of whom, Dalel Singh, took the whole estate to the exclusion of his younger brother Bhag Singh, who complained to Raja Sahib Singh of Pattuala and begged his interference in his behalf. Sirdar Chuhr Singh of Bhadour was requested to arrange matters; and by his arbitration the elder brother took two-thirds and the younger one-third.

Sirdar Dalel Singh was a Bairagi† and employed as his officials, Fakírs, and Muhants‡. He would not allow any one to hunt or shoot in his estate and fined any one convicted of so doing. In 1806, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who was marching through the country, summoned him, but he sent answer that he was engaged in devotion and could not come. Ranjit Singh, who thought more of earth than heaven, at once seized the Chief's elder son, forced to him to carry a heavy load for a long distance, and would not release him till his father had paid Rs 22,000 fine.

On the death of Dalel Singh, his two sons divided the estate according to the rule laid down by Chuhr Singh Bhadouria, the elder taking two-thirds, and the younger one-third. The third son, Sujan Singh, died in his father's life time. The same rule of partition was adopted on the death of Bhag Singh.

* Sirdar Utam Singh of Ramghar states A D 1759

† The term "Bairagi" is derived from "*Bairág*," penance, and signifies an ascetic. It is, however, confined to the followers of Vishnu

‡ Religious mendicants and heads of religious institutions.

Sirdar Uttam Singh of Ramgarh is the present head of the Malod family. He is the second son of Sirdar Fatah Singh, to whose whole share he succeeded on the death of his elder brother Hazara Singh without heirs. He is thirty years of age and is a man of great intelligence. In 1866* he was created a Jagirdar Magistrate in his own estate which is worth Rs. 34,655 per annum.

Sirdar Mith Singh of Malod is the second in rank of this family. He, with his brother Fatah Singh, did good service during the war of 1845-46, supplying 50 sowars, and fought himself at Mudki and Firoshahr. In 1857 he showed conspicuous loyalty, being always ready with men and money, and received, as a reward, the remission of a year's commutation money, while $\frac{1}{2}$ th of the whole sum was for ever excused. He is regarded with great esteem by all who know his character and services.

The younger branch of the Malod family has only one representative. Sirdar Hakikat Singh of Ber. On the death of his brother Ranjit Singh he succeeded to the Ber estate, having before held only that of Chume. He is an Honorary Magistrate, and did good service in 1857.

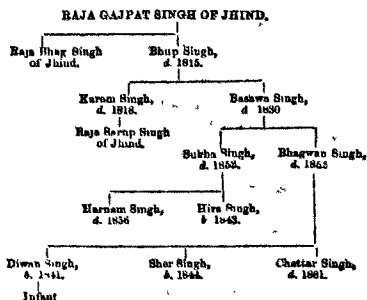
The Badrukhan family ranks next among the Phulkians, after Bhadour and Malod. The principal part of the history of this family is given with that of Jhind, of which it was a branch, Sirdar Bhup Singh, the founder, being the son of Raja Gajpat Singh and the brother of Raja Bhag Singh of Jhind. He received his separate

* Circular order No. 641, dated 26th May 1866

estate in 1789, from which time he was always considered independent of Jhind. However, in 1834, the Jhind line being extinct on the death of Raja Sangat Singh, Sarup Singh, the grandson of Sirdar Bhup Singh, was allowed by the British Government to succeed, and became the father of the present Raja of Jhind Basawa Singh, the uncle of Raja Sarup Singh, was the first Chief of Badrukhan, his father having held this estate and that of Bazidpur; and the Phulkian Chiefs assigning Badrukhan and Bamman Bade, the more valuable portion, to the younger son, since he has been obedient to his father while Karam Singh, the elder, had openly rebelled against him.

Sukha Singh, the elder son of Basawa Singh, who died in 1830, claimed the Jhind Chiefship on the death of Sangat Singh, on the ground that the custom of the Jhind house was for the estate to devolve on the second son, and also that his brother Karam Singh had been disinherited for his disobedience, but these claims were disallowed by the British Government.

The Badrukhan genealogy. The Badrukhan genealogy is as follows —



On the death of Sukha Singh, his estate was equally divided between his two sons, but on the death of Harnam Singh in 1856, Hira Singh, the younger, succeeded to the whole. Diwan Singh is the representative of the younger branch of the family. The jurisdiction over the village of Badrukhan was transferred, in 1861, to Jhind.

Those of the Phulkian family who have, at this day, rank and position, have now been mentioned. Eleven of the descendants of Phul are entitled to attend the Durbars of the Viceroy, namely:—

The Phulkian Chiefs who are entitled to seats in the royal Durbars

- Maharaja Mahendar Singh, Pattiala.
- Raja Raghbir Singh, Jhind
- Raja Bhagwan Singh, Nabha.
- Sirdar Attar Singh, Bhadour.
- Do. Kehr Singh, * Bhadour.
- Do. Achhal Singh, Bhadour.
- Do. Uttam Singh Rampura, Malod.
- Do. Mith Singh, Malod.
- Do. Hakikat Singh, Ber, Malod
- Do. Diwan Singh, Badrukhan.
- Do. Hira Singh, Badrukhan.

The Bhadour Chiefs sit in Durbar as feudatories of Pattiala, the Badrukhan Chiefs of Jhind, and the Malod Sirdars as British jagirdars.

There are several other families of the Phulkian stock who are of no political or historical importance, who count no Sirdars among their number, and who are not entitled to be present at any Durbar. But the

The zamindar families of the Phulkian Clan.

* In the Viceregal Durbar of 1864, Ichar Singh, the representative of the elder branch, took Kehr Singh's place, but he died two years later, and that branch is now extinct.

only difference between them and the great Chiefs is in wealth and power; all the Phulkians are presumed to be socially equal and their daughters marry into the families of Pattiala, Jhind, and Nabha.

These poor relations of the great houses form five families: two descended direct from Phul the common ancestor; one an offshoot from the Jhind, and the two last offshoots from the Bhadour stock.

First are the Sikhs of Jiundan and Bhagrawal, The Sikhs of Jiundan. thirty-two in number, and owning land worth Rs 2,079 a year. They descend from Rughu, the third son of Chaudhri Phul, by his first wife Bali. He married in the village of Jiundan, the daughter of 'Malkher Bullar,' and seems to have had no more distinguished profession than highway robbery. When he became too blind to follow this occupation, he settled in his wife's village of Jiundan, where he died in 1717.

When Pattiala made specific claims to certain Bhadour villages after the general question of jurisdiction had been settled, a separate discussion arose regarding the village of Jiundan. Pattiala asserted that Rughu was killed in a fight with the Burars, and that his widow and children came to settle in her father's village Jiundan, the Pattiala Raja looking after her interests, bringing up her sons, and still, in 1855, exacting service from their descendants. Nabha also claimed the village, stating that it was close to her village of Phul, and should be under her authority. Jiundan was situated about 8 miles south east of Phul, surrounded on three sides by Nabha villages, while British territory bounded it on the north. The jurisdiction evidently belonged to the British Government, for Rughu lived before

Patiala became a State at all; and, though of the Phulkian clan, there was no reason that his descendants should be considered Patiala feudatories, rather than any other branch of the Phulkian family. The claim was accordingly disallowed, but permission was given to Patiala to take Jiundan in lieu of the village of Ramánah, which had been assigned to that State on the ground of its being a grant to Rámdat, the father of one of Raja Amar Singh's wives.*

Of the four sons of Rughu, the only one who left issue was Hardás Singh, the ancestor of the present Jiundan Sikhs.

Second in order come the Gumti Sikhs, or, as they are commonly known, the *The Gumti Sikhs* or "*Laudgharias*" "*Laudgharias*," a term signifying the 'younger branch.' These are the descendants of Phul by his second wife, Raji, who bore him three sons, Channu, Jhandu and Takht Mal. Jhandu died issueless; Channu had two sons, named Kilás and Masur, and his brother Takht Mal had five, namely, Bír, Lakmir, Bhumia, Dalloh and Bakhta. These founded the village of Gumti, ten miles north of Phul, and half-way between Dialpur and Bhai Rupa, dividing it into seven shares, which are now held by their respective descendants. The Gumti Sikhs, being weak, attached themselves to whomsoever they thought best able to defend them. Sirdar Chuhr Singh of Bhadour helped them against the Maharajkian Sikhs, and they later accepted the protection of Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha, to whom they are still bound to furnish 14

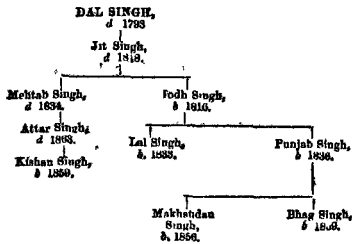
* Commissioner Cis-Satlej States to Punjab Government, No 155, dated 10th July 1855, and Punjab Government to Commissioner Cis-Satlej States, No 670, dated 1st August 1855

horsemen. In 1868, the Gumti Sikhs numbered 850 souls, and their holding is worth Rs. 2,500 per annum

Third among the zamindari Phulkian families is that of Dialpura or Mirza-ka-Dialpura. The founder of this branch was Bulaki Singh, the third son of Sukhchen, and younger brother of Gajpat Singh of Jhund. He first married, at Kot Kapura, Taran, a girl of a Nehre Sanduan family, who bore him a son named Mirza. His second wife, Malan, was the widow of his eldest brother Alam Singh. She was the mother of Jitu. Bulaki Singh died about the year 1785. The village of Dialpura was founded by Mirza, but both the brothers lived there, and their descendants, fifty-one in number, share it among them. The estate is worth Rs. 4,000 a year.

The Rampura family is fourth on the list. It comprises 70 members, descended from Suma or Suma Singh, the fifth and younger son of Chaudhri Duna of Bhadour. Suma married three wives, who bore him five sons, Jassa Singh, Massa Singh, Tek Singh, Charat Singh, and Budh Singh. The eldest Jassa Singh died childless, and from the other four have descended the Sikhs of Rampura and Kotla Koura, the former founded by Chaudhri Rama, and the latter by his son Bakhta. These villages, worth Rs. 6,500 a year, they hold in proprietary right

Last of the zemindar Phulkian families, are the Sikhs of Kot Duna, a small branch consisting of only six members. It has descended from Dal Singh, the youngest brother of Sirdar Chuhr Singh of Bhadour



Dal Singh owned three villages, Kot Duna, Bugar and Mán Mibarian. He perished with his half-brother Chuhr Singh Bhadouria in 1793, when their enemy Sajjan of Ghanne set fire to the house in which they were sleeping. Jit Singh, his son, died of hard drinking in 1818, and the estate was divided between his sons. Of the elder branch, Kishan Singh, a child of eleven years, alone survives. His grandfather and father died at the early age of 32 and 31 respectively, having shortened their lives by their excesses. Jodh Singh enjoys the other half of the jagir, which is worth Rs 5,826 a year. The village of Kot Duna is in Pattiala territory, about eleven miles to the south of Dhanowia,